

NORTH TEXAS STATE UNIVERSITY
ORAL HISTORY COLLECTION

NUMBER

79

Interview with
Mr. Bullock Hyder
May 12, 1966

Place of Interview: Denton, Texas

Interviewer: Dr. H. W. Kamp

Terms of Use: open

Approved: 

(Signature)

Date: 9/10/71

Copyright ©2016

**THE BOARD OF REGENTS OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH TEXAS
IN THE CITY OF DENTON, TEXAS**

All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced or transmitted in any form by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying and recording, or by any information storage or retrieval system without permission in writing from the Director of the Oral History Program or the University Archivist, University of North Texas, Denton, Texas 76203

Oral History Collection

Mr. Bullock Hyder

Interviewer: Dr. H. W. Kamp

Place of Interview: Denton, Texas

Date: May 12, 1966

Dr. Kamp: This is H. W. Kamp at North Texas State University. This is the beginning of a series of interviews with Mr. Bullock Hyder. The date today is May 12, 1966.

Mr. Hyder: In 1928, in September, I left here, Denton, to go to Austin to enter the University of Texas. At that time I had the idea of entering law school. Mr. Fred Minor was what was called the local representative of our county, Denton. In the session of the legislature, due to the illness of Mr. Barron from Bryan, who was speaker, Mr. Minor had substituted as speaker. Having known Mr. Minor since I was a child, I saw him and applied for work, and he got me assigned as a committee clerk in the legislature, a job at which I worked for some time. I also, shortly after taking the committee clerk's job, assumed the job of what is called assistant reading clerk (Percy Forman was Reading Clerk at that time), who is an individual assisting in presenting bills, resolutions, and business before the House at the direction of the speaker and also serves as messenger between the House and Senate. In this capacity I got to know most of the membership of both the House and Senate, and at the same time carrying materials and bills and things to the governor's office and became acquainted with

Governor Moody who was a great deal more informal with less aid and less protocol I guess you'd say than exists now.

Later after Mr. Minor became speaker I stayed in the speaker's quarters which at that time was one room with a drop-ceiling partition for a bathroom, a cold water flat, with Mr. Minor. There was one double bed, a lavatory and commode; the most primitive situation which certainly would contrast with the palatial, upholstered, carpeted, draped quarters that the speaker and lieutenant governor have now. I think about the first time I stayed there that after explaining to me that it was a cold water flat, Mr. Minor said, "Just go on in there and run the water in the tub and just jump in. I do it every day." So I did, and it was quite cold, this was in January, and then I ran the water for him, and so he went in to take a bath, and I heard no noise, so I looked in, and he had one foot in the tub rubbing the water up on him, so I reached over and got a pitcher of water which was quite cold and hit him right in the back with it, and he went into the tub with quite a yell. This has been a story that has gone between us for many many years.

I think without taking more time to talk about members, at this point, that it might be well to review for history the non-members that would be considered the lobby that were very influential in those days. Oil of course has for some time been a very dominant industry in this state, and at that time probably oil and public utilities were two of the strongest factors. Of course, Texas was

an agricultural state, but the farmer is largely a sleeping giant that's rarely ever aroused. Insurance was developing, but instead of Dallas being as dominant in insurance as it is now, actually the Moody interests in Galveston were the most important insurance power group. They were represented in Austin by a man we called "The Black Eagle of the Gulf," a man by the name of John Darrouzett. The oil lobby was made up primarily of about four or five men of importance, probably the most influential one that as I say served as chairman of the oil group was a man named Jack Dies. Subsequently, his brother Martin Dies and Martin, Jr. have had some political importance in the nation. Dies was with the Humble Company and lived in Houston, and Robert Hoffman was a resident of Denton and represented the Magnolia Oil Company, which is now Mobil. General Jacob Wolters who was head of the National Guard for many years . . . Camp Wolters in Mineral Wells is named for him . . . was with the Texas Company, and a Judge Melson, I forget his initials, whose residence in Sulphur Springs was with Gulf, and they spear-headed the oil lobby which was quite influential in the legislature. They were well known by the membership.

So far as the utilities was concerned, the Telephone company's main lobbyist were Jeff Strickland of San Antonio, and Bailey English of Dallas. Later Jeff's brother, referred to as Judge Strickland generally, became quite a controversial figure as a regent of the University of Texas. They were very different in practically every respect. Jeff was a likeable, outgoing, square

shooter. He was well respected by everyone. The "judge" really living in his shadow. He just didn't have what it takes to succeed a man like Jeff. Jeff also represented Interstate Theaters --free passes to all legislators.

W. B. Head along with Bill Ratliff and Jack Harris probably were the most influential in public utilities. Mr. Head was vice president of Electric Bond and Share, having come up through the Texas Power and Light development. The gas lobby was headed up by Chester May who had migrated in here from the midwest to McKinney and began as a meter reader, actually, for Lone Star and moved on up and finally at his retirement was executive vice president. Associated closely with him was Warren Collins, an attorney for the gas industry, nicknamed Rip Collins. His father was J. J. Collins, longtime and beloved city attorney of Dallas. These probably represented, as I recall, some of the most important lobbyists at that particular time; it certainly does include a number of others.

I think probably one of the most powerful men in the legislature was the Secretary of the Senate. Bob Barker of Fort Worth had been clerk of the House and had been moved over to secretary of the Senate and had a great deal of influence with the senators and with the members of the House because of his knowledge of procedure and his longtime contact with the lobby. It's interesting that many times Mr. Barker only went through the motion of calling the roll for votes because he knew how everybody was

going to vote or how they should vote, and many times senators absent for weeks were voted where no criticism was ever levied. I think someone would be very interested in looking into Barker's position. It would be somewhat difficult to actually explain the influence that he had in the legislature. In fact at that time Louise Snow Finney was Chief Clerk of the House. She had succeeded her husband who was later known as General Finney of Dallas, a big transportation lawyer and politico. He had been an assistant to Governor Dan Moody. At this time he was 'cooling' from a heat scandal. Actually Mr. Barker exercised a great deal of influence over Mrs. Finney. A good illustration of that is while I was the assistant reading clerk, a messenger, the House passed a tax on sulphur for the first time that sulphur had been taxed. I believe it carried about fifty or fifty-five cents, I can't remember, on the ton. And, by the way, the lobby for the sulphur interests was headed up by Roy Miller who later moved on to Washington and his son, Dale, is now the representative of the Chamber of Commerce of Dallas at Washington. I don't know what else he represented, but their headquarters were in Corpus Christi. Politically they were very strong in South Texas; I don't think Mr. Miller exerted much influence statewide except through members of the legislature that he had probably aided in their campaigns, but he had a close relationship with Clara Driskill, the patron saint in a sense financially of the Democratic Party of Texas for many years. She was also known as Clara Driskill Sevier, having married Hal Sevier

(later divorced him), a very wealthy woman that did patronize the Democratic Party come hell or high water. Hal was an alcoholic and would appear drunk as a skunk in appearance before the Texas Legislature.

On this instance after it had passed the House, the chief clerk locked the tax bill on sulphur in the safe in her office and left town. It was getting near the end of the session, and the delay was an important legislative move. So she had instructed me under no conditions to transmit the bill, and these orders I'm sure came from Bob Barker. The author and proponents of the tax bill became quite worried and concerned and instructed me to transmit the bill over there. I hesitated to do it and asked the speaker about it, a Mr. Barron of Brazos County, and he said, "By all means, transmit it." I never will forget walking in the doors of the Senate and saying, "Mr. President, a messenger from the House," and reading out the number of that bill and the caption which is the way you present it to the Senate. I think some of the senators like to have had a stroke, and Mr. Barker reprimanded me strongly and asked me by what authority I had brought the bill over there. I also caught hell from Percy Forman, Reading Clerk, who is now the famous trial lawyer. So this story illustrates some of the power that some of the employees actually carried in those days, because this was the beginning of the time where the secretary of the Senate and the chief clerk later were full-time employees and were the contact point when sessions were over and the interim needed a source for

people to get informal legislation done. A lot of the people that I had met including Governor Dan Moody and ex-Governor Pat Neff (Pat M. Neff), men like Tom Ball who had ran unsuccessfully against the Fergusons, and, also, Mr. and Mrs. Ferguson, were among a number of well-known state politicians that I met as a youngster during those particular days.

Mr. Minor had decided to retire from the House and not engage in politics. He had been petitioned to run for Congress and had a great deal of encouragement, in fact I think he would have been elected from this district, but as he expressed to me he liked the law and he was a lawyer; if he went to Congress and sometime had to drop out he would be a lawyer without a practice, and he'd rather practice law.

So it left the representative's job open from Denton County. I was a resident of Lewisville in Denton County and had been a student at North Texas State University and had known President R. L. Marquis and most of the faculty. One day I was in the county, in fact, in Denton, and Dr. Marquis sent for me and I came by his office. He asked me to run for the legislature. I didn't feel that I could or should. I had actually thought about it prior to that time, and so I told him that I couldn't run--or didn't want to-- and I thought that had closed the issue. I had visited around Denton some during the day and got home later in the evening. When I walked in my father greeted me with the statement that "Why didn't you tell me that you were running for the legislature?"

And I told him: "I'm not. I told some folks in Denton that I was not running," and, therefore, just wasn't. So he handed me the Denton paper, and I had announced on the front page of the Denton paper and had actually stated some of the things I believed in. This was written by someone who has never admitted writing it, but I rather think that Dr. Marquis actually wrote it. There were two or three others involved I later found out. So my father asked me what I was going to do, and I said, "Well, try to win it, I guess."

There had already been announced for the office Ex-Senator James R. Wiley, a man who had been senator from this district who was originally from Montague County. During the campaign I certainly referred to him as the senator from Montague since Denton County was the only one voting in the legislative race. James R. Wiley, a very distinguished lawyer, a very capable land lawyer who has just retired (1967) by the way at ninety odd years old from practice, (his daughter was a very distinguished member of the TWU faculty), and a man by the name of Mr. F. M. Groves who was an accountant in Denton, who had worked for various city firms-- probably his main political strength was the fact that he was very active, if I'm permitted to say, in the Masonic Lodge, and I found this to be quite a help in the campaign: that he somehow visited all the lodges in the county which I was not permitted to do. As a result of some of the comments I made about that, I've never been invited to join the Masonic Lodge. Well, I'll take that back. J. W. Pender, head of the Government Department here for many years,

one time said he would be very pleased to take my application. This was just a sidelight of where religion and fraternalism may enter into a campaign, even though the fraternity or the church might not endorse somebody. Mr. Groves was a fine gentleman and quite an orator of the old school.

It was a rather lively and bitter campaign. I was young, and on my literature that I published, the masthead of it was: "Not too old, not too young." I faced up to my age situation. During this campaign I received some financial aid in the form of literature, and in those days you had a tire on the back of your car with a tire cover. I had political covers which were furnished by S. I. Self Motor Company. Dr. Marquis and some others had paid for some printing. Outside of that my father and I bore the brunt of the campaign expenses, over \$1,000, which ran really more than you would anticipate in a small race like this. I was elected in the first primary, carrying all the boxes, very happily, except three in the county, losing seven votes in my hometown of Lewisville, where I had taught school at Hebron, losing three votes, which made me feel very good. The next Monday after the election I had a call from Dallas, a company asking me if I would represent them up here, and I told them I was not an attorney and refused. Also my mail picked up; congratulations from people I knew like Jeff Strickland of the telephone company and Jack Dies' Oil Company, Jake Wolters and W. B. Head and others. The Dallas call was from W. L. Thornton, later mayor of Dallas and a good friend of mine.

The local editor of the paper also contacted me that week, Bob Edwards, and asked me if I would like to go down to the Gulf fishing, that he was going fishing down on the Gulf, and suggested I needed a vacation. So I had a few days off and although I realized what he really was talking about I don't think he realized I did. I went down on a fishing trip in his car. The place that we went was out at New Gulf, Texas, where there was very adequate and palatial quarters furnished us, a yacht later on the Gulf. We were the guest of Roy Miller of Texas Gulf Sulphur. There were also five or six other representatives, Charlie Cannon of Bonham and others from this area who were down there, and we were turned over to an old friend of mine who had been one of Billy Disch's baseball heroes at the University of Texas, "Pint" Webb, who later succeeded Roy Miller as head of the sulphur lobby. And so we were wined, dined and aided in our fishing for some three or four days down there without any politics being mentioned, anything other than seeing how sulphur is mined and the "great problems and expenses" that are involved and how much they contributed to the development of the state. This sort of thing, with other people, companies, etc. continued from July on up in to January when we came into session. This did serve one good purpose. I met many members I had not known.

I think I had an advantage over a lot of new members, and this was a session in which there had been a great turnover in the membership--I wish I had the statistics. This was in the heart of

the depression, 1933 election, people were talking about throwing them out and were quite discontent. It also was a young man's session; there were so many young men, men in their early twenties. Many later became quite prominent professionally and politically. In fact one man I remember wasn't old enough to be sworn in for about thirty days after the session began. Such men as Robert Anderson who later was Secretary of the Navy and Secretary of the Treasury was from a little town of Godley down in Johnson County was one of the new members. One of the vice presidents of the Austin National Bank now and one now vice chairman of the Board of Texas Oil Company, any number of bright young men came to the legislature in that session, and we gained quite a reputation. Later we rather divided into two different groups, one more liberal than the other, but it was a young man's session and a great deal of inexperience, I'm sure, was exhibited. It was a very hectic session in the sense that protocol and rules and things didn't bother us too much.

Probably I should make some comment here that we had a presidential race on in the year that I first ran in 1932. In 1932 Roosevelt and Texan Garner ran and of course, they were very popular. I offered my services in the campaign, being rather brash I wrote directly to Jim Farley, National Committee Chairman, and had a response from him and was given some assignments as a result. My name was carried during the Roosevelt Administration on a list of helpers and workers, and when Roosevelt made his trip to Dallas later I received a telegram officially inviting me to sit on the

platform with him. I still have the telegram. It was the first time I had seen him. This was a very interesting thing to me, because prior to this time, as it later developed, I had a friend who was very close to Roosevelt, Mr. Harry Hopkins, that I had met a number of years before while he was a welfare worker, and this gave me an entree that really if I had taken more advantage of politically, I could have had influence at the Washington level. Harry, the Hop, is another story. One thing I'll mention. He always drank hot tea and rum--half and half. Also during his campaign for governor, we had a race between Mrs. Miriam A. Ferguson and her husband, Jim Ferguson, against the incumbent, Ross S. Sterling and they defeated him. He was a one-term governor, had been one of the organizers and developers of the Humble Oil Company. Sterling, called "Fat Boy" really could hardly read and write. He was rather an illiterate person in a sense, he was a country merchant who made a fortune in oil and done a good job as Chairman of the Highway Commission for Moody and had Moddy's support for governor and was elected in the campaign of '30.

Sterling, of course, is legendary in many ways in the state and I can tell a very interesting story in fact I might relate two of them to show what the press did to him, in a way. It's said that he went hunting out in western hills of . . . hills west of Austin and got out there and found that he had left his favorite gun in Austin and it's told by the press who were along that he got on the country telephone and finally got the mansion in Austin,

and they couldn't hear him well. He said, "I want my gun! Gun! 'G' as in 'Jesus,' 'U' as in 'onion,' 'N' as in 'pneumonia' . . . Gun!" Also, during his campaign with the Ferguson's, he was capitalizing on a fact that there had been some discoveries of embezzlement and misapplication of funds at the county level--a particular sheriff as I recall, maybe in Lee County or somewhere--and any speech they had written for him recited his efforts to clean up these things. And one of the words used was the word "perjury." But the old man not being able to handle multi-syllable words would reach that point and say, "And what did that sheriff do? He purged himself." And being a rather obstinate, egotistical old man, even those close to him hesitated correcting him.

Bob Stewart was an attorney in Fort Worth and had been in the State Senate and active politically and had been attorney for the Texas Teachers Association. And by-the-way, a brother-in-law of R. L. Marquis, the president of this college at that time, was traveling with him in this area of the state and making a thirty or forty-minute speech while they let him make a ten or fifteen-minute speech and they had spoken at Decatur and came across to Denton. And I was down on the Denton square where they . . . the court house square where they spoke and I saw Bob. Bob started laughing and called me off. He said, "The old man purged that sheriff again over at Decatur." And he said, "I got up nerve enough coming over here to say to him, 'Now Governor, if you won't get so angry with me, in your speech,'" he said, "'you been

purging this sheriff down there in Lee County, and you're going to kill him if you don't quit purging him.' And he said, ' Well, what did he do?'" Bob said, "Well, he perjured himself--per-jured." Bob practiced that word with him coming over from Decatur. The governor finally asked, "What does that mean?" And Bob told him it meant that he lied. So later in the speech on the square at Denton the old man reached that point and I was waiting for it and he reached it and he said, "And what did that sheriff down there in that county do?" "He pe . . . He lied!" He never was able to master the word "perjury." So this was a very interesting campaign.

There was probably no more dramatic speakers than Jim Ferguson could handle crowds. And, of course, at this period of political history, you still had large turnouts of people physically because television wasn't available and radio was actually in its infancy--primitive--and so crowds would gather. In fact, I have spoken in a town such as Aubrey when fifteen, sixteen hundred people would gang in there for a political . . . political meeting. It was a social occasion, an outlet for people to do some visiting. Mr. Ferguson had stumped up and down the state taking advantage of the fact of the depression and people's discontent. And I remember two of his speeches--parts of them that might be interesting. In one of his speeches he said, "The other day, Mrs. Ferguson and I were riding down the road." Or probably he said, "On the way here, to this speech." As we

approached a place down the road, we saw people walking and riding horses and mules and wagons, T model cars, going into a farm. And as we approached we were listening as the man was saying, 'Going, going, gone' as the place was sold out from under the ownership. And I turned to Mrs. Ferguson, my wife, Mr. Ferguson, and I said, 'Mrs. Ferguson, if we are elected Governor of Texas, this shall never happen!' And, of course, this is the thing that brought about "pour-it-on-them-Jim" and welded the people to him in his campaign. He also . . . he always, very frankly, supported issues that he felt he should. He was a teetotaler himself, in fact, he didn't even smoke.

And his wife was very, very bitter so far as liquor was concerned, and yet both of them had been ardent anti-prohibitionists during all their political career. One of the speeches that I think was typical of him and his drama was that he reached a point in his speech, he said, "Now, let's talk about something pleasant--liquor." And he took a step or two backwards and he said, "But first, I must tell you a story." He said, "Down at Belton, where I come from, the other day they arrested a man for selling liquor, arraigned him in court for trial." And he announced to the public . . . of course, I can't actually duplicate his speech, and the drama, and the words he used and the way people reacted to it. But Jim would say, announced, 'I am going to open my books and I'm going to show who my customers were.' And worry has been prevalent since that announcement in Belton because people

involved would be embarrassed in this sort of a thing. Then Jim would say, "My good people, don't you worry." And he reached in his pocket and pulled out a Western Union telegram. "I just received a telegram from 'Case dismissed.'" This sort of thing dramatized the hypocrisy that went on in the liquor traffic and the use of it in this state. My father had always been a prohibitionist and had encouraged me. But at this time, he said to me, "The time has come to repeal it." And I . . . I subsequently voted for the repeal and as a result got an opponent, a Methodist minister in the next campaign, primarily this and the fact that I voted for parimutuel betting as a rider on the agriculture bill.

Also I think and more important, maybe, I should recite the . . . some of the practices involved in electing a speaker. This is true that as far back as I know, the governors have always concerned themselves with the man who would be speaker and have always in one way or the other, intervened in the campaign. In this particular race, the governor had a candidate from Carrizo Springs that represented probably the anti-Ferguson element. Mr. Minor was anti-Ferguson and had worked hard to try to re-elect Mr. Sterling and it was generally this group that felt that they might succeed in blocking Ferguson if they could get a speaker elected. So the other candidate was a member of the legislature that I had known as I had Mr. A. P. Johnson--the 'governor candidate.' Mr. Johnson was a very sincere and dedicated person.

The other candidate was also from out in the general west

area, Coke R. Stevenson, a young lawyer from Junction who I also had known as a member of the legislature while I was working down there, and now as a colleague. Mr. Stevenson appealed to me more personally as an individual. He seemed to be to me a more capable person. He was more concerned with me as an employee and probably more friendly. I got to know him a lot better. But I had the pressure brought on me by what might be called the "Oak Street Crowd" in Denton, Mr. Minor, Mr. Bob Edwards, and others that were really big in the political hierarchy of Denton, to vote for Mr. Johnson. After surveying the thing pretty well, to be frankly honest, I wanted to vote for Mr. Stevenson; I felt he would be the better speaker and possibly that I would be in better shape as far as appointments and committee assignments. And a further factor that if you vote for the winning speaker, you do get a better shake and I had ascertained in my own mind that Mr. Stevenson would be elected. So these two factors, to be honest, I felt he would be a better speaker, but second and certainly important, I felt that he was going to be elected and I wanted to be "in" instead of "out." So I voted for Mr. Stevenson against pressure and advice of most of my political friends and certainly the power structure in my district.

This was a very dramatic election--as it always is--because some people will sign both petitions and support both speakers right up to and through the election, thinking they can ride the fence and be in a favorable position--they rarely ever fool

anybody. (The vote is secret) So we decided that we ought to do something to identify Stevenson supporters on the day the session elected the speaker. Fay Stevenson, one of the most gracious women I have ever known, and most charming woman--and certainly an asset to Stevenson and I think an asset that he misses a great deal since her early and untimely death, when he was later governor,--decided that red carnations worn in the lapel would be a good thing so we all wore red carnations. And I remember very well Mr. Johnson and a number of his lieutenants when they began to count the carnations; it was very obvious that he was defeated. He was a very sensitive man, Mr. Johnson, actually this defeat hurt him so badly; he wasn't a well man. It really broke his heart so to speak.

In those days we didn't start as early as we do now in the speaker's race. Course, right now, they're already talking about who will be the speaker two sessions away and it's got to be where you campaign four years before you run for speaker. But at that time it usually developed in the prior session. The men that showed strength were able to gain support and they didn't visit around all over the state and contact members. The lobby was always interested and participated in the campaign. Sometimes the 'lobby' split and that was fun. The members were contacted by mutual friends or by letter or things of that sort. It was not quite the long, drawn-out campaign that it is now. Certainly after having gone through three speaker's races--and I was with the

winning side three consecutive times. No commitments were actually made to any individual, but it was generally understood what you would get. Of course, it might come to a contest between individuals wanting chairmanships, but those things are pretty well resolved. I know that I got . . . for instance, the main appointment I wanted was on the Appropriations Committee, which was the finance committee of the House. I felt that with the two educational institutions in Denton, with an experiment station and those sort of things, I needed to be on it. That was by first choice and I got it. I was interested in criminology and I got on the old penitentiary committee which has been changed. In other words, I got the committee assignments I wanted. Of course, as a freshman, I was not considered as ready for a chairmanship, but in my second term on the re-election of Mr. Stevenson as speaker, the second time, he called me in immediately after the election and said, "I would like for you to take the chairmanship of the Municipal and Private Corporations." That was one of the committee assignments I had had, by-the-way, because Denton was a municipally-owned power utility and we were all utility conscious in Denton and I wanted on that. In fact, that was three major committees that I was on by the virtue of being on the winning side. So I took the chairmanship in that second term of the Municipal and Private Corporations Committee, before which most corporate business came. And then also was appointed in my third term again as chairman of that committee by Mr. Robert Calvert who

is now Chief Justice of the Texas Supreme Court. Actually I was in position, as I'll disclose later, to have had most any appointment I wanted, but I was interested in that field.

I introduced on two occasions, two sessions, a state utility commission bill and even as chairman, as I have told my classes here at North Texas, that even as chairman of this Municipal and Private Corporations Committee, I didn't get the bill out of the committee the first time and the second time. I did get it out of committee later, but could never get it up on the floor. I had the all-out opposition of the public utilities, which is some influence and then I had the opposition of the few co-operatives that were developing, who did not want to be included and were fearful that if we had the commission they would be included. And then also, actually, my own city opposed me because of municipalities that had publicly owned power. This is the main issue: They did not want a state commission for fear that they would be included as they were in some states. So really I had no chance to have actually . . . pass it. Since the Railroad Commission regulates the gas industry to some extent, I tried to get the telephone and power companies under the Railroad Commission, knowing that I had no chance at all.

Probably this developed some of the deepest scars that I developed in my service in the legislature because some of my friends in power and telephone utilities were quite upset with my trying to do this sort of reform. In fact, I was walking down the

street on sixth street between the Driskill and the Stephen F. Austin Hotel and was walking along with Roy Coffee who was general counsel for the Lone Star Gas Company at that time. It just happened to be that we were walking down the street and we met Jeff Strickland, chief lobbyist for the telephone company. And he stopped and accused Roy of influencing me and getting me . . . well he really lost his head. He got emotional and Roy bristled up and they started to go to, as we said, "fist city" and have a fight right there on the streets of Austin. I separated them and tried to shame them, told Jeff he knew damn well that no one had dictated to me to do that. He later apologized and said he knew I wasn't a tool of the gas interest. You see gas was already partially regulated. So, well, anyway I'm getting off on utility legislation, but I was . . . should have been in as good a position as anybody by being chairman of the committee though it didn't help much.

Well back to this speaker's race. I think in a sense, the speaker of the House has about as much power, literally, as anyone in the state government. Certainly the lieutenant governor has a great deal of power, but this power is dependent upon thirty-one men which is fewer men. And a very small group of that can pretty well gain position where they might dictate to the lieutenant governor what he must do or not do. Because you realize two-thirds vote is needed on many things and even a third of the group can have a great deal of influence over appointments and what legislation comes up. As I said before, for many years many of these

decisions were made by Bob Barker. He would frankly tell somebody, "You'll never get your damn bill up." And this was done at a time when we had strong lieutenant governors like Barry Miller, one of the strongest . . . Lynch Davidson and others that were lawyers or businessmen of some consequence.

The speaker of the House then, of course, had complete direction of referring bills to committees, and providing for calendars for bringing bills up. The rules committee wasn't used at that time. For instance, right on this campus where we're sitting now, the library building that we have over here which is now inadequate, we had only one floor of the old historical building over here--the library--and we needed a library badly. And in those days we had to get a direct appropriation. And we finally . . . well late in the session, largely through the persistence of Dr. Jack Johnson, longtime chairman, Economics Department, and Graduate Dean. W. J. McConnell, the president, gave the go-ahead signal to try to get the library appropriation. I think, as I recall, we were funded and with matching PWA funds, were able to build an adequate library--more than adequate for the time.

In the Senate, which is a close-knit group, which can, as I say, do most anything. Senator Grady Woodruff of Decatur was the senator from this district. I talked to Grady and he said, "Well, I'll get it on through over here. I've got a bunch of obligations . . . a bunch of people obligated to me over here. I haven't

asked them to try to do much this session. I'll get it on out and get it over to the House and then maybe you can get the Senate bill through, rather than both of us trying." So he did that, was able to do it, and got it over to the House. Well it ran into a lot of difficulty. The arch-opponent, actually, of it was A. M. Aiken from Paris, Texas, now . . . still a very prominent senator . . . influential man. And to illustrate what extent you will go to try to do something, I called the . . . ran into A. M. and his wife Welma, both of whom I'm very, very . . . still very, very fond of, and I said, "Welma, do you know what A. M.'s trying to do to me?" She said, "No. Well, if he's trying to do something to you, why I'll take it up with him." We joked a little bit and A. M. said, "What are you talking about?" I said, "Well, I'm intending on running for the Senate and Senator Woodruff has gotten a library (chuckle) bill through the Senate and you are opposing me in the appropriations committee and holding it up and I can't get it out." I said, "Now, who are you for?" Aiken was in the House. "Are you for Woodruff for senator or Hyder?" And he said, "If you put it that way, I'm for Hyder." And the next meeting of the (chuckle) appropriations committee, he made the motion to pass the bill out. As a result, it came out unanimously. After the committee session was over that night, he called me off to the side and said, "Now I reserve the right to vote against you on the floor." (Laughter)

So it came out on the floor, but it probably had several

hundred bills ahead of it. And it was getting at the end of the session, in fact, we had to what we call the seventy-four hour law . . . rule. We had to suspend it to even get the bill up finally. I went to the speaker, my friend Coke Stevenson, and told Coke, I said, "I'm in a jam. The folks at home and I am interested and how can I get this danged ole bill up?" He said, "Well, I can help you. I'll put it out on the desk. Some morning, we'll just ask for unanimous approval while everybody's milling and reading the paper and everything. If there's no objection, why it will be up. And then it's up to you." So one morning the situation looked good; everybody was milling and talking and reading the papers and opening their mail, and I went up and I said, "Try it." And he said, "All right, one time." So he . . . I had lined up a floor leader, several leaders; among them W. O. Reed, who was later to be speaker, of Dallas and others like that. I was only worried about one member and he was for it. He was a rather erratic member from . . . had been an ex-student of this college from Fort Worth, named Clarence E. Farmer. He was well known as an erratic . . . sincere, but erratic person and he wanted to make a speech for it if it ever came up, and I didn't want any speeches. So I got Reed to go engage him in conversation, to be sure he was busy. Coke in a low voice, with his pipe in his mouth, said, "Well, . . . if there is objection to the motion There is none." And he hit the gavel and I stepped up with him and he said, "You want to explain the bill?" I said, "No . . . not explain it,

I just want to amend the rules." We amended the rules as silently as we could, and we passed it on through. And I doubt . . . by voice vote . . . that over ten people even knew the bill passed, and they were my 'floor' leaders. Now this may not sound good, but this is a method that is used. And an interesting thing, it wasn't forty minutes 'til the House hung up for the day on a five hundred dollar supplementary appropriation for the prison system. And you can see that things can happen when people get aroused or get interested or concerned about something.

Anyway, this will illustrate another relationship between members and loyalty to one another . . . even though you might oppose issues like Aiken and I generally worked together. He was interested in public education; he was not interested in college education. Subsequently, he . . . his speeches, in recent years have said that college teachers don't work enough . . . "my neighbor in Paris is mowing the lawn at two o'clock in the afternoon while I am trying to make a living" and things of that sort. But generally, he went along with us on higher education, but certainly we had this personal relationship that you might oppose one another, but you put your arm around one another and drink coffee together, things of that sort. But not to often do you develop any real animosity . . . personal animosity. Sometimes if they did develop . . . this story illustrates the relationship of the member who is a friend and close in with the speaker, and what the speaker can do for you, and the power that the speaker has.

In those days, and I think still, the speakers committee was called state affairs . . . which I never served on . . . and usually if the speaker had a pet bill, he would, irrespective of where it should have been referred would be directed to the State Affairs Committee. As a result, usually the campaign manager, if he wanted it, or one very close to the speaker, was Chairman of the State Affairs Committee. And then the State Affairs Committee was made up of predominantly close friends of the speaker, but because of my involvement in appropriations and corporate legislation and other things, I never made any efforts . . . in fact I didn't want on a hot spot that was no interest to me. So, the only hot spot that I did ask for which seems like a minor committee was the Contingent Expense Committee, a small committee of five, but it controls expenditures, allotments, and records of the members of the legislature. And I had observed in previous sessions that I had worked in, before I was a member, of members drawing large amounts of stamps and selling them, buying law books for their library. One member went down on Congress Avenue and traded stamps for a suit of clothes, and this sort of a thing is bad for a legislative situation when you have a few people that would do that. Remember it was depression days and legislators only were paid per diem. And I did ask for that hot spot and as a result cut out a lot of unnecessary expenditures by just raising the issue and questioning. It didn't make me too popular for a little while with the people. We started something that has continued

into the present time to distinguish between whether members pay for something--for instance, stationary--or whether it is furnished by the state. There is printed on it, "Do not print at the expense of the state." My stationary was the first in the history. I had to advertise 'cause I had taken that position, that stationary used for personal purposes was paid for by the member and not by the . . . by the state. This actually spread to the Congress. Of course, we were innocents abroad as we look at the contingent expenses now of the . . . both the House and the Senate and the many junket trips and things. Any junkets that we took were on our own expense generally or on the expense of those that were sponsoring the junkets. If we went to Texas Western, El Paso, or if we went to Denton, North Texas, to look at the colleges on the junket trips why the Chamber of Commerce of the local town furnished the transportation and entertainment and things of that sort. Of course, expenses for investigations were paid by the state. By-the-way, I was secretary to the investigating committee while I was a clerk in the legislature that investigated the Texas penitentiary at the time that Dan Moody said it wasn't 'fit for a dog.' And I agree with him. The facilities and the whole approach to the penal problem was bad. I received my compensation from the legislature, but transportation was furnished by the prison system. In other words, they came to Austin in cars with convict drivers and picked us up and carried us there and fed us and housed us; and they . . . any incidental expenditures were our

own. This is changed considerably because now one of the things that a speaker and a lieutenant governor uses often to reward members that introduce investigating resolutions or interim committee. They are appointed on the committee and adequate funds are provided. When I first worked in the legislature, you had a sixty day session and the compensation for a member was five dollars a day . . . yes, five dollars a day. And if it ran over the sixty days on a special session, the pay for a member was two dollars a day. During that time, in other words, Mr. Minor, a member of the House and then later speaker received five dollars pay. At the time I was making seven dollars and fifty cents as an employee because it was not constitutionally set and the House could set the pay. Of course, they were paid mileage one way--one trip--which didn't amount to anything. I think Fred got twenty some-odd dollars or something like that out of it from Denton. And then later, while he was still drawing five dollars a day when I moved up to assistant reading clerk, I got ten dollars a day. Of course, the person probably more responsible for waking the people to that situation was Walter Woodul, who was a member of the Senate and lieutenant governor, and a member of North Texas University Board of Regents. He made raising the pay of the legislators and the governor his own crusade saying, "I don't want any other political office. I'm not concerned. I want to get this thing straightened out." He had married into the family that owned Imperial Sugar, and as a wealthy man, had a lot of money to

spend on a campaign. He was primarily responsible for getting the pay situation straightened out.

Back a few minutes ago in talking about the introduction of bills for a state commission . . . regulatory commission for utilities, I referred to opposition from the public utilities, municipalities that owned their own particular power and co-operatives that were beginning to develop. I meant the private investor owned utilities, when I said the public utilities. And that ought to clarify that, I think. Also I might relate that it was thirty-six years later that I learned that the mayor of Denton tried to get 'a good man' to oppose me for re-election because of my efforts to get a regulatory bill.

I served as a member of the legislature three terms as I referred to before, before I voluntarily retired. My second race came in 1934. At that time I had opposition again for re-election and largely on the basis of the issues that had come up in the previous session, something that I'll discuss a little bit later. We had submitted the repeal of prohibition to the voters of Texas. As a rider on the agricultural appropriation on the departmental bill, a provision was placed levying a tax on parimutuel betting in order to buy foundation stock for breeding purposes to propagate better horses in this state and I had voted for that. Those two issues primarily were the issues that I had to face in the '34 campaign. But I didn't have, irrespective of the fact that my opponent was a fine man, a good man, what you'd call formidable

political opposition. If I'd had probably a younger man, a more active man and one who was a little more politically astute, I would have had a little more trouble, but as it was I didn't have much trouble.

I probably should comment on the fact that the attorney general during my first session was Mr. Allred, Jimmy Allred, who had been district attorney at Wichita Falls. By-the-way, this reminds me, his son David, I noticed was elected to the legislature from Wichita Falls. Mr. Allred had made an unsuccessful race for attorney general prior to this time. He had been appointed as district attorney in Wichita Falls by Pat M. Neff to fill a vacancy. The mayor of Wichita Falls was alleged to have killed a young man that was the suitor of his daughter and it was well publicized. In fact, Mrs. Collier who was the wife of the man who was alleged to have committed the murder was referred to as 'Lady MacBeth' and it was played up dramatically all over the state. And this, of course, made Allred's name a state-wide name.

Then he picked up the issue of running chain stores out of the country—prohibiting chain stores. And he campaigned up and down the state between his unsuccessful race and his successful race, keeping his name before the public. He was known as a liberal and this, of course, attracted the one group in the state who felt that some hope for the state was in changing the leadership. Successful in his second race for attorney general, he made a good record. Then he was elected governor to succeed the

Fergusons and I would say, a very popular election . . . a very popular man, young, energetic, driving . . . had, of course, the support of some of the primary interests of the state, but in most instances it was support from men who, though they were involved in the oil industry, had some social concepts and were willing for him, probably, to go ahead and do . . . sponsor some things that otherwise some of the older groups would not have gone along with him. Men like J. R. Parten of Houston, for example.

He, of course, being very energetic and driving and very concerned about what posterity would say about him, and thus was concerned about who would be the speaker of the House. And so he actually chose and endorsed a candidate for the speakership and threw the whole force of his personality and . . . threw the entire weight of his office and all of those that were in his political camp, including one Denton man, Elbert Hooper, who had been one of his assistants. One of his secretaries was 'cousin' Ed Clark later to be prominent in LBJ's successes. I don't believe I've ever had as much pressure applied to me on anything as it was applied to me in that campaign. Mr. Stevenson had decided to run for re-election and this was rather unique at that time in the history of the state that a speaker would succeed himself. So it was sort of a precedent-breaking thing.

Mr. Stevenson had worked close with the Fergusons. Mr. Stevenson, as I have laughingly told him, working with him, was a liberal of the 1900 variety and, of course, the real liberal of the 30's were opposed to him and his seeking re-election as speaker.

Mr. Allred tried to see each member personally, he put personal pressure on us, the pressure again came from Denton county. Practically every man (chuckle) I knew or had met, sent letters, telegrams, made visits, or telephone calls with pressure on me to vote with Allred . . . vote with Allred. And I stood my ground and supported Stevenson in the race and we again wore our carnations and defeated Mr. Allred's speaker. Now this did not help me politically with Mr. Allred. As a result, I was never close to Mr. Allred, but I would say this, that I haven't . . . was never treated discourteously. In fact, he did me some favors; this I probably ought to talk about in relationship with governors later, but for instance, one of the Ramey boys here in town whose father had the insurance agency, was interested in getting the state insurance department and learning the business. Later we were to go on to an executive position with an insurance company in Houston. I frankly told Seth Ramey, that I didn't know whether I could have any influence but I would try. And I tried two or three times to see Mr. Allred and I guess about the third time I tried . . . and Ed Clark who later developed to be one of the powerhouses politically in this state, had been Allred's assistant attorney general.

Ed finally told me, "Hydah," in that St. Augustine way (chuckle), "Ah'm gonna see that the Governah sees you right now." The governor had someone in conference so he took me around behind where the iron stairway goes from the governor's office downstairs

or upstairs. He said, "Stand right heah." And in a minute Allred opened the door and walked out there and very nicely said, "Bull, what can I do? What do you want here? Ed told me to get out here that you wanted something." And I told him and he said, "I don't know whether there's a vacancy over there in the Insurance Department or not." I said, "There is." He said, "Well, all right." And he just left the door open and stepped in and picked up the telephone and he came back out and said, "Tell the boy to go over there." So Seth got his job. So it wasn't all enmity between Mr. Allred, but I certainly was not invited to the mansion for dinner. In fact, he invited some twenty-odd young members including R. B. Anderson, Manly Head, and Joe Wells, and that group over for dinner. And the placemat . . . not the placemat, the card . . . what do you call them? . . . place cards were lieutenant colonel commissions on the governor's staff. We had a great deal of sport in referring to all that group of colonels--questioning their legitimacy. Back to the race. This was a very bitter race, and many of us were fearful it would cause cleavages in the legislature that would hamper transaction of business, and that it would be such an open wedge between the governor and the speaker that much would not be . . . couldn't be accomplished.

But I give Mr. Stevenson credit for this--that he was Speaker of the House and he had his own ideas, had some of his own programs, but truthfully, maybe I'm prejudiced, it could not be said that he in any way sabotaged or held back on Mr. Allred's program.

Mr. Allred, being a very personable person, visited the House floor quite often, mixed among the members, sat around with them when he had some time . . . which I doubt any governor had done before . . . come sit by your desk, and listen and talk to you. And some of the bitter anti-Allred people objected to this and wanted to exclude him. And I know that Mr. Stevenson sat down on them. He had some influence with that group, of course, and sat down on them, and said, "No, he's governor of the state and as long as I'm speaker, he can come and go as he pleases." So there wasn't any great enmity between the two men . . . no love, but no great enmity between the two men. Well, anyway, this was a rather hectic speaker's race.

The Allred candidate for speaker, I'm sorry I didn't include that, was a young man from Hillsboro, and this might be currently interesting. Mr. Calvert . . . R. M. Calvert was a boy who grew up in the Corsicana Home, or home for children or whatever it's called now, then it was called Corsicana Orphans Home . . . State Home. And he's always referred to it as his home, was very proud of it, and I remember the old superintendent there was very proud of him. His home nativity being Hill County and Hillsboro . . . when he started off to college not having any money . . . a man in Hillsboro knowing . . . knowing his family in the past, more or less sponsored him and aided him. And his name was Senator Will Martin and . . . Will Martin, an attorney and senator later . . . or senator at that time that I was in the legislature. He was the

father of Crawford Martin, the present attorney general. A brilliant young man . . . I don't think Allred could have been picked, a young man, that would have been a better man than Bob Calvert. He's now Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in Texas. Bob Calvert would have made a good speaker, inexperienced in a sense, but I think he probably would have done a good job, but political alignments and obligations, and the way I viewed the thing, I had to go in the face of, again, the primary pressures of the power structure in my district, and vote against him; I hoped it would work out all right, which it did because I ran again and was elected.

I might go on also and comment on the third speaker's race in which I was involved. And that was the race . . . that would be '36, wouldn't it? During the session that we've just been talking about, I exerted a little more leadership and was a little more active and generally known, both in the House and Senate, and among other leaders of the state. And some of my friends in the House . . . you've heard this so much in politics . . . my friends asked me to run for the speakership. Actually I was hesitant about running for speaker, didn't actually have too much of an ambition to be the speaker. But some of my friends, and generally the nucleus to begin with was the young people that I had been associating with the whole time . . . men like J. Doyle Settles of Lubbock, Reed Harris and Parkhouse of Dallas, Dunlap, and Hayes are good examples. I'm using his name because I want to use it a little later. But it developed right offhand we were able to muster

thirty-three firm commitments and some tentative. The other two candidates were Emmett Morse, a very conservative person, his tax and spending, but socially a very liberal person, was running for speaker, and later was elected, subsequently in another session. And again, Mr. Allred being governor . . . ran Mr. Calvert. I think that there had been a reaction set in somewhat to Allred, you know, that usually comes in the second session, but there had been a reaction set in which was quite typical in those days and after a man has served one term, he's going to serve another term, and that was it, generally, that the people. . . . Well, the honeymoon was over, you know. The first hundred days was past. And so Allred didn't have . . . probably he wasn't able to carry through on all of his promises to some of the members that he'd made in the previous campaign.

Mr. Morse was developing some strength unknown to us exactly, Mr. Calvert, knew what support he had to start with. We knew about what we had and it looked as if we might be cutting our (Calvert and Hyder) own throats. And Mr. Allred, personally, had requested that I drop out of the race and, of course, that only made us a little more determined at that point. And, of course, his friends again . . . pressure was on for me to drop out. Brent Jackson, a lawyer in Denton whose son is a lawyer here now--Hal, later a member of the House--and Fred Minor paid me a visit, I remember those two, in which the sole purpose of the visit was to get me to drop out of the speaker's race because the governor was raising

hell about it. Well that made us a little more determined. But as it drifted along, it came to be more and more obvious that we were both signing up mutual friends, largely. For instance, the campaign managers, it developed, for Mr. Calvert, was Morris Roberts of Victoria, a good friend of mine, an ole Baylor boy. By-the-way, he . . . you can cut this out later, but you might be interested in it. Baylor University basketball team went by bus to the University of Texas and at Round Rock a train ran over it and killed all the team . . . the driver and the sports writers . . . just mutilated the whole troop. Morris was in Baylor at that time and he often told me, "My life was saved by the flip of a coin." He was sports writer and he and the other sports writer flipped a coin to see which one would go to . . . with the team to Austin and he lost the trip and saved his life. Morris and I were very good friends and still are.

Morris came to me and he said, "We ought to get together. This is damn foolishness. I don't give a damn whether it's you or Bob. Allred and I have been very close, but that doesn't make a damn to me." And I said, "Well, let's put it on this basis, Morris. I don't want to make the decision; I'm sure Bob doesn't want to make the decision. Let's just leave it up . . . you see Settles." (Doyle . . . J. Doyle Settles of Lubbock) "You two get together and discuss this and see what you can work out. Makes no difference to me; I've got no burning desire." So they got together and with others got together and talked about it and finally worked

down to where that Settles and Roberts and Bob and I met in a hotel room--Driskill Hotel--and we discussed this thing and neither one of us would withdraw, and neither one of us would say we'd run if the other one did. It was sort of a dogfall. Finally,--I don't remember who made the suggestion, but--the suggestion was made that we draw straws or flip a coin or something. And I think it was my suggestion that Doyle and Morris go in the . . . Doyle Settles and Morris Roberts go in . . . I said, "Go in the damn bathroom and settle this thing. I'm tired." And Bob said, "That's . . . that's my sentiments, too." So they did withdraw (chuckle) to the bathroom and came out and Calvert was the candidate. They'd flipped a coin. I don't know what kind of a coin--whether it was heads on both sides or what.

But we were able to deliver the firm pledges that we had, which came to thirty-three, to Calvert. As a result, why Morris knew his . . . with Bob and my votes together, he had--I don't remember--over fifty and didn't need but seventy-six. And both of us working together on it, it was very, very obvious that Bob would be elected, which he was. 'Course, this made Mr. Allred very happy. I don't know whether he ever knew the bathroom incident or not, but was very happy that I did withdraw and was able to deliver; maybe this was one thing that made him a little kinder to me.

One friend I had, who has become even more prominent in business than he probably was in politics, in the Allred administration, was Gerald Mann. He was Secretary of State under Allred at that time

and later, of course, became attorney general. I had known him at SMU. I had some mutual friends at SMU playing on the football team down there when he was the "little red arrow," on the SMU squad. I had an entree to him. In fact, I sponsored some administrative legislation, particularly some laws dealing with handling securities and things that Gerald had asked me personally to handle. So I wasn't in too bad a shape with the administration but I wasn't on the inside--I know that damn well. I wasn't on the inside.

Well, anyway this brings us up to the end of the speaker's race in the third term that I had. Bob Calvert, I might say in this speaker's race, didn't have actually much support from the lobby. At the time I quit, I had had indications that the lobby would generally go along with me. This sounds odd. Mr. Morse practically had a solid lobby behind him--the oil and utilities and insurance--and that was an important factor. He was the safe candidate (chuckle) at the time. And this was one hurdle we had to fight at the time because actually, I think the lobby would have accepted me more readily than they would have Calvert--they were afraid of Calvert--and I think were afraid right up to the wire. In a sense, I think the Calvert election--that I may have played a part in--was a defeat and one of the very damn few defeats that I can remember of the lobby--that they had rather have had another candidate than Calvert, certainly another person. But Calvert was very objective. He didn't lean backwards, he

didn't lean forwards--very objective as speaker and I don't think sought revenge or anything. He did a very, very fine job as speaker. I was in a very enviable position to where that as Morris Roberts a time or two said, I could get things when he couldn't and he'd managed . . . the manager of Calvert's campaign. But Mr. . . . Bob has been a very, very close friend all these years and was re-elected recently without opposition to . . . as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

I think probably we ought to go back to 1930, or '31, and make some comments on some personalities and possibly some issues. Ross Sterling had been, as I said before, had been Chairman of the Highway Commission under Dan Moody, was elected governor succeeding Moody in the election of 1930. Mr. Sterling, with business orientation, made some changes even though he had been close with the Moody administration. One thing I remember particularly which is not probably of too much importance, is that the ranger force at that time was subject to the appointment of governors as they came in and out. In many instances, governors would continue on the rangers that had done efficient jobs, but many times friends of the governors were able to remove certain rangers. And Mr. Sterling did make some changes. In particular, one, for instance, the sheriff from this county, Ted Lewis, that had been defeated and Mr. Minor who was close to Mr. Sterling was able to get his appointment and later the second man from Denton County, Mr. Happy Davis. Mr. Sterling, being business oriented, most of

his policies, of course, represented a very conservative business line. And coming out of the oil industry, of course, he was biased--prejudiced--toward the oil industry and most of his policies were dictated, of course, by his experience. And as I said before, being a man with little education--well no academic background--being a very obstinate, stubborn sort of an individual, being practically dominated by the Houston crowd, he wasn't a very strong governor. And, of course, the depression came on and he continued to adhere to a conservative, retrenchment line, and this opened very well the field for governor economic conditions being what they were, and he was defeated in his second race or race for a second term by Mrs. Miriam A. Ferguson.

Of course, Mr. Ferguson was able to take advantage of the discontent and the economic and social conditions. This, of course, was primary in his election--sort of a, I would call it a revolution in a sense against those that were in, to throw them out. The Fergusons . . . I want to make some comments . . . of course, had been very controversial . . . Mr. Ferguson was a very controversial person as far as politics was concerned in this state. Back in his first term he was impeached and also removed--impeached by the House and removed by the Senate--even though he had resigned prior to the removal which raised a legal question the courts finally resolved. As a result, he couldn't run for an office in Texas; he did run, subsequently, for President of the United States on the American Party ticket, probably to keep alive, in a sense. And, of

course, then during the Ku Klux issue in 1924, I guess it was, he was able to run his wife, Mrs. Ferguson. Mrs. Ferguson was elected after going into the run-off with a Ku Klux-endorsed candidate. The anti-Ku Klux ticket, which made up of Mrs. Ferguson and Barry Miller--one of the best lieutenant governors, by-the-way, that we've ever had--they were opposed by a county judge from Dallas (Felix Robertson). The lieutenant governor candidate was Will Edwards of Denton. So it was the Ku Klux issue really, that put the Fergusons in their second term.

Of course, their liberal policy toward pardons was constantly an issue and also in his '24, or their '24 term, which they served only one term. By-the-way, Dan Moody was on their ticket as an anti-Ku Klux candidate for attorney general, yet later helped expose and prosecute, where it was necessary, a highway scandal that came up during that administration. So two things in particular: the highway scandal and the pardon policies and the fact that there were no popular issues that would attract people to Ferguson--they only held the office one term. But again coming into the governorship and by the campaign of 1932. My experience with the Fergusons was that I could rely, very definitely, on whatever they told me. I say "they" told me because sometimes I talked to Mrs. Ferguson and sometimes Mr. Ferguson and sometimes both of them, on things that I would want. And if they told me something, I knew they'd do it. And I can't say that about every governor; sometimes they forgot or did not carry through. To give

you an illustration, they had a liberal pardon policy during their . . . this administration . . . this . . . 1933, '34 administration. A Denton citizen, in fact, the president of one of the banks here had a relative that was in the penitentiary for ah . . . I think the terms added up to practically six hundred years or something like that--there were several sentences. The young man had been a companion of some people who later were well known desperadoes--Clyde Barrow and Raymond Hamilton. The president of the bank asked me if I thought I could get him out, get him pardoned. So I talked to Mr. Ferguson and he said, "Well, I'll . . . we'll see what we can do. You've been friendly to us so if we can do it, we'll do it." Later he called me and I went down to talk to him and he said, "We just can't do it. That is too bad a situation." And I answered that the boy would go straight and he said, "Well, I've talked to Mrs. Ferguson and we just can't do it." Later he called me and I went down to talk to him and he said, "We think we've worked this out." He said, "We think we can commute his sentence to where that within a short period of time, he'll serve his time. That way he won't be pardoned." And I said, "We'd be very grateful for that, we think the boy will do all right." So subsequently, he called me and said that's what they would do and this part of the conversation I think is pertinent: He said, "Now I hope you make something out of this. This in substance is a way that we can reward you for your friendship to us." In other words, the rumors of the Fergusons themselves being recipients of funds that were paid in for pardons, I've always doubted.

I don't think there's any record; I think we would have found the record and certainly there were people looking for it. But it was the way that he rewarded some of his friends--their collecting fees. And I think in many instances that some of his so-called friends took advantage of him by saying to Mr. so-and-so, "Now, it'll take five thousand dollars to get your son out of the penitentiary because we'll have to buy a bull for him to ride home and you know there are other people I'll have to divide with." And the inference was, of course, that it was distributed. There wasn't any actual scandals this time. Most of his appointments were of such character that they had relatively no criticism. I think one interesting character that was in each of his administrations--well he was in the legislature in the first one back in 19 What was it? . . . '17 or '18, back there--but in '24 and '30, he was the ah . . . '32 . . . he was called the bodyguard of the Fergusons. He traveled everywhere they went. He was an old bachelor named Charlie Spradley. He lived in the Southland Hotel in Dallas and was a professional gambler, but he was one of the most loyal persons that I've ever known. He was a native of McKinney, Collin County, and was . . . was from Collin County that he was a representative back in the teens. A very interesting person and a person that you could always contact if you had any difficulty getting hold of the Fergusons.

I don't know whether I'm doing any good this morning or not.

Kamp: Yes, yes, you're doing fine.

Hyder: Mr. Ferguson at this time, or Mrs. Ferguson, was succeeded in office by Allred, who had been attorney general, and who was considered somewhat of a liberal. He attracted what was growing a liberal sentiment group in this state and also coming from Wichita Falls, where he had been district attorney, as I referred to before, he had support of some of the oil people. Now this is interesting because he had an oil operator that actually was the major contender against him for the governorship and he had active opposition of most of the major companies. But he did have sufficient support, financially or otherwise, from independent oil operators. He was a very personable fellow, a very energetic person, I think a very sincere person. My relationships with him I have discussed before, in that I got off on the wrong foot with him on the initial speaker's race and was never an intimate. My contacts were with him, primarily, through Gerald Mann who was his secretary of state, Ed Clark, who was his . . . one of his secretaries--Edward Clark of Austin--Pat Moreland, who subsequently was Executive Director of the Restaurant Association of Texas, (he was, by-the-way, a Methodist minister when he came on the staff of Allred) and George Clark, who later went into associational work. These were the secretaries that was around him that provided me with what contacts I had with him.

I think Mr. Allred, of course, serving in a very difficult time and a time of transition, could not be judged exactly by his domestic policies, say just for the state because, for instance,

the change in . . . social security coming in and the welfare from the federal level and all of these things kept us busy on legislation and also on setting up commissions and programs and just finding people to serve on these commissions and programs of that sort. Of course, there's somehow . . . it's hard for me to describe (laughter) especially this morning. There was sort of a situation we sensed as a revolution taking place again in the state, politically. The attorney general was a very interesting person, a very good after-dinner speaker, a well-liked person by the name of William McCraw, and everyone conceded that he would be the governor to succeed Mr. Allred. That was the feeling around over the state, (Well we had other candidates like Ernest Thompson and a number of other candidates for the governorship), that there was a lot of dissatisfaction, discontent with status quo and some of the programs were slow getting off--old aged systems and things of that sort.

There had been, as you know, a very popular hillbilly personality advertising flour with a hillbilly band that had built up quite a following, by the name of O'Daniel--W. Lee O'Daniel--and for some reason he decided to run for governor. I don't know whether it was probably in the beginning just to promote flour or not. But he held a mass meeting at Waco with his hillbilly band. Crowds turned out with such enthusiasm that his bandwagon started to roll and nothing, not even a counter-fire on a prairie, could have stopped it. Now you'll have to remember that it was back

during these times that you had, the share-the-wealth program of Huey Long, you had the Townsend plan out in California, you had Father Coughlin, Gerald L. K. Smith, and you had all these fringe groups and the depression was still being felt and the people were looking for leadership and, I don't know, if they particularly knew what they did want. And as a result, this, seeming, was another part of the whole discontent that was sweeping the country. I supported William McCraw, actively. In fact, I had supported him for attorney general against Walter Woodward of Coleman, again really opposing most of my friends here in Denton like Mr. Minor and Mr. Edwards and others who supported Mr. Woodward. Woodward was to me a very cold, unresponsive man and probably a very good lawyer--probably the best lawyer--but a man I had never been able, when he was in the Senate, to get very close to. But I had been able to get close to McCraw. As a matter of fact, we were such good friends that while I was in the legislature, he appointed me a receiver on an oil company over in East Texas which made me some money (laughter) which I felt grateful for, which is yet another experience with the oil production . . . oil laws.

When he ran for attorney general, I started with Montague County and went on down as far as Orange County on . . . well, down to Port Arthur, this whole area of East Texas. I worked it closely with a companion by the name of Scott Ready, who drove for me and helped me, checking on leadership, and lining up organizations, and seeing that materials and literature and dates were set up for him. By-the-way, his campaign manager for the attorney generalship

was one Tom Clark, who is, of course, now on the Supreme Court of the United States. He was a law partner of McCraw's in Dallas, and was an assistant attorney general under McCraw. We also had from this county an assistant attorney general under McCraw, Earl Street, who had been county attorney, and later was general counsel for the Wage and Hour Administration in this region. He retired about two years ago. And while I'm saying this, Allred had an assistant from this county, Elbert Hooper, who had married one of the Edwards' and whose father was a physician here and he served with Allred as assistant attorney general.

Well, of course, O'Daniel was elected. Mr. McCraw, I think, ran about third, finally; earlier every one thinking he would win the election hand down. But the O'Daniel thing rolled and McCraw, against advice of a number of us, decided to come out in an all-out attack on O'Daniel and he was a difficult person to attack and any attack you made on him, he'd turn it on you. The fact that he was from Kansas was answered by a broadcast from the little town he was born in, from the citizens there attesting to what a fine person he was--poor, but honest. And then in his speeches he talked about his father being buried in overalls and that he was a poor Kansas farm boy. You couldn't criticize him; he was beyond criticism. In fact the night that McCraw started his all-out personal attack on O'Daniel, was in Denton and I introduced him. And I begged him before I introduced him sitting on the platform, "Let me attack, let your introducer attack and you just play it cool." I remember

that two or three Denton (chuckle) people, among them John Thomas, Doc Pitner, and others had told me that if I got on the platform and made a speech, they were going to heckle me down because we'd always been together politically, but they were for O'Daniel. But they didn't carry through their threat, but I was very much aware that they might try.

This was, of course, a day of sadness for Texas, in my opinion. I had literally no contact with Mr. O'Daniel because he secluded himself; he did not allow press conferences except through a man named Ester Haile (I forget who or what he was). I did get a letter from him in California a few years ago when I was on Jester's Tax Study Commission. O'Daniel took over the big governor's reception room; he had him a Hitler-size desk made and you had to come in through the back door to see him. He made appointments--some of them very good--but people, generally no one had ever heard of, because he was absolutely ignorant of state government and political processes. A good illustration was that at one of his last press meetings after he had been nominated on a train going to San Antonio where he was going to appoint Comptroller of Public Accounts. He said he didn't know yet, but he'd appoint a good man. Of course, Mr. Calvert, the comptroller, had been nominated in the same election that he was. Now my last contact . . . was really through Senator Martin of . . . who had been his attorney at Fort Worth and was a state senator from Fort Worth. I had known

Senator Martin for many years. He had married a girl from Lewisville, which is my home town.

In fact, O'Daniel had nominated, sent to the Senate, three new members of our board which was, of course, the general board for a number of colleges--the old teacher's college set-up. And one of them, a local Denton man was very objectionable to us because we'd had some controversy with him--a very good man, but we'd had some controversy with him here. We had not been able to do some things he had wanted us to do, and we didn't want him on there. And so the president of North Texas asked me if I could do anything about it. So I got ahold of Senator Martin and even though the name had been already sent up to the Senate, he was able to get O'Daniel to withdraw the nomination. So we, I say we here because I was interested in the college, particularly North Texas here, and its future, did have a round-about contact with the governor's office during that time.

One of the big issues that came up during this term, was the sales tax. Mr. O'Daniel, in his campaigns had promised the state that as long as he was governor, the state would never have a sales tax. But, of course, he immediately recommended what he called a transition tax--transactions tax, rather--and which was more vicious than a sales tax. It could've, say a 3 per cent transaction tax could have been for 9 per cent if you put it on every transaction. Of course, he didn't understand it, but he convinced the people, generally, that it wasn't a sales tax and

a great deal of support from primary taxpayers like oil companies and insurance companies--that type of taxpayer. And, of course, as you know, a very militant small group which included Representative Price Daniel, who was later governor and attorney general, and our own representative who had been my secretary and who was then in the legislature, Joe Skiles, were two of the people who were among the small minority in the House who were able to block it or else it possibly would have become a statute. There was little accomplished except (chuckle) confusion during the O'Daniel administration.

Coke Stevenson had come in as lieutenant governor in a very bitter campaign with an insurance man from Dallas who was largely the type of O'Daniel. It was rather interesting that in the run-off between Pierce Brooks and Coke Stevenson that we were able to--I was supporting Stevenson--we were able to get Mr. O'Daniel to endorse Stevenson, which was damn near essential because Pierce Brooks, a promoter, a man unschooled in government, came very near being elected. It was during that time that I made several trips for Mr. Stevenson. Sometimes I wonder why I was assigned some of the area. I started at Laredo and went to Brownsville back to Corpus and on into Austin and back on two different occasions, checking with leadership which gave me a first hand contact with the block vote down there that later was criticized severely for aiding in defeating Mr. Stevenson for the United States Senate. But this block vote was for Mr. Stevenson

in this election. I contacted men like Judge Raymond, who was the county judge and the front for the Loreda machine made up of the _____, and on down to Rio Grande City where the Guerras were the leaders, and on down to Hidalgo County, McAllen and Edinburg where A. Y. Baker, the sheriff, among others were in the group that ran that area, and on down to Brownsville where I contacted a Latin American by the name of Zelaya and also Remie Creager who was the Republican national committeeman. And, then, of course, I made a short visit with Senator Archie Parr, who was the father of George Parr who's probably better known now. And on in to San Antonio and into Austin. So I got first hand experience.

But Mr. Stevenson was elected lieutenant governor and, of course, when there became a vacancy in the United States Senate, Mr. O'Daniel appointed a man, the son of Sam Houston, who was . . . What was he? Eighty . . . ninety years old? Something of that sort, just for the brief interim and, of course, made a great political play out of the fact. . . . In fact, it killed the old man. It was an experience of taking a trip to Washington that he physically couldn't stand. And then O'Daniel offered himself for the job in the election, which he, defeated Lyndon Johnson among others for the Senatorship. And Mr. Stevenson, of course, then, came into the governorship of the state.

I guess I'm skipping some things I want to say. Anyway, Stevenson became governor, and of course, having been close to Stevenson, it made me kind of close in to the governorship. I had a very close contact, was frequently in the governor's mansion and

in the governor's office. I knew the personnel around there; in fact, I had an opportunity to be on as a secretary of the governor's office, but I was happy in Denton, so I didn't take it. But later when Pearl Harbor came (Mrs. Stevenson was then very, very ill with a malignancy and died in a short period of time.) Mr. Stevenson asked me to come to Austin and I went to Austin and was responsible . . . probably had the major responsibility in setting up the rationing system in Texas. The ration administrator was Mark McGee of Fort Worth, an attorney, who took it only on a part-time basis at that time and commuted from Austin to Fort Worth, Fort Worth to Austin and as a result, put the primary responsibility on me.

It was during this time that I represented the state on several conferences of national scale. The first conference that I attended was called by Frank Bain, who was as I recall the executive director of the Council for State Government, headquartered in Chicago. And because the administration was working through the state and through the counties, and the cities in setting up the rationing system at that time, he was, of course, the logical man because he worked with the states.

I remember I asked Mark who was one of the most charming people I've ever known--he'd been adjutant general in the Ferguson's administration--first administration for a brief time--and was very active in party politics in the state, represented some interest before the legislature. Why he didn't go himself to this initial conference in Chicago and it is surprising, he said,

"I don't fly. I wouldn't get on an airplane and this is a hurry-up trip." This was his excuse; he usually always found an excuse when he wanted to push a job off on somebody else.

Two personalities other than Frank Bain that I remember very well, one was Harold Stassen who had distinguished himself as the Governor of Minnesota and was . . . actually had the confidence of Roosevelt, the Roosevelt Administration--Harry Hopkins and others--he was considered one of the bright boys that was coming up, certainly not what you'd call an old line Republican. He probably couldn't be, and be Governor of Minnesota . . . somewhat progressive for that time. And the other one was a man named Leon Henderson, who had been with some foundation . . . I've forgotten whether it was in Washington or New York, and just which foundation it was, but was known as a very capable administrator, and later became administrator of the Office of Price Administration. I remember those two in particular. I felt quite an admiration for Mr. Stassen. He seemed to me to be a very keen, alert, intelligent, unselfish sort of person. I had my first controversy with Leon Henderson, though. His name was signed to a certificate that was later given to me when I decided to go into the Armed Services and get out of the rationing and price program. I remember the controversy with Mr. Henderson. I was arguing that public acceptance would be better achieved if we did certain things. And during the argument he said, "Well, in substance, to hell with the public. By God, this is the thing that's going to have to be done

whether they like or not." And this was his whole general administrative approach. This is what should be, ought to be done. And, of course, I realized that ultimately your whole total control of prices and rationing all would have to be administered out of Washington, but my argument was to modify it as much as possible because you're going to depend on voluntary boards at the local level to do your enforcing. And the nearer you could bring the grass roots with you on the program, the better acceptance, the less black market, etc., you'd have. But actually what we were doing was outlining, planning, looking forward to legislation that would set up what finally was set up in the Brown bill--the Office of Price Administration.

Subsequently, I was called into Washington and worked as legislative liason on the anti . . . so called anti-inflation bill. I had the states from Georgia to Texas, and Tennessee to the north . . . I didn't have Florida . . . to contact the senators and representatives that were questionable or to give these representatives or senators what they wanted in the way of information and so forth. So I worked on this legislation for a while there before I . . . which was actually a dollar-a-year job, because it was not a job assignment, classified, or one for which I was paid. I was still on the . . . back here on the state's staff. And this might be interesting . . . we didn't have any money. And these people working in a program were dollar-a-year people. Now Mr. McGee was a dollar-a-year man, and we brought

J. Doyle Settles from Lubbock, who had been an associate of earlier in the legislature. He was a dollar-a-year man. What stenographic office help we had . . . we borrowed it from departments of government. Sometimes it took Governor Stevenson calling one of the department heads and threatening them to get typewriters and files and things of that sort. The telephone bill came out of the governor's office funds, or some other funds. This was a period of time when there was no money provided, but yet you had a program that you had to put into effect.

In fact . . . this'll probably be interesting from the administration standpoint . . . I was still carried on the North Texas State College's payroll. In other words, this was my pay. And what . . . traveling expense, for instance I got . . . I made a tour of most of the state--a very hurried tour. It was set up ahead of me on regions in which county judges, and mayors, and people that they were going to administer the program would meet centrally. And I was transported by the Public Safety Department . . . I was relayed from district to district. What I ate, if someone didn't buy my lunch, I paid for myself or the hotel bill. We had no money, but we had a job to do. Later when we set up for sugar rationing, I had the direction of it in this state, and also served as a trouble shooter for the national level in two states. One in particular was quite a problem. But I organized and set it up, and you know the plan. We set it up so that registrations would all be done in school houses, where it was practical, and use school teachers, which was again a free service, because we had no

money. To actually register people for their rationing book, we had selected sugar because it was a stable commodity and one that everybody used in the home. And we felt we could come near getting everybody to register if it were for some commodity like this. Of course, at that time we knew that coupon number twenty-three was going to be for shoes, etc., but we didn't make this an issue at the time. Setting up this, we still had no money, and my transportation . . . they finally . . . Homer Garrison, whom I'd known since he was a deputy sheriff over at Lufkin, and later was a private in the Highway Patrol as we called it then had moved on up the ladder. Of course, he's now Director of the Department of Public Safety . . . assigned a sergeant and a car to me on a full-time basis. And, of course, this gave me transportation wherever I wanted to go, whenever I wanted to. And this sergeant is now a captain in the Public Safety Department.

Well, any way, let's see, what am I doing? (Chuckle) Wait a minute. I'd just like to comment that back on . . . I'm talking about the Allred campaign. Mr. J. R. Parten, a Houston oil man, was said to have underwritten and told Mr. Allred to run. Mr. Allred, of course, being relatively a poor man in having no personal resources, and then Mr. Parten was able to help finance his campaign. Mr. Parten has been active in many of the campaigns, supporting liberal candidates . . . was a very distinguished member of the University of Texas Board of Regents, spent a lot of time in trying to help education during some very perilous times. In fact, I give him about as much credit as anyone for developing

the formula in the 30's for financing state colleges. They took it out of the fork barrel. I worked on it some. We had one of our staff here, who distinguished himself in doing a lot of work on it . . . Dr. Sam B. MacAlister. But Parten was able to eliminate a lot of opposition that would have crystallized, actually from private institutions, religious-connected institutions, and some of the business group. I remember in particular, Mr. Harry Graves, who was later on the Court of Criminal Appeals from Georgetown . . . very much interested in Southwestern University and had pretty well opposed the public institutions of education . . . higher education. He was for the old Hughes-Metcalf bill of reorganizing, as they called it, but actually eliminating schools like East Texas and Sul Ross and Arlington . . . and also had always supported increased tuition for state schools and things of this sort. And he had prepared himself to fight this formula on the floor of the House . . . all out. Well, he happened to be a good friend of Parten's. Parten went to him and resolved the question, and as a result we had no real opposition to this formula. I think Mr. Parten has distinguished himself and I wish I really knew more about the man. I never knew him . . . well, intimately.

During this time that I've been rambling hereon, I might go back and say that . . . something about the senators. Now from this district, during this period of time, we had Senator Miller-- Eugene Miller of Weatherford. He was followed by Senator Grady Woodruff of Decatur. This was a very bitter campaign. Mr. Miller was a professional gambler. He had a law degree from SMU, but

after getting into the Senate had become a much subsidized member of the Senate. His morals were questionable. In fact, he was finally, after he was defeated, several years after, was assassinated in the yard of his residence in Parker County . . . or what he called his residence, and no one was able to identify or find out who assassinated him. It's thought probably he got in trouble with some of the rackets and gambling interests, and they would just liquidate him. It was a bitter campaign between he and Woodruff because I felt that we needed to be represented by somebody of a different character than that of Eugene Miller. One of the Denton businessmen, one day on the street asked me what I thought of Senator Miller, and I told him that I thought he was morally corrupt, irresponsible, highly subsidized by some of the interests, primarily the Texas Power and Light Company in this area. Some of the oil companies were supporting him and were afraid to turn him loose. And I just thought we ought to get rid of him. It turned out that this businessman and Miller were good friends. He didn't believe me, so he told Miller about it.

So me not knowing that this had been exchanged. Mr. Miller was speaking on the court house square in Denton, and I went down to the meeting. And I was a little bit late, and as I got there, I heard my name called from the platform, and Mr. Miller was castigating me rather severely. And I stood and listened to it, and, of course, some of the crowd turned around and saw me and winked and waved, and put me in a position I had to do something.

So when Mr. Miller came off the platform, I grabbed him by the collar and tie, and told him he was (if I may use the language), "a God damned lying son-of-a-bitch," and I wasn't going to let him come here or anywhere else and say the things he did. And he said . . . and I told him, I said, "I'm in this campaign from now on. Anything I can do to get you out, I'm going to do it." He jerked loose and acted as if he was going to go to "Fist City" with me. And about that time somebody grabbed both of my arms and pulled me back and said, "If there's any fighting going to be done, we'll do it."

These people were Mark Hannah, who subsequently was sheriff of this county, and also the mayor of the city--a businessman here in town now--and his brother Red Hannah, who subsequently was on the Ranger Force and captain of the Rangers. And so this settled the difficulty at the moment. This might be interesting because of the Hannah boys who were known to be pretty rough and ready characters. In fact, they had taken the guns off of the sheriff and kicked his butt all the way up to the sheriff's office and threw the guns in on the floor and told him to behave himself. They were quite characters at that time. But any time Mr. Miller came to Denton, they saw to it they made it clear they'd follow him around and when he'd leave a group, they'd go up and say, "That's the biggest liar," and would really give him a going over. And one or the other saw fit then to travel with me wherever I went. They were engaged in farming out here on Elm Fork and I

campaigned all over the whole district. In fact, on two occasions engaged Miller in a joint debate in Woodruff's place in order to save the dignity of Woodruff . . . to give him a better image.

It was a hectic campaign, but I was well taken care of by the Hannah boys, so I didn't have to worry about that. Mr. Miller was roundly defeated and . . . which was a good thing for this district. Mr. Woodruff went ahead and served and later was trying for his, I guess it was a third term, and Mr. Lanning had announced that . . . he was the representative from Jacksboro, that he would be a candidate. It was at this time that I was encouraged to run, and Mr. Woodruff and Mr. Lanning both came to me and told me if I'd run, they wouldn't run. And I told them I was not interested in running . . . two or three reasons. One, I didn't have the money. I figured it would, if I got into a hot campaign, you never know . . . it'd take twenty or twenty-five thousand dollars. And I didn't want to obligate myself to the extent that I'd have to get the money. So I didn't run. Mr. Lanning defeated Woodruff and became senator, then was succeeded later by Proffer of Denton. I might say that in practically all of these races, senators because of the excess expenditures were supported by outside interests. I made no bones about it. The gas companies, and there was a split in the major oil companies, supported Mr. Woodruff. While the power companies and some of the oil companies . . . the insurance companies also split up in this race . . . some of them couldn't turn Miller loose, others wanted

to get rid of him so badly they contributed also to Mr. Woodruff, and God knows how much money was spent in that campaign. It was a terrific expenditure. Mr. Lanning had support of the oil interests and the gas interests, and in later campaigns the insurance interests. He became known as a very reliable, safe senator, and actually was able to engage in some investments, oil, and otherwise on the outside. He became rather independently wealthy while he was in the Senate. From a country school teacher, that's a pretty good advancement.

Mr. Proffer, who had served in the House, became Senator, probably ran as poor-boy a campaign as anybody because he had acquaintance among the school teachers of the district. However, there was some local money. I know I spearheaded a campaign made up at one time of \$600 for him here on the campus. I went down and paid off some of his, rather than turn it over to him, went down and paid off some of his printing bills and things. Of course, he came out owing money, some of it I don't know whether he ever paid or not. He certainly supported education. As far as any criticism on his honesty, sobriety, or any other . . . personally or publicly, I just don't know of any criticism that I would have. I think he was naive in many instances and missed, you might say, the boat in some of the machinations and maneuvering because of his naivety. I think he had a certain definite naivety toward things. A few times I've become angry enough that I've felt like it was an assumed attitude and then other times I felt it was definitely a part of him.

In other words, he was not in the power clique while he was in the Senate, which I might say that the Senate since I've known it has always had a power clique that pretty well ran the Senate when it wanted to. And you were in or out. Now there's one senator that I was in the House with, I've mentioned further, some time back here that's still in the Senate, that was never in the power clique. He's been in and out and on the fringes and around, and is just accepted as himself, Senator A. M. Aikin. He just seems to have been . . . to have lived above it. He's been very successful in some of his legislative programs, but they've generally popular programs. Probably his best-known legislation was the so-called Gilmer-Aikin bill. Well, Gilmer was in the House . . . was one time speaker. And Gilmer was a conservative, well-supported by the major interests of the state, and later as you remember was chairman of the state-wide committee where the Democrats broke over for Eisenhower. You couldn't say Claude Gilmer was liberal or particularly interested in education, but yet he was author of this bill in the House. Aikin, being the other type, was author in the Senate, and it all goes to show, say this . . . the school people were for the program, and business generally decided it was a program they'd have to go with because . . . in the long run we'd probably be losing, and also would offset more federal intervention into education.

I know that I helped write Beauford Jester's speech he made in Denver at the Council of State Governors, trying to credit his

administration with the responsibility for it. The state was assuming responsibility that it needed to assume and Texas was finally answering to federal encroachment on states rights. I guess I should have mentioned Mr. Jester because I had known him as a lawyer in Corsicana. I had met him through a tax case at . . . a Denton man, Jack Bonds and had represented him; I was invited by Jester to speak to the Rotary Club in Corsicana, before he ran for the railroad commission and was elected, and, of course, before he ran for governor. And then when he came in as governor he put a great deal of responsibility on Bill McGill and Bill was a friend of mine and had been in the governors office for a number of years, so I had an entree with Mr. Jester.

Mr. Jester, of course, represented conservatism in the state --remember the bitter campaign with Rainey. I think this is interesting because I was asked to keynote the Jester State Convention. In fact I voted for Mr. Jester as Rainey got into politics and he began to drink a great deal. In fact in the last year or two that I knew him I never saw him exactly sober. He had some marital difficulties that didn't become the public. In fact at the closing campaign speech I was in a suite in Fort Worth in the Blackstone Hotel in Fort Worth and he came in off a trip from Decatur. They had made a swing to Denton and he was going to make his closing speech out at the park there in Fort Worth. And he was pretty well looped when he got to the suite and they were trying their best to try and keep him from drinking anymore, but

he left the suite to go to the speech with a glass of pretty steep bourbon in his hand. Therefore much of the, I would say, decision making, was done by secretaries and advisors and he was really a sick man. Sometimes, I probably oughtn't say things, but it was probably fortunate, that he died with a heart attack because he was, actually physically and mentally ill. I thought he should have been carried by a car, ambulance . . . he was on his way to Galveston for a medical checkup and they found him dead the next morning in his pullman berth.

I shouldn't probably say this sounds derogatory, but I think this is the general knowledge, it will be written about. In fact I know Rainey would have been a much better governor. And I guess I can expose now that I voted for Rainey even though I had to get close to Jester as governor because we needed him and in fact I think that Bill McGill voted for Rainey and he was on his staff. There was a woman, I can't recall her name, but he had met her in Austin and she had been his secretary in the railroad commission and moved on up and sat in the office with him at a secretarial desk . . . governor's office. And it was hard as hell to get around her to get an interview with him or talk to him. She was an extremely important influence and not a good one on him. And I think that had it not been for mutual friends--and this is certainly meddling in family affairs--and the children, that Mrs. Jester would have divorced him. And, of course, subsequently she remarried shortly after his death . . . a very charming woman and a very fine person.

One thing I had better mention here before I forget it . . . the only real official connection I had with the Jester administration was that he appointed a Tax Study Commission that worked for two years making a study of the local problems in Texas, blue-printing them, the relationship with the Federal, and I served on that commission. Stuart McCorkle of the University of Texas was chairman and on the sub-committee that I worked with was Reginald Rushing of Texas Tech. And we were assigned the state and federal relations on fiscal affairs. I was put on part-time here at the college and given an office and conducted our research. Carl Matthews called it "Hyder Hall." The little plank building behind the Dean of Mens building over here on Avenue A, which I . . . I am going to put this in anyway. There was an old tumbled down building being used by industrial arts between the historical building and what . . . about where now the math building is. It was one of the most disreputable looking buildings on the campus. So I had a sign painted, Matthews Hall, and it stayed on there several days before Dean Matthews of the School of Education knew it was there and had it taken down.

I think one interesting thing would be to look at some of the issues that were, particularly concerning us during the early thirties, that is legislative issues . . . the repeal of prohibition, parimutuel betting, the continuing oil proration fight, the bank holiday of course, and insurance moratorium, the appropriations problem, of course, that was some concern for me because we had

two educational institutions in my district and an experiment station, fish hatchery and several things of this sort. And also the blue sky laws with the agitation on the national level for SEC, you know, and so much as this state didn't have very strong laws in that respect. The question of additional revenue, taxation, was also an issue particularly the battle over the sales tax.

At this time also . . . this is not of importance as these others and I necessarily haven't listed these others in order of their importance, was a question we had so much . . . so many desperadoes and so much crime rampant in the state . . . we were becoming as nationally famous because of the Barrows, the Parkers, and the Hamiltons and others of that sort that one of the interesting experiences which is not of much importance was that another member of the house and I introduced a dead or alive reward to try to stimulate the law enforcement officers into getting out and trying to get and do something about it . . . citizens. This probably was the most interesting in a way and most hectic debate I got into while I was in the legislature . . . there is some interesting highlights on that. I don't know whether it would be of interest here right now or not, but I think probably I got the worse spanking as far as a speech is concerned from old Senator T. M. McGregor, who had come down from Missouri. He compared me with the attorney general in Missouri in offering a reward for . . . for Jesse James. And he had Jesse James' blood smeared all over me as well as everything else.

Anyway I think it would be better to get back on these issues. One of the, of course, the prime issues and I will take them in the order that I have them here was the repeal of prohibition. I think it was generally recognized that prohibition had failed to prohibit, and had also become such a source of income for the underground, lawless, and was making for a very bad situation nationally and, of course, this was a national issue. I know in Austin, liquor could be bought in any quantity or any type, delivered. Most of the liquor was being run out of New Orleans by truck into Austin except the good Fredricksburg et al 'stuff.' I have seen trucks parked in the back of the alley of the Driskill Hotel unloading truck loads of it and distributing it around to the . . . to the rooms. And I think one of the interesting stories there, a sidelight--one of the lobbyists went to Chicago for a Democratic Convention in '32 and he set up a suite to entertain, representing one of the oil companies, and I ran into him in the lobby and he told me to come by and see him. He told me where the suite number was. So I went up there and he said "I am sitting here waiting, I told them at the hotel when I checked in that I wanted a supply of liquor and they said they would send it to me." Just then a knock on the door and there was the delivery of the liquor that we wanted. So he asked the man--very nicely dressed fellow--whether he wanted him to pay him or whether he wanted him to charge it on the hotel bill. He said, "No, we'll just charge it on your Texas bill. When you get back home you can pay us, we furnish you in Austin." And this is the national liquor hook-up. And so they set there and talked about his contact that he made out of New Orleans and delivered

whiskey to Texas. Probably, I thought then it was the Capone group, maybe, or some of that group that had a regular national syndicate.

The liquor issue was a very bitter contest. I was going through my files the other day, doing some more liquidating, and found petitions, telegrams with names signed to it. In my district, on both sides, but predominantly for repeal and, of course, it was necessary that we submit a constitutional amendment and the moral forces and others, of course, were involved in the bitter fight. We had the support, of course, of the Governor, Mrs. Ferguson, her husband, Jim Ferguson in this fight. There is a lot of interesting side lights I think. For instance my father was a prohibitionist in that he thought that prohibition had been a good thing. But he had weakened on this, and I know when the issue was coming up he asked me how I am going to vote, and I told him I was going to vote for repeal, and he said, "Well, I think it is necessary." So I think a lot of citizens who had been prohibitionist, had felt like liquor ought to be abolished, now felt that it couldn't be accomplished so we did submit to the people as you know, and the people ratified it. And as a result prohibition went out, of course, our problem was getting some legislation providing for the implementation. And between the time we could do that people began to pay their federal license and open up liquor stores around over the state without any state control.

We had primarily two groups in the legislature. One group was for state monopoly--the state going into the liquor business--and the other group that wanted private sale of liquor and particularly wanted the broken bottle--the drink-by-drink--bar type of implementation. There was a . . .at least we were convinced at the time that there was a serious legal question as to whether broken drinks are . . . broken bottles or drink-by-drink or bar types, set-up, would be legal. It was maybe not a serious legal question, but we were convinced it was. So we had, you might say, a deadlock in the House over whether it would be state monopoly or whether it would be drink-by-drink, that type sort of a situation. And we weren't getting anywhere very fast and so a member by the name of Bryan Bradbury from Taylor County, Abilene, later was somewhat prominent in loyal Democrat circles politically here in the state and was suggested for a federal district judgeship, but because he had no college background--education in law--was turned down. This was about the time that Sarah Hughes was put on the court. At least he was recommended by one of the senators.

We got together one night and wrote a bill which took in, in a sense, a compromise between the two ideas and we introduced it then as an amendment to the bill that was before the House and it created a great deal of comment and debate. We were criticized by both leaders . . . leadership of both the other groups, that we were creating a monster which, I guess, we did, because (chuckle) it is primarily the system we have now of private ownership, but

drink by the bottle and not providing for saloons or open sale of drink-by-drink. I've often been very thankful that the bill was known as the Bradbury bill though the two of us had signed it-- Bradbury and Hyder--but he signed it first; so I haven't had to defend it too often. I guess this is enough on the repeal of prohibition.

It's hard to describe just how bitter the campaign became and again some of the interesting things like some of Jim Ferguson's speeches on it during the campaign. I might recite this: one of his speeches went on something like this. He'd be speaking to a group then he'd stop and say, "Now, let us talk about something pleasant." Then he'd take a step back and say, "Liquor!" And he'd say . . . Well this is one example of one of his speeches. He'd say, "Down at Belton where I come from," said, "the other day they arrested him, he told them, he said that it would be necessary, he guessed, for him to open his books and show his customers." And Jim would be very dramatic and say, "Now here's a situation, here's a man selling liquor in the city of Belton and selling it to the businessman, the professional man, the people of Belton and now he's going to open his books and expose all of these customers." And he'd say, "The deacons and the elders and the stewards and so forth and so on," very dramatically portray this thing. Then he'd pause and take a step on the platform and say, "But don't let it worry you and concern you," he'd say. "I just got a telegram." And he'd pull a telegram out of his pocket, "Case dismissed!" And

this, of course gave him a basis for lamblasting the lack of enforcement and the hypocrisy that went along with such a thing.

Another issue that was one wrapped up in moral and religious opposition was the parimutuel betting. Some who had wanted betting on horses and dogs in the state had been pressing for years for the state to legalize betting on a parimutuel basis; and this was an issue both in the House and in the Senate. I don't recall right off the Senate action, but the House had voted it down on its merit that is on the bill itself providing for parimutuel betting, but under the system of what we call conference committees of where two houses, the Senate and the House of Representatives would disagree on some particular bill, it would go to a committee made up, say of five from the House and five from the Senate and they then behind closed doors would iron out the difference and bring the package back to each house and the question would be to either adopt or reject. So along at the end of the session in those days the appropriation bills were single shot bills in if you had a bill for higher education or a bill for public schools or a bill for state departments, not the package sort of thing we have now.

So when a departmental bill came in there was a very interesting looking rider on the agricultural bill which provided . . . set out the needs of the breeding and growing of horses in this state and the need of good animals to use in breeding purposes and provided that there would be breeding animals provided for every county in the state, and then innocently provided that this would be financed through a tax on parimutuel betting in the

state, which, of course, would legalize parimutuel betting on a two year basis because the bill would be effective only two years. And, of course, then the argument was to accept this appropriations bill or reject the whole bill, and for some of them who wanted to vote for it, but was politically afraid of it, this was a justification they could use that I didn't want, but we had to vote for it for appropriations. It may not sound very silly, but this did give enough excuse to where the conference report was adopted both by the House and the Senate and so parimutuel betting came to Texas. Now subsequent to that, in a special session, a bill was introduced, permission, of course, from the governor, to provide for parimutuel betting, and, of course, then the argument was that it was already set up, its functioning, it's doing all right and so this will justify you. So then the bill was passed providing for parimutuel betting.

This, of course, did give an emphasis to horse breeding in the state. I was able to secure a breeding animal for this county, one of the first. Dr. Jack Skiles, a Veternarian here was the custodian, and took care of the program in this county. I might go ahead and say that racing didn't stay very long legally, or parimutuel betting in this state, largely because of the abuses that group up. The track at Houston, a big track known as the Epsom Downs and the big track at San Antonio, known as the Alamo Downs got pretty well in the hands of racketeers. Some of them, at least at Houston, some of the eastern connections and there was

evidence of doctoring the horses and a lot of things that were undesirable. However, the track that was already in operation when legality was, but not legally betting, was the Arlington Downs. At Arlington, Texas, in Tarrant County, that was owned and operated by the Waggoner family. They were interested in horses and growing horses so they had built this track and operated it without gambling for some years.

Mr. Waggoner, then living W. T. (Tom) Waggoner was quite interested in parimutuel betting being established so the system would get further encouragement, so they operated a real track and there was no criticism of their operation. Mr. Waggoner, I am sure, spent many dollars in lobbying, entertaining, and things of that sort, to try to get parimutuel in here. He was very convinced it would be good for the state. I know I talked to him several times. He was a very interesting person and very interested in the state in the growth of the state industrially, and in every way. But the main reason that parimutuel betting was repealed . . . as I have said I have a perfect record on it, I voted to legalize it and voted to repeal it--I voted on both sides--was the financial interest in this state such as banks, savings and loan companies . . . associations and insurance companies, mortgage companies, things of that sort because of the pattern of delinquencies that grew up during the racing season around the race tracks, like Dallas and Fort Worth, of where people would be delinquent in paying their insurance premiums, their house payments, installment

payments, their bank notes, and things of this sort. So a lobby was organized headed by a Dallas realtor, a young fellow by the name of K. P. Parker, and a well-financed lobby by the financial interests of Houston, San Antonio, Dallas, Fort Worth, Waco, and other places and they put the heat on for repeal and were successful in getting parimutuel betting repealed in this state.

But it . . . of course, they had the help of the moralist. (I've forgotten . . . one of the teachers at SMU headed up the moralist group that joined with them.) But they . . . the moralist group, as I term them, would not have been successful in the repeal at that time if it hadn't been for the all-out insistence of the business people that it be repealed. And, of course, it was this business element that affected me in the thing more than anything else. I had attended only one of the tracks; I was over at Arlington Downs quite often. In fact, I was there on the formal opening of it after parimutuel betting, in which John Nance Garner, the Vice President of the United States, and Will Rogers, were the two honored guests. And I went in a motor group on over to Dallas where Mr. Garner made a principal address over there and also Mr. Rogers.

This was the only time that I was ever around Mr. Rogers, but I did have this experience. A man from Mineral Wells, Texas, and I were asked to try to find him that we were ready to move to Dallas and everybody was available there and so we being youngsters, someone (I don't know whether it was Waggoner or who it was) turned

to us and asked us if we'd see if we could find Mr. Rogers. So we went off to the jockey quarters where they dressed or rested; he'd been there, but he wasn't there then. They said he'd gone off down towards the stables. So we went on down to the stables and we heard some voices. We went over there and he was squatted down on his hunkers talking to the stable hands, eating peanuts, pitching them up and catching them in his mouth and just having a heck of a good time talking to the stable hands. So we told Mr. Rogers that the group was waiting on him--Mr. Garner and all the rest of them were ready. He didn't seem to be in a hurry and so we slowly, nonchalantly walked back to the club to leave for Dallas. We enjoyed very much his comments as he walked along ridiculing in a way politics in Texas. He said, "If I can get Amon Carter and Jim Ferguson together over there tonight, I'm going to give them hell." And he did. He shamed them about "Both of you are big people and you can't get along and Texas is a great state and there's no use having a bunch of fights" and stuff of that sort. Well, anyway, parimutuel betting, as you can see, took us several years there of controversy in the state. There, of course, now is a continuing effort to try to bring back parimutuel betting. I don't know whether the business interests are going to let it happen or not.

Another interesting thing of that period, of course, was the bank holiday and the insurance moratorium. I don't need to say, banks all over the country were going broke. Some of the states

had already declared bank holidays. And, of course, as you remember, the presidency was . . . the new president would be sworn in on March the fourth of each year, then, and this was, of course, the inaugural date for Franklin Roosevelt. But we had a problem in this state of banks going broke and of slow runs that were being made on some of the major banks. Also, we had the problem of cashing in insurance policies and this was bothering the insurance companies. Texas insurance, was, of course, developing because of the Robertson Insurance Law . . . being quite an interesting case in itself. And so we had pressure from the banks, the bank officials, and insurance officials in this state to declare a holiday on bank moratorium and insurance moratorium so we could work out of this situation.

So . . . well I might say this as an interesting story for me, personally: One evening I had retired to my hotel room real early in the evening--I don't know, six thirty or seven, something like that--convinced myself that I was tired, so I threw myself across the bed and went to sleep without undressing. And sometime, I'm not sure just what time it was, the telephone rang and rang and rang and finally I answered it. And a man's voice said, "This is John Wood, secretary to the governor. The governor wants you in his office immediately." And I said, "Okay," and hung up and I got to thinking, "Now some dern fool knew I was up here, I said I was tired, wanted to go to sleep . . . they were pulling my leg." So I undressed and went to bed. And a short time after that the

telephone rang and rang and rang and rang and I finally reached over to the stand and got it and this voice, "God damn it, Hyder! What in the hell, you supposed to be up here! This is John Wood! The governor's raising hell and he wants you up here!" And finally I woke up enough to recognize John's voice and what he was trying to do was to get what the governor had selected--a few from each house--up to his office for a conference. Rather an emergency situation, so I told John all right, I'd be up there. So I dressed and hurried on up there and there were seven members of the House, five members of the Senate and any number of bankers like Nathan Adams of Dallas, F. M. Low, Houston and Fred Florence of Dallas--the biggest bankers in the state--and attorneys for banks and for financial interests, insurance presidents. There was quite a distinguished group of business people in those particular businesses that were in this conference and I found out they'd been in conference all afternoon, practically, and had not adjourned, actually, for dinner.

So Mr. Ferguson was, of course, representing his wife at this meeting and he said that she was going to issue an order closing all of the banks in the state--at least ask them to close--and also the insurance companies and that he wanted us to immediately work on preparing bills to introduce the next morning and run . . . jam through the legislature providing for the reopening. So I worked with the committee of the House and Senate and some of the attorneys for the banks and insurance companies, I worked particularly

on the bank bill. And the next morning when the legislature convened, we jammed through--a fellow by the name of Patterson, who was in the House, and myself were authors of the bank bill--and we jammed it through in a hurry; it went to the Senate in a hurry and by noon the governor had signed bank holiday bill and insurance moratorium bill. Let's see . . . the governor . . . this would be in 1933, you see. Roosevelt was inaugurated on March the fourth and this would have been just a short time before Roosevelt was inaugurated.

We had all sorts of reactions to this. Politically, I thought it would be smart to call all my bankers and tell them what was going on. And one banker told me he was going to stay open; to hell with the governor and everybody else, his bank was in good shape. And I told him that's fine, to do that. I'd talked to two of the other banks in that town and they both were going to be closed (laughter) and if he wanted to remain open, why I'm sure that would be all right, but . . . you see, this run business was getting serious. Banks that hadn't closed were having silent . . . what we called silent runs on them--like the First National Bank of Dallas, Nathan Adam's bank. Big depositors like Ford Motor Company and others were drawing out daily--not all at once, but some. And as Adams very dramatically said, at the meeting, "They are keeping airplanes warm out at Love Field," (chuckle) to cart the cash out and this was quite a drain because, as you know, banks, they don't keep much cash on hand.

Okay? I don't know what else to say on this bank holiday and insurance moratorium thing. One of the humorous things as far as I was concerned, was that after we got the bills written and it was getting late in the morning or early in the morning, as you might say, I caught a taxi down to my hotel, Driskill, got out to pay the taxi and I didn't have enough money to pay him. I think I had about thirty-three cents; I'd been working all night on closing the banks. No one had any money; credit was extended everywhere. You'd go in a barber shop, get a haircut or shave on credit, wherever you had been trading and everybody was just making sort of a joke out of it. Of course, some of the hotels and other places were able to secure money and they were able to accommodate customers on checks.

I think probably one of the most interesting fights was over-taxation. The state of Mississippi had passed a general sales tax--the first state to do this--and this was sort of the example of what states could do to raise money easy . . . easily. And so there was an agitation then in this state to pass the . . . a sales tax and sales tax bills were introduced and hurriedly gotten out of committee to the floor.

My desk-mate at this time was the professor of government at Georgetown University by the name of George Hester. Mr. Hester had done a great deal of work on tax and especially sales tax. He had represented, the Hotel Furniture Association and several others in the state and done a lot of research. And, of course, he was opposed

to a sales tax and probably furnished the research and you might say the brains behind the battle in the House against the sales tax.

The way that they tried to bring the sales tax, or to get it passed, was to interest the public schools. The state department being really a partner to this thing, had issued estimates that the per capita apportionment would be, as I recall, approximately eleven dollars. And to explain it just briefly, the main support that the local schools received from the state was through per capita apportionment out of available school funds--so much per student who was enumerated on a given date in each district--that was of school age. Well, the school districts were all in bad financial shape; teachers were having to discount their warrants at banks or banks were having to carry the warrants for their salaries and things of this sort. So the people who were interested --the business element--in sales tax were able to get the school people fairly well organized; in fact they moved in mass on Austin. The school teachers, school board members filled the galleries, the hall, and asked the legislature for the joint session of the Senate and the House and had a lawyer from San Antonio to present the school teachers' viewpoint.

Well, Mr. Hester had come to the conclusion that under existing revenues, that the per capita would be about nineteen dollars which was quite adequate, comparably, for the time. And if we could get that idea over, it would help stop this pressure.

Every member was under terrific pressure. Here was my county superintendent, and district superintendents, and school board members, and businessmen down at Austin actually putting the pressure on me, as well as on the rest of the members to vote for the sales tax. So the lawyer (I've forgotten his name) from San Antonio presented the sales tax argument, primarily the needs for the schools, and was fairly well received. So the bill was actually out on the floor so when we reconvened, as you might say, out of this joint session we immediately went into consideration of the bill. So we under our strategy had planned for George Hester to lead off the debate and which he did because he was fairly good . . . a fairly good speaker, fairly effective, and he certainly had all the information, the statistics in hand. He was followed in the debate by a man named Kayton who was a man about forty, I guess, thirty-eight or forty, who had retired after having made a million or so in out-door advertising and a pretty sharp fellow. I remember he held his foot up and he said, "Now here is a pair of shoes I paid a two per cent sales tax on." And I don't know where he would have done that, but and then he said, "I didn't mind it at all. They cost twenty-two dollars and fifty cents." This was in 1933, and I'm sitting there with a three dollar and a half pair of shoes (chuckle) along with most of the members, but he was a rather keen fellow. He really was a good debater and he fairly well took Hester apart just in a debate; not that he was able to answer Hester and actually be very constructive. But as far as debate goes, he spanked him.

So I was sitting there wondering whether I should follow or who should follow and I looked up the aisle and there was Sarah Hughes sitting up there and . . . who is now Federal District Judge of the northern district of Texas--holds court in Dallas--so I walked up the aisle and thought, "Well, I'll see if Sarah wants to go next." Before I could hardly open my mouth I said, "Sarah, will you . . ." and she said, "Yes, I will!" (chuckle) I then could see her very tensely sitting on the edge of her chair, being short, her legs dangling. And so Kayton, when he got through, Sarah, actually without asking for recognition, bounced down that aisle and made one of the finest speeches I've ever heard and really turned the tide as far as the debate was concerned in settling everybody down. Of course, she's a brilliant person and knew how to handle the situation.

One thing I'd forgotten there on this thing to recite that the Speaker had absented himself from the chair because this was an education meeting, and, of course Governor Stevenson . . . later Governor Stevenson, was favorable toward the sales tax and he had placed a school teacher from East Texas (can't remember his name right now) in the chair . . . Oh, W. W. Glass. He had . . . in fact, he had taught here . . . then . . . or earlier, in the government department . . . briefly. And Glass was sort of an odd person, a little bit easy to scare and indecisive about things; he was in the chair. And I don't know what they had planned, but the way George secured the floor

was that I jumped up quickly and ran up under Glass and pointed my finger and hollered, "Mr. Speaker, Mr. Speaker, I want recognition!" So he recognized the gentleman from Denton, with sort of a flutter. (Chuckle) And I turned and yielded my time to the Honorable George Hester of Georgetown. So this was the way we got the debate started from our point of view.

Well, anyway the sales tax was defeated in the House; it had originated, of course, in the House. I don't remember the exact vote, but it was a decisive vote and settled actually the issue of sales tax in Texas for some time. The nearest we came, of course, was later when I was not in the legislature, when Governor O'Daniel had in his campaign had opposed the sales tax. But when he became governor in recommending a legislative program, he recommended a transactions tax. And I believe that was that immortal fifty-six that held the line including the representative that succeeded me, Joe Skiles who was among that group that they couldn't shake and were able to block or defeat the sales tax at that time.

Another issue at the time there was, of course, the regulation of industry--stock sales, promotion sales, revising our whole, so-called blue-sky laws. I support . . . I think I was the author of --not author--sponsor--of all those bills in the House. The reason for that was, by this time Governor Allred was governor which would have been the next . . . the Ferguson's served two years and this would have been what? The election of '34, and this would be in '35. The reason for that was the Secretary of State was Gerald

Mann, who had been . . . was later Attorney General and a very prominent businessman, a lawyer in Dallas now, and has just been a loyal Democrat, a loyal-type Democrat. When he and Allred, I guess, in conferring about who to get to sponsor these bills in the House, came up with my name. And I think there were several reasons. One was that I was friendly with the speaker, who they weren't too friendly with and at the same time, Gerry felt like I could do it. So this was in a sense a landmark for Texas in doing something we needed to do so that we could protect the investors. And I don't need, I guess, to say anymore about that.

Of course, there was a continuing problem of appropriations. Nationally, Franklin Roosevelt had, along with Hoover in their campaign, had made promises of economy in government. That what we got to do is cut government expenditures, cut taxes and all the economists were giving them advice that retrenchment was necessary before we could recover practically everything we did just made it worse. So this was also at the state level. In fact, the leadership, the governor and others, called for a twenty-five per cent cross-the-board reduction. And what actually happened was that the finance committee in the Senate, appropriation committee in the House took the existing appropriations and reduced them twenty-five per cent. So if you were head of the government department, say this, Dr. Kamp, you would have been making say twenty-four hundred dollars a year for a nine months contract, they reduced you twenty-five per cent. If I had been the custodian in

your building at sixty dollars a month they reduced (chuckle) me twenty-five per cent because we're on a line-item basis. And, of course, this was quite demoralizing in the state, but there was little any of us could do about it. I discussed this with some people that I had confidence in, including the administration of both colleges in Denton, and decided the thing for me to do, since I was a member of the appropriations committee, was to join in with the cutters instead of resisting and fighting and not being in on the cutting, to sit in with them and if possible to get on the sub-committee that was going to work over the education . . . higher education bill, and be in there when it was done. And that way, I think I was able to save some funds and some reduction that would not have been, otherwise, and at the same time to get the confidence of the leadership. The chairman was a lawyer (of the appropriation committee) was a lawyer named Harmon from Waco . . . in the first place he was very unsympathetic with the . . . with state colleges. And for instance, he felt tuition was too low. They ought to . . . students could pretty well pay their way--they did at Baylor, (chuckle) things of that sort. And he was a man without any actual college education; he studied law in a law office and lacked some of the insight into what the problems of higher education were in the state. So he was brutally swinging his knife.

I remember that when the bills were finally signed by the governor and made public, the president of this college, North Texas, either called me or said to me, said, "What's this item of

twelve thousand dollars?" And I said, "Well, I just wrote it in."
(Laughter) He thought I had allocated it. I said, "We were arguing about this item and that item and one of the guys from one of the other schools said, 'We've just got to have five thousand or something,' and I said, 'I got to have twelve thousand,' and get rid of it. They let us write it in so use it any way you want to." (Chuckle) This is the mess that we were in, and of course, you realize that when the legislature had to sit--its members and certainly committees--day and night after night and pass on every particular item in the appropriation bill, there was nothing scientific about it . . . or anything . . . no equity. It was a bad situation.

But this was a continuing problem all the time I was in the legislature, and, of course, afterwards when I represented this school in budget hearings and in the budget fights in the legislature, trying to get adequate support. I'll always oppose tuition increase on principle. I felt that there was a community responsibility in broadening the education basis providing opportunities for boys and girls that want to go to college. I remember one experience I had. I had been so vocal about it that Dr. Evans of San Marcos, at Southwest Texas State College--teacher's college, I guess it was at that time . . . San Marcos--had the Rotary Club to invite me down there to speak on this issue. And I noticed it was a pretty . . . rather big Rotary Club. I had gotten there late; they had already started anyway, so I didn't have a chance to talk to anybody.

So I was introduced and got up and made my pitch (chuckle) in which I indicted church schools and private schools for being part of the lobby and trying to force up tuition. And I probably was rather extravagant in some of my language. And when I finally concluded a man rose up back in the group and said he wanted to say something and so he attempted to answer me. And then that called for me to make a few more remarks and then the president of the Rotary Club quickly adjourned (chuckle) it. I found out that there's a Baptist institution, San Marcos Academy, located there and that the Board of Regents of trustees (chuckle) or something, anyway, a number of the clergy were there and had been invited to the Rotary Club and I had pretty well spat in their face. (Chuckle) And then typical, I think, of college teachers, any number of them sidled up to me and said, "That's a good job," and snuck off 'cause none of them wanted to particularly face up to the issue of agreeing with me in front of all this group.

Anyway, this was a perilous time so far as education was concerned. The state (the legislature) had hired--I guess this was the 41st, 42nd legislature (my first one was the 43rd, called the fighting 43rd)--had hired-Giffen-Hagen Associates, was the title of the firm at that time--it has merged with another group--to make a study of the state organizations, financial or otherwise, and in their study of the higher institutions of learning they had recommended the abolishing of several state colleges--turn them back to the communities or reducing some, complete reorganization, in reverse, of the state colleges. Well they did not recommend the

merger nor the abolishment of North Texas State nor what was then TSCW, Texas State College for Women, now Texas Woman's University. But for instance, Arlington, which is now going into a graduate program, was recommended to be abolished, Sul Ross, East Texas turned back to the community, and Sam Houston at Huntsville would be retained, but anyway, quite a reorganization. There was no need for West Texas College because Texas Tech and things of this sort.

I joined in in the fight against it. The bill in the House was introduced, and I think very sincerely by two very sincere people who I've never yet, even with their explanation, understood why that they'd want to sponsor this reorganization of higher institution of learning--that was Sarah T. Hughes of Dallas and Penrose Metcalf of San Angelo. But I would say that they were very sincere about it, but we were able to lick them and leave the system rather undisturbed. So you had this reorganization battle.

I appeared before the committee, even though I was a member of the House. Our president, Dr. Marquis, was an ill man and had terrific high blood pressure and he was scheduled to appear as spokesman for the Council of Presidents. Instead, I substituted for him and then introduced two other college presidents who presented the college viewpoint, our position. I remember one of them was Dean E. E. Davis of Arlington, who, of course, was fighting for his life. And Sarah and Penrose Metcalf and their technicians, some of it growing out of the Griffen-Hagen group,

had charts showing how many colleges were in the Dallas-Fort Worth area--TWU, TWC, TCU, DBC, Decatur Baptist, SMU, East Texas, North Texas, Trinity at Waxahachie, _____, and down at Clifton was a what we call a Seven Day Adventest School, Jr. College that showed all . . . Austin College . . . all the colleges in a hundred mile radius and how that there was no need for all these educational facilities in the area. So Dean Davis had him some charts showing how many potatoes that were grown in an area of a hundred miles and how many sheep and cattle with various charts and he recommended eliminating this group and that group and got the whole committee to laughing and everybody did a very humorous thing and it made Sarah so damn mad she liked to have died and I thought it was the same thing really . . . inacting sorta the chairman of the group . . . fighting it. Penrose interrupted me, and asked me a question one time and I said, "There was a great man interested in education that came out of the west or southwest once before by the name of Santa Anna, I think, and I said, now we have got Penrose Metcalf." And this is the sort of levity that went on from those folks; we laughed it out, of course, pretty well. But at least we stopped it in the committee, in the House, and I think often now . . . we've got a senior college at Beaumont, Lamar, East Texas, giving graduate work, Arlington has been stepped up to a senior college, so has Tarleton. In other words, we've developed the schools we've had besides new colleges like Midwestern, and others that have come

into the system.

Probably I ought to say something about the proration fight in Texas, of course, the initial fight came a session before I went to the legislature during Mr. Minor's, Fred Minor's tenure under the Sterling administration where, of course, Sterling called out the national guard to win the battle of the oil derricks and proration and control of the East Texas field, which had precipitated this, was instituted and was very necessary. This was largely, of course, developed in the battle between the major oil companies the so-called independents. The major oil companies were convinced that there would have to be some control. It would be hard to describe conditions that were existing in East Texas; here was the largest field, yet discovered drilling continuing day and night, no control over the oil, what we call coffee pots being set up to skim off gasoline, run the rest of the oil into the creeks, there was a lot of waste going on. Oil wells being turned loose that were on flow and run down say, _____ creek, earthen pits, actually stealing of oil away from the owners. It was a chaotic condition, and, of course, every undesirable character in the country was flocking in there--gamblers, and prostitutes, and everything else. Of course, the old saying is that the time to go into a field is with the first load of prostitutes; the time to come out is with the first load of sucker rods. But we weren't ready to bring the sucker rods out.

So, this was a rather hectic time, and I was in Austin most

of the time in and around the legislature during that. But the fight continued over into our session and the necessary legislation to really complete the control, and, of course, this question of how much control was a very serious one--what the purpose of the control. Well, the purpose, of course, was conservation. But then, does this mean turning over oil production to only the major companies or is this a question of setting price . . . administering the price of oil, or was it conservation? Of course, there was one waste that wasn't taken into consideration . . . and that was gas. They were popping the gas out and burning it in flares, wasting . . . trillions, I guess, of cubic feet of gas--which we later coped with in a bill to control gas, which was a rather bitter fight. And again, the gas companies were for it and the royalty owners--many of them--the land owners, the independent producers, the wildcatters, were opposed to any control.

This was a rather hectic session on this particular. And rather to . . . rather than going . . . this was in the first administration and the first ones were seeming not too concerned. It seemed . . . of course, they had gotten probably more campaign money and support from independents. And some of the major independents that was fighting it had been long-time Ferguson supporters--like Judge Starnes of Texas Oil Products and others. So we didn't have, really, the executive leadership necessary.

In the House, the group largely made up of representatives of the major companies had asked Gordon Burns of Huntsville and

myself to serve as floor leaders (of course, the bill was signed by a number of people) to lead the bill through the House. And I think this was the hardest fight I ever engaged in; it was long, tedious, and lots of pressure put on. This little sidelight I think probably would be of interest. Actually I hope I'm not a 'fraidy-cat, but I got a little bit concerned about my physical welfare--threats, telephone calls, pushed off the street, ridiculed in hotel lobbies, by pretty rough customers (chuckle). Of course, they had run a train out to the oil fields and they'd loaded the train up with everything they could scrape up. And some oil field workers, unemployed ne'er-do-wells, and everything else, they tried to make a big show that the landowners and the people of East Texas didn't want proration. So on one trip home, I picked up--my father had a little pocket . . . little automatic that fit in my pocket well, so I just carried it back to Austin with me and carried it in my hip pocket. It was very easy to do; in those days I wore not only a belt, but--I was sort of a pessimist--I also wore suspenders. So . . . I never did have to use it, but it just indicates the concern that some of us involved in it had.

One night, George Burns, of Huntsville, and I were walking down Congress Avenue after working at the Capitol at night some on this thing. Burns stayed at the . . . had a room at the Stephen F. Austin; I had a room over at the Driskill. Anyone that knows the location of those hotels . . . we got to the Congress Street entrance; Gordon turned in there and said to me, said, "Come on up

and let's have a drink and then you can go on over and go to bed." And I said, "No, I'm too damn tired. I'm just going on and go to bed." So I walked around the corner down Sixth Street . . . Seventh Street, cut across into the Seventh Street entrance of the Driskill. Gordon walked in the Congress Street entrance and on in to the lobby of the Stephen F. Austin and there was accosted, berated, and finally physically assaulted by some six or seven oilmen and was hospitalized. And I often wonder what would have happened if I had turned in with him--having the "gat" on my hip. (Chuckle) Well, I might have had to have eaten it, (chuckle) I don't know. But I think I would have defended myself. This, 'course, helped us in the long-run. It really branded the rough-necks involved in this thing. And though we had a hard time in getting it over, we did introduce the resolution censuring these people by name and calling them to the bar of the House and rep . . . the speaker reprimanding them. There were several rather prominent oilmen involved or later who were involved. Some of their names, of course, I've forgotten; some of them, I do remember. But anyway, this will give you some idea of how rough it was on this thing.

And also this might be also a personal thing and I'm sure others had the same experience: that I was contacted by the so-called, independent oilman. What, the heck was his name? Cap . . . Eddleman I haven't seen or heard of him in years. Anyway, Cap Eddleman. However, he wanted to talk to me, and I had an idea

what it was about so he invited me to his room and I went up there and talked to him about . . . to see what he wanted. And he was alone, so far as I know, and I guess he was; it was kind of before the days of bugging rooms anyway. But finally he got around to offering me five thousand dollars to vote with them and to reverse my position. Now I didn't tell him "No;" I said, "Well, let me think about it, and I'll call you." So later, I arranged for two people--one a member of the legislature and one a Denton citizen visiting at Austin at that time, who was not in the legislature--to go to my room (chuckle) and hide, actually, in my clothes closet. And then I called this character--Cap Eddleman--and told him I was ready to talk to him. And he came alone to my room and I said, "Now what . . . just what is the deal?" And I said, "Now you want me (and I called the number of the bill) to vote against this bill and certainly to vote against it I'll have to reverse my position. My neck is out. As leadership, I'll have to tell the House I've changed my mind about it. And this is what you want me to do?" So we rehearsed what his requirements was and also the price--five thousand dollars. And after we had sat there and discussed it clearly, I walked over and opened the--finished opening it; it was ajar--the clothes closet and these two men walked out. And I said, "Now, get your butt out of (laughing) this room and I don't know yet, whether I'm going to relate this to the House or not--I may have to do it!" So I was well protected in the attempted bribe, of course, I wasn't going to do it except in desperation

because it would have necessitated a scandal, a hearing and probably indictments and a lot of trouble I didn't want to get into. All I wanted to do was lick him on the bill and have this additional pressure on him if necessary.

Now on this lobbying thing, I'd only been offered in my three terms in the legislature . . . I have only been offered . . . was only offered a bribe or money three different times. This is one of them. Right after I was nominated--not elected, of course, but it was tantamount to the election--in 1932, a very prominent citizen of Denton came to me and asked me if I didn't need some money; and I told him "Yes," I always needed money. And he said, . . . well, he had some friends who would like to help me pay up my campaign debts which I had been having and that they had contacted him to see if I needed it. And I was smart enough to . . . I don't know why . . . but to tell him that I wanted to know who his friends were (chuckle) that I actually didn't need it that badly. And I said, "Are they businessmen here in Denton?" or what their interest are. And he was very frank and told me that it was Texas Power and Light Company and the Texas Gulf Sulphur Company and I told him that I'd rather not. He didn't insist or anything and I guess just simply as editor of the paper, I guess they had contacted him. Later I did accompany him as related to before. He came to me and wanted to know if I wanted to go fishing on the coast. And I went with him in his car and we drove to Houston and were picked up and carried out into the gulf to the

Staff Hotel out there. We went out on a small yacht I guess you would call it, fishing, getting away a few days as guest of the Texas Gulf Sulphur Company. Bob felt better about that, this way he got a few days for vacation. And at that time I met six or seven new members of the House that I didn't know that were also down there. I found out that they were bringing them down . . . legislators by groups that would come, five or six in a group, and entertain them for a few days--close to the sulphur tax pressures that were on them.

The other time that I actually wasn't offered any money, but was accused of it, I had better say that, . . . involved the Texas Gulf Sulphur. Roy Miller from Corpus Christi, who later moved on to the national scene and who is the . . . the father of Dale Miller that represents the Dallas Chamber of Commerce and others in Washington now . . . was the head lobbyist for the sulphur companies. And I never did know Mr. Miller too well, but along the line, (he hired a man, and I can't even remember his first name. We always called him "Pint" Webb who had been an athlete out at the University of Texas, primarily baseball. He was one of Billy Disch's baseball players) as leg man and lobbyist and he grew up with the organization. I knew Webb very well. So, in the session, when the sulphur tax bill came up I, of course, voted for the sulphur tax. And immediately after the vote I hardly had time to think after we had done the machine vote and the bill had passed. I had a note from the reception room saying to come out there; he

wanted to talk to me.

So I went out there and he was very nervous. And I knew something was wrong, he said, "Why did you vote for the tax," and I said, "Well, that's the way I felt." I hate to have hard feelings, but that's the way I felt about it. He said, "After we helped you?" And I said, "Now whoa wait a minute, what do you mean after you helped me." What have you given me and he said, "Well, frankly we gave you some money," and I said, "Well that is a damn lie, I never received any, did I receive any money from you?" He said, "No, but from one of our men." And I said, "Well you are going to have to tell me who in the hell that damn man is now he's gonna . . . the three of us is going to sit down. And I said, "Pint, I don't want to get you and myself in trouble, but I'll go before the House on personal priviledge." I said, "You're not going to feel that I've welched on a deal and that I took money from the Gulf Sulphur Company and all your group know this and you'll be talking about it. This is not going to happen." So he told me a fellow by the name of W. L. Esquvae, whom I knew --passing, not well--and knew he was working for the sulphur company. He was a resident of Fort Worth. So he named the man and I said, "Well, he's just a damn lier; that's all he is." And I said, "You can go tell him." I says, "If he's in town; go tell him." So I went on back in, as mad as hell, and didn't say anything about it, but I was just smoldering. So, before we adjourned that morning, why I got another note from "Pint" and so

I went out to the reception room and "Pint" said, "Well, I got this solved." And I said, "You have?" He said, "Esquvae gave the money to Bob Hoffman." (Well to identify Bob Hoffman, again, he owned the drug store on the east side--now the Reeves Drug Store--here in Denton, R. H. Hoffman. He was a pharmacist, originally, and was head of the Pure Food and Drug at the state level and drifted in as chief lobbyist for the Magnolia Oil Company, and was a friend of my father. They grew up together and therefore, I knew him very well). So "Pint" said, "Esquvae said he gave the money to Hoffman for Hoffman to give to you." So I said, "Well, I never got it," and looked over there and Hoffman was sitting over in the corner over in the reception room so I said, "There's Hoffman." I just took Webb and we went right over and sat down. I said, "Bob, here's a story I want to tell you." And I told him what . . . he just blew his top. And he said, "The lying son-of-a-bitch! He never gave me any money! (Chuckle) And I never gave you any money!" (Chuckle) So the result was Esquvae got fired. And they disclosed that he had taken, supposedly, Gulf Sulphur money and given to a number of people that never got it, or didn't get . . . probably in some instances, the amount he allegedly got them. But I thought that might be an interesting sidelight on lobbying because later, when I did work for the Magnolia, during one campaign I learned a lot about that little ole black bag, so to speak, and financial aid and how it's carried on. And there is a great opportunity for the dispenser of funds, to take out a percentage

or to allege expenditures that were not made and to cause some embarrassment on the part of members. It's something that has to be handled very carefully.

We thought probably we'd make some comments about political conventions. There was quite a lack of interest in . . . when I began to be interested in conventions back in the '20's, and even the early '30's. Usually the same people participated, very few people, people who were rather looked at as political leaders. I can remember attending the conventions at Lewisville on the precinct level when there would be two or three people or maybe the election judge and myself. And you just made out a list of delegates of people who usually went so there wasn't too much interest. However, as I recall, interest began to quicken as we began to develop some liberal political thought in the state. Most of the participants, earlier, had been the conservatives--largely lawyers, businessmen--that were rather conservative in their political viewpoints.

So far as local ones are concerned, I think we began to quicken our interest about 1936, somewhere along there. If you'll recall that in 1932, and '34, the Roosevelt people rather controlled the conventions and so far as what we call the national convention set-up was concerned. And traditionally the state conventions had for some years been designated as the governor's convention and everybody bowed out and allowed the governor's friends to dominate it; there was little contest, just sort of a gentleman's agreement that what we call the September convention

at the state level and the conventions leading up to it were the governor's--the governor's party to do about what he wanted to do. In other words, you had somewhat, two separate conventions. You had what we call our state convention, which led up to the governor's convention in September, and then you had the convention set up every four years that led to the national convention of the party. Usually you had different people attending these conventions. In other words, your federal conventions were--or national convention set-up--was largely the same people year in and year out who, more or less, interested themselves in federal politics, national politics, while the other group would vary as to the candidate for governor that had probably been successful and his friends.

The national convention, as far as I'm familiar with . . . of course, down in this country, most of us were much aware of the Houston convention which was in what? . . . 1928, because it was held in Houston and of course, Alfred E. Smith of New York was nominated and was placed in nomination by Franklin Roosevelt. I didn't attend that convention, even though it was held in this state--a little bit early for me--but I did, in 1932. I was running for representative for the lower House of the Texas Legislature and I did . . . was active in the conventions. There wasn't much interest in the conventions either state or what we call the national set-up. But I followed on up to the state convention and was selected as an alternate delegate to Chicago. This, as you remember, was the contest between Roosevelt and Smith.

The real key to that convention, of course, was the organization . . . organizing ability of Jim Farley, pre-convention, and also because of the split between Smith and McAdoo back in 1924, which had that prolonged convention in New York and John Davis was nominated as a compromise. The bitterness between McAdoo and Smith still existed and McAdoo had moved on to California . . . was the Democratic leader in California and dominated the California delegation to the 1932 convention. And so coupled with the organizing ability of Jim Farley and the McAdoo hangover from '28 . . . yes, '28 . . . Smith was defeated for the nomination.

So far as Texas is concerned it was a Garner, Ray controlled the delegation along with Clara Driskoll and Amon Carter, leaders of this sort. A fellow named Morrison, I have forgotten his first name from San Antonio, as I recall, probably a banker. I know he owned the property that became Buchanan Dam. He had gotten it some way in the dissolution of the old electric trust that . . . out of Chicago that broke up . . . that had had that property and had started some development. Men like Jesse Jones of Houston and Jim Elkins of Houston, Maury Hughes, others from Dallas, this type of people. There was great unanimity, there was no contest, the Democrats had been out of office for some time and everybody was loyal to the party, irrespective of the ideology or their political philosophy.

I don't remember too much about the convention because it was a new thing to me, I was all eyes probably and certainly was not

in on a lot of the conferences and things of that sort. One of the outstanding things I remember, of course, was the appearance of the native son nominee of Oklahoma, Will Rogers, and his address to the convention. There is one interesting story that I guess is written somewhere that I heard there and I have heard it numbers of time since and I rather think there is some factual basis for it, that when the decision was made by Mr. McAdoo, that something had to be done to stop . . . to stop Smith and as you recall, Mr. Garner was a candidate for the presidency and Texas was loyal and staying with their . . . her son . . . her favorite son that Jim Farley left his hotel and went out looking for Sam Rayburn. As the story goes . . . I have forgotten which hotel . . . Farley came into the lobby of one of the hotels thinking that Rayburn was there somewhere and ran into a reporter for Amon Carter's paper, Silliman Evans and asked him if he knew where he could locate Rayburn. And Evans told him he could, and he led him to Rayburn and as one . . . the outcome of the Farley-Rayburn conference, Garner withdrew and Texas threw their vote with California to turn the tide for Roosevelt in that convention. An interesting sidelight was that when Roosevelt was elected and assumed office and Farley became Postmaster General, Mr. Evans became assistant, a newspaper reporter for the Star Telegram and became assistant to the Postmaster General.

In the 1936 convention held in Philadelphia . . . it didn't last long, I don't remember, usually there is a contract with the

city that you will hold a convention for some number of days. As I recall we contracted to stay there five days, in convention, so the city could get . . . pay for the expenses in setting up for the convention. If you will remember, of course, this was cut and dried. Garner had been in the trade back in '32, why Garner was to be the Vice President if Texas went for . . . swung the delegates for Roosevelt. And so it was a Roosevelt-Garner ticket, very popular. There wasn't any contention nor controversy; there was little . . . it was just stereotyped--cut and dried sort of a thing. So there isn't much to say there. You remember that Landon and Knox were nominated, and as Roosevelt said, "On the rocks with Landon and Knox."

In 1940, by this time they began to develop some schisms and groups and splinters within the party. As you recall, Roosevelt decided to go for a third term. Mr. Garner, his Vice President, disagreed with this and split with Roosevelt to retire to Uvalde where he is still living at this time.

Edward M. House, that had been a supporter of Roosevelt, had known Roosevelt since he was a child, having been friends of Roosevelt's mother . . . Mr. and Mrs. House. Mr. House had had probably a great deal of influence on him, politically. I probably have commented before, the reason that Franklin Roosevelt was . . . the . . . was Secretary . . . Assistant Secretary of the Navy in the Wilson administration, where House was very influential. He asked Wilson to appoint the son of an old friend of his, and also

the reason that Roosevelt was the vice presidential candidate with Cox in 1920, was the House influence. It is said that Roosevelt read Philip Drew, The Administrator, the very famous book of Mr. House's, when he was just a child and discussed it when he was quite young--and had discussed it with Mr. House. In fact, the story goes that he and Felix Frankfurter read it together and also discussed it with Mr. House.

Also Jim Farley, of course, the break began between Roosevelt and Farley, even though Farley was a loyal party man. Farley, as you know, was a New Yorker and, of course, had been loyal to the New York political set-up Tammany, and had been a Smith supporter. But on this third term and other factors there began to be a wedge between Farley and Roosevelt.

I was a full-fledged delegate to this convention, along with a lady from Throckmorton whose husband later was a very conservative political figure in this state. He served as lieutenant governor-- John Lee Smith. Mrs. John Lee Smith and I were the two delegates to this convention. I would say the strong man, of course, of this convention was Harry Hopkins. Hopkins had moved in very close to Roosevelt and actually was running the convention--was calling the signals. When there was any decision to be made, why Mr. Hopkins was contacted and he made the decision. The big contest was not over whether Roosevelt would be nominated for a third term. There was some nominal opposition to it, of course, and our delegation from Texas was committed to John Garner and the delegation was

controlled by Rayburn and Lyndon Johnson. They ignored Senator Connally, who was the senior senator from the state; they ignored Clara Driskoll, who had financed the party many, many times when they had needed it.

Another strong figure in this Texas delegation was a man ah, named Alvin Wirtz, an attorney from Austin who was . . . I believe the title was deputy secretary at least second in command of the Department of the Interior under Harold Ickes and had a great deal to do with developing the Colorado River, water conservation, and the lower Colorado (what is it) electric co-op. Alvin Wirtz is deceased. In fact, he died rather early, as far as what might have been a productive life, politically. But he was a very important figure. And it was Rayburn's and Johnson's split with Miss Driskoll was over Alvin Wirtz, whether he would be on the platform committee rather than a banker (Morrison) from San Antonio. Wirtz was later an important LBJ advisor and political aide. He was very helpful to LBJ in "Box 13" strategy.

One interesting, I think, sidelight, we conferenced or had conference after conference, or caucus after caucus of the Texas delegation trying to determine what to do because they had . . . there was somewhat of a split. I was with the minority group who were supporting Roosevelt and opposing Garner, in the first instance. And also I was in the minority group who when finally Mr. Hopkins--Harry Hopkins--had passed the word down that the vice presidential candidate would be Wallace, Henry Agard Wallace.

I was in the minority group who wanted to oppose that, and it was a rather odd thing that Rayburn and Johnson, though they were insisting on Garner for President and seemingly being very serious about it, that once that this was resolved they immediately became rubber stamps of Harry Hopkins--whatever orders (chuckle) Harry passed down.

I and the minority group in our delegation, which, I guess, was largely lead by ex-district attorney and lawyer and a very loyal Democrat, Maury Hughes in Dallas. We were supporting Paul McNutt, who had been Governor of Indiana and had been thought of even as a presidential candidate. But I went with Mr. Hughes (and I was trying to think, the two other people) to talk to McNutt. We went to his apartment; it seems to me like it was in the Congress Hotel. (Now, I don't remember; that doesn't make any difference, anyway) And I remember he was partially undressed (chuckle) and there was a crap game going on in one of the rooms of the apartment. I rather think he probably was in a game before we got there (laughter) but anyway . . . to talk to him to see if he would allow his name to go before the convention. And I remember his answer and this was his answer: "The boss has spoken. The boss has spoken." In other words, "Roosevelt has spoken and my name shall not go before the convention." As I recall (and, of course, this is all written history, anyway, and somebody can find it somewhere . . .) that Bankhead, of Alabama, did allow his name to go before the convention, but was defeated, for the vice presidential . . . I believe that was correct.

Anyway, Henry Wallace was nominated and I (chuckle) remember ole Jimmy Byrnes coming down the aisle with corn stalks in his hands screaming and hollering, "Come on Texas and get in here!" doing a war dance . . . you know, he had been a very prominent secretary of state (wasn't he, at one time) and on the Supreme Court. But he was hooting it up for Wallace and then subsequently, he's become so conservative, so critical . . . complete metamorphosis in his whole approach. Also what was the senator from Florida (I've forgotten his name) that was defeated, but was a very liberal senator? Oh, Senator Claude Pepper, and others during these demonstrations at the convention. It was ah--and seems to me like I recorded this, but at this convention we carried the cowboy band from Hardin-Simmons College at Abilene, that is, the Garner forces did, to be and they had a special train--I didn't go up on the train, but I went up in a car--but they had a special train that went up and carried the white horses and everything to go with the band, but when they got to Chicago, they were going to parade from the railway station to the hotel and make quite a splurge for Garner and his band in the Texas delegation. But they couldn't get a permit from Mayor Daley. It developed that Petrillo who was the music czar of the country objected to it too because they were not union musicians. And anyway they blocked them from this parade. Well, that made all of us angry that Texas was going to be stopped from parading even though we didn't care about Garner. So we organized a parade anyway and I remember here was

Mr. Rayburn, and Lyndon, and Tom Connally and all the big shots leading this parade right down Michigan Boulevard with . . . it seemed like every cop and motor cop, and cop on foot and horse in Chicago was trying to stop it and the shouting, "put us in jail," "lock us up," so we tied up traffic for blocks and snarled the traffic of Chicago something terrible, but Texas had a parade. Now I was along in the group and remember very well.

Anyway, in this convention, I said a while ago, we caucused so many times, had so many fights among ourselves. I have a cartoon over here in one of my files. Some fellow in the press drew the Texas delegation fighting. He handed it to me, showed the Texas standard sticking up among the people, slinging fists. One of the interesting things I think was that before it was resolved who would be the vice presidential nominee, there were . . . must have been fifteen, maybe twenty men that thought maybe they might be the vice presidential nominee. As I said among them, Paul McNutt, Senator Bankhead, and in Texas we had two men that I think both of them thought definitely they would be the nominee, one was Sam Rayburn and one was Jesse Jones. In fact, when the message came to us that Wallace was to be the vice presidential candidate because of Roosevelt's choice, we were in caucus and we held recess of caucus until both Jones and Rayburn got to a telephone to confirm it. Because both of them had no idea, I don't think, that Wallace would be nominated, and, of course, as you know, there was enmity between Jesse Jones and

Wallace. Jones had been removed as secretary of commerce or was later, I forget, but anyway there was quite an enmity between the two people. They just couldn't believe this was going to happen.

Another sidelight of the convention, Miss Driskoll got very angry in one of our caucuses early because of her candidate for committee assignments and because she was generally being ignored by Rayburn and Johnson and stalked out with her gold headed cane, telling everybody as she went down the aisle that the Party could go to hell as far as she was concerned. Of course, she had already contributed twenty-five thousand dollars at that time. But the next day the word was passed around that the Texas delegation . . . everybody was due to go to the Congress Hotel to her suite. She was giving a party for the group and it developed that we all had to go by and shake hands with her, and liquor was flowing, champagne was flowing, it was quite a party and the ole woman was propped up in bed, all dressed up, looped with her campagne bucket by her bed, so we all went by to see Miss Clara.

And it was also during this convention that it was difficult to get the Texas standard into the parades because the . . . one group or the other would destroy the standards . . . keep Texas standards from getting into the parade that were being carried on. So, of course, being a minority group, we couldn't get a standard to get into it and there was an ole boy by the name of Lon Messer, from Robstown, about a six foot, two hundred pound guy. That . . . I never did know exactly whom he represented unless it was

Miss Driskoll. He was always in attendance at legislature, a nicely dressed fellow, always visiting, never entertaining, but always present and around, and never talked to me about any legislation, anytime I ever seen him. But anyway it occurred to him without, I guess, saying anything to anyone else, he went out somewhere in Chicago and bought him a Texas flag and hid it under his coat and brought it in. So the next time that we, in the minority wanted to parade, he told me to grab one of those broken standard sticks that was on the floor and he tied this Texas flag to this standard and got up and said, "Come on boys," and he shouted back to Rayburn and Johnson and said, "All right now you sons-of-bitches, tear this down." So we marched with the Texas flag in this parade and I remember when we got around in front of the presiding officer, Barkeley, I believe was presiding, Lon would wave his flag as Barkley was trying to get order, you know, but he would raise this Texas flag and holler at him up there. He got the old man trying to hit it with the gavel. (Laughter) Anyway, I felt that that might be of some interest on the convention.

But this forty convention, of course, in a sense was cut and dried because Mr. Roosevelt would have gotten anything that he wanted ultimately. But I personally, even though a very close friend of mine was Mr. Wallace's assistants, a Harold Young just wasn't attracted to Mr. Wallace in any particular way. I might say that the man I referred to was Harold Young, who was one of Mr. Wallace's closest assistants, who had grown up here in Denton.

By the way, his father had been a minister here in Denton. I had known him for a long time. Paul Appleby, however, probably was the closest man to Wallace, later was chairman, director or head of the Maxwell School of Citizenship at Syracuse University. Both of them finally broke with Wallace when they felt that the . . . that he had gotten too far off in orbit with his metaphysical approach to religion and a few of those sort of things. Well, I guess this pretty well wraps up that convention. I have probably given my impressions of it.

Another thing I would like to and probably will close out this session on is to go back and talk to . . . talk more about some methods of appointment at the state level of people to offices. I can say this from a personal viewpoint when Pearl Harbor came along I went to Austin and worked with Governor Stevenson. Because of illness in his family he had gotten fairly well behind down there. In fact, when he went into the governorship, W. O. Reed, a lawyer from Dallas, who is now in Washington, called me and asked me if I would be interested in being his secretary. And I told him I wouldn't be interested at the time, but would be delighted to talk to him about the selection. So I knew I was rather strong with Stevenson. And then when Pearl Harbor came why he called me and asked me to come to Austin and I stayed with him in the mansion and helped him clear his desk. With that, rationing came along so he appointed Mark McGee of Fort Worth as Director of Administrative Rationing in Texas, on a dollar-a-year

basis, and actually then had to take over the organization of setting up rationing in Texas. So this appointment came, as you see, through friendship and through having known Mr. Stevenson. And the rationing administrator job, which later led to personnel and organizational consultant with the Office of Price Administration, came through just being there and available on the (chuckle) spot when something had to be done.

Later, after I had gone in to service and had come back (I'd been back about ten days and was trying to get things in order. I planned to go to Mexico and spend several months to kind of get the war out of my system) and I got a call from Mark McGee in Fort Worth saying that he'd just come from Austin and that the governor wanted to see me. And I said, "Well, fine, I'll get by there." But I didn't think there was any hurry. But about two days later, his secretary--the governor's secretary--called me and said, "The Governor wants you down here. He sent you word; he's got to see you!" And so I went down to Austin, in fact, I left late in the afternoon, drove to Austin and got down there and I called the house and he said, "Come over for coffee." Well, that meant about four-thirty the next morning when he always got up and boiled his coffee. So I went over there and he said, "I want you to take the job as industrial member of the Texas Employment Commission." And I said, "Well, I hadn't anticipated doing anything for a while, kinda war-tired, and I'm sort of taking an extended vacation. And how much time do I have to think about

this?" He said, "'Til four o'clock this afternoon." (Chuckle)
That didn't give me much time, but I did think about it, make a few calls, contact a few people, and found out that it was a rather hot spot--hot situation, lot of controversy--and that I had been a compromise candidate . . . a compromise . . . not candidate . . . I had no idea, but in a way a compromise selection. I don't think, so far as Stevenson was concerned, I was a compromise, but there were two groups in the situation. So I was acceptable to both groups if their candidate could not be appointed. This was the way I got on the Employment Commission.

I don't know, these sort of things are funny. As I was thinking about this now later, in 1946, I got a call from a lawyer in Dallas named Percy Rice. I was in Austin and he said, "Would you keynote the state convention--the governor's convention--for Jester?" And I had not been active in Jester's campaign. As I noted here before, in fact . . . without saying anything, just sitting on my job in Austin, being apolitical, but actually voted secretly, I guess you'd say, for Rainey. But he asked me if I would keynote the Jester convention. And I told him I'd be . . . I'd probably be interested and would like to talk to him about it. Then I found out later that this was a "stop Johnston" movement. Albert Sydney Johnston, an attorney in Dallas, rather prominent in state politics, not running for office, but in the fringes, was the man who was going to keynote it. And there was a group who wanted to stop him (chuckle) and they were trying to use me to

stop him. So I never did hear anymore about this sort of thing, but it gives you some idea about how these things come about.

I was appointed on Shivers' . . . well first, on Jester's tax study commission (I may have referred to it before). There were eight of us on this commission headed by Stuart McCorkle of Austin at the University of Texas and Reg Rushing up at Tech and Gabbart over at A & M who's the county specialist. At least there were eight of us on that spent some time over a period of about two years blueprinting, studying, and making recommendations on the Texas tax system. By the time we completed it, Mr. Jester had died and Mr. Shivers had become Governor. And he did not use it or even make it public. I've often said it was thrown in file thirteen. However, I do have in my files a letter from Mr. Shivers telling me what a wonderful job we'd done and what a great contribution (chuckle) we'd made to the state. We were rather specific in some of our recommendations and I guess this was pretty hot, politically. Now the reason I got on that commission was Bill McGill, who as I mentioned before, William McGill was actually functioning as governor, making a lot of decisions, working out a lot of appointments under Mr. Jester because of some of Mr. Jester's personal difficulties. And so being friends with Bill, Bill was setting up the committee, and thinking I could do a job on it, I was appointed there.

I never did know why I was appointed on Shivers' Tax Economy Commission; never was able to find out, but was appointed on it. Of course, it was a rather large group, as I remember--a hundred

or so in the state--and then we finally narrowed it down and I survived as we narrowed it down. But actually nothing came of this sort of appointment.

So experience has reflected that either you are personally known and liked by the governor or you're personally known or liked by someone close to the governor--of course, it would stand to reason--or you more or less represent some group that must be taken care of. But in general, loyalty to the governor and to his administration, more or less ideologically in the same frame of mind, is necessary before you can get appointed.

As a suggestion here of Dr. Kamp's, I'm going to comment a little on one of the state conventions that I've referred to before as the state convention for the national convention set-up. This was in 1940, and was held in Waco. The group of delegates that went from this country were considered the liberal delegation. We had captured the--without any question--the county convention and I had been chairman of the convention, a member of the delegates selected, and also chairman of the delegation. We had left at home, people like Bob Edwards, who was state committeeman, Mrs. Richard J. Turrentine, that was state committeewoman--didn't even include them on the delegates list. We did include (and I was responsible for this) the ex-speaker of the House, Fred Minor. But it was generally men made up of collegians like the people from out here like Ross Compton and Jack Johnson and downtown, Will Orr and others who were definitely known for their liberal

leaning. When we got down to the convention and had our caucuses for the selection of delegates, which, of course, is held on congressional district basis. I might comment that congressmen rarely ever participate. They might be present; usually they weren't even present at the state convention, unless they had some particular axe to grind. This was generally just a citizen, non-political--as far as the congressional candidates are concerned --caucus. I don't remember exactly who was our congressman then. Was it W. D. McFarlan or if he was, he wasn't even there. Guinn Williams had been before that. I don't remember him ever attending. And in this caucus, I was nominated for delegate. And Bob Edwards, in the meantime, had gotten a proxy from out in Ford County, which was in the congressional district and was in the convention . . . in the caucus. And he nominated, thinking that he could defeat me, or defeat our group actually, nominated Fred Minor, that we had put on our delegation. But I defeated Mr. Minor in this contest. I've always . . .we had a great deal of laughs with Ross Compton. We didn't know how many votes were going to be needed and couldn't find Ross. And come to find out that there was a parade going on and Ross was out in the parade (chuckle) so as the people would know how he stood.

In this convention, you might say this, one of the big contests was from San Antonio and it was rather a liberal dominated convention. Maury Maverick was heading up the liberal group out of (Maury Maverick, Senior) out of San Antonio and a lawyer by the

name of Davis, a well-established old firm there, was leading the other group. And we thought the convention generally was about over and some of them wanted to come home and so we couldn't find Ross Compton. So we finally found him sitting down front out of the delegation. Went down and asked him if he . . . I believe Conrad, Dr. Conrad who was teaching economics here--said, "Come on Ross, let's go home." And Ross jumped up and shouted, "I'll not leave, I'll not leave 'til it's adjourned. Something is going to happen!"

So we stayed and actually, something did happen because they waited, thinking that the convention would dissipate, and they brought in the minority delegates report for . . . to get the convention to seat them, from San Antonio from Bexar County. And I remember the vicious speech that Davis made, he said that Maverick was morally, physically, mentally, politically bankrupt and a very vicious thing, and, of course, Ross didn't let us forget it all the way home. If we had left, we might have lost the fight.

But in these conventions . . . I probably didn't make it clear and I don't know just how, maybe I'm limited here in my vocabulary, but . . . there was generally a certain clique that might be friends of congressmen, or senators, or governors, that generally were known as participants in conventions. I could very near know from one convention to the other who would be present and who would be in positions of leadership. It was sort of a professional

(chuckle) sort of thing that these people just participated. And, of course, generally (up until, let's say 1940) it was men of affluence, men who had money who could afford to go away from their business and spend some money for a few days at these conventions, along with a group probably I would be included in, who were politically beginning, who were politically conscious, and wanted to meet people and wanted to get some recognition. And generally this was the groups that were in these conventions. But rarely I would say, up through '40, that governors . . . in my experience, of course, that does not span back too far . . . did governors or any elected officials try to exert too much influence directly, by going into caucuses and things of that sort. I am speaking of the "national" state conventions.

Now in other words, I was a Roosevelt man in 1940, therefore, our delegation was for Roosevelt. Garner was again contending to be a vice presidential candidate. We were opposed to him. As a result, no one came to the caucus and brought any pressure in any way on us. However, in the background there was Rayburn, and the nominal Texas leaders in Congress, like Johnson, and those who did, of course, want us to go committed to Garner, as a native son candidate. But they were for Roosevelt all the way through. So, as I recited at Chicago, once that was resolved and they became a rubber stamp for Roosevelt, or for Harry Hopkins.