

The Texas Observer

NOV. 29, 1963

A Journal of Free Voices

A Window to The South

25c

THE LAST VOYAGE OF MR. KENNEDY

by Ronnie Dugger

Come now on the last voyage of Mr. Kennedy.

The members of the party were the President, his wife, and the Vice-President; ten members of the President's staff, Kenneth O'Donnell, David Powers, Lawrence O'Brien, Gen. Chester Clifton, Malcolm Kilduff, George Burkley, Mrs. Evelyn Lincoln, Miss Pamela Turnure, Miss Christian Camp, and Mrs. Mary Gallagher; and seventeen members of Congress, Sen. Ralph Yarborough and Cong. Jack Brooks, Ray Roberts, Olin Teague, Albert Thomas, Homer Thornberry, Jim Wright, Graham

Purcell, John Young, Joe Kilgore, Walter Rogers, George Mahon, Henry Gonzalez, O. C. Fisher, Lindley Beckworth, Wright Patman, and Clark Thompson, of Texas.

Fifty-eight members of the national press accompanied the party from Washington, and ten members of the press joined the party in Texas. They flew in three majestic jets, two for the party, one for the press. The President traveled in one of the jets, and the Vice-President in another, for they are not permitted to fly in the same plane at the same time.

building of the center, great ribbons of blue and white crepe paper curving fan-like out from under it into another wood superstructure, wrapped in blue crepe and apparently just decorative. On the roof of the building two Air Force sentinels, one a white man, and one a Negro man, stood easily against the horizon of the afternoon and looked out over the crowd.

A wind was kicking up his bushy forelock as Kennedy delivered his speech, varying from the text so that he would not have to read it too closely. It was the style we have all heard many times, words that somehow were shaped in the way they sounded by the hard corners of his jaws. He stood at a rostrum between two tasseled flags, the American, and I guess the presidential, and in front of him and the dignitaries, high over us all on a silver flag pole, another and larger American flag snapped in the smart fall breeze.

It was not an important speech, something to get through, really, and the Vice-President gazed off to his right, absorbed in his thoughts. Gov. Connally, too, seemed not to be listening, absorbed in thought; Sen. Yarborough, seated behind Kennedy to the right side, kept his gaze on the back of the President's head, and was smiling steadily.

The President said in San Antonio:

"For more than three years I have spoken about the New Frontier. This is not a partisan term, and it is not the exclusive property of Republicans or Democrats. It refers, instead, to this nation's place in history, to the fact that we do stand on the edge of a great new era, with both crisis and opportunity, an era to be characterized by achievement and by challenge. It is an era which calls for action and for the best efforts of all those who would test the unknown, and the uncertain in phases of human endeavor. It is the time for pathfinders and pioneers."

Telling, extemporaneously, of his having seen, the preceding Saturday, the new Saturn C-1 rocket booster, the largest in the world, at Cape Canaveral, Kennedy said:

"I think the United States should be a leader. A country as rich and powerful as

San Antonio

In San Antonio, the first stop, Mr. and Mrs. Kennedy came from the plane followed by Cong. Gonzalez of San Antonio and others. Kennedy, in a light royal blue suit, looked thinner than I ever remember him, extremely fit, and happy to be where he found himself as he moved down the long reception line, shaking hands and nodding his head readily as he smiled and chatted. The graceful Mrs. Kennedy, a stewardess told reporters impatient to learn how to describe her outfit, wore a white wool boucle two-piece suit with a black tie belt, and a black cloche hat.

The motorcade had to stop when children in front of a school in Alamo Heights ran forward to the car carrying the Kennedys and Governor and Mrs. John Connally, who rode together in all the motorcades of the visit to Texas. We came to halts again in front of a Catholic school and an insurance association on Broadway, as children and grown-ups, running and calling out, waving American flags and running holding hands, broke their lines on the curbs and formed moiling human wedges converging on the car. Those who got near stretched out their hands to touch the President's.

The way into town was a long way, and people were spaced sparsely on the route, but in the downtown they were mobbed on the streets, and confetti fluttered down from the buildings high overhead. Passing

through town, proceeding south toward the Aero-Space Medical Health Center at Brooks A.F.B., the motorcade was stopped twice again, and old Brackenridge High School's student body turned out by the side of the road; they are mostly Latin-American children, and a few Anglos and Negroes, and they cheered tumultuously as the Kennedys passed.

Except for the pool reporters, who travel close to the President's car and who represent the other press, we in the press party saw all this from inside two air-conditioned buses. We learned that on the flight down, the President had chatted on the plane for about two hours with the members of the congressional delegation who flew from Washington with him, Yarborough, Kilgore, Teague, Mahon, Young and Gonzalez.

As the motorcade rounded the turn into the space medicine center, we saw a small group of Negroes holding signs. They were separated from the route by a police car. As we briskly wheeled by, I could just make out that one of the signs said "GI Families are Segregated in San Antonio."

KENNEDY made a speech on the value of the work that is done at the center. A large crowd had gathered before a wooden superstructure on which the presidential party were arrayed. Behind the party, towering over it, was the Air Force seal affixed to the facade of the

this which bears so many burdens and responsibilities, which has so many opportunities, should be second to none."

It will not be easy, he said. "There will be setbacks and frustrations, disappointments. There will be, as there always are, pressures in this country to do less in this area, as in so many others, and temptations to do something else that is perhaps easier. But . . . The conquest of space must and will go ahead. That much we know. That much we can say with confidence and conviction.

"Frank O'Connor, the Irish writer, tells in one of his books how, as a boy, he and his friends would make their way across the countryside and when they came to an

Houston

WE FLEW QUICKLY over to Houston in the afternoon; the press landed first. There was a godly crowd, and a band all garbed in bright red, tumping away. From the presidential plane there emerged the Kennedys, the Connallys, the Yarboroughs, and Cong. Thomas of Houston, who was to be honored that night at a dinner. "Hail to the Chief," the band played out.

His left forearm held easily to the middle button of his coat, which he fingered as to twirl it; his hair blowing up a wild lock, and his somehow slightly amused flashing grin coming on and on, Kennedy moved gracefully down the reception line, patting a man on an arm, talking a moment to Cong. Casey, moving along. As Mr. and Mrs. Kennedy turned away from the formal reception line, some fellow approached them and extended his hand to Mrs. Kennedy, who took it. Thomas and the Kennedys, Johnsons, Connallys, and Yarboroughs lined up before the cameramen, who were roped into a compound, and they flash-popped and whirred to their excitements and satisfactions. As Thomas guided the President away, he patted him on the back. This was the scene.

I believe it was in the bus on the way into Houston when Thomas Wicker of the New York Times, I think it was, remarked that the President is not one of your politicians who takes politics so seriously; he is gay about it, and enjoys every minute of it.

The ride in, I saw, sitting on a wall, about a dozen little girls in uniforms, each of them doing her part in holding up a long banner the length of them, "Troop 1381." A boy with an American flag. GIs in fatigues standing at attention.

A truck was parked alongside the route, "Watch Kennedy Stamp Out Your Business." Along the expressway two young boys, perhaps eleven or twelve, each held Confederate flags, and one the sign, "Texas Belongs to the South," and the other the

orchard wall that seemed too high and too doubtful to try and too difficult to permit their voyage to continue, they took off their hats and tossed them over the wall—and then they had no choice but to follow them. This nation has tossed its cap over the wall of space, and we have no choice but to follow it."

Reporters' typewriters were clicking rapidly at the press desks beside the platform during the President's speech. They were writing, for wiring off to their editors before they had to get back on the plane, stories not of the speech, but of the Texas Democrats' inter-party conflict, which was eclipsing the other events of the visit in the news stories of the day.

sign, "Khrushchev, Kennedy, and King." Reporters the other side of the bus said they saw an airplane aloft with a streamer, "Coexistence Is Surrender."

Although it was the dinner hour, downtown was jammed. It seems to me that more Negroes were in the crowds in Houston than in any of the other cities on this trip. I remember intense faces of Negroes, a matronly Negro woman comes back to my memory for no reason I can identify, except that she seemed so tense, and leaning forward in her body.

The three Houston papers provided, for the visiting press, a sumptuous buffet in the Rice in a banquet room on the second floor off the lobby, with two bars, one at each end of the buffet table that extended the length of the room, and those of us who did not have to file that night, and I guess, perhaps, a wee number of the rest

of us, had a drink or so, and dinner. We heard that the President had dinner with a group of about ten important, wealthy Houston citizens, and for all I know some intrepid reporter found out their names, and it has been printed; but I do not know, and if I had read it I would not put it in, because I have not wanted to put anything down in this that I did not see or hear myself.

Don Yarborough, the Houston lawyer whose prospective candidacy for governor had been exciting much curiosity and comment among members of the national press during the day, appeared in the second floor lobby, and I was questioning him, when Mike Ethridge came up to us.

Ethridge is a staunch loyal Democrat in Houston, and he is often seen carrying signs at political gatherings and Democratic conventions. He likes to carry the message himself, in his own hands. He took from his pocket two sheets of note-size stationery, embossed in the color of gold with the Air Force seal and the words, "Aboard Air Force One." Someone had given them to him, and a third sheet, which he was giving to someone else; he separated the two sheets and gave one to Yarborough and one to me. I did not think much of it at the time, but do now.

Don Yarborough moved on into the press buffet room and talked to various reporters. During the day, at San Antonio and again here, Sen. Yarborough had twice refused to accede to the wishes of Secret Service men who had tried to guide him into a car with the Vice-President, and he had told a pool reporter, who passed it on to the press, that his friends should not take offense that Connally had not invited him to the Mansion for the reception for the President; that harmony was needed to

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Partner, Mrs. R. D. Randolph.

Business Manager, Sarah Payne.

Contributing Editors, Bill Brammer, Chandler Davidson, J. Frank Dobie, Larry Goodwyn, Franklin Jones, Lyman Jones, Jay Milner, Willie Morris, Charles Ramsdell, Roger Shattuck, Dan Strawn, Tom Sutherland, Charles Alan Wright.

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Contributing Photographer, Russell Lee.

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give the President a great welcome; and besides, the governor was governmentally uneducated, so what else could you expect from him? These were the kinds of subjects greatly titillating and agitating the press this evening. It was the general consensus that the President would not risk his prestige, or the possibly untoward political effects on his chances in Texas next year, by undertaking to promote a quid pro quo, Sen. Yarborough's renomination without substantially mounted opposition, in exchange for Gov. Connally's. Nevertheless, speculation among knowledgeable people had already begun that such a "peace" was desired by certain political advisers close to the President; but that it would have to include the Vice President turning over complete patronage in Texas to Sen. Yarborough, because the arguments that the benefits of such a deal to Mr. Kennedy's chances of carrying Texas were not clear enough, or persuasive enough, for the Senator to be expected, as a party matter, to go along. This was the context of Don Yarborough's drop-in on the press room, the bold kind of act without the likes of which he would not be a figure in Texas politics at all; and it was the context in which Sen. Yarborough told me that evening, in an interview, that he would not, under any circumstances, participate in any deal having to do with another man running for governor, that he did not believe in such deals, and he was sure the President would never suggest such a thing to him, and that no politician had; although the press had. Now, of course, these matters seem like events far away, faded memories of another place and time, so much so that in my wish to hurry past them, I do not even paragraph.

THE KENNEDYS AND JOHNSONS stopped in for a few minutes, before the dinner for Cong. Thomas, at a dance in the Rice being given by the League of United Latin-American Citizens. Mrs. Kennedy wore a black cotton velvet suit for the evening, with diamond earrings and pearls.

Kennedy recalled Franklin Roosevelt's good neighbor policy on this, the last night of his life. He said that North and South Americans are not only neighbors, but are also friends and associates, with "a common commitment to freedom, to equality of opportunity, to show that equality can be the handmaiden of prosperity."

Then, "in order that my words may be even clearer," he said, he introduced Mrs. Kennedy, who said some nice things in her soft, breathy voice in Spanish; a Spanish that some of us agreed was more Castilian than the kind of Spanish we hear down here, and that on this account was difficult to understand, not only among those of us who know little of the language, but also among some of the Latin-Americans around me. But that did not matter, nor dampen the "Viva!"s for her.

Johnson then made a very brief speech, indeed, just two sentences, that anything he said would be anti-climatic after Mrs. Kennedy's remarks, and that "We are very

proud and very happy" to have the Kennedys there that night.

At the coliseum, the "Cuba Student Directorate" had lined up about 30 people across the street from where cars turned into the coliseum drive, and they were chanting and holding signs. Some of the signs said:

"The Cuban Revolution Was Not Beaten in Habana Only." "Cuba Yes Russia No." "Alpha 66 II Front MRP Directoria." "Cuba is a Cancer Are We Going to Operate." "To Fight for the Freedom of Cuba is a Cuban's Right."

Some of the demonstrators called out slogans in heavy Cuban accents. They took up a chant that, for some confused reason ironically, suggests the civil rights movement in the South: "We want our freedom."

In the midst of the demonstrators there were two odd variations, one emotionally consonant, another contrary. A boy, (one wonders if he might have been one of the two on the expressway,) held up the slogan, "Kennedy, Khrushchev, King," and there was also a Confederate flag and a sign, "Ban the Brothers." And then, right in the middle of all this, shifting his weight slightly from foot to foot, a flicker of a smile playing at his lips as the photographers milled around in the street popping flashes at them all, there was one old man, holding up above his head a small sign that said, "Welcome Kennedy."

CONG. THOMAS said to the crowd gathered in banquet to honor him, "Our city will continue to grow and grow and grow because you will make it grow." They gave Kennedy a hat-waving, noisy welcome, rebel yells sounding out against the background of "Hail to the Chief."

Kennedy's speech recited statistics on Houston's importance and progress, and he said things a President would be expected to say about a congressman of his party who was being honored.

In the light of subsequent revelations that the White House had been advised against the President's trip to Texas, at this time, and that he had himself made the decision to ride in a motorcade in Dallas, one cannot help wondering what ran through the President's mind as he said:

"When I read the report that Congressman Thomas was thinking of resigning, I called him up on the phone and asked him to stay as long as I stayed. I didn't know how long that would be, but I wanted him to stay. . . ."

"The presidency has been called a good many names, and presidents have been also, but no president can do anything without the help of friends. . . ."

The reference to not knowing how long he'd be President was, of course, a jest. Kennedy was characteristically Bostonian, speaking of "Pennsylvania Avenue," and characteristically witty this evening. In fact, while stressing the country's pursuit of primacy in space, he turned a slip into a score with swift wit and cleverness. He said:

" . . . next month . . . the United States of America fires the largest booster in the history of the world into space for the first time giving us the lead, fires the largest payroll—payload—into space giving us the lead."

There was a double-take, and laughter, in the crowd. The President said quickly:

"—It will be the largest payroll, too." The recovery was appreciated in the crowd. Then he said further: "And who should know that better than Houston. We put a little of it right in here."

This worked out to be such a gainful political reference in this city, whose merchants have been benefited and workers more fully engaged because of the N.A.S.A. space center near here, that a veteran White House reporter said he thought the President had made the slip intentionally to set up the ingenious recovery.

Welded into Kennedy's celebration of Cong. Thomas was the President's last public statement of the domestic problems ahead of the United States. He said:

"There were in 1936, [when Albert Thomas went to the House,] as there are today, those who are opposed to growth and change, who prefer to defy them, who look back instead of forward . . . we dare not look back now, if 27 years from now, in the year 1990 a new generation of Americans is to say that we, too, looked forward.

"In 1990, for example, this nation will need three times as much electric power as it has today, four times as much water, and that is why we are developing the Canadian River and the San Angelo, and the Columbus Bend, and other Texas river projects, and seeking at Freeport to find an economical way to get fresh water from salt, and building anti-pollution plants throughout this state and nation, in a new and expanded program. In 1990 the need for national and state parks and recreation areas will triple, reaching a total very nearly the size of Indiana. That is why we are creating Padre Island Seashore, and adding refuge.

"In 1990 your sons, daughters, grandsons and grandchildren will be applying to the colleges of this state in a number three times what they do today. Our airports will serve five times as many passenger miles. We will need housing for a hundred million more people, and many times more doctors and engineers, and technicians, than we are presently producing. . . ."

"In 1990 the age of space will be entering its second phase, and our hopes in it to preserve the peace, to make sure that in this great new sea, as on earth, the United States is second to none. And that is why I salute Albert Thomas and those Texans who you sent to Washington in his time and since then, who recognize the needs and the trends today in the '60's so that when some meet here in 1990 they will look-back on what we did and say that we made the right and wise decisions. 'Your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions,' the Bible tells us; and 'where there is no vision, the people perish.'"

Fort Worth

THE PRESIDENTIAL ENTOURAGE left Houston then and flew to Fort Worth, where the President spent his last night, in the Texas Hotel.

It was raining a little in the morning. The President had been scheduled only for a breakfast speech to the city's chamber of commerce, but at the last minute a public speech had been announced, at the parking lot across Eighth Street from the hotel. The time was given as 8:45, before breakfast; changed to after the breakfast; but then rescheduled for 8:45, with the explanation that the President did not want to make people miss work to hear him.

On the tops of all the buildings around the parking lot at 8:45, many men in yellow slickers patrolled, watching the windows of buildings across from them and the crowds below. During the speechmaking, yellow-slickered police kept traffic moving on the streets adjacent to the parking lot; one officer became furious with a Negro driving a car who had stopped to gaze at the scene, and was stalling a line of traffic. Fiercely blasting his whistle, he moved the obstructor on.

At the outer edges of the crowd a youth supported another on his shoulders, for him to see; a natty fellow braced a folding metal chair against a parking meter, to stand on and see from; mothers and fathers held up their children to see over the crowd and catch a glimpse of the President.

The public address system was lousy, and I could not make out what was said. From the text released by the White House press secretary, (upon others of which I have also relied in this,) I see that he was in high spirits, despite the rain.

"There are no faint hearts in Fort Worth, and I appreciate your being here this morning," he began the next to the last speech of his life. "Mrs. Kennedy is organizing herself. It takes longer, but, of course, she looks better than we do when she does it."

He briefly called for U.S. strength militarily, as through the TFX fighter to be built in Fort Worth, to which he referred; for leadership in space; and for the people's participating in rising prosperity, giving the U.S. strength economically.

"And in the final analysis, that strength depends upon the willingness of the citizens of the United States to assume burdens of citizenship. I know one place where they are, here in this rain, in Fort Worth, in Texas, in the United States. We are going forward."

With that Kennedy moved off the improvised dais and shook hands among the people for quite a little while. Sen. Don Kennard, Fort Worth, waiting for him to go back into the hotel, laughed and said something to the effect that, "He's really a hand-shaker, isn't he?" As the President dragging along ahead and behind re-

porters, cameramen, and his entourage—crossed the street toward the hotel, he suddenly turned and walked up to a member of the Tarrant County Sheriff's Posse, mounted on a steed along with other possemen, and reached his hand up to shake the rider's, who was surprised and gratified. Then, through a tunnel opened through a dense pack of people in the hotel lobby, the President withdrew, and the press went upstairs to the breakfast.

KENNEDY CAME into the breakfast hall in Fort Worth smiling broadly and was given a clamorous welcome.

The Texas Boys Choir sang "The Eyes of Texas." Everyone rose; Kennedy with a smile.

Raymond Buck, president of the chamber of commerce, introduced those at the head table. There were a number of rising ovations. When that was done, Buck leaned over to Kennedy, and they seemed to confer. Then Buck said, "And now an event that I know all of you have been waiting for."

Mrs. Kennedy entered in a strawberry pink dress and hat of matching color. Her reception, too, was clamorous.

Buck introduced Kennedy as "our great, courageous, and brilliant leader of the world's strongest nation." He told Kennedy, "Our hearts and arms are open to you."

The President rose from his last meal to make his last speech.

"I know now why everyone in Texas, Fort Worth, is so thin, having gotten up and down about nine times. This is what you do every morning," he began.

"Two years ago, I introduced myself in Paris by saying that I was the man who had accompanied Mrs. Kennedy to Paris. I am getting somewhat the same sensation as I travel around Texas. Nobody wonders what Lyndon and I wear."

The crowd was enchanted. Again, as he wended his way gracefully through a speech, he was the Boston gentleman come to Texas, speaking of the "drawing board" and "Californier."

The theme of the speech was military preparedness, with stress on Fort Worth's role in it. Marion Hicks, vice-president of General Dynamics in Fort Worth, which got the TFX contract, sat at the head table, on the side of the podium other than the side where the President had been seated. When Kennedy mentioned TFX, he joked quickly—"I am glad that there was a table separating Mr. Hicks and myself."

His good spirits kept bobbing up from the weightiest contexts: "Texas as a whole, and Fort Worth bear particular responsibility for this national defense effort, for military procurement in this state totals near \$1¼ million, fifth largest among all the states of the union. There are more military personnel on active duty in this state than any in the nation, save one—and it is not Massachusetts—any in the

nation save one, with a combined military-civilian defense payroll of well over a billion dollars," he said.

But he was not jesting as he recited increases in military spending in the last three years—increases in Polaris submarines, Minute Man missiles, strategic bombers and missiles, nuclear weapons, tactical nuclear forces, tactical fighter wings, combat-ready Army divisions, strategic airlift capabilities, and special counter-insurgency forces in South Vietnam.

"I hope those who want a stronger America and place it on some signs will also place those figures next to it," he said.

"This is not an easy effort. This requires sacrifices by the people of the United States. But this is a very dangerous and uncertain world," he said.

Speaking off the cuff now, Kennedy reflected how this country had lived in isolation, yet now, 18 years after the war, maintains alliances all over the world.

"I don't think we are fatigued or tired. We would like to live as we once lived. But history will not permit it," he said. "We are still the keystone in the arch of freedom, and I think we will continue to do as we have done in our past, our duty . . ."

In the retrospect it may have been his opinions like these that had more to do with what now lay ahead of him than those of his opinions that are currently controversial among the people.

"Although we know that you don't wear a hat," Buck told him at the conclusion of his speech, "we couldn't let you leave Fort Worth without some protection against the rain." He broke out a Texas hat and gave it to Kennedy.

The question was implicit. There was a little gap in things while people waited. Then the President got up and said, "I'll put it on at the White House and you can photograph it there."

Buck gave the name of the company that provided the hat and added, "That hat protects you against your local enemies."

Connally held a press conference before the party left for Dallas. We will go into it more later; but here was the gist of the governor's remarks. He declined to comment on Sen. Yarborough's blast at him the preceding day. He asked the national reporters, especially, to realize that the rifts in the Texas party in the primary are different from rifts in November. He said Democrats would unite for Kennedy in November. He seemed reconciled to primary contests at the state level next May. He did not think the in-fighting here would affect Kennedy's chances to carry Texas at all.

We noticed that this morning, as we set off for the airport in the motorcade, Sen. Yarborough had joined Vice President Johnson and Mrs. Johnson in one car. The morning papers had been full of reports of Yarborough's refusals to do so, the day before. Somehow, proper approaches had been made, and there was now this showing of harmony.

The crowds in downtown Fort Worth and on the roads to the airport were light. The three planes took off for Dallas.

And Finally to the City of Dallas . . .

Everyone has read so much now, and seen so much on television, I believe the right thing for me to do is to tell you what I saw in Dallas, this dreadful day.

As the President's group deplaned at Love Field, civic officials, led by Mayor and Mrs. Earle Cabell, gave Mrs. Kennedy, bedecked in her strawberry dress, some red roses. They gave Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. Connally some yellow roses.

After he had greeted the official well-comers, Kennedy came upon Rev. Baxton Bryant, pushing before him in a wheelchair an old loyal Democrat, Annie S. Dunbar, 85, and accompanied by a few others.

Bryant, a liberal Democrat who had wired the President the grass roots Democrats would have a delegation there to meet him, (as we had set forth in stories written, and all discarded,) introduced himself to Kennedy, who said "Glad to see you," kind of half-laughing knowingly, and Bryant introduced Annie Dunbar to him, and some others.

The President walked over toward the medium-sized crowd gathered to meet him. There were no hostile posters, but one large Confederate flag was held high above the crowd at the airport as the President moved along the crowd from person to person, smiling and shaking hands and chatting. I find in my notebook at this point, "Kennedy is showing he's not afraid."

Cong. Gonzalez said later that he had had misgivings about the President's trip to Dallas, and that he and his colleagues were discussing, on the plane from Fort Worth to Dallas, a full-page ad in the Dallas News that morning on the Kennedys. This ad in effect alleged that the Kennedys are soft on communists, or worse.

The congressmen kidded some about taking precautions for their safety in Dallas, Gonzalez said. As he got off the plane, Gonzalez recalled, he had said, "Well, I'm taking my risks.—I haven't got my steel vest yet."

Lined along the curbs on the way downtown were children, working girls in their twenties, working men in helmets, young executives in suits, come to see the President. They were nondescript and various; they were the people in persons.

A tiny Negro boy carried a sign, "Hooray for JFK." So did a tiny white girl. A few besuited older men held themselves stiffly at attention. Many of the people, smiling or squinting in the cool North Texas sunlight, were absorbed in the power and glory of the moment; in this, their touch with the fabulous, in the midst of their daily and daily thwarted lives.

Now and then I noticed a braced stance, a pipe that was being puffed too rapidly, brows knitted in frowns.

I had taken a seat in the very back of the second press bus. Like many Texans, I had worried about the President's visit in Dallas. I had said to myself, in whatever

a premonition is, "He will not get through this without something happening to him." For Dallas is the place of the ugly Stevenson scene, of political hates, and of people who believe that liberals, like Mr. Kennedy, are helping or conspiring with the communists. I find in my notes along the parade route the observation, "In many thousands of minds there must be an unspoken admiration of courage." I meant, of Kennedy's.

The people on the curbs on the way into Dallas were lined up fairly closely. They were mostly whites, here and there a concentration of Negro children. There was a very large turnout as we passed Texas Instruments. I saw two little white girls, one holding a flagpole, and the other the end of the large American flag.

The people were ten and twenty and even thirty deep in the heart of the city. They seemed calm and relaxed as the press buses passed them. People watched from roofs, confetti flew, altogether it was a friendly turnout in holiday spirit. Police were stationed every halfblock downtown; motorcycles at intersections.

Now we were through the thick of the crowds, and at the foot of Main Street, the motorcade had begun to wind around onto Elm Street, out of sight from the press buses following.

WHAT HAPPENED?" a reporter called out inside the bus ahead of me.

Through the windows we saw people breaking and running down Elm Street in the direction of the underpass, and running to the railing of the arch at the foot of the downtown section and leaping out of our sight onto the grass beyond and below.

I was not aware of any pause in the motorcade. We rounded the bend onto Elm Street and passed a scene I cannot clearly remember. My notes say, "Speeding down the slope toward the expressway, people breaking across the street in front of the police. Up the grassy slope." We were already speeding toward the underpass; I had seen a scene of scurrying confusion, of people running across the street and up the slope.

On the other side of the underpass, a motorcycle policeman was rough-riding across sere grass to the trestle for the railroad tracks that cross the underpass. He brought his cycle to a halt and leapt from it and was running up the base of the trestle when I lost sight of him.

We speculated someone might have dropped something onto the motorcade from the overpass. I saw an airplane above the area and wondered if it might have been dropping something. Strangely, then, as we sped along the Industrial Boulevard, I believe it is, toward the Trade Mart, the matter fell out of my mind, or deep into it. All I remember is how fast we were going, and that there were not any people on the

curbs of the traffic islands. I thought maybe they had heard we would be going fast.

The first words I heard as I got off the bus were, "He's been shot." A reporter lady with a German accent.

James Vachule, reporter for the Fort Worth Star-Telegram, said, "I heard the shots, several. At the triple underpass."

This is what my notes, converted from the abbreviations, say:

"He is not there. He was rushed to the hospital.

"Perhaps fatally. At the hospital.

"Shot in the head?

"Kennedy? Who do you find out from?"

In the alarm and confusion, the reporters were full of doubt, and some were a little panicky. No one wanted to say what he was not sure of. Reporters had their editors on the phone and nothing definite to tell them.

Outside, in the trade mart, about 2,400 persons were having their lunch, awaiting the President's arrival. I learned later the rumor had begun to run among them, but no one believed it.

I went from reporters at telephones who did not know and asked me frantically what I knew—I went on a run to a group of four or five who were gathered around M. W. Stevenson, chief of the criminal investigation division of the Dallas police.

"The President was hit, that's our information at present." He had been taken to Parkland. How badly hurt? "No, sir, I do not know."

And so we knew, and a dozen or so of us ran, heedless of an order to slow down, along the side of the banquet hall, and piled into someone's station wagon, and the horn blaring all the way, raced to Parkland Hospital.

DALLAS became a stricken city, full of shame and horror.

In the hospital I heard people who work there saying, "Connally, too." "It's a shame, I don't care who it is." No one knew who was alive or who was dead.

At the emergency entrance, Sen. Ralph Yarborough, terribly shaken, gave the first eye-witness account that I heard. He had been in the third car, with the Vice-President and Mrs. Johnson; removed from the President's car by the one filled with Secret Service men.

"I heard three loud exposures, like a deer rifle," he said. "You could smell powder all the way here. I thought it was rifle shots. Sound to me like rifle shots. . . ."

"After the second shot, the Secret Service man had us to lie over so we wouldn't project over the seat. He said, 'get down, get down, get down.' The shooting had ended."

Kennedy and Connally had been carried in. "I decline to describe their condition."

To a Bend Near the Triple Underpass

Yarborough said. "They were shot. It is too horrible to describe. They were seriously hurt."

"Mrs. Kennedy walked in."

After the shooting, he said, "They took off immediately for the hospital at a very fast rate, very fast. We knew that something was terribly wrong, because they took off as fast as they could."

Where had the President been hit? "I can't tell you where."

"The Secret Service immediately surrounded the Vice President and Mrs. Johnson and took them away," Yarborough said.

Now surrounded by a mob of reporters and cameramen, Yarborough said, "Gentlemen, this is too horrible to describe. You'll have to ask the doctors. The injury was very grave to both of them. This is a deed of horror. This is indescribable."

"I saw the Secret Service man on the first car beating the car with his fist. I knew something was terribly wrong. It was in frustration and anger and despair and horror. He would hit his fist in horror and anguish."

Had he seen any motion in the car? "Absolutely none."

The senator, as he said this, was cast down, and gazing at the ground.

Reporters pressed him to go over it again. At one point in this ordeal, he drifted off somewhere as he talked, back to the scene of it happening, trying to remember.

"There was a slight pause between the shots," he said very quietly, and as though wind was blowing through his voice. "'Bang' . . . a pause of two or three seconds . . . 'bang.' . . . And then a longer pause before the third one."

Because I had reached Yarborough first before many of the reporters came up, I then told a group of them what he had said from the first. This was a common scene

the rest of the day, reporters sharing what they had learned with their colleagues.

Inside the hospital all was in chaos. Reporters trying to make phone calls found that all the hospital phones had gone dead. I chased across a street to find a phone in a filling station to call a paper I was working with. While I was standing in the storeroom where the phone was, waiting to get through, I heard it announced on the radio, "The President is dead."

I TOLD the editor and rushed back to the hospital. I first believed and comprehended that he was dead when I heard Doug Kiker of the New York Herald-Tribune swearing bitterly and passionately, "Goddam the sonsabitches." Yes, he was dead.

But who had announced it? In the press room that had been improvised out of a classroom, no one seemed to know. Then it was that Hugh Sidey of Time came in and, his voice failing with emotion, told the assembled press that two Catholic priests had told him and another reporter or so that the priests had given the President the last rites.

"Is he dead?" a reporter had asked them. "He is dead, all right," one of the priests replied. "Did you give him last rites?" "Yes, we gave him last rites." The priests would give them no more information.

All there was to do then was to see the story unfold, and to realize and to see others as they realized.

Malcolm Kilduff, assistant White House press secretary, gave the press its first formal notification about 1:30. He came into the classroom and stood on the dais before the bright green blackboard, his voice, too, vibrating from his feelings.

"President John F. Kennedy—" he began.

"Hold it," called out a cameraman.

"President John F. Kennedy died at approximately 1 o'clock Central Standard Time today here in Dallas. He died of a gunshot wound in the brain. I have no other details regarding the assassination of the President. Mrs. Kennedy was not hit. Governor Connally was hit. The Vice President was not hit."

Had President Johnson taken the oath of office? "No. He has left." On that, Kilduff would say no more. As Kilduff lit a cigarette the flame of his lighter quivered violently.

Kennedy was not known to say a word after he was shot, Kilduff said. Later Julian Read, an aide to Gov. Connally, told the press of his conversations with Mrs. Connally, and she had not heard him say anything. Then it was the press received its first version of what Mrs. Connally Sunday told the press, that she had just turned to the President and said to him, "Well, Mr. President, you can't say Dallas doesn't love you," and he was shot.

From time to time others came into the press room with more information. Gov. Connally's condition was serious, but hopeful. Bill Stinson, an aide to the governor, told us he asked Connally at the hospital, "What happened?" "I don't know," he had replied. "Where did they get you?" "I think they shot me in the back. They got the President, too," Connally told him. Had Connally reported that the President had said anything after the shootings? "No—No. No," Stinson said.

Mrs. Connally had communicated the information that upon the first shot, the governor had turned toward the President, who was immediately behind him, and then was immediately hit himself. Doctors indicated that Connally's turning toward the President probably saved his life, because it turned his body in such a way that the bullet that went completely through him did not hit vital organs.

AFTER A TIME, a group of the national press started for the emergency entrance. They were to go on to Washington with the body on behalf of the rest of the press. As we passed a tall man in a suit, he was gesturing toward a room and saying, "Yes, everything's gone, everything's gone, out the back way."

At the emergency entrance, Sen. Yarborough prepared to go to the airport to return to Washington in a second plane. His eyes were red from crying.

"This is a tragedy to all mankind," he said. He wiped his eyes of tears.

Mayor Earle Cabell, a tory Democrat who a few hours before might have been expected to deal with Sen. Yarborough with a slight aloofness, said to him urgently, "What can I do for you?" Nothing else meant anything, and we were all each others' brothers.

Cong. Gonzalez rode to the airport with Sen. Yarborough. Shortly many members of the press followed in the buses, most of them to fly back to Washington.

There, at the airport, we learned that at 2:39, Judge Sarah T. Hughes had given the oath of office to President Lyndon B. Johnson. The details were given to us by a pool reporter, Sid Davis of Westinghouse Broadcasting. I shall not soon forget the picture in my mind, that man standing on the trunk of a white car, his figure etched against the blue, blue Texas sky, all of us massed around him at his knees as he told us what had happened in that crowded compartment in Air Force One, and what else had happened here at the airport.

John F. Kennedy had arrived at the Dallas airport at 11:35 that morning. Three hours and a few minutes later, his body was flown to Washington. R.D.

On Dallas

A note to our readers:

I worked in Dallas from the time of President Kennedy's arrival there through late Saturday night. This is now Monday afternoon, and as soon as this issue is out, I am returning to Dallas. It would be possible for me to write a lot about Dallas and the assassination now, but it is late on deadline, and I should prefer to wait until I have worked there longer. Next issue our readers may expect reports from there.

I would say briefly now, that if a city has a conscience, Dallas is searching its conscience now; that people there are trying to find words and purpose for their shame, or to deny it in suspicion that their fears have come to pass. A stricken city, confused, frightened, condemned the nation over, Dallas is now its own problem, and many of its people very well know it.
—Ed.

The President Is Sworn In

By Sarah T. Hughes

*United States District Judge for the
Northern District of Texas*

It was 2:15, Friday, November 22. I had just reached home from the Trade Mart, where a large and enthusiastic crowd had gathered to see and hear President John F. Kennedy. We waited in vain, for he had been assassinated as he was leaving the downtown area of Dallas.

Numbed and hardly realizing what had happened, I drove home. There was no reason to go to court. In the face of the tragedy that had befallen us, all else seemed of little consequence.

I phoned the court to tell the clerk where I was. Her response was that Barefoot Sanders, U.S. attorney, wanted to speak to me. Immediately I heard his familiar voice, "The Vice-President wants you to swear him in as President. Can you do it? How soon can you get to the airport?" Of course I could, and I could be there in ten minutes.

I got in my car and started toward the airport. Now there was another job to be done—a new President who had to carry on, and he must qualify for the office as quickly as possible. He had much to do, and I must think of him, and do the job that had been assigned to me.

There was no time to find the oath administered to a president, but the essentials of every oath are the same. You have to swear to perform the duties of the office of President of the United States, and to preserve and defend the Constitution of the United States. I was not afraid. I could do it without a formal oath.

Police blocked the entrance to the location of the plane, but there was no difficulty. They knew me, and I told them I was there to swear in the Vice-President as President. One of the motorcycle officers went to the plane to confirm my statement and then escorted me to the plane.

It was a beautiful sight, the presidential plane, long and sleek, a blue and two white stripes running the length of the plane, with the words, "The United States of America," on the blue stripe. It seemed to exemplify the strength and courage of our country.

I was escorted up the ramp by the chief of police to the front door, where one of the Vice-President's aides and the Secret

Service met me. I was trying to explain that I did not have the presidential oath but could give it anyway when someone handed me a copy.

In the second compartment were several Texas congressmen, vice-presidential aides, Secret Service men, and the Vice-President and Mrs. Johnson. Mr. and Mrs. Johnson have been my friends for many years, but on such an occasion there did not seem to be anything to say. I embraced them both, for that was the best way to give expression to my feeling of grief for them, and for all of us.

By that time a Bible that was on the plane had been thrust into my hands. It was a small volume, with soft leather backs. I thought someone said it was a Catholic Bible. I do not know, but I would like to think it was, and that President Kennedy had been reading it on this, his last trip.

The Vice-President said Mrs. Kennedy wanted to be present for the ceremony, and in a very few minutes she appeared. Her face showed her grief, but she was composed and calm. She, too, exemplified the courage this country needs to carry on. The Vice-President leaned toward her and told her I was a U.S. judge appointed by her husband. My acknowledgement was, "I loved him very much."

The Vice-President asked Mrs. Johnson to stand on his right, Mrs. Kennedy on his left, and with his hand on the Bible, slowly and reverently repeated the oath after me: "I do solemnly swear that I will perform the duties of President of the United States to the best of my ability and defend, protect, and preserve the Constitution of the United States." That was all to the oath I had in my hand, but I added, "So help me God," and he said it after me. It seemed that that needed to be said.

He gently kissed Mrs. Kennedy and leaned over and kissed his wife on the cheek.

Here was a man with the ability and determination for the task ahead. Great as are the responsibilities of the office, I felt he could carry on. I told him so, and that we were behind him, and he would have our sympathy and our help.

As I left the plane I heard him give the order to take off, "Now let's get ready and go." I drove away with my thoughts on this man, upon whom so much now depended. □

PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S FRONTIERS

Austin
Lyndon Baines Johnson becoming the President is a kind of cultural shock to the nation's politics. Boston is the same country, but another life. The New Frontiersmen from Harvard are not very much like the professors around the University of Texas. Their ways and their contexts are vastly different.

Johnson City lies in the rocky, scrubby part of our state, covered with brush and cedar trees. Rivers the color of milky green course over limestone ledges and around and under the boulders the waters carve. The land rolls erratically, as the weather has left the rocks and soil to stay. Lyndon Johnson is therefore the President from the rocky hills where Texas begins to be western.

The Johnsons are country people. The President's father was a frontier Texas legislator. His mother was descended from pioneer Texas educators, people in the genteel tradition, as that tradition proudly maintained itself with memory in the rural western country where "neighbors" meant miles away. To this day around Johnson City and Stonewall, leather-tanned and grizzly ranchers and ranchhands crouch and squat at the filling stations on the roads, talking about the weather and the fences and the stock.

These are people who like good stories, and respect a good storyteller. They have a lot of work to do. They have to know what they have to know to do what they have to do, and they don't have time or the taste for learning they can't see the use for. They are a tough, hard, always realistic people, who had to scramble for what they got. Lyndon Johnson is just like that.

The late President liked to spend an afternoon on a yacht, and he never wanted for things he did not have. President Johnson's biographies say that he worked his way out of the scrubby hills through Southwest Texas State Teachers' College. He shined shoes, herded goats, worked on a weekly newspaper, labored on highway jobs, ran an elevator, washed cars, hopped to around a cafe, cleaned up around school, was secretary to the college president, and sold hosiery door to door. He debated in college, and well; that must have been an arrival for him.

It stands to reason that many of the New Englanders, many of the scholarly gentlemen from Harvard, will have less to do in Washington now, and different sorts of people, Western sorts, Texas sorts, and

moderate Southern sorts, will have more to do there.

THERE CAN BE no misreading of the general direction of President Johnson's public record. As his constituency has evolved, from Central Texas, to Texas, to Texas and the United States, and now finally to the United States altogether, and to the world also, so have his political positions become less provincial and more national.

President Johnson's idea of politics is to try to get accomplishments through compromise. His friend Dean Acheson greatly admires him for having been able to maneuver legislation through the tricks and traps of Congress. One wonders to what extent Johnson will be his own majority leader, although informally, as he fights for legislation with the Congress he knows so well.

Johnson went to Congress in 1937 as an all-out Roosevelt Democrat. In the House he was a New Dealer, and he often says that Roosevelt was "like a daddy to me."

The relationships between Johnson's convictions and his assessments of a proposal's chances for success have been enigmatic and controversial. Liberals who approach politics as trying to get accomplishments by fighting for principles have often criticized Johnson on grounds that he compromises principles out from under them. From conservatives' points of view, Johnson often won passage for parts of programs they wanted no part of.

His will be a very political administration. You know our phrase in Texas, "Let's get on with the snake-killin'." Johnson and his people have classified a man pretty quickly as their friend or their foe, and have left no doubt what this means.

Johnson's voting records in Congress now become a part of the national history and prospect. In a few paragraphs, I will summarize, subjectively, but as fairly as I can, what he stood for his 23 years in Congress.

He has been from the first and without significant exceptions an internationalist. He voted for lend-lease, Greek-Turkish aid, European Recovery, NATO. He has steadily supported foreign economic and military aid programs. Even in his tough 1948 campaign, which he won by just 87 votes, he declared the United Nations was our greatest hope for peace. He takes the strong line on military preparedness that has dominated American policy since 1947.

He flatly opposed all civil rights legislation for the first 17 of his 23 years in Con-

gress. Texas was Southern then and that's the way he voted. He voted against an anti-lynching bill, for the poll tax. Then, in 1957, he was credited with passing the first civil rights bill since Reconstruction, designed mostly to guarantee voting rights. The idea of federal conciliation of civil rights was a feature of the 1959 civil rights bill with which he is credited. He opposed letting the attorney general institute civil rights suits, and he never wavered in his opposition to changes in Senate filibuster rules.

On civil liberties, he was a leader in the Senate in the censure of Senator McCarthy. He participated in criticism of a federal power commissioner which caused objections on grounds of civil liberties. In an article on his beliefs in *Texas Quarterly*, he led off with free speech for every man.

Johnson steadily supported welfare spending and public power and other public works projects. He regularly voted to increase direct government insurance, grants, or aids to individuals. He has upheld the TVA whenever it has been challenged. He cast important votes for public atomic power.

He sided with the major oil companies, which are very influential in Texas politics. He opposed federal regulation of natural gas pipelines or producers, and upheld the oil depletion allowance. He is known to assert that he had to support the oil companies, as all Texas congressmen support them, and he resents criticism of him on this count as unfair and unrealistic.

Johnson supported a few of the tax reforms proposed by liberals, but opposed most of them. He joined in Democratic oratory against high interest, although on occasion he voted to permit increased interest rates.

Coming from Texas, Johnson in the House had a record that many labor leaders regarded as unfriendly. He resisted the minimum wage; he voted for Taft-Hartley. In the Senate, he often supported pro-labor legislation, including the minimum wage.

They have just buried the President, Oh God, they have just buried him, and our tears run down to our necks, and we grieve and grieve.

As his Vice President, Johnson backed up President Kennedy on civil rights all the way. His speeches on behalf of equal job opportunities, protected voting rights, and equal access to public accommodations were widely quoted. He also campaigned fervently, in public speeches, for his President's programs of public works, the domestic peace corps, medicare, and other such matters.

He was an utterly loyal Vice-President. He often said he wanted to be the kind of vice-president he would want, if he was president. Now, he is, and because he made it clear that he was backing Mr. Kennedy, he is free to strike out on his own, not to be free of responsibility for what he said and did as vice-president, except as to the extent a man is also held responsible for and given credit for being loyal to his boss.

The political question now is whether he will maintain his liberalism as Vice-President, or revert to his middish positions as Senate majority leader.

IF HIS may not be a new frontier, still, there is the fact that he admired and hired a great Western historian, the late Walter Prescott Webb, who wrote a book called, *The Great Frontier*. President Johnson has his own frontier to remember, and a great frontier to seek.

What we all must be sure of is the trust and the power and the fearful woe of being President. This man from the Texas-hill country now must live every moment of his life, every hour of every day and every night, with awful power. He, and only he, must act in the name of us all. If, in the

future, there comes a new crisis between the East and the West, he can prevent, or he can cause, the destruction of mankind.

This is his awful burden; and to the fullest extent that each of us, in this free and vital country, can help him bear it, as long as he must bear it, we must bear it with him.

R.D.

Note

All the material in this issue from this point on was written before the President was assassinated, and the Governor shot. Minor modifications have been made where necessary.—Ed.

The Dynamics of the Poll Tax Election

Austin, Dallas

Why did the poll tax-paying voters of Texas refuse to repeal the poll tax this month by a 56% majority, contrary to the recommendations of almost all their leading politicians?

The poll tax was kept because of odd, complex interactions of intense work for repeal, lip-service to it, and mostly covert opposition to it. The two main factors in the rejection of repeal were a reaction among whites against the civil rights movement and a late-mounted campaign against repeal by some corporate interests.

Despite the leadership of the Texas League of Women Voters in the campaign against the tax, its repeal became, more or less, a liberal cause. Texas Republicans became increasingly skittish and non-committal.

Jack Cox, the GOP candidate for governor last year, wrote a guest article for the Houston Post opposing repeal on grounds that the "nearly one million persons of voting age [who] are illiterate or unable to distinguish completely words printed in the English language" should not have the price of their voting license reduced.

State GOP chairman Peter O'Donnell said that while his personal vote would "probably" be cast for repeal, he urged all Republicans to vote their convictions, and the GOP candidate for the U.S. Senate, George Bush, switched from support of repeal to opposition.

Then Vice-President Johnson, now, of course, the President, made a few statements for repeal, but did not stump for it. His home county, Blanco, voted against repeal, 302 to 128. Gov. Connally, having endorsed repeal while at the same time warning against "bloc voting" and "Boss Pena," turned his oratorical attentions to tourism and other subjects. Sen. Yarborough, Don Yarborough, and the Democratic Coalition stepped up their speech-making for it. In the end no one could mistake the fact that repeal would have meant that more of the poorer people would vote.

Just 22 counties voted for repeal, but they included these large ones—Bexar,

El Paso, Galveston, Harris, Hidalgo, Jefferson, Nueces, Orange, Travis, Webb, and Wichita. The large counties of Dallas, Tarrant, Lubbock, Potter, and Ector—those of North Texas and the Panhandle—opposed repeal. So, of course, did the great bulk of rural counties, except for a scattering of them in South Texas.

Stuart Long's Austin Report observed that the turnout was less than a fourth of the total who will be voting next November. Considering that there are 5,520,106 Texans over 21 years of age, he figured, 5.5% voted to keep the poll tax and 4.4% voted to get rid of it. Older voters, he reasoned, turned out to raise the welfare ceiling, but mostly voted against repeal, which would have made them pay 25 cents to vote, whereas now they vote free.

There was a flurry about the fact that some of the vote-total tally sheets printed by the Comanche Chief reversed the positions of the poll tax and Jefferson County welfare program amendments. J. C. Wilkerson, Jr., of the Chief advised the Observer that as of Nov. 18, he had received notification about the error from only two parties. He said the error was let slip out only on "one batch of these tally lists."

THE PROSPECT of Texas Negroes and Latin-Americans voting in proportion to their numbers alarmed segregationist Anglos. The prospect of poorer voters menacing business control of the statehouse neutralized what had started out to be support for repeal from tory Democrats and Republicans.

In cities such as Dallas and Fort Worth, some lower- and middle-class white precincts that voted for repeal in the 1962 referendum switched to opposition in this month's voting. While there is evidence that the outcome in Houston labor precincts varied to some extent with the intensity with which union leaders had pushed the cause of civil rights, it appeared that the racial reaction was at work within these precincts, too.

Walter Gray, labor's political director for five states, including Texas, told the Observer in Dallas that he had worked white precincts there on the poll tax and

was frequently told by union members that they were afraid of "the niggers taking over the state." Gray believed labor was losing the votes of substantial numbers of its members on the issue. Anticipating the problem, labor had sought to make its get-out-the-vote campaign selective, even among its members, in advance, but union members turned out on the question union leaders wished hadn't.

If the "white backlash" was not altogether clear in the cities, it was unmistakable in East Texas, where segregation and Southern customs as to Negroes continue to prevail. On the basis of the Texas Election Bureau's all-but-complete tabulations, here is what happened out there:

In the 39 deep East Texas counties from Louisiana to the Trinity, (excluding Harris, Jefferson, and Orange, the urbanized, unionized Sabine area counties,) the vote was 38,708 against repeal to 15,668 for it. This compares to the much closer outcome in 1962: 80,974 against, and 65,149 for.

In the 26 counties of central East Texas, from the Trinity River to a line just east of the Austin-Waco-Dallas axis, the vote was 20,310 against repeal to 11,767 for. In 1962, the vote here had been 45,079 against to 40,548 for.

The fact appears in these figures that a civil rights reaction has materialized since spring of last year. This makes plausible the conjecture that the events of the summer of 1963, including the murder of Medgar Evers and the Birmingham bombings, taken in conjunction with the late President's civil rights program and the Washington march, had activated segregationists considerably—especially in an election in which they were faced with the racial issue in an unusually simplified form.

THE ELECTION was the first test of the Democratic Coalition's block worker program in 15 urban concentrations of Negroes and Latin-Americans. Spokesmen for the coalition conceded that they were not able, in two months' work, to sell voters participation to the 240,000 people they were trying to reach.