

INTERVIEW WITH
Judge Joe Ingraham
and
Jack Porter

by

Dr. Maclyn Burg
Oral Historian

on

November 9, 1972

for

Dwight D. Eisenhower Library



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This is an interview being conducted the morning of November 9, 1972, in the chambers of Judge Joe Ingraham. The interview is conducted by Dr. Burg of the Eisenhower staff with Judge Ingraham and Mr. Jack Porter.

DR. BURG: Now, it makes no difference which man I approach first.

MR. PORTER: No, no.

DR. BURG: All right, let's do this, Judge, let me ask you again to repeat, for the recorder, your place of birth.

JUDGE INGRAHAM: I was born in Pawnee County, Oklahoma, July 5, 1903.

DR. BURG: Uh-huh. And educated in the state of Oklahoma, sir?

JUDGE INGRAHAM: Well, I went through high school in the state of Oklahoma.

DR. BURG: Uh-huh. Then where was your higher education?

JUDGE INGRAHAM: I did not attend college. I studied law at the National University Law School in Washington, D.C. It was merged several years ago with George Washington University.

DR. BURG: I see.



INGRAHAM: It was a night law school in Washington.

BURG: Now, may I ask you, What took you from Oklahoma out to Washington, D. C. to do this work?

INGRAHAM: I went there to study law.

BURG: That was your, your intention?

INGRAHAM: Yes, sir.

BURG: You had, you had heard about that institution?

INGRAHAM: Yes, sir. Well, it was on place, there may be other, there are more places now, I understand--well, I'm not sure, either--but then you could get a job in the government and attend night school.

BURG: I see.

INGRAHAM: There were several night schools in Washington.

BURG: Uh-huh, uh-huh. Now, how about you, Mr. Porter--you were a native born Texan?



PORTER: I was born in Parker County, about eleven miles from the county seat of Weatherford, on February 21, 1896.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: Now, I went through grammar school and high school in Weatherford, and that was the extent of my formal education.

BURG: Uh-huh, right. Now, both of you gentlemen--now perhaps not you, Judge; you would not have been old enough for service in the First World War.

INGRAHAM: No, I was not; I was fifteen when the armistice was signed. I had four brothers in that war.

BURG: I see.

INGRAHAM: And I served in World War II.

BURG: Uh-huh. Now how about you--did you, Mr. Porter?

PORTER: I enlisted in 1918, in the late winter, and never served outside the country.



BURG: Right. Was your service, here in the States, was that in the infantry branch or--

PORTER: No, I happened to have studied shorthand and typewriting--

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER:--in high school, and practiced it some in a job I had in a country bank in Oklahoma, which my older brother and another man owned.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: And I was assigned to clerical work--

BURG: I see.

PORTER:--fifteen minutes after I was sworn in.

BURG: Uh-huh, uh-huh.

INGRAHAM: Well, was it an infantry organization, or--

PORTER: No, it was a quartermaster.



BURG: Right. So you remained with them, then, until the armistice?

PORTER: Yes. Well, I wound up in Quartermaster Officers' Training School in Jacksonville, Florida, at Camp Johnson.

BURG: I see.

PORTER: Where I was discharged after the armistice.



BURG: Had you been in that training camp long enough to have reached a commission before the end of the war?

PORTER: I could have stayed another week and got my commission, but I wanted to get out.

BURG: Yes.

PORTER: I was in business at that time, and on my own and I wanted to get back to it.

BURG: I see. And on your case, Judge, your law school training

would follow the armistice?

INGRAHAM: I was in law school in Washington from 1924 until 1927; I got my degree in 1927.

BURG: Uh-huh. Now, you had indicated you had worked in government work and gone to night school?

INGRAHAM: Yes, sir.



BURG: What was the nature of the government work, may I ask?

INGRAHAM: I was a bookkeeper in the disbursing office of the United States Department of Justice.

BURG: I see. Now then, if I can come back to Mr. Porter for a minute, let me follow your career, then, from 1920 up roughly to this period around '24 to '27. You say you were in business?

PORTER: I was in real estate, automobile business.

BURG: In what city, sir?

PORTER: Purcell, Oklahoma.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: And then when the recession--we called it a recession; as far as I was concerned it was depression--hit in 1921, I came back to Texas, to Mexia, and started trading in the oil business, and I've been in it ever since.

BURG: Now, you gave the name of a town--Mexia?



PORTER: M-e-x-i-a, Mexia.

BURG: Thank you.

PORTER: That's a Mexican word.

BURG: Uh-huh, that's my West Coast ignorance showing through.

INGRAHAM: X in Spanish takes a soft H sound, like M-e-x-i-c-o, Mexico.

BURG: Uh-huh, right, I see. Now, when did both of you come into the political picture? When, when, let's ask you, Judge--do you recollect the year, or the Presidential election, or what period of time was it that you first became active in politics?

INGRAHAM: Yes, I recollect when he became active in Republican politics. He was a Democrat; I'm a life-long Republican.

BURG: Uh-huh, uh-huh.

INGRAHAM: My father was a Republican. The first Presidential campaign that I had any interest in was the campaign of 1932 when the Republicans lost--and they lost for many years thereafter.

BURG: I remember. You're on a losing streak that lasted twenty years. And you, Mr. Porter, had been a Democrat?

PORTER: Yes, I was a typical Texas Democrat. Now the, my first activity in politics happened in 1940--that was before I met the Judge. And I worked some for the nomination of John [Nance] Garner for President.

BURG: I see.

PORTER: And then when President Roosevelt defeated him, why, I switched to raising money for the Republican nominee, Wendell Willkie.





BURG: Does that have anything to do with what you described as being a "typical Texas Democrat"?

PORTER: Well, I'd say up to that time I'd been one. But I became disenchanted with President Roosevelt when he tried to stack the Supreme Court--that was the last straw, indeed.

BURG: I see.

PORTER: From 1940 through 1950, I raised money in the national elections for Republican candidates and the National Committee.

BURG: Now that, that would imply, sir, that you'd made a deliberate decision to raise it for national effort, but not within the state of Texas?

PORTER: Yes, except for those congressional elections.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER:--and then it would be distributed among the Presidential ticket and congressional and senatorial campaign committees.

BURG: Could I ask you why you did it that way--and evidently you did not raise money or try to raise money to use in local Texas campaigns?

PORTER: I did not raise any money for any Texas campaign except those three congressional races. The Republican party at that time did not make any serious effort towards trying to elect anybody to the statewide level.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: I might mention, in 1948 I was named a delegate to both the Democrat and Republican conventions and went to the Republican state convention, as I had attended my first Republican precinct convention that year. Marrs McLean was the state finance chairman for the Republican party. And he considered me as finance chairman in Harris County.



BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: In 1950 I raised money that went to--I think it was fifty-nine --directly to fifty-nine Republican congressional and senatorial candidates, with one exception. A friend of mine, Ed Gossett, a congressman at that time from Texas, thought George Smathers had a chance to beat Claude Pepper for the Senate in Florida--

BURG: Uh-huh, uh-huh.

PORTER:--and I helped him pick up some money here in Houston and take over there to George Smathers.

BURG: I see.

PORTER: And I believe through all that--

INGRAHAM: That was in '48.

PORTER: No, I think it was in '50.

INGRAHAM: '50? Maybe it was, yes.

PORTER: I think it was, yes.

INGRAHAM: Uh-huh.



PORTER: I could be wrong, but I think it was in '50.

INGRAHAM: Well, I remember George Smathers was first elected to the House in 1946. I thought he served one term in the House and then ran for the Senate, but he may have served two terms in the House. Yes, it was 1950.

BURG: We can check that pretty easily, I think. Judge, what kind of a, what kind of a Republican party in Texas did Mr. Porter associate himself with when he came in 1940?

INGRAHAM: Well, it was a weaker party than we have now. We almost

elected a governor in 1972--he's, Mr. Porter managed the governor's campaign.

BURG: So I understood.

INGRAHAM: Gubernatorial candidate's campaign.

BURG: And must have done splendidly well.

INGRAHAM: We had some determined, dedicated Republicans all over the state.

BURG: Even as early as 1940.

INGRAHAM: Oh, yes.

BURG: Mr. [R.B.] Creager was pretty much in charge--

INGRAHAM: He was.

BURG:--of things? Did you know Mr. Creager--

INGRAHAM: Yes, I knew him well.

BURG:--personally? May I ask you to give me a capsule description



of that man and his kind of personality, and what, what did Mr. Creager have going for him that helped him hold Texas Republicanism together after the years of patronage were done, in 1932?

INGRAHAM: Ah, it'll require some speculation, I suppose. I knew him well, and Jack Porter knew him well, and I'll give you my evaluation of Mr. Creager, and Porter from his knowledge of him can affirm or he may want to add something or give different views about Mr. Creager.

BURG: Fine.

INGRAHAM: Mr. Creager was a native Texan, educated in Texas. He was a lawyer; he located in Brownsville on the Mexican border. He associated himself with the Republican party, and he happened to have been in the--he was a man, he was a large man, tall, distinguished-looking man. He was red-headed, had all the red-headed characteristics of the pink skin--

BURG: I see.

INGRAHAM:--and he was a, a--I said a distinguished-looking man,



didn't you think so?



PORTER: Yes.

INGRAHAM: He dressed well, he was dignified. He had many of the potentials of leadership--probably suffered some limitations, as we all do.

BURG: Any of his limitations outstanding enough for you to recollect them?

INGRAHAM: Well, I've heard this charge against him, and it was best expressed in a, in a newspaper article by--now, I knew Mr. Creager and liked him and oftendiffered with him. A young man who--he was young then; he's not as young now--named Jerry Cullinan[?] wrote a story about Creager, where the name of the article was "The Japanese Gardener".

BURG: What a terrific way to put it.

INGRAHAM: I knew Creager, and, oh, that made him mad as hell:

BURG: Was Mr. Cullinan thinking in terms of a bland exterior and--

INGRAHAM: Well, the Japanese gardener, they cultivate little plants, small trees--

BURG: I see, all right.

INGRAHAM:--and that they can control. Well, the implication was that--

BURG: The Bonsai tree--

INGRAHAM:--that Creager created the Bonsai that could not grow, that could never grow out from under his control.

BURG: That is a terrific description!

INGRAHAM: Now, Creager got his strong hold on the Republican party in 1920 when he was a delegate to the Republican national convention in Chicago. The National Committeeman at that time was H. F. Mac Gregor of Houston, for whom MacGregor Park is named here.





BURG: Uh-huh.

INGRAHAM: I didn't know Mr. MacGregor; he was dead and gone when I came here to Houston in 1935--I came to Texas earlier. MacGregor supported General Leonard Wood for the nomination in 1920. And it was Creager, who through insight or maybe some information, he pushed for Warren Harding. Well, Harding was nominated and elected and Creager had the Texas patronage, had it all; there were no congressmen to share it with--well, yes, there was one, and he and Creager were always at cross-purposes. But that is when Creager gained control of the Texas Republican party in 1920. He was able to hold it as long as he did possibly because there was no worthy or capable opponent who wanted to take the control away from him.

BURG: I guess Mr. Creager made the right decisions with regard to Calvin Coolidge and Herbert Hoover?

INGRAHAM: Oh, yes, yes, he was, he was a straight organization man.

BURG: And on the right side.

INGRAHAM: Yes, he always worked with the organization that he was in, which ultimately became the Taft organization. We had Republican Presidents--Harding, Coolidge and Hoover--for twelve years. During that time Creager controlled all Texas patronage, which was considerable. Texas is a large and important state; we have, Texas has, only Texas and New York had four judicial districts; I don't suppose there's any state has as many seaports as Texas with collectors of customs, and so many postoffices.

BURG: Uh-huh.

INGRAHAM: Creager started as a collector of custom when he was a young lawyer down in Brownsville.

BURG: I see.

INGRAHAM: And could carry on his law practice, too. No other state has the broad expanse of international boundary that this state has, with collectors and ports of entry all along, and no other state had as many post offices as Texas.



BURG: I see.

INGRAHAM: So the man in control of patronage in Texas for twelve years was an important man.

BURG: Now some have claimed, as this young reporter claimed, that with that patronage and for that twelve-year period of time, Mr. Creager and others saw their role as merely hanging on to that and keeping a Republican party that was small, that could provide for its office holders--and little growth occurred. Is that a fair assessment of what happened?

INGRAHAM: That is a fair assessment. And I want to tell you that Creager was a man of great charm, didn't you think so?

PORTER: Oh, I liked him very much.

BURG: Uh-huh.

INGRAHAM: He was offered the ambassadorship, I'm told, to Mexico, but he didn't want it. There had long been strained relations

between Mexico and Texas, and he told President Harding that he thought it would not be diplomatic to appoint a Texan as ambassador to Mexico, so--

BURG: Uh-huh.

INGRAHAM:--I don't remember who was appointed.

PORTER: I don't, either.

BURG: Now, what would, what would be a fair place--

PORTER: Wait a minute and I'll tell you who: Lindbergh's father-in-law.

INGRAHAM: No, he was appointed by Hoover, Jack.

PORTER: Was he?

INGRAHAM: Yeah.

BURG: Dwight Morrow?

INGRAHAM: Dwight Morrow was appointed by Hoover.



BURG: Yes. What would be a fair, a fair place to put you, Judge, when you came in in '32--how did you stand with the group of Texas Republicans who were in control at that time?

INGRAHAM: All right, I'll, we'll bring Henry Zweifel into it.

BURG: All right.

INGRAHAM: I came to Texas--I got out of law school in June, 1927. I went back to Oklahoma and opened a law business in a small town, Stroud, Oklahoma, and the depression was on then but we didn't know it.

BURG: As early as that?

INGRAHAM: Oh, yes.

BURG: Uh-huh.

INGRAHAM: It really, it wasn't known until October of '29.

BURG: Right.

INGRAHAM: But, but we had it then. I was then 24 years old. I





had not done very well in my law practice in Stroud, Oklahoma, and I heard about an opening in Fort Worth. And I borrowed twenty dollars, and I made the trip to Fort Worth and back on twenty dollars. Henry Zweifel had been United States Attorney-- he had just retired--and a fellow told me that he was looking for a young lawyer, so I went down and got a job with Henry Zweifel. So I practiced for seven and a half years in Fort Worth with Zweifel. Zweifel was a Republican; he had been a life-long Republican. He had been postmaster in his home town, a small town near Fort Worth, Granbury, which is not far from where Porter came from--an adjoining county.

BURG: I see.

PORTER: South thirty miles.

BURG: Uh-huh.

INGRAHAM: And then he was, he was appointed United States Attorney by--he served as U.S. Attorney in the administrations of Harding

and Coolidge, and then he resigned. He had quite a bit of, he began to get employment on the other side, then. Our practice-- we had substantial practice in federal court. In my early law practice, I had more federal court experience than most young lawyers.

BURG: I see.



INGRAHAM: For that reason.

BURG: Uh-huh. So, for the first time, you meet Mr. Zweifel, who is going to be pretty important in all the things we discuss from this point on. And, Mr. Porter, did you know him at about that same time, or not until later?

PORTER: I met Mr. Zweifel the first time in 1947.

BURG: Not until then?

PORTER: No.

BURG: Uh-huh. Well, let's ask the Judge, then, to describe Mr. Zweifel--you were in partnership with him, saw him very closely.

INGRAHAM: For seven and a half years.

BURG: How would you contrast him with Mr. Creager?

INGRAHAM: Oh, they were different characters--Creager was a man of early American background; Zweifel, Zweifel's father was a Swiss immigrant. You have a German name; I don't know if you know what Zweifel means or not.

BURG: No, I don't.

INGRAHAM: Well, it means--literally, it means, Zwei is two--

BURG: Yes.

INGRAHAM:--Zweifel, two stones.

BURG: I see.

INGRAHAM: Idiomatically, it means dubious, doubtful.

BURG: Uh-huh.

INGRAHAM: Now, that doesn't describe him, but that's what his name means.



BURG: Uh-huh.

INGRAHAM: He carries two stones.

BURG: Yes. Well my name means a fortified place, and that doesn't really describe me, either!

INGRAHAM: Yes. Oh--Burg--no, that means a mountain.

BURG: Well, actually--Oh, Burg, B-u-r-g?

INGRAHAM: Oh, B-u-r-g, oh, yes.

BURG: Yes, yes.

INGRAHAM: A barricaded mountain.

BURG: Yes, uh-huh. Intellectually, are the two men at a comparable level, do you think?

INGRAHAM: Zweifel was a man of great intellect. He was a man of limited education, and it didn't bother him.

BURG: Uh-huh.



INGRAHAM: He, he was a lawyer of some ability and died a wealthy man at the age of eighty-five or so.

BURG: I see.

INGRAHAM: I'll give you a quick run-down on him, if you want it.

BURG: Please.

INGRAHAM: His father was a Swiss immigrant, and I understand a sort of a ne'er-do-well. Zweifel looked like Fiorello LaGuardia.

BURG: All right.

INGRAHAM: He was small of stature and stockily, stockily built. I mention LaGuardia because he was a man well-known--I don't know, you're young, I don't know whether you knew what he looked like or not.

BURG: Oh, indeed, I do.

INGRAHAM: Zweifel was swarthy, dark of skin, he had black hair. He looked--LaGuardia was Italian--and, of course, his Swiss back-



ground may have been Italian; his father may have been an Italian-Swiss.

BURG: Possible, yes.

INGRAHAM: His mother was--maiden name was Smith--her background was early American and American Indian. She was part Comanche Indian, did you know that?

PORTER: No, I didn't know that.

INGRAHAM: So, Henry Zweifel's dark, swarthy look could have been both from his Italian-Swiss, or partly from his Comanche Indian.

BURG: Yes, it could have been.

INGRAHAM: Light brown. He was a man with great intellect, great energy, and great ability, don't you agree?

PORTER: Yes, sir.

BURG: Would either of you describe him as an aggressive man?



INGRAHAM: Oh, very, very aggressive!

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: And incidentally, I saw him frequently. I have a small ranching operation in an adjoining county where he lived, and I'd go down once in a while, be passing through there, and stop and see him. He died with that black hair.

INGRAHAM: Uh-huh, I thought he did, a lot.

PORTER: And he ran a bank until he died.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: He owned control of it.

BURG: Some of those who tend to think of small men, small physically, as being aggressive, and perhaps because of their stature--did it seem that way with Mr. Zweifel, or was it something else? Here, I think, of course, of someone like Mickey Rooney.

PORTER: Well, I don't think you got the impression of him as being a real small fellow; he was chunky.



INGRAHAM: Well, he was on the short side, Jack.

PORTER: Yeah, but I imagine he weighed a hundred and seventy-five or eighty pounds and maybe more, didn't he?

INGRAHAM: Well, probably, and on the short side. He was a man--warm personality. We started out on his education, I'll tell you how he studied law: Henry was a postmaster in Granbury, and there was some other boy that wanted to go to the University of Texas and study law, so Henry said, 'Well, I'll tell you what,' he said, 'you need some help; I'll give you twenty dollars a month, I'll send it to you. And I want you to make notes on everyday's study, and I want to have every book you have, and I want to keep up with everything you read while you're in school.' So that's the way Henry studied law. Now, the man that went to the University and got a degree did not have a distinguished career at all, and Henry Zweifel did. Henry did very well.

BURG: That's a--

INGRAHAM: Died a wealthy man.

BURG: That's an excellent clue to the kind of man he was, the kind of drive he possessed.

INGRAHAM: And the ambition.

BURG: Yes, indeed.

INGRAHAM: I don't think he had any education beyond high school in Granbury, which was a very small town.

BURG: Would you describe Mr. Zweifel as being a more outgoing kind of personality than Mr. Creager? Mr. Creager you've described as a very dignified man.

INGRAHAM: Well, they were both outgoing, wouldn't you say?

PORTER: Yes.

INGRAHAM: They were both warm in their personalities. And Zweifel was swarthy and Creager was a redhead, pink skin--

BURG: Uh-huh.



INGRAHAM:--in his latter years he was gray, but it was a red-headed gray.

BURG: Right. I have seen a picture of him--

INGRAHAM: Yes.

BURG:--taken about--I presumed from the way the photograph looked--about in the 1920's, in the mid-20's--

INGRAHAM: Uh-huh.

BURG:--with his glasses, and as you described, a very scholarly-looking face as a matter of fact.

PORTER: Oh, he was a smart man.

BURG: Uh-huh, uh-huh. All right, now, could I ask you this, first of all you, When you come into the active Republican work, is it at a particular place in the organization--that is did you come in as a precinct chairman or some official position?



INGRAHAM: In 1930, I was then in Fort Worth; I was a precinct chairman and also secretary of the Republican county committee.

BURG: What is the county for Fort Worth, by the way?

INGRAHAM: Tarrant County.

BURG: Tarrant.

INGRAHAM: T-a-double r-a-n-t.

BURG: Uh-huh. And, Mr. Porter, when you first entered, it was not as a worker in the sense of operating a precinct or holding a position like that, but rather as, as a financial organizer, so to speak?

PORTER: Well my first work was financial, but I went to a precinct convention the first time in the spring of 1948, and that summer--
(Interruption)

BURG: You were talking about your first experiences in the party, and then you said you had a story, Judge, that you were going to tell on Mr. Porter, whether he liked it or not?



INGRAHAM: Oh, he likes it; he's heard it before and he remembers it. I was then, in 1948, the Republican county chairman in this county, Harris County, and Jack called me and said he wanted to talk to me, and I said, "Well, fine, I'll go over to your office." I got over there and he was--he's a very forthright man, he comes right to the subject, there's no guile about him. He said, "Joe, what do you have to do to be a Republican?" And I said, "Well, you want to be a Republican?" And he said yes. And I said, "Well, I'm going to tell you." I said, 'On the blank day of May,' I forget, that was 1948; then, we held two sets of conventions. I think it was in April, I said, "We're going to hold Republican precinct conventions," and I said, "you go to your precinct convention." And I said, "When you get there--" I told him who the precinct chairman was; it was, oh, Swede Oberg[?], wasn't it?

PORTER: I don't remember.

INGRAHAM: I said, "Mr. Oberg is your precinct chairman." And I said, "You tell him you want to be a delegate to the county con-

vention, and you get elected as a delegate to the county convention" and I said, "then come to the county convention a week later." And I said, "If you do that, I'll see that you're put on as a delegate to the state convention."

BURG: You were quite sure that in that precinct Mr. Porter would be the delegate to the county convention?



INGRAHAM: Well, yes, I, sure, we'd take anybody that was interested.

PORTER: It wasn't any problem.

INGRAHAM: No.

PORTER: As a matter of fact, there were only three of us present.

BURG: I wondered how many would be there. And none of the other three wanted to go, or your influence--

INGRAHAM: Well, they could all go.

PORTER: Yeah.

BURG: Oh, they could!

INGRAHAM: Sure.

BURG: I see.

INGRAHAM: Then.

BURG: May I ask, Judge, did anyone ask Mr. Porter at that point--

INGRAHAM: That isn't the end of the story.

BURG: I know, but I wondered, Did anyone ask him to sign any kind of a pledge saying that "I am now a Republican and I intend to work for--

PORTER: No, that comes later.

BURG: I know, but at the time you went in--

PORTER: Nothing like that.

INGRAHAM: Oh, no.



BURG: Nothing like that. All right.

INGRAHAM: I said, "If you come to the county convention, I'll see that you're put on the delegation to the state convention." I says, "When you've done that," I says, "you'll be a Republican. It's just like being baptized; there's no turning back." You remember that, Jack?

PORTER: Yeah.

INGRAHAM: So, he did. He went to his precinct convention, he came to the county convention, and he was named a delegate to the state convention in Corpus Christi. And at Corpus Christi he was named an alternate for the national convention. Remember that?

PORTER: Yes.

INGRAHAM: And then he rose rapidly in the Republican party, commencing then.

BURG: Now, in 1948, who was it that the Texas delegate or delega-

tion favored?

INGRAHAM: Taft.

BURG: Uh-huh.

INGRAHAM: You were supporting Joe Martin, weren't you?

PORTER: Yes, yes.

INGRAHAM: Mr. Porter and Mr. [Hugh Roy] Cullen were supporting Joe Martin.

BURG: A favorite, favorite son and--

PORTER: Well, Joe was from Massachusetts.

INGRAHAM: Speaker of the House.

PORTER: Speaker of the House.

BURG: I know, uh-huh. But your, your attitude was that, that you were going to throw support to Mr. Martin.

PORTER: We thought that there would be a deadlock between Dewey



and Taft, and then we were going to try to get the convention to--

INGRAHAM: Turn to Martin.

PORTER:--turn to the Speaker of the House, Joe Martin.

BURG: All right, let me ask you, sir, why Mr. Martin, did you know him personally?

PORTER: I became acquainted with him about 1946, and, matter of fact, Mr. Cullen and I had him down here as our guest for dinner at the Rice Hotel.

INGRAHAM: That's when I met you.

PORTER: Yeah.

BURG: Was this--

PORTER: I would say that--

BURG:--Hugh Cullen?

PORTER: What?

BURG: Was this Hugh Cullen?



PORTER: Hugh Roy Cullen.

BURG: Hugh Roy Cullen.

PORTER: I think that happened about--

INGRAHAM: '47.

PORTER:--in '47.

INGRAHAM: October of '47.

PORTER: Yeah. And he and I became close friends, and were for many years. I believe he was the first Republican Speaker of the House that had ever visited Texas, don't you think so, Joe? Certainly--

INGRAHAM: As far as I know.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: I had been in Washington and met him through a mutual friend, trying to get the oil industry out from under price con-

trols.

BURG: Which remained on after 1945.

PORTER: Yes, we got out from under in 1946--in the late summer of 1946 we got out from under price controls.

BURG: Well, you, yourself, had been interested in, in the petroleum industry.

PORTER: Yes.

BURG: For some period of time.

PORTER: Yes.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: And, how that I happened to be in Washington, I was the president, it was my brain child, of the Texas Independent Producers' and Royalty Owners Association, and I was the first president of it. And we organized it--



INGRAHAM: Burg gets the white one.

PORTER:--in 1946. And I was up there representing that association, which was--

INGRAHAM: Thank you.

PORTER:--working on getting us out from under price controls. That's where I met Joe Martin. He was the minority leader at that time, and then he--

BURG: Right.

PORTER:--became the Speaker.

INGRAHAM: In the 80th Congress.

PORTER: In the 80th Congress, 1947.

BURG: Now, price controls were the immediate concern for you--

PORTER: The war was over, but we were still under price controls.

BURG: Uh-huh.



PORTER: And the beef industry was still under price controls. And I remember very well on that trip, Congress had passed the bill on price controls which the President had vetoed--had watered the controls down. And I finally went in to see Mr. Rayburn, Speaker of the House, and so we talked a little politics first, and one thing that was in his craw, Mr. Cullen had been sending ten thousand dollars up to his district--try to beat him.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: And so I said, "Well, Mr. Speaker, I'll talk to Mr. Cullen and I think I can guarantee you that he won't send any more money up there and try to beat you."

INGRAHAM: Next time he sent a telegram, didn't he?

PORTER: Well, I don't think he, I don't know about that, but he didn't do anything against him. And he finally said to me--they had a bill in at that time to do away with price controls on oil and beef--he said, "I don't care what they do on that bill; we

gave the President a good price control bill and he vetoed it." Well, when I left there, why, I spread that word around and that bill sailed right on through by a big majority. And I remember then--beef was short, you had trouble finding a good steak.

BURG: Uh-huh, yes, I remember.



PORTER: The day after, or two days after that law became effective you could buy a good steak in any restaurant in Washington.

BURG: That fast?

PORTER: That fast. And, so, Mr. Cullen and I had him down here as our guest, and everybody that attended the dinner was our guest.

BURG: This was a dinner for Mr. Martin?

PORTER: Yes.

BURG: Mr. Martin.

PORTER: Mr. Martin was his house guest; that's the first time he had ever met Mr. Cullen, and they became good friends, too, and he

came back to Texas several times after that.

BURG: Now did you know, Judge, that your newly-acquired Republican was going to be a supporter for Joe Martin, or did you not know that?

INGRAHAM: No, I didn't, I did not. I--

BURG: Would it have made any strong difference to you?

INGRAHAM: Oh, no, Heavens, no, we were trying to build a party and we'd take anybody.

BURG: All right, you say you were trying to build a party, were you, then, at that time out of step with some of the--May I call them the old guard in Republican ranks?

INGRAHAM: I certainly was and I had trouble with them.

BURG: Can you describe to me the kinds of trouble you had? We'd like to know about that.

INGRAHAM: Well, I'll have to go back and tell you how I became



a county chairman.

BURG: All right.

INGRAHAM: I had had some activity in local politics during--I was gone fifty months in World War II.

BURG: On what kind of duty, might I ask?

INGRAHAM: I was an officer in the Army Air Corps.

BURG: I see.

INGRAHAM: And I went overseas late--I got there in January of '45.

BURG: In what theater?

INGRAHAM: In the European theater.

BURG: I see.

INGRAHAM: And the Germans surrendered in May of '45, and the Japanese in August of '45, and we had the occupation program all over

the world, in Europe and in the Orient, too. It was hard to get back; they had a point system on rotation.

BURG: Right.

INGRAHAM: I was low on points, because, one, is that I got over there late. They also gave points for battle engagements; I had engaged in no battles. They gave--if you had a wife, that was strong on points, children were strong on points; I had no wife and no children at that time.

BURG: Purple hearts and decorations counted.

INGRAHAM: So, I didn't get back here until April of '46. Well, I got an air mail letter one day from Otto Letzerich who was then a prominent, an old line Republican. He was an elderly man, he had been active in Republican politics here for many years.

BURG: Could you spell his last name for us, please?

INGRAHAM: L-e-t-z-e-r-i-c-h.

BURG: Thank you.

INGRAHAM: Letzerich--German, a Texas German.

BURG: Uh-huh.

INGRAHAM: He was born in Texas, his son and grandchildren live here now, and great-grandchildren. He was a fine man. He said that Clarence Miller, who had been Republican county chairman many years, was not in good health and had resigned and had had a meeting and they had elected me county chairman. Well, my reaction to it, 'Well I can't do that; hell, I've lost four years-- I'm going to have to devote myself to law practice when I get back.'

BURG: Uh-huh.

INGRAHAM: So I sent him a cable, and a cable, you know, they charge for every word, so my only message was: "Negative, letter follows." And I wrote him an air mail letter, and told him all the reasons why I could not accept and did not accept. Well, in due time I got a letter back from him--I was in Germany then--I got a letter

back from him that, 'well we got your letter, and we named Nat Friedman as acting chairman, but it's, we're going to hold it open for you.' So I came back still protesting, but no one would listen to me.

BURG: Uh-huh.

INGRAHAM: So I took over the county chairmanship, and I want to say with pride that at the time I took over the organization we had nineteen precincts organized in this county, and at the time I left it we had a hundred and ninety-one organized.

BURG: I see. How long did you hold that position?

INGRAHAM: Seven years.

BURG: I see.

INGRAHAM: And it did take a lot of time.

BURG: In building the county organization here, what kind of an

approach did you take, Judge? Who were you trying to contact? I think I know the answer to this, but were you attempting, for example, to build Republicanism among the blacks in Harris County, or did you--

INGRAHAM: I made efforts along those lines, yes. I had very little, no luck with the blacks at all.

BURG: Did they--



INGRAHAM: We had very few.

BURG: Did they tend to link up with the Democratic organization locally or to remain aloof from that--

INGRAHAM: Well, I can tell you one of the difficulties I had. We had no money, and politics is a labor of love--nobody paid me anything and white people who were interested in politics were not paid anything; they, the time they devoted and whatever they had to do they paid out of their own pocket from their interest in it.

BURG: Right.

INGRAHAM: It's a labor of love. But every time I approached a Negro, 'Well, how much you pay me?'

BURG: I see.

INGRAHAM: And I said, "Well, now--" I've had this conversation with a number of them"--well, now, Negroes are asking for equality, they're asking to be treated like white people, I don't pay the white people anything." So I wouldn't pay them anything.

BURG: Uh-huh. Do you suppose that they secretly believed that you had funds to disperse, and you just weren't going to disperse them to them?

INGRAHAM: I don't know what they believed. But I do know that it was always, "Well, how much you pay me?"

BURG: Uh-huh. So the results in trying to line up black Republicanism were pretty sparse as far as you were concerned?



INGRAHAM: I didn't pay them--for two reasons: one, I didn't have the money to pay them with, and two, I did not, I did not favor unequal treatment.

BURG: Uh-huh. Now as you built this party in the mid-and late '40's, did the statewide Republican organization praise you for organizing more and more precincts in, in Harrie County?

INGRAHAM: Oh, anybody in any sort of public activity gets both praise and damnation.

BURG: Well, I wondered if Mr. Creager was still alive and was--

INGRAHAM: He died in 1950.

BURG: In '50.

INGRAHAM: In the fall of '50, October of 1950.

BURG: Uh-huh. But it seems to me that you're, you're one of those in the state, one of the Republicans in the state at that time, who are attempting to forge a larger, more powerful, more well-



organized Republican party.

INGRAHAM: Yes, and we had the largest county in the state-- largest population-wise--and we thought it was important.

BURG: Now, did Mr. Creager seem to agree?

INGRAHAM: Yes, I, what I started to say was, in 1943, there, they, there was a movement--they wanted to replace me with Nat Friedman, who had been the acting county chairman. And he got some--Creager tried to do that--he got some support, but not much support because by that time the party had increased and the increase had been largely through my efforts; the new people that had come into the party had all come in through contact with me.

BURG: Uh-huh.

INGRAHAM: So, they didn't get much help on it. Then, when you come under fire you don't want to quit.

BURG: Yes.

INGRAHAM: Then you have to fight back.

BURG: In 1948--

INGRAHAM: Yes, I've had fights with Creager, and, but I've had many friendly sessions with him since then.

BURG: Right, right.

INGRAHAM: Creager was a man that could not stand to be alone. He was a man of great energy, and when he'd come to town he'd have to have someone to come down and have dinner with him and talk to him. He used to call me, and I'd go down and have dinner with him at the Rice Hotel. He could stay up and talk all night, drink a quart of whiskey, and go out the next morning and play eighteen holes of golf.

BURG: Uh-huh, uh-huh, I see. Who, who else in the state in 1948 was trying to do what you were trying to do--that is, make a stronger organization?

INGRAHAM: There were other movements--they had a movement in Dallas that had been very successful. I'd give Ralph Currie a

lot of credit for that, wouldn't you?

PORTER: Yeah. I believe you're passing over--the real fight against Creager was the Republican Club.

INGRAHAM: Republican Club, that's true.

PORTER: What was that man's name, a colonel or--

INGRAHAM: Captain Lucey.

PORTER: Yeah.

INGRAHAM: Capt. John F. Lucey.

BURG: L-u-c-e-y.

INGRAHAM: Yes.

BURG: I have heard about him. Now, was that a statewide movement that Captain Lucey was involved in, Mr. Porter?

PORTER: Yes.



BURG: And may I have, may I have the story of that? He appeared in another conversation I had back in Kansas as a figure who seemed to have access to money--I don't know how much money-- and showed up as interested behind the scenes, but interested-- I, I didn't follow what happened to him.

PORTER: Well, that's part of my introduction to Republican politics.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: Other than raising money. There was a group of fellows from Dallas came down to Houston and were down at the Rice Hotel, and I knew two or three of them--one was Bill Luse, one was Roy Black, and then Ralph Currie was present, I think maybe Alvin Lane.

INGRAHAM: Yes.

PORTER: And there was one or two more--I just don't recall. But either Bill Luse or Roy Black, both of whom I knew well, called me at my office and told me there was a group of them down there and



they'd like to see me. Now this happened in 1947, and I would say it was in the neighborhood of the summertime. And I went down there and they told me that Captain Lucey on his, just before he died in Boston, a Boston hospital, had written a letter resigning as president of the Republican Clubs of Texas, and that he had suggested in his letter that I succeed him. And they told me the purpose was to capture the delegation and replace Creager for the '48 convention. And we, and they offered to put up a hundred thousand dollars for the war chest, and I told them that I'd have to think about it, because it was quite a surprise to me. And I thought about it some and then I called. They suggested that I talk to Henry Zweifel at Fort Worth, and see what his reaction would be. When I happened to go to Fort Worth, I called Mr. Zweifel and he came over to the hotel and we had a visit. Well, he didn't--I would say he was less than enthusiastic about the project.

INGRAHAM: That describes it perfectly; he was in it in the beginning, but was never very enthusiastic.

PORTER: Yeah.

BURG: Because he thought, perhaps, it couldn't be done, or--

PORTER: Well, I, he didn't come right out and say that--but I'm sure that was in the back of his mind.

BURG: And may I ask, too, Mr. Porter, when this group of Luse, Black and others talked with you, did they specify precisely why they wanted Creager out, or was it commonly agreed?

PORTER: Well, they took the view that the party wasn't going to grow much under Creager, and they wanted to have a good strong Republican party in Texas.

BURG: Uh-huh.

INGRAHAM: I want to say now that that's when Jerry Cullinan wrote that article about the Japanese gardener. Cullinan was the public relations man employed by Captain Lucey.

BURG: Was that C-u-l-l-i-n-a-n?



INGRAHAM: Yes, sir.

BURG: All right.

PORTER: Was it n-a-n or n-e-n?

INGRAHAM: C-u-doule l-i-n-a-n.

BURG: All right.

INGRAHAM: Cullinan.

BURG: And so we place the Cullinan article in 1947, at about the time that this proposal is made to you and you go to see Mr. Zweifel?

PORTER: Yes. Well, anyhow, after that I called Joe Martin on the phone and talked to him about it, and his advice was not to do it; it probably couldn't be done. And, so Marrs McLean had me up to his ranch, presumably a deer and turkey shoot, and some of these fellows were there and most of the conversation was about this project.



INGRAHAM: I was there and I shot a deer out there, Jack.

PORTER: Yeah, that's right.

BURG: Autumn of 1947.

PORTER: Yeah.

INGRAHAM: That's right.

PORTER: So I finally told them no, but Marrs wouldn't give up, and kept inviting me up to the ranch, and I knew what it was for and I'd make excuses and didn't go, and finally, long in December of '47, why, he was here in Houston, and he said, "I believe you are probably right not taking that job, and the best thing to do is go to a Republican precinct convention and get in the party, and in due time we'll get you well-known among Republicans and maybe accomplish it that way--elect you national committeeman." So that's when I called you and asked you just--

INGRAHAM: Said, "What do you have to do to be a Republican?"



BURG: Yeah.

PORTER: So--



BURG: Mr. Porter, for the record, why was it, why was it believed that Mr. Creager couldn't be taken out of that position? There had been no patronage, patronage for the party--I would presume a very moderate kind of patronage for a long period of time-- where was Mr. Creager's support coming from, that you gentlemen felt he could not be taken out?

PORTER: Well, you see, the active Republicans, I mean county chairmen, members of the state executive committee, probably didn't number over three hundred, would you say, Joe--something like that?

INGRAHAM: Right.

PORTER: And I know the last convention we had, when Mr. Creager was still in power in 1950, the convention hall was a dining room at one of the hotels down at--

INGRAHAM: Galveston.

PORTER:--Galveston. Not a big hotel either--Jean Lafitte, wasn't it?

INGRAHAM: No, it was that hotel down on the beach, the Buccaneer.

PORTER: What was the name of it?



INGRAHAM: The Buccaneer, it was that one down on the beach that belonged to the Moodys--it's now an old folks' home.

PORTER: Yeah.

BURG: So, the group was a fairly small one that you're describing in 1950?

PORTER: That's right, and Mr. Creager--it was my observation in talking to people that had been in the party a long time, and--if he had a little trouble with--he was very adroit at pitting one faction against another.

INGRAHAM: Yeah.

PORTER: And he'd always come on top.

BURG: I see.

PORTER: He was a smart man and a smart politician but he, he had given up, I think, any idea of building a strong Republican party in this state. Don't you think so?

INGRAHAM: Yes, I think he had. He died--that was in August and he died in October of that year.

BURG: Then, would both of you gentlemen judge that Henry Zweifel was of that same mind, judging from his performance when you talked with him--he, too, perhaps reluctant to build a strong party?

PORTER: I don't think Henry would have been reluctant at all, but I don't believe that he was the type of fellow that could do it. Wouldn't you--

INGRAHAM: I'll say "yes"; I think your analysis is probably correct, Jack.



BURG: Where did he lack, Mr. Porter? Was it in just lack of breadth, that perhaps Mr. Creager had and Mr. Zweifel didn't have, to take hold of this state organization and move it?

PORTER: Well, he had control of the state organization after he was elected national committeeman.

BURG: Mr. Zweifel did?

PORTER: Yes, he had control of it. As a matter of fact, he controlled about two-thirds of it and I controlled about one third.

BURG: At what time, sir?

INGRAHAM: When Creager died.

PORTER: After Creager died.

BURG: In '50, after, after 1950.

INGRAHAM: In October, 1950. Then the state committee chose a new national committeeman--they chose Henry Zweifel.



BURG: Now, let me ask you this, Mr. Porter, Did it, did it cross your mind, was it part of your discussions with your group of backers, that you might take on Mr. Zweifel? You, you had now, you had decided not to take on Mr. Creager.

PORTER: Well, I took on Mr. Zweifel at the state committee meeting, after Mr. Creager died.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: And I think, I don't believe I had quite a third of the vote at that meeting--but maybe a third of it.

BURG: So within three years you, yourself, had acquired about a third of the votes you needed, coming in as a brand new Republican in '47, and by 1950--

INGRAHAM: '48.

PORTER: '48.

BURG: '48. Well, actually about two years, then, you had, you had

built some support for yourself.

PORTER: Yes, well of course I had a little built-in support from Dallas County and--

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER:--Harris County. But, and, oh, some other areas down in this part of the country.

BURG: Had you ever suspected, sir, that Mr. Zweifel had, when you talked to him about the possibility of unseating Creager, that Mr. Zweifel had spoken with Mr. Creager and Mr. Creager might have suggested that he was about ready to step down? Or, may I ask, too, was Mr. Creager suffering from an illness?

PORTER: I don't think there was anything wrong with Mr. Creager at that time, and Creager--I don't think he had any intention of stepping down.

INGRAHAM: No, he did not.

(Interruption)

BURG: All right, you were saying there was an episode in '48 that would clarify this episode. Fine.

PORTER: Yes. In 1948 there was a bitterly-contested race for the Democratic nomination for the United States Senate between Governor Coke Stevenson and Congressman Lyndon B. Johnson. And that developed into a political scandal, and Johnson won it by, was it eighty-seven votes?

INGRAHAM: Yes.

PORTER: And then they had a big contest at the state convention over it, and the state committee finally declared Johnson the winner.

INGRAHAM: That's the Democrat committee.

PORTER: Yeah, the Democrat committee. So the newspapers were demanding that the Republicans name a candidate for the Senate, and Creager appointed Henry Zweifel and me as a committee to find



a candidate. So the state committee was meeting in the hotel in Fort Worth, and we tried several people--to get one of them to run for the Senate on the Republican ticket. Well, I know there was one man we would have liked to have had was George Peddy, who is now deceased.

BURG: P-e-t-t-y?

PORTER: P-e-d-d-y.

BURG: d-d-y, all right.

PORTER: But unfortunately he had voted in the Democratic primary, and that disqualified him. And we tried to get Pappy--well, the morning that the committee was meeting, as a last resort we went out to see W. Lee O'Daniel, who is commonly called Pappy O'Daniel.

BURG: Yes.

INGRAHAM: A Kansan, native Kansan.

BURG: And a character, I understand.



PORTER: He was. Where he got the name "Pappy", he sold flour on the radio and always ended, "Please pass the biscuits, pappy." And that's how he got that name. And he had gone to the Senate, and he had just decided that he would not run for reelection. So we went out--

INGRAHAM: He went to the Senate as a Democrat.

BURG: Right, uh-huh.

PORTER: We went out to his farm, which was about fifteen miles out of Fort Worth, had quite a visit with him.

INGRAHAM: Right out near where you were born. How far from your birthplace?

PORTER: It was two or three miles.

INGRAHAM: Yeah.

PORTER: But we could not get him to agree to come back and run for the Senate. He said, "Well, if I'd have wanted to stay in the Senate, I'd have run for reelection."

INGRAHAM: He knew his time was up.

BURG: I see.

PORTER: So we got back to Fort Worth, and they prevailed upon me to take the nomination, which I did. And that's the only political race I ever made, and it only lasted about six weeks.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: I got about a third of the vote and I was--

INGRAHAM: I can give it to you exactly if you want it.

BURG: Let's have it. It was a very good showing for a Texas Republican at that time, wasn't it? A third, say, thirty-three percent of the vote?

PORTER: I think it was one of the best showings that was ever made.

BURG: I would think so.

PORTER: The Judge can tell you that, too.



BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: I did accomplish this: I put Lyndon to campaigning. And subsequent events proved I wasn't running against an amateur.

BURG: Yes, yes, that's right. You had him running a little scared, though.

PORTER: Yeah, he started campaigning. I remember, he said he didn't understand why he had to run twice for the place. The Democratic nomination up to that time was tantamount to election.

BURG: Yes. And having edged out Stevens, why, he had sort of hoped that that was the last drain on his war chest.

PORTER: Stevenson.

BURG: Or Stevenson rather, yes.

PORTER: Yeah, he thought he was through when he got the nomination.

INGRAHAM: Which had always been the case.



PORTER: But I--

BURG: Yes.

PORTER:--I had support. Well, I remember the Houston Chronicle and Dallas News both supported me. And I made a very active campaign. We had no TV then; if we'd have had TV, why, it would possibly have been different--all we had was radio.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: And they censored my speeches, which I don't think they had any right to do, but--

BURG: What, what kinds of things were they taking out of your speeches at the stations?

PORTER: Well, for instance, the, they were going to check the ballots in Duval County, but when they went down there to check them, they had been burned. That's where the 87 votes--

BURG: Yeah.

PORTER:--came from--Duval and Jim Wells counties--that defeated



Stevens. And I was speaking that night in San Antonio, and the radio station would not let me mention the burning of those ballots on the state-wide radio.

BURG: Did, did you have the figures, Judge?

INGRAHAM: I can give you the--

BURG: All right, if I could have that.

INGRAHAM:--figures, in 1948 senatorial election in Texas: Lyndon Johnson 702, 985, Republican Jack Porter, 349, 665.

BURG: Oh, very good indeed; it's better than 33--

PORTER: Yeah.

BURG:--very, very close to, to about half of what he was able to run up. Now--

INGRAHAM: That was more than half.

BURG: Is it more than half?

INGRAHAM: Oh, no, just slightly less than half, excuse me.



BURG: Yeah. And at that time we can't emphasize that too much-- that's astonishing for a Republican candidate in this state.

INGRAHAM: 33 percent. Yes, it was.

BURG: Uh-huh, uh-huh. Now, that, that radio station's view, as they explained it to you, was what? Did they think that they might be liable if you made a remark like that on the air?

PORTER: Why, of course, it--just before they had read my speech, and I had added that to it, you see, but they insisted on reading every speech I made, no matter what radio station it was. Of course, I think they were violating the law and I probably should have brought a suit against the whole works.

BURG: Ever hear that Congressman Johnson's speeches were similarly being censored?

PORTER: I don't know whether they were or not. Now, it was late in the campaign; it, it was about two--the campaign was about half through, I think, before he started campaigning any.

INGRAHAM: Uh-huh.

PORTER: Yes. But I'm confident they didn't censor his, but I can't say that with finality.

BURG: Right.



PORTER: But, you see, if I used something like that, then they would cut me off.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: But if it was to do over again, I'd--first time they tried it--I'd take them to the courthouse. But I didn't do it because I'd have been trying it in four districts with a Democrat district judge.

BURG: Right.

PORTER: And I think we had one Republican federal judge in Texas at that time. That was before you had so many civil rights.

INGRAHAM: We had three then, Jack, or four; we had four then--one in each district.

PORTER: Oh, that's right, we did have.

INGRAHAM: Yeah.

PORTER: Then they started dying off. I believe when I came in as national committeeman we only had one, wasn't it?

INGRAHAM: Well--

PORTER: Or did we have any--yeah, Judge Kennerly.

INGRAHAM: No, we had four then. We had Kennerly in this district, (southern), we had Boynton in the western, Atwell in the northern and Bryant in the eastern.

PORTER: Well, Bryant was dead when I came--

INGRAHAM: No.

PORTER:--when I came in as national committeeman. Yeah, he'd already died.

INGRAHAM: You're right, yes.



PORTER: Yes.

BURG: So this, this gives evidence that by 1950, you were a considerable power, you were an effective vote-getter, a force to be reckoned with in Texas politics. And Mr. Zweifel, though, is elected as state committeeman, national committeeman.

PORTER: Yes, but, when, at the 1950 convention at Galveston, Mr. Creager was there--he was ill then. I didn't know it the first afternoon I was down there, but I found out later, and I believe he had cirrhosis of the liver, and they knew he was going to die. And it was the first time that I ever had had to wait to see Mr. Creager, and I sensed that something was going on, and finally when I went in to see him, why, it made Mike Nolte mad as hell, and I know he come and knocked on the door, and Henry Zweifel went to answer it, and put him off. And then we had a, we had a very hot contest there at Galveston on the Galveston County delegates to the convention, which we finally compromised, but I had been on the state committee long enough and heard enough contests--they



had them at every, every state convention--to know that there was a lot of rigging going on.

BURG: Being done by the old guard, the old hands in the party?



PORTER: Yeah. For instance, the county chairman would post a notice for the county convention and, hell, he might move it to another place. The precinct chairman would do the same thing, and people would get there and try to find it; why, the convention's already over with! And that came up all the time. And it was, it centered largely around who was going to be postmaster, if a Republican was elected. Now, that was really in the background of nearly all of them.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: And at this particular county convention in Galveston County, Mike Nolte came over from San Antonio and attended it.

BURG: This is the younger man, Mr. Porter--Mike Nolte, Jr.? I think the father had also been active.

INGRAHAM: I don't know--it was Mike Nolte, not Mike Nolte, Jr. The Nike Nolte he's speaking of is the son of Eugene Nolte.

BURG: Ah, that's the father, all right.

PORTER: Well, anyhow, they had this county convention and there were eleven people inside, counting Mike, and he wasn't a delegate, he was an advisor. And there were thirty-nine or forty that they wouldn't let in; they had a policeman guarding the door. So they held a convention in the county chairman's yard--that is where the contest developed. In the meantime, after the 1948 election we had what we called a headquarters committee that acted for the state committee between meetings if something important came up. And I suggested to Mr. Creager that



we ought to have a committee for two-party government in Texas, and that I'd like to be chairman of it. And he appointed me chairman and created the committee--the committee was me. And I got a lady down here, a former Democrat, Mrs. Thompson, as a vice-chairman. Well, I had gotten these young people that come into Texas down there at those chemical plants in Texas City interested in the Republican party, and they were the ones that were shut out of this county convention.

BURG: I see.



PORTER: And that led to a new law in Texas--

INGRAHAM: Which we had to lobby for.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: After Mr. Creager died that fall, October of '50, we had had this contest before the state committee for the national committeeman, and Zweifel was elected. I called the Judge and Malcolm McCorquadale, who is now deceased, and Weaver Moore, a former state senator, a Democrat, but who was a good personal friend of

mine, and asked them to meet me at the Houston Club for lunch.

And--

INGRAHAM: Weaver Moore's deceased, too.

PORTER: Yeah, he, he's also deceased. And one reason I wanted him, I knew that he could help lobby and also knew how to write the bill--you know, everybody can't write a bill.

BURG: That's right.



PORTER: So I outlined a law we needed, certainly for the Republican party--and it would be a special act--and that was to require the posting of precinct conventions, notices, in a prominent place, and prohibiting their being moved anywhere else--even if the house burned down, they'd have to hold it on the vacant lot.

INGRAHAM: They'd have to be held in that place at that hour.

PORTER: And at that hour.

BURG: Provided fines or imprisonment for violation of--

PORTER: No, you couldn't go that far.

INGRAHAM: No.

BURG: I see.

PORTER: But it had to be held--

INGRAHAM: Just went to the validity of the credentials.

PORTER: Yeah. That'd be decided by the credentials committee, if they were in violation. And then at the county convention-- well, before we get to it, it also provided that if, if a notice for a convention in a precinct had not been posted prior to ten days before the convention date, the legal day for holding it, that any qualified voter could file a notice with the county clerk that he'd hold that precinct convention at the proper time and place.

INGRAHAM: Within his precinct--it had to be within the precinct.

PORTER: Yeah.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: And if more than one was filed, the first one filed took precedence.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: And that was, that was to prevent county chairmen at the last minute naming a precinct chairman to hide out a precinct convention--that's what that was for. Then, it was provided that the county convention must be held in a public building in the county seat of the county. And proper notices posted.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: Well, that came to be known as the Dicker Bill. Dallas County had elected a young fellow to the legislature as a Republican, and he sponsored it in the house, and the dean of the state senate at that time happened to be a long-time personal friend of mine, Rudolph Weinert.

BURG: Now, how would he spell his last name, sir?

PORTER: W-e-i-n-e-r-t.

BURG: Thank you.

PORTER: He's of German extraction.

INGRAHAM: His wife was for many years the--

PORTER: Oh, that was his sister-in-law.

INGRAHAM: Oh, his sister-in-law was for many years the Democratic national committeewoman for Texas.

BURG: I see.

PORTER: Yeah.

INGRAHAM: Yeah, it was his sister-in-law.

PORTER: Well, anyhow, Weaver Moore and I went over to see Senator Weinert, and when we walked in his office he says, "I want to tell you so-and-so's right now, I'm not going to introduce any bill in the legislature; my job is to kill bills." Well, we outlined it to him, showed him what Weaver had written and finally we went across the street for lunch. And during lunch he remarked, "Well, I guess that I could get that bill passed through



the senate before somebody else could get it out of committee." So he sponsored it. In the meantime, I had to go to Washington-- I don't know why, but I did on something. When I got back, I found out that the Zweifel people were going to make a determined fight against that bill.

INGRAHAM: And Zweifel had a son-in-law in the Senate at that time.

PORTER: Did he have a son-in-law there? I didn't know that.

INGRAHAM: A. B. Crawford.

PORTER: I didn't know that was his--

INGRAHAM: From Granbury, a states senator.

BURG: I see.

PORTER: Well, anyhow, I spent two months lobbying for that bill in Austin, and finally Weinert told me, "We had a committee here, you know, and they're going to beat us." And old Weinert adjourned the committee meeting. So I went to work on the com-



mittee, and finally--in the meantime it had passed the house; Dicker didn't have any trouble over there. Well, he had a little trouble, I'd--

INGRAHAM: Well, the trouble was in the senate.

PORTER: The main trouble was in the senate.

INGRAHAM: Used to have thirty-one senators in this state.



BURG: Had the Zweifel forces decided to concentrate on the senate-- a more manageable--

PORTER: They generally do that in Texas.

BURG:--group? Uh-huh.

PORTER: Because it's smaller.

BURG: Right.

INGRAHAM: And he had a son-in-law in the senate, too, Crawford.

BURG: Oh, yes.

PORTER: Well, anyhow, I got help from various places, and finally

I told Weinert we were ready to run, and he brought it up, and--

INGRAHAM: We went over and appeared before the senate committee, you remember?

PORTER: Yeah.

INGRAHAM: Spent a day giving testimony.

PORTER: Oh, yeah. And I think we had to have a two-thirds majority, because we didn't get it out of committee. I'm not sure, but I know we, we got about two-thirds majority.

INGRAHAM: Uh-huh.

PORTER: And that was passed.

INGRAHAM: That is right. Your recollection is right.

PORTER: The reason I'm mentioning that, that was an integral part of the Texas picture at the national convention.

INGRAHAM: They had to comply with that law.

BURG: Uh-huh, uh-huh.

PORTER: And then--

BURG: In effect, you had taken away from the Zweifel people a very powerful weapon, the ability to manipulate the--

PORTER: I had deprived them of the privilege of stealing elections--that's what it amounted to.

BURG: Right.

PORTER: If we hadn't have had that law, we could have never waged the Texas contest.

INGRAHAM: All handled by the state committee, and it was presumed that whatever they did was correct; that's the way it used to be.

BURG: I see.

PORTER: But this--

INGRAHAM: Nobody had--



PORTER:--they had to come out in the open, in the glare of publicity.

BURG: In effect, you had made the Texas Republican party far more democratic--there was far more opportunity for more people.

INGRAHAM: Opened it up.

BURG: Opened it up, right.

PORTER: Well, the stage was set by that law. Now, I think you'd probably like to know about the first time I ever met General Eisenhower.

BURG: I was going to ask how that acquaintance developed--you had not known him earlier when he was in Texas?

PORTER: Well, he was in Texas--let's see, it was 1949--he was in San Antonio and I went over there on business. Marrs McLean lived there, and I always called him when I went to town just like he always called me when he came here. "Oh," he says, "I'm



glad you're in town. I want you to come on over here; I want to talk to you." So I went over, and he said, "I was at a dinner party last night with General Eisenhower," and, he says, "I told him that in his travels over the country that he ought to get acquainted with prominent Republicans in the various states." And he says, "He and Joe Frost are coming to my office at eleven o'clock today, and I want you to stay put. When they get here I'm going to suggest that you come over, and I want you to meet him." At that time Marrs had given up on Taft; Taft had been defeated the year before. Well, I sat around my room and finally about twelve o'clock I called Marrs' secretary, who had worked for me previously, and I asked her why I hadn't heard from Marrs. She says, "I think they're just fixing to break up, and he'll call you just as soon as they do." So in a few minutes Marrs called me, and he said, "Well, it didn't work out to have you over, but you have an appointment at four o'clock this afternoon in Hal Mangrum's apartment there in the St. Anthony Hotel with General Eisenhower." He said, "I'll be over there to your room



at 3:30." So he came over and we went down there about two or three minutes before four, and right on the stroke of the clock the General walked in. The General was always prompt about his appointments.

BURG: Uh-huh.



PORTER: Even when he was campaigning, if he was supposed land at eleven o'clock in a city, if he was ten minutes early, he'd have them circle and land right on the dot--that's how meticulous he was about that.

INGRAHAM: Well, I'm sure his military training had some bearing on that.

BURG: I suppose so.

PORTER: I'm sure it did. Well, anyhow, we had, I think, something like a thirty-minute visit, and--now bear in mind, Marris McLean wanted General Eisenhower to be the Republican nominee for President

at that time; it was not until Taft made his fine race in 1950 that Marrs changed his mind, because he always felt like, I think, when he died he'd go to Bob Taft instead of heaven. Well, in the course of the conversation General Eisenhower said, "I don't know why they speculate on my political affiliation, because I've been a Republican all of my life." And I phrased a question--he showed no desire to be a candidate at the time of this meeting--but I phrased a question to him this way: "General, if it develops that this country imperatively needs a change, would you consent to run for President?" He said, "Mr. Porter, no man can refuse to serve his country in any capacity." Well, I came home that night--I've had a lot of experience with human nature in my lifetime--and I told my wife that night that General Eisenhower will be a candidate for the Republican nomination in 1952.

BURG: You were sure that he could be induced to run?

PORTER: I knew that the pressure would be put on him, and I also knew when you once implant that Presidential virus in a man that it's incurable.



BURG: Your estimate of his position, however, then, was that it had not yet been implanted, or did you--

PORTER: No, that it had not but I knew that it would be, that the--
(Interruption)

Reel 2

BURG: So your feeling was that it hadn't been, but it would be by various people throughout the country?

PORTER: That's right.



BURG: Now some, some have said--in fact, it's been a fairly common criticism--

PORTER: In other words, his answer showed that he could be persuaded.

BURG: Right.

PORTER: And I knew he would be persuaded.

BURG: And in that conversation, you found him in '49 to be Republican in his sympathies. Some, you see, have thought that he could have gone either way. But as early as '49 he was telling you he

was a Republican?

PORTER: Yes, sir.

BURG: Uh-huh.

INGRAHAM: They thought Herbert Hoover could go either way, too. The Democrats wanted to nominate Herbert Hoover back in 1928.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: I think General Eisenhower could have had the nomination of either party in '52.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: But he chose to go the--I think the Democratic nomination's been handed to him on a silver platter, but he took the hard, tough road. Say, I'm going to have to be excused a minute to go to that same place--where is it, Joe?

INGRAHAM: Just right in there, and the door on the left, Jack.

BURG: Why don't we turn this off for a moment?



INGRAHAM: Just opposite Jack Porter's picture.

(Interruption)

BURG:--on tape. Judge Ingraham, while the tape recorder was off, told me a little story about Henry Zweifel's prescience in the 1948 election, just before the vote was taken.

INGRAHAM: I'm sure I told you about it at the time, Jack. It indicates how politically astute and how perceptive Henry Zweifel was. You know, everyone thought that Dewey was going to be elected; Harry Truman didn't have a chance. And about a week before the election I was on the telephone talking to Henry Zweifel. He said, "Why, Joe," he said, "Harry Truman's going to win." I says, "He is?" And he said yes. I said, "Why do you say that?" "Why," he said, "he gets big crowds every place he goes." He said, "I listened last night, I heard him on the radio and I could hear." He said, "it wasn't just planted sound; you could hear the roar of a big crowd, cheering him." And he says, "I see pictures in the newspapers and magazines--every whistle stop he gets big crowds of people to come down to the train to see him." He says, "Tom

Dewey is not even campaigning." He told me that--didn't I tell you about it at the time?

PORTER: No, you didn't.

INGRAHAM: He told me that a week before the 1948 election.

BURG: Uh-huh, uh-huh.

PORTER: Odds were fifteen-to-one on Dewey.

INGRAHAM: Uh-huh.

PORTER: The Las Vegas odds were.

BURG: Yes, I mentioned to the Judge that H. B. Kaltenborn, right to the very night of election, was still convinced that Dewey had, had taken it. Well, when you returned from this meeting, your first meeting with the, with the General in San Antonio, you told your wife that you were pretty sure the General could be induced to run, did you also speak to--

PORTER: I didn't tell her "pretty sure." I said, "He will be a

candidate for the Republican nomination in '52."

BURG: Did you also express that opinion to Judge Ingraham? Do you remember?

INGRAHAM: I don't recall that he did.

PORTER: I don't think so.

INGRAHAM: I was then in the Taft camp--I was for Taft.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: Now, I had another meeting in 1950 with the General. In the meantime, he had become president of Columbia University.

BURG: Right.

PORTER: And he conceived of an idea--I forget the name of it, although I gave twenty-five hundred dollars to it.

BURG: American Assembly, sir?

PORTER: Yeah. And right after the September--well, right after



the Republican state convention in 1950, a group of us headed by L. F. McCollum, who was president of Continental Oil Company at the time, flew up to Denver for a golfing party and a visit with the General in connection with this American [Assembly] fund raising.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: American Assembly fund-raising project. And we went out to Cherry Hills. The General had an old football knee that troubled him at times--

BURG: Yes, sir.



PORTER:--and I wasn't playing golf at the time, so the others went out to play. While they were out he and I had a visit, and he made the remark to me, he says, "Jack, I don't believe the American people would vote for a general as President." And I said, "Well, that might be a pretty good conclusion ordinarily, but in your case it doesn't apply; they'll vote for you."

BURG: He, he made that statement, Mr. Porter, out of the blue, so to speak?

PORTER: Well, I had, I brought up the subject--

BURG: All right.

PORTER:--of his running for President, again, in our conversation.

BURG: All right.

PORTER: And he made that statement. And just before we left there I said, "General, there's going to be a contest for national committeeman in Texas. This fall a vacancy is not doubt going to occur; the national committeeman is very ill. And, do you mind if I announce my support of you for President?" He says, "No, go ahead."

BURG: Now that's in 1950?

PORTER: Yes, late, early fall of 1950.

BURG: Uh-huh.

INGRAHAM: Before October; Creager died and it was before his death. He died in October.

PORTER: Oh, yeah, but I knew that he had this cirrhosis of the liver, and it was just a question of time at his age. And I announced my support right after I got back. And in the meantime Zweifel had announced his support of Eisenhower.

INGRAHAM: Uh-huh.



PORTER: But, after he became national committeeman--as a matter of fact, during that contest Marris McLean came to my office and called committee members all over the state, asking them to vote for me for national committeeman.

INGRAHAM: Uh-huh.

PORTER: And then just before, a couple or three days before, the committee was to meet in Austin to make the decision, Marris didn't show up. Didn't hear from him, anything, and he didn't come to

the meeting, and I knew that he had switched to Taft after Taft's magnificent showing. This was not long after that--

INGRAHAM: Uh-huh.

PORTER:--the election. I guess it was in late November, something like that, that he had switched and that Henry Zweifel had agreed to go with him for Taft.

INGRAHAM: I remember that.



PORTER: And--

BURG: Now Zweifel's brief link-up with the General had not been based on a personal meeting with General Eisenhower as yours had, is that true?

PORTER: I don't think Zweifel ever met the General--

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER:--that I know of--he could have, but I doubt it. He just knew that he was popular, and figured that he could be elected.

But, when Taft made such a fine showing, that catapulted him back into the picture, and Zweifel knew at that time that he could deliver the Texas delegation for Taft.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: That was before this new law had passed, see. This is in late 1950.

BURG: Uh-huh.



PORTER: And--

BURG: So he at that time could expect to have a much tighter control over Republican Texans than actually turned out to be the case after the Dicker Bill went through?

PORTER: That's right.

BURG: May I ask you, sir, what did you see in General Eisenhower? You had met him twice, and you were coming out--you announced your

support for him--what particularly about the General or his character was drawing your support?

PORTER: Well, I had read a great deal about him and I had talked to a number of people who knew him personally.

BURG: Do any names come to your mind of those people that you talked with?

PORTER: Well, one of them was Sid Richardson of Fort Worth, and Bill Francis here in Houston knew him personally, and George Kirksey, a public relations man, a former sportswriter for the UP or AP, I forget which, had covered him at various gatherings in Europe and he told me that the guy was a natural--and he was.

BURG: A natural in the sense that he, that he had a personality that drew people?

PORTER: Had a personality, a human touch.

INGRAHAM: Inspires confidence.

PORTER: Yeah.

BURG: Uh-huh.

INGRAHAM: Is that what you meant?

PORTER: Yeah. And after losing--Republicans had lost five Presidential elections. I had nothing whatever against Bob Taft.

BURG: Did you know him, too, sir? Had you met him?

PORTER: Yes, I knew him.

BURG: And you, too, had met him?

INGRAHAM: Yes.

PORTER: Yeah, I knew him. And I had nothing on earth against him. But I was convinced that General Eisenhower could be elected, and I was dubious about Taft being elected.

BURG: Uh-huh. Had you and the General ever discussed whatever



Republican principles you may have shared together? Did his views on, on what had to be done and the methods for doing it pretty much agree with yours, or did that not arise in your conversations?

PORTER: Well, it didn't arise. Now, we had some correspondence; a copy of one letter from him is in your files, I understand--

BURG: Yes.

PORTER:--about the tidelands, Texas tidelands.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: But as a general rule, West Point and the Naval Academy turn out damned good citizens, and solid, so I wasn't worried about the General not standing for sound principles in government. I wasn't worried about that at all. And I had, I heard him make a speech, right after that San Antonio meeting he came to Houston--

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER:--for the annual chamber of commerce meeting. Mr. Jesse Jones got him to agree to come here; it was early December. And



when they were going to have it in the Houston Club and so many people started hollering for tickets, they moved it down to the Rice Hotel, Crystal Ballroom, and the clamor for tickets was so great that they finally moved it out to the Coliseum, which would seat about fifteen thousand.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: And so I went out there and heard him speak that night, and he did a marvelous job, and it was packed to the rafters. Well, that further convinced me that a guy that could pull them in like that, and make a fine speech like he did, could be elected President of the United States.

BURG: Judge Ingraham, you, too, were here in Houston when that meeting took place--how did you, as a Taft man, feel about this?

INGRAHAM: Oh, I don't know how I felt at the time. I did not attend it.

BURG: Deliberately stayed away from it?

INGRAHAM: No, I don't think I deliberately stayed away. I don't think Jesse Jones invited me, and I don't think it, it wasn't promoted as a Republican affair; it was--

PORTER: Chamber of commerce.

INGRAHAM:--promoted by the chamber of commerce.

BURG: Uh-huh.

INGRAHAM: It was not a Republican function.

BURG: Do you remember any discussions among your friends at that time about the possibility of General Eisenhower being an opponent of, of Senator Taft?

INGRAHAM: Oh, yes, it was being discussed in newspapers, magazines, and by people on the street.

BURG: Was it, was it your private opinion that he stood a chance against Senator Taft, or how did you--

INGRAHAM: Yes, I thought he did stand a chance.

BURG: Uh-huh.

INGRAHAM: I thought he presented a serious threat to Taft.

BURG: Yet, I get the impression that not all of your colleagues were enough concerned that they started any kind of a countermove in favor of Taft soon enough.

INGRAHAM: No.

BURG: Does that square with the facts as you saw them?

INGRAHAM: The Eisenhower movement at that time, as Mr. Porter said, was sponsored by the chamber of commerce, which is non-political, and the Eisenhower movement generally was called a crusade of people, not a Republican crusade, not a--

BURG: Uh-huh.

INGRAHAM:--partisan crusade, but a crusade. And I was not in the crusade.

BURG: Uh-huh, uh-huh. So after, after--

INGRAHAM: I thought that Taft was the best man the Republicans had to offer.

BURG: Do you still believe that, too, Judge?

INGRAHAM: No, I do not.

BURG: Uh-huh. Then, that's going to come out--

INGRAHAM: I think now, in looking back, I think it would have been a mistake if Taft had been elected. I was disillusioned with Taft for many reasons. I think Eisenhower was the best selection. It was not my view at the time he is speaking of, and you will remember--you and I discussed it many times--and Jack Porter and I were on different sides--I don't think we ever severed friendship about anything, but--

BURG: Mr. Porter, from time to time--

INGRAHAM:--I've long had the--

BURG:--did you try to do a little convincing, and--

INGRAHAM:--and one of my law clerks was an ardent supporter of McGovern in the recent election.

BURG: Yeah.

INGRAHAM: I didn't fall out with him.

BURG: Oh, no, no.

INGRAHAM: I don't fall out with anybody.

PORTER: I don't argue politics with people in the first place.

BURG: Uh-huh. Well, that's an interesting point, because it's come up in my own home state where I've often found that former Taft people would tell me, 'Now you're going to see so-and-so, he was an ardent Dem--, or ardent supporter of the General, and you'll find him a splendid man. We've been friends for years.' The rancor was put aside in many, many cases. I can see that happening.

INGRAHAM: Actually, I died hard; I was a supporter of Taft and thought he was the man, and it was a, a great disillusionment to me--the things that happened.

BURG: I see. Now, what happened, what happened after that luncheon--when was the next step taken, Mr. Porter? Was it late '51 before things really began to move and the General's candidacy was--

PORTER: No, I'll--you mean that luncheon up at Cherry Hills?

BURG: I was thinking of this Houston affair. He was here, he made a big impression.

PORTER: Oh, that was a dinner at night. That was in late '49. And then the visit at Cherry Hills Country Club in Denver was in early September of 1950.

BURG: Of '50.

PORTER: And--

BURG: The General went overseas to take the NATO appointment.

PORTER: He took the NATO job, I think, early '51, didn't he-- somewhere along there?

BURG: Or '50; I'm not clear on the precise date.

PORTER: Either late '50 or early, early '51--

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER:--along in there. And I remember, I wrote him a letter and told him that he had been given a tough assignment, in my opinion, and in the event of failure, please be sure and handle it to where it didn't reflect on him.

BURG: Oh, ho! I see.

PORTER: Let Mr. Truman have the blame.

BURG: I see.

PORTER: And, but it was a success; he set it up.

BURG: Did, did you get a response to that letter of advice to him?

PORTER: Why, I'd have to look through my files to see, now.

BURG: We can, we can check that out.

PORTER: It didn't require a response. I doubt if I had one from him, but you can check your files.

BURG: That was an interesting letter for you to write at that particular time.

PORTER: In the early fall of '51 I took a trip, my wife and I did. We flew to Cleveland and had our car and driver meet us there, and in the meantime Dave Ingalls had called me and asked me to, said he wanted to see me. And I said, 'Well, Dave, I'm going to be in Cleveland such and such a date.' And, so he met us at the airport and took us out to his beautiful suburban home for lunch. Then he went to work on me trying to tell me that General Eisenhower's health wasn't good, that he wasn't going to run, anyhow. And I told him, I says, "Dave, I don't think there's anything wrong with his health, and I am certain he will be a candidate." We made our trip down the St. Lawrence, back down through Maine. And Senator Brewster had been our house guest here in Houston and invited us to stop and spend the night with him and his wife in Maine, which we did, and after dinner, why, he brought

up the subject. I made my speech on General Eisenhower, I got through, and he said, "Now, Jack, can I talk about Taft now?" And he made his speech on Taft. But our difference never affected our friendship.

BURG: Uh-huh.

INGRAHAM: I knew Senator Brewster.

BURG: I see.

PORTER: What was his given name? I've forgotten.

INGRAHAM: Owen.

PORTER: Owen Brewster, yeah. I remember one thing: you know, he was a devout prohibitionist, and I knew we wouldn't be served a highball, so when we went to our room we pulled out a bottle and had a drink or two. And I'm sure the Senator and Mrs. Brewster probably smelled it--I don't know.

BURG: Well, they just put it down to Texas foresight, probably.

PORTER: Yeah. Then we go on to Boston, and I called Sinclair Weeks, whom I had met several years previously.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: And, well, he says, "What are you going to do today?" And I said, "Well, we're going to do some sightseeing." "Well, I'm going to send a man over to take you sightseeing, and have Janie join you." That was his wife. "Then we're going to want you out to the apartment for dinner tonight." So we did a good deal of sightseeing that day, and we went out there for dinner, and of course Presidential politics came up. And Sinclair hadn't made any commitment or indication of how he felt. I again made my Eisenhower speech, and he, he either was for Eisenhower or made up his mind later because he¹ was very prominent in the--

BURG: Right.

PORTER:--Eisenhower campaign.



BURG: Yes, he certainly was.

PORTER: And, bless his heart, he was a fine man; we stayed in touch with each other until he died. And he was very prominent at Chicago. Well, the lid blew off in Texas around November of 1951. At that time, Dewey, Tom Dewey, wanted a fellow name of Dick Wall in Dallas, this public relations man for a drug firm who had been one of his supporters, to head the Eisenhower campaign in Texas. Well, Dewey was, and Senator [James] Duff, and Senator [Henry Cabot] Lodge were all a kind of a campaign committee, there--self-appointed. So I invited Senator Duff to come to Texas--I had met him once before when he'd come down at my request, in the winter of '51, at a Lincoln Day dinner for the Republican party. And, so he came down--I had arranged a schedule--and when he landed I'd had a message from his executive assistant, says "Have the senator call me before he talks to the press." So I delivered it, and he went right straight to a telephone at the airport and called, and it developed that General Eisenhower had been back to Washington to report on his activities in the immediate time before Senator Duff left Washington to come to Texas.

And what his secretary wanted to tell him was that General Eisenhower had tried to call him that morning by telephone--

BURG: I see.

PORTER:--which was rather significant. And, so he hadn't any more than crossed the Sabine River by air--that's the boundary between Texas and Louisiana--and Henry Zweifel let go with a blast about his coming to Texas and interfering in the party's politics, and announcing his support of Taft--Zweifel's support of Taft.

BURG: What triggered Zweifel off? Did you ever figure out?

PORTER: Well, he had found out that, that Duff was coming to Texas, and Duff was very popular at that time--former governor of Pennsylvania, and a new senator. He knew I was bringing in some big guns. And he evidently thought he could belittle Duff and counter what effect he might have on that trip.

BURG: But, Mr. Porter, had, had you any reason to think that Duff

was pro-Eisenhower, and that bringing Duff here was--

PORTER: I knew Duff was pro-Eisenhower.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: That's the reason I brought him here: I knew he was.

BURG: I see.



PORTER: We had discussed it the previous winter, when he was here to address this Lincoln Day dinner.

BURG: All right.

PORTER: And, so, up to that time, Zweifel was trying to play it cozy. He had not really come out for Taft. He even got people to believe that he was for Eisenhower, and he tried to make it appear that Duff's visit to Texas in the fall of '51 had helped him make up his mind which way he was going. Of course, I knew he had made up his mind a year before--that he was going for Taft--

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER:--, as I told you a while ago. And every place we went, we had--for Republican gatherings in those days--we had very enthusiastic receptions.

INGRAHAM: Yes.

PORTER:--in the fall of '51.



INGRAHAM: Yeah.

BURG: Now, fall, fall of '51, sir, or was this February of '51.

INGRAHAM: Fall.

PORTER: He was here in February of '51 to address the Lincoln Day Dinner.

BURG: Right.

PORTER: He came at my request.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: And then--

BURG: He returns again in--

PORTER:--he came again in the fall--

BURG: I see.

PORTER:--of '51.

BURG: And it's in the--

INGRAHAM: That's the time we went out to Fredericksburg.

PORTER: That's right. We went to, didn't we go to McAllen, too?

INGRAHAM: I did not go to McAllen.

PORTER: No, and we went to San Antonio.

INGRAHAM: San Antonio and Fredericksburg, yes.



PORTER: Fredericksburg and Midland.

INGRAHAM: Uh-huh.

PORTER: I think we went to Midland.

INGRAHAM: I did not go to Midland or McAllen. I went to San Antonio and Fredericksburg--

PORTER: Yeah.



INGRAHAM:--it was on the same trip.

BURG: Yeah. So it's the fall of '51 that Mr. Zweifel--

(Interruption)

PORTER: There's one thing I failed to mention--that when I returned from our trip to Canada and the Northeast in '51, a lady in Dallas had set up an Eisenhower headquarters while I was gone. And that was Allie May Currie, Judge.

INGRAHAM: Uh-huh.

BURG: Well, this was the situation where at the state fair she

had some kind of a booth?

PORTER: I think so.

INGRAHAM: Uh-huh.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: And, so, in early January I arranged to set up--that was January of '52--a state headquarters in Dallas for Eisenhower. And, so, as late as that Tom Dewey still was not sold on me to handle the campaign, and wanted Dick Wall to handle it.

BURG: Had you and Governor Dewey met, Mr. Porter?

PORTER: Never had. I never met him until we got to Chicago.

BURG: I see.

PORTER: But I called him and told him I'd like for him to send some of them--come down for the opening of this headquarters. And, what's the fellow's name that later became an ambassador to Guatemala or somewhere down there--cut it off.

(Interruption)

PORTER: They sent Bill Pheiffer [?] down, and Bill called me-- I met him in Fort Worth. And, so he told me, he said, "Now, I've got to talk to Dick Wall." "Well," I said, "you can talk to him after we open this headquarters, Bill. You were sent down here to appear on that radio program, where we're opening that headquarters, and you can just make an appointment to talk to Bill afterwards," I said,--I mean Dick Wall. I says, "As a matter of fact, Dick Wall is Henry Zweifel's man, and has made a trade with Zweifel that he will get eight Eisenhower delegates and thirty will go to Taft." So he went ahead very graciously and appeared on the program. And then we went on over to the Adolphus Hotel to his suite--Dick Wall was waiting on us--and we went in there and we're visiting, and the telephone rang. And Bill sensed that it was a little awkward for Dick to talk at the time, and so we excused ourselves and when we got through, dummylike, he said, "That was Henry Zweifel calling me--wanted to know if I was going to have a part in the campaign."

BURG: Dick Wall said this?

PORTER: Yes.



BURG: To you two gentlemen.

PORTER: Yeah. So, Dick wanted fifteen thousand dollars to work in the campaign, and I didn't think we needed him in the first place. And so, it wound up, why--if he had any part in the campaign, I don't know what it was, as far as General Eisenhower was concerned. But anyhow, I said, "Now, Bill, are you satisfied that what I told you is right?" He says, "I'm perfectly satisfied." And that was the end of my troubles with Governor Dewey up there. And, then after that, we had Cabot Lodge here in Houston for breakfast, and--my mind is not clear on why we had him, but it was some angle to the campaign.

BURG: You do recollect that you had invited him, he did--

PORTER: Yes.

BURG:--not voluntarily come down here.

PORTER: No, I invited him to come down. I think, probably, it was so he'd be satisfied. There'd been some friction between Senator



Duff and Lodge and Dewey over my handling the campaign in Texas, and I wanted to get him satisfied.

BURG: Did they think that you were relatively inexperienced for, for that particular job? Did they ever make it clear why they were dissatisfied?

PORTER: I don't think that it was that; I think it was they wanted to cinch those eight votes--I think that was it.



BURG: At that point, then, Mr. Porter, you believe that they were, they were willing to settle for only eight, and not the thirty-eight?

PORTER: I'll die believing Tom Dewey was ready to settle for eight votes in Texas.

INGRAHAM: He had never been able to get any in Texas.

BURG: Thank you for that. That's probably a darned good explanation of it. Eight looked pretty big.

PORTER: Then, we started setting up headquarters all over the state--we had one right downtown, here, in Houston. Getting vol-

unteers was no problem at all.

BURG: Who were key people at that point in the affair, Mr. Porter-- the people that you were depending on heavily?

PORTER: Well, Bill Francis and John Blaffer started as co-finance chairmen for the state to raise money--you know, it takes lots of money to run these things.

BURG: And you were not getting money from the state Republican organization?

PORTER: Oh, they didn't have any. You had to raise your own money.

BURG: O.K.

PORTER: But I wouldn't have got it if they had, because they were with Zweifel for Taft.

BURG: Right.



PORTER: But, finally, John had to go somewhere, or something. Anyhow, Bill just took over fully as state finance chairman, and he did a fine job of raising money and at the same time recruiting supporters in doing it.

BURG: Is it your recollection, sir, that the money came from a variety of sources?

PORTER: Oh, yes, yes. I wouldn't think a thousand would cover it, thousand people. It came from lots of sources, and all sizes.

BURG: I see. So everything from small donors--

PORTER: Dollar on up.

BURG: Uh-huh. And from cattle interests and oil people and the various factions within, within Texas?

PORTER: It was a good cross-section of the people of Texas.



BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: And then we, we had this committee meeting, state committee meeting, again in Fort Worth--I guess because it was convenient to Henry Zweifel.

INGRAHAM: That's where he called it.

PORTER: Yeah.

BURG: Uh-huh.

INGRAHAM: That was in February of '52.

PORTER: Yeah. So they brought up this resolution or rule that each person that participated in the Republican precinct, county and state convention must sign a pledge that, stating, 'I am a Republican, and I will vote Republican and support the Republican party throughout this year.' The year of 1952. Well, I knew they wanted it; they'd cooked it up. So to assure its passage and adoption, I, with tongue in cheek, opposed it. Because I



thought they were digging their own grave when they passed it. If I had supported it, they might have had second thoughts and changed it. So it passed about two to one.

BURG: Was any surprise indicated, Mr. Porter, when you, when you opposed, or was that pretty much what they expected you to do?

PORTER: Well, they may have expected it--I don't know--but they thought they were pulling a smart political move that would keep a lot of Eisenhower supporters out of the precinct conventions--that's what they thought it would do.

BURG: Were you forewarned about this, or--

PORTER: No, I didn't know it until it was brought up.

BURG:--came as a surprise to you.

PORTER: But it struck me at the time as just made to order for us, because I knew it wouldn't keep anybody out of those precinct conventions--but they thought it would.

BURG: Uh-huh.



PORTER: And, so they passed that, and at that same meeting Mrs. Irene Osborne, who is dead now--

BURG: May I have the spelling of her last name, sir?

PORTER: O-s-b-o-r-n-e.

BURG: All right.

INGRAHAM: Well, I want to say this about Mrs. Osborne: I knew her well, and I know her husband, who still lives. He spelled it with six letters, O-s-b-o-r-n; she spelled it with seven, with an e on the end.

BURG: I see. A little piece of women's lib--

INGRAHAM: I guess so--

BURG:--earlier than--

INGRAHAM:--now, that was the only claim she had to the name was through her husband, and he spelled it one way and she spelled



it another way. Did you know that, Jack?

PORTER: No, I didn't know that.

INGRAHAM: Yeah.

BURG: Now, were you present at that meeting--

INGRAHAM: No.

BURG:--Judge? Did you, when you heard about that pledge, did you agree with it as a, a move that seemed rational to you?

INGRAHAM: I don't recall that I disagreed with it.

BURG: Uh-huh, uh-huh, Of course, it's still a little early to know what was going to happen in those precincts throughout Texas. All right, now--

PORTER: Well, getting back to Mrs. Osborne, she had a visit with Zweifel after that meeting, and she came back and told me, she said, "Mr. Zweifel told me that they are going to bolt every con-



vention, precinct convention and county convention, in which they should be outvoted."

BURG: So they could see some handwriting, perhaps, on the wall fairly early?

PORTER: Yeah. Well, I'll tell you another interesting thing about that. Senator Taft--Judge Ingraham as county chairman staged a magnificent rally for him in Houston down in the auditorium--and he came down, and late, about six o'clock in the afternoon, he called me. It was, I think, at the suggestion of Mrs. Osborne or somebody else--there were two women involved; I know Irene was one of them. They had asked him if he--

INGRAHAM: Thelma Martin.

PORTER: Yeah. Now, I had attended a luncheon that day for him at the Rice Hotel, and, but they thought he ought to have a talk with me. He called me and I said, "Well, Senator?" He said he'd like to see me and I said, "Well, you just say when and I'll be



there." I said, "No, I'm not feeling too good, I'm not coming to the rally, but I can come down right now." "Well," he said, "I've got to go over to the Tejas Club for dinner with the Yale Club." And I said, "Well, how about after the rally?" He said, "That'll be fine." I said, "Well, my office is right there in the Rice Hotel"; I gave him the room number. "I will be there waiting to hear from you, when you get back to the hotel." Well, promptly when he got back, one of his aides called me and said, "There's a lot of people milling around up here and coming in. How about the Senator just coming down to your office?" And I said, "That'll be fine." About two minutes, a knock on the door, and he came in and we visited about thirty minutes. And I told him what they were planning to do about voting these conventions. And I said, "Senator, General Eisenhower is more popular in Texas than you are, in my opinion, and he's going to outdraw you at these precinct conventions, and if they do that, if they bolt, it's not only going to hurt you in Texas but it's going to hurt you all over the nation. And I think you ought to call them off on



that." Well, bless his heart, he wanted to be President so bad, he said, "Jack, I can't interfere in the internal affairs of the party within a state." In other words, in a nice, gentlemanly way he told me, 'I want those delegates, if I can get them any way.'

BURG: Yes, because he could have made his wishes known.

PORTER: Yes.

BURG: Had he wanted to. Was this a private conversation, Mr. Porter--just the two of you present?

PORTER: Oh, yes, just the two of us.

BURG: Yes.

PORTER: And--

BURG: How did you react to that answer he gave you? Did you say anything, or--



PORTER: Well, no, I, I had said all I, all I could. I had told him what I thought he ought to do, and he told me he couldn't do it in that way.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: And that terminated the conversation.

BURG: It's, it's interesting to me, sir, that, in effect, you were telling a very strong opponent precisely what was going to happen, and that opponent was telling you that he was going to ignore what you expected to happen.

PORTER: Well, he, he--

BURG: You were both very candid with one another.

PORTER: Yeah. And now the Judge can tell you something about the other maneuverings in connection with that thing--about visitors he had down here as county chairman, about the voting.

BURG: Is it in this period, Judge, that you began to cool off towards Mr. Taft?



INGRAHAM: Well, the period he's speaking of is--

PORTER: The Judge never did cool off, he was--

INGRAHAM:--when the planned vote first began to unfold.

PORTER: He went to Chicago as a Taft delegate.

INGRAHAM: My cooling off was a long process. I finally went to Chicago as a Taft delegate on the Porter delegation. Taft had won squarely five delegates in Texas, and Porter's position was, 'We'll claim the delegates we won! we'll concede those we lost,' and I ended up as a delegate on the Porter delegation, which was finally seated. A Taft delegate on the Porter delegation.

BURG: You were one of five--

INGRAHAM: Yes.

BURG:--Taft people on that, on the Porter delegation.

INGRAHAM: Yes, sir.

BURG: But you had brought down here to aid the Senator's campaign other people? Is this what Mr. Porter was mentioning?

INGRAHAM: I did not bring anyone here, no. I was here and other people came. I was the county chairman in this, the largest county in the state, population-wise.

BURG: Uh-huh.

INGRAHAM: We boasted then--of course, Houston has grown so much since then--but at that time, Harris County had a population greater than thirteen individual states.

BURG: I see.

INGRAHAM: According to the 1950 census, Harris County, where we now sit, then had a population greater than thirteen individual states. It would be many more now--

BURG: Right.

INGRAHAM:--Houston has grown so much since then.



BURG: Right. Can you tell me who, for example, came into Houston supporting Taft--people that you met and, I would assume, introduced around--

INGRAHAM: From what's been said, I've been focused into the plan to bolt, and I can tell you where I first learned of that. It was in February 1952--I think it was after the Fort Worth committee meeting--I got a call from Marrs McLean of San Antonio, who was then definitely a Taft man. He said, "Joe, Ben Tate is going to be here." And he said, "We want to come over to Houston and we want to talk to a small group of people who are for Taft--not a big meeting at all, just a small meeting." And do you know who Ben Tate was?

BURG: One of the top advisors of Mr. Ingalls for the Taft--

INGRAHAM: Ben Tate was from Cincinnati, Ohio, which was Senator Taft's home town, and he was a strong man in Republican affairs in Ohio.

PORTER: He was his chief finance man.

INGRAHAM: Yes.

BURG: I see, that's the position he held. All right.

INGRAHAM: So McLean and Tate came over from San Antonio, and had a meeting in Lloyd Smith's office, attended by only five people, McLean, Tate, Smith, Dick Burns, a Houston lawyer, and myself. That was the first time I heard of bolting. Tate said, "Now," he said, "we worked out a program," he says, "we will have a Taft delegation." He said, "The national committee is for Taft and they'll support us when we get to Chicago." And he said, "The plan is, that--and you pass the word down--in any precinct in which the Taft supporters are outvoted, they will bolt and hold a rump convention, and they will be seated at the state convention in Mineral Wells. And if there is a contest there, the Taft people will be seated at the national convention in Chicago."

BURG: Signed, sealed, and delivered, Judge.

INGRAHAM: Yes. So I had been working in the cause for a long time, and it had always been that we threw out the invitation--we had

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BURG: I see, that's the position he held. All right.

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BURG: Signed, sealed, and delivered, Judge.

INGRAHAM: Yes. So I had been working in the cause for a long time, and it had always been that we threw out the invitation--we had

been inviting disenchanting Democrats for years to join us. And I said, "Well, Mr. Tate," I said, "I'm the county chairman." I said, "I want everybody to come in and participate who will." I said, "I'm the son of a Campbellite preacher, and we never turned away anybody."

BURG: Uh-huh.

INGRAHAM: And I said, "I don't think I would subscribe to a preconceived plan of bolting." "Oh," Marris said, "it's the thing to do." And Marris McLean got mad, and--

BURG: With you?

INGRAHAM: Yes. And he--that was his character, wasn't it?

PORTER: Yeah.

INGRAHAM: So he said, "Well, Joe, you've got to do this." I said, "No, I won't." I said, "I hold a quasi-public office, as county chairman of the party." I said, "It's my duty to arrange for and



to hold precinct conventions, and the county convention, and I want them, I want it done openly and squarely."

BURG: And you had the Dicker Law to--

INGRAHAM: Yes.

BURG:--assist in doing that.

INGRAHAM: And I, I finally, I said, "I will not bolt."

And Burns said he would not. Now Burns was a very dedicated Taft man, and he got mad at me--he got mad at so many people--but he did not bolt.

PORTER: No, he didn't, I know he didn't.

BURG: This was probably also true of Mr. Currie.

PORTER: Well, he lived in Dallas.

BURG: Right. But it seems to me that Mr. Currie was in, put in kind of the same sort of position--a Taft man who was willing to go along with what the majority Republicans--

INGRAHAM: I think he went over to Eisenhower before I did! I'm not sure. His wife was for Eisenhower.

PORTER: Yeah, she was Dwight all the way.

BURG: Which was an amusing situation with the two points of view.

INGRAHAM: I knew several instances--you know, I mentioned Thelma Martin. Thelma Martin was for Taft, and John Martin, her husband, was for Eisenhower. I knew several cases that way--

BURG: Right.

INGRAHAM:--where the husband and wife were divided.

BURG: Now, this, this meeting of five people--your position must have bothered them, bothered Tate, and others, very much.

INGRAHAM: Well, it bothered me. I said, "No," I said, "I will not bolt." I said, "I hold a quasi-public position," and I said, "we have for years invited disenchanted Democrats to come and join us." And I said, "I don't plan to turn away anyone who comes." And I told Jack Porter, I said, "You come and participate, and it's

just like being baptized; you'll be a Republican."

BURG: Uh-huh. Having made that decision to come, that was--

INGRAHAM: Yes.

BURG:--all that it took as far as you were concerned.

INGRAHAM: Then, following that, in the June following--

BURG: Forgive me, but did that meeting then break up on that note, with you adamant in your position?

INGRAHAM: Yes.

BURG: And was there any, any indication of what their actions might be, since they now knew that the chairman of one of the largest counties was going to play it a particular way?

INGRAHAM: Yes, it soon began to form up. They then began to ignore me, and they dealt through Carl Stearns and Mrs. Stearns. And they were, they sort of headed up--Mrs. Stearns was the national committeewoman then--they sort of headed up the program

to bolt precinct and county conventions. Both Stearns and Mrs. Stearns are now deceased.

BURG: Now, Mr. Porter, you were right here in Houston--did you know that this had occurred?

PORTER: I didn't know about that meeting, no.

BURG: And you did not tell Mr. Porter about this?

INGRAHAM: I don't remember that I did or didn't.

BURG: Because here was an opportunity for you, Mr. Porter, had you known about it. If Judge Ingraham's position was going to be as he told these four people at the meeting, this was, it seems to me, a splendid opportunity for you, but you simply didn't know that this had occurred?

PORTER: No.

INGRAHAM: You learned of it somewhere along the line.



PORTER: Yeah, but I think it was later; I don't think I knew it before the convention.

INGRAHAM: I don't think I said anything to anyone about it. I told them, I said, "No, I will not participate in any preconceived--" My position was that Taft is a popular man and should be promoted as a popular candidate, and he should, if he is so promoted, he will win.

BURG: You had taken your stand, by the way--

INGRAHAM: I can't, and you can't say that I'm wrong, because it was never tried.

BURG: Right. You took your position in this meeting after Senator Taft had been here--the time that you had talked with him.

PORTER: No, I think that was the time before Senator Taft had been here, wasn't it?

INGRAHAM: It was, yes, that was a month before his visit here in March.

BURG: Well, then, did Senator Taft--

INGRAHAM: What I'm speaking of happened late in February, and then he was here about early in March.

PORTER: I think it was the first of March.

INGRAHAM: Two or three weeks later--the ninth is my recollection.

PORTER: Was it? Well, somewhere in there.

BURG: Well, did the Senator then come to you, perhaps on the advice of Mr. Tate, to talk with you and see if he could change your mind?

INGRAHAM: Well, I went over and talked to him, and we didn't discuss that subject, no.

BURG: Oh, you didn't!

INGRAHAM: I don't recall that we did. I did go over and see him, and I found him rather cool at that time.

BURG: Just not his--

INGRAHAM: I want to say now that, as far as I know, from my knowledge, Tate was the man who originated the idea to bolt precinct and county conventions. He may have gotten it from someone else, but as far as I know that was the plan. I got it from Tate, and Marrs McLean wanted to do it.

BURG: So you, you couldn't really tell from your conversation with the Senator whether the Senator knew what was proposed here, although when he talked with you, Mr. Porter, he, he was indicating to you in an indirect way that he was going to take the delegates one way or another?

PORTER: Well, he indicated he wanted the delegates.

BURG: That he wanted them. And yet when he talked to you, although your position was by then plain, had been for two weeks, it never came up in your conversation with him.

INGRAHAM: I want to tell you this: when Taft appeared here, I had arranged, I got the auditorium, which seats, which then



seated four thousand five hundred people, and with standing room taken up they could accommodate two thousand more. I had rented the coliseum for Taft to speak, and I also arranged a luncheon that day at the Rice Hotel. We had nine hundred at the luncheon--everybody paid for his lunch--and Zweifel called me and he said, "Joe, I understand you're going to have the Senator at the auditorium." I said, "That's right." "Oh, you're making a big mistake, you're making a big mistake." He said, "Political psychology works this way: have them in a room that will be full of people standing." He says, "Empty seats is bad psychology." And he says, "You won't fill up the auditorium." I said, "Yes, Henry, I think we will." He says, "You have him in a hotel ballroom, and with invitation, and have the place crowded and teeming with people." We had him in the auditorium. They were, every seat was full, we had two thousand people standing. And that's the reason I say that he could have been promoted as a popular candidate.

BURG: That's astonishing!



INGRAHAM: He appeared the next night in Dallas in a hotel ball-room, admission by invitation only--you get that?

BURG: Indeed, indeed! Did you have that at the same--

INGRAHAM: I'm saying--

BURG:--place where Mr. Porter had had the General?

PORTER: No, he was in the coliseum. The old auditorium is down here where Jones Hall is--you're not familiar with that, are you?

BURG: No, I'm not, sir.

PORTER: And it was for sporting events and wrestling matches--

INGRAHAM: Symphony concerts.

PORTER:--and one thing and another, yeah.

INGRAHAM: Political rallies.

BURG: So, Judge, your impression at that time was that perhaps



some of those strongly supporting Mr. Taft were underestimating his drawing power.

INGRAHAM: And, he had a man with him named Jack Martin from Ohio, who was one of his managers. Martin told me, he said, "This is the biggest rally Taft has had any place in the country." You weren't in on that!

PORTER: No.

(Interruption)

BURG: That causes me to ask both you gentlemen, was this ineptness, was this a kind of political ineptness in the handling of the Senator's campaign?

INGRAHAM: I think it was their old way of handling politics in Ohio--just get control of the convention, and on the, with the assurance of when the delegates are challenged we'll see that our delegates are given the credentials, and not the other side. That was the old way of doing it, and it's the wrong way.

BURG: One gets the impression, then, that there was a popular wave coming--Mr. Porter leading that wave--and it was about to inundate the Taft forces here, and they--

INGRAHAM: But on the ninth of March there was a popular wave for Taft.

BURG: Which could have--

INGRAHAM: Now, you know that, Jack.

PORTER: Yeah.

BURG:--could have been exploited?

INGRAHAM: Sure.

BURG: But it wasn't.

PORTER: But--

INGRAHAM: I'm not--



PORTER:--Zweifel was of the old school, and I don't imagine that, other than a national convention, he had ever seen as many Republicans or people at a Republican gathering as you had in Houston.

INGRAHAM: He was here and he told me, he said, "Well, Joe, I don't know how you did it, but," he said, "you sure got them out."

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: Well, all you had to do was let them know he was coming and where he was going to be.

INGRAHAM: Publicize it. Got the newspaper to publish it.

BURG: This, then, harks back to what both of you have indicated earlier in the interview--that you were not sure that he was the man to build a large and a strong Republican party here.

INGRAHAM: As things happened from then on, I began to see that he was not the man, and I finally became disillusioned with Taft. I had thought for years that he was--he had the image of "Mr. Republican," and I thought he was the man to lead the Republican

cause. And it's not the first time I've been wrong; I've been wrong about a lot of things.

BURG: So that brings us up fairly close, then, to the, the precinct meetings, the Presidential precinct meetings. You, at this point in time, are going to abide by what happens at those precincts. It may not be to your liking, it may not go--

INGRAHAM: Right.

BURG:--for Mr. Taft, but you will abide by them. Your feeling, Mr. Porter, is, is that it's probably going to go your way--your groups are going to take it?

PORTER: As a matter of fact, I sent out word to our people not to bolt any conventions--if you're outvoted, you're outvoted.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: And to show you, bearing out what the Judge says about Taft's popularity, in my precinct, where four years before I'd

attended a convention and there was three people there, right at seven hundred showed up. We were supposed to have it in the school auditorium, elementary school auditorium--

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER:--well, we had to adjourn it outside; there wasn't room to put them in. And we finally had to, in order to get an accurate vote by hand, we had to herd them through human gates and counters in order to know who was in the majority.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: So Taft had a lot of strength in Texas, just like the Judge says.

INGRAHAM: Oh, yes.

PORTER: If it had been handled right. And of course as soon as we outvoted them, why--

INGRAHAM: Taft's support began to fall away, because it wasn't



handled right.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: Now, I'm not sure that particular pre--my precinct bolted--I'm not sure it did.

INGRAHAM: I don't recall that it did.

PORTER: I don't believe they did.

INGRAHAM: You were in Precinct 135, River Oaks. River Oaks is a, a fine residential subdivision here, and we've--there are newer ones. At that time, River Oaks was divided into two precincts, 135, 155.

PORTER: I think I was in 155.

INGRAHAM: No, you were in 135.

PORTER: Was I?

INGRAHAM: Now, I mentioned Dick Burns earlier, who was a hard-



boiled Taft Republican, and when he, Dick Burns, said he would not bolt. Dick was in 155--they did have a bolting delegation there--and Dick did not bolt.

PORTER: I know he didn't.

INGRAHAM: Yeah.

BURG: And in your precinct, Mr. Porter, the Taft people lost, but did not bolt?

PORTER: I don't recall their having bolted, I just--

INGRAHAM: I think Douglas Marshall led the bolt over in precinct 155.

PORTER: Yeah, he might have.

BURG: The pledge was, was signed by everyone there?

PORTER: Signed by everybody. There was only one place in Texas where the pledge wasn't signed.



INGRAHAM: Lavaca, wasn't it?

PORTER: It was Lavaca County, and that particular county chairman was for Eisenhower--that one county chairman. And he didn't have them sign it, and--

INGRAHAM: It was the group that did not sign it that supported Taft, so the state committee seated the delegation that did not sign the pledges.

BURG: Uh-huh, uh-huh. Now, at that point, the pledge has been signed. I would suppose that immediately--

PORTER: No, he was a Taft man, but he didn't have them sign the pledges.

INGRAHAM: That's right.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: And the Eisenhower people bolted.

INGRAHAM: The Eisenhower people signed the pledge--



PORTER: Oh, they were--

INGRAHAM: I don't know who did the bolting.

PORTER: Oh, they were, the Taft people bolted, the county chairman--

INGRAHAM: Yeah.

PORTER: They bolted, and because it--

INGRAHAM: And also, they were the group that did not sign the pledge, but the state committee seated them.

PORTER: Well, the--

INGRAHAM: So it shows no consistency.

BURG: Yes, I see.

PORTER:--the, the state executive committee seated the Eisenhower people from Lavaca County, but when it got to the credentials committee--

INGRAHAM: Oh, that's right.



PORTER:--at the convention--

INGRAHAM: The credentials committee.

PORTER:--Mike Nolte told them to undo that--

INGRAHAM: Yes.

PORTER:--and seated them.

INGRAHAM: That is true.

PORTER: Yeah. And ignored the state committee's ruling.

BURG: Providing an example of the fact that a delegation could be seated having never signed the pledge at all.

PORTER: Yeah. Well, what happened, Benckenstein, a lawyer from Beaumont, was presiding at the time, and this, when this came up, and I said, "Now, Benk, what are you going to do? That's your resolution, you're the author of it, and you put it through at the state committee--now what are you going to do in this case?" And he just couldn't do anything else, and advised them



that they should seat the Eisenhower delegates.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: So, but they just turned around the next morning at the convention and seated them. We didn't, we didn't have a seat in the convention. And then we bolted and held our own convention.

BURG: At Mineral Wells?

PORTER: Yeah, that was at Mineral Wells.

BURG: Now, these new people that came in, Mr. Porter, and, and the question is for you, too, Judge, clearly, throughout the state, you pretty well swamped the precincts with Eisenhower people?

PORTER: The best calculation I can make, it was about seventy-seven percent.

BURG: You were not--I don't want to put it that way--these people represented varying people--they were Republicans, some of them

were Democrats who were coming over to the Republican side, some of them were Independents. I have heard it said, 'Well, the Eisenhower people were cheating badly on that, because these people who flooded into the precincts and took it away from the Taft forces were Democrats; they never did a thing Republican after that.' You would not agree with that assessment?

PORTER: I wouldn't agree with that; there have been thousands and thousands of them voting Republican in national elections ever since, wouldn't you say so?

INGRAHAM: Oh, yes, yes.

BURG: And neither of you happen to know of, of any studies that have been made to try to determine how many of the people you attracted in '52 stayed on?

PORTER: Well, thousands of them did.

INGRAHAM: Well, we have a senator who's been elected for the third time.

BURG: Uh-huh. Because that's an argument that I've heard several times.

INGRAHAM: We now have four Texas congressmen, Republican congressmen, from Texas, and didn't have any before that.

PORTER: In the last five Presidential elections, Texas has gone Republican three times.

BURG: So, evidence like this pretty strongly suggests that those Taft people who claimed it had been taken away from them unfairly were probably wrong; the people who came in in '52 stayed in. You think quantities of them stayed in.

PORTER: Well, there's no question about it. As a matter of fact, Nixon would have carried Texas in '68 had it not been for the George Wallace vote.

BURG: Uh-huh.



PORTER: He got that vote this time, and carried the state overwhelmingly.

BURG: Right. Well, I wanted, I wanted to have your testimony on that because I heard this other story from several people. And it seemed kind of doubtful to me; it looked to me that what had happened was that you had gained some permanent new Republicans, and not just a small number of them.

PORTER: Yeah.

BURG: You had gotten quite a lot of them.

PORTER: We got a lot of them, and I'll say this, that lots of Republicans in this state will vote in the Democratic primary, but on election day they vote Republican. They, they got a idea that they got two shots.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: They'll pick the best Democrat, and then--



INGRAHAM: Or they're against someone that's running--

PORTER: Yeah.

INGRAHAM:--for the Democratic nomination.

PORTER: That's the way they do it.

INGRAHAM: It's generally a negative vote, there.

BURG: Right, right. So at Mineral Wells we actually have two sets of delegates--the Taft people claim that they are the legitimate representatives, and they hold their convention, and you Eisenhower people bolt. Do you, Judge, go with the, with the Eisenhower group?

INGRAHAM: I did not, I came back to Houston.

BURG: Oh, you did?

INGRAHAM: Yes.

BURG: But how, then--I'm sorry, I don't, I don't understand how you--

INGRAHAM: How did I get on the delegation?

BURG: Yes, how did you wind up with Mr. Porter's group?

INGRAHAM: Well, I think Jack Porter put my name on the delegation. He said, "We've got to have five Eisenhower delegates."

BURG: Or Taft--

INGRAHAM: Or Taft delegates.

BURG:--Taft delegates.

INGRAHAM: And I was put on the delegation. And at that time I was very low. I didn't think that Eisenhower would win in Chicago. I thought Ben Tate was right, but I didn't think what they were doing was wrong. I thought he was right in that our delegation will be seated, and, but I thought he was wrong in that approach-- I didn't think that was the, the way to run a, a representative government.



BURG: Did you have any opportunity at Mineral Wells to voice your opinion?

INGRAHAM: I testified there as a witness for the Eisenhower people.

BURG: Oh, you did?

INGRAHAM: Yes.

BURG: Uh-huh.

INGRAHAM: Testified before the credentials committee. It was widely publicized at the time; I can show you some pictures in an old scrapbook--appearing in Time and Life and magazines like that. I testified before the credentials committee in Mineral Wells, and also before the credentials committee in Chicago.

BURG: Your feeling being that a democratic process had been abused in this situation?

INGRAHAM: Yes. Our constitution says that we have a republican



form of government. A republican form of government means a government by representation.

BURG: Yes. Judge, I, I cannot understand another thing. I can only give you one illustration, but I believe it happened several times: the people from the Taft group, from Zweifel's group, gave statements to the newspapers which indicated that, in effect, 'The majority rule be damned.' Now, the one illustration I can give you is, I believe that Marrs McLean was asked about this whole situation, and his, his words, I can't give them literally, but in effect he was saying, 'The hell with majority rule.' Several such statements were made. I'm sorry, gentlemen, but that sounds terribly inept to me, too.

INGRAHAM: Well, I'll tell you a public statement that Senator Taft made at the time. I remember this so well; it made such an impression on my wife, who was not then my wife--she was then my secretary. And she was for Taft the whole way through; she's

never undecided about anything. And she was a strong Taft supporter. She went to her precinct convention for Taft, but she did not bolt. Just the week before the convention in Chicago, Taft made a public statement wherein he said, "Possession is nine-tenths of the law." Well, she didn't like that statement, and that's when she severed with Taft.

BURG: I think the way you put it very gently, Mr. Porter, was that Mr. Taft wanted to be President.

PORTER: Oh, there was no question.

BURG: Very much. Because--

PORTER: It was probably a lifelong ambition with him--his father before him [word unclear].

BURG: Yes, yes.

INGRAHAM: Uh-huh.



BURG: And a--

PORTER: But he was a good man, he was a fine man.

BURG: But a man who hungered pretty much, and maybe said some--

PORTER: Well, as I said earlier, when that virus takes hold--

INGRAHAM: Uh-huh.

PORTER:--they don't seem--

BURG: Yes.

PORTER:--to lose it.

BURG: Yes, sir.

PORTER: No cure.

BURG: Uh-huh. Was, was it your feeling that, that General Eisenhower also picked up the virus?

PORTER: It's my feeling that--

INGRAHAM: I think he liked being President.

PORTER:--I think he enjoyed being President--but he really didn't get enthused on the subject until what happened in Texas, I think.

INGRAHAM: Yeah.

PORTER: I wired him, I cabled him the results, and I estimated he got seventy-seven percent of the votes in the precinct convention, and I said, "We'll have the delegation if they don't steal it from us." And he wrote me a letter back, "Delighted about the outcome, but I don't understand when I win the delegates that they can steal them."

BURG: Yeah.

PORTER: Of course, he was not familiar with politics at that time; he was naive in politics.

BURG: Yes.

PORTER: And, of course, by the time he got back to Abilene, he

found out that they would try to.

BURG: Uh-huh.

PORTER: Say I, I made a darned golf game and--

INGRAHAM: Well, I've got some things I want to fill in, but you don't have to stay.

PORTER: Could one of your law clerks drive me out to River Oaks Country Club?

INGRAHAM: Hell, yes.

(Interruption)

INGRAHAM: Well, there is one more thing, Dr. Burg: at the time, I wrote a letter that received wide publicity--I don't know whether you know about it or not.

BURG: No, sir, I don't believe I do.

INGRAHAM: I wrote it, well, I anticipated it may come up in this



conversation, and that letter will give you some detail of my impressions at the time. And I'll tell you the circumstances under which the letter was written. I do have a copy of it and I'll give you a copy of it.

BURG: Very good.

INGRAHAM: The date of this letter is June 10, 1952, and it was written to Mr. W. H. Worrilow of Lebanon, Pennsylvania, and I'll give you the circumstances. This was after the Mineral Wells convention. Mr. Worrilow--as you can see from the letter, his address was Lebanon Steel Foundry, Lebanon, Pennsylvania--he was--

BURG: And he spells his name W-o-r-r-i-l-o-w.

INGRAHAM: Yes.

BURG: Uh-huh.

INGRAHAM: He was the president of Lebanon Steel Foundry. They had an office on our floor--I was then in the Commerce Building.



And this man that I mentioned in the first line, Herschel, was his local representative here.

BURG: Herschel is the man's last name?

INGRAHAM: No, his name was Herschel Wood--

BURG: All right.

INGRAHAM:--who was the local representative of Lebanon Steel Foundry. I had known Mr. Worrilow for some years. One is, he had his local sales office was on our floor. He was an active and interested Republican in Pennsylvania, both he and I were delegates to the 1948 Republican Convention--I knew him then, and I saw him in Philadelphia during the convention.

BURG: Uh-huh.

INGRAHAM: There was so much, then, in the newspapers about "The Texas Steal," and nobody knew what it was, and there were re-criminations being thrown back and forth. And I, every time I

would see Herschel Wood, he'd say, "Joe," he said, "Mr. Worrilow wants you to write him a letter about it; he wants, he wants to know." Well, it was quite a task, and one weekend I dictated this letter down at the beach. My wife and her sister had a beachhouse--

BURG: Uh-huh.

INGRAHAM:--and we had gone down there, and I said, "Well, I'll," I said, "I'll dictate a letter to Mr.--take your pad and I'll dictate a letter this weekend, because with all the interruptions in the office I could never do it." This letter is dated June 10, 1952. About ten days thereafter, or maybe less than ten days, I got a call about this letter and wanted to know if it could be released. Worrilow had been to a meeting down at Gettysburg where they were planning Eisenhower strategy, and he had taken this letter there, and they said they wanted permission to publish it. I said, "Well, there's no secrets in the letter." I said, "It's all true; I have no objection to it being published."

The next morning it was published in the New York Times, it was published in the Christian Science Monitor, it was published in all the major newspapers in full, and in weekly newspapers all over the country--it received vast publicity. Sinclair Weeks, whom we were discussing earlier--

BURG: Right.

INGRAHAM:--told me that this was the turning point in the Eisenhower campaign; he said it seemed hopeless up to that time. And he says that a lot had been said about the Texas steal, but there were recriminations both ways, and no one knew what it was until this letter was published. So I hand you the letter, which, if you will read it, will give you some detail as it was then.

BURG: I see. And as it was being written by you right at the time.

INGRAHAM: On, on June 10th. But it was, I can show you the republication in the New York Times and the Christian Science Monitor--

I think it was ten days later.

BURG: Uh-huh, all right.

INGRAHAM: Now this is an editorial that appeared in the New York Herald Tribune, and you may want to cut that off and read the editorial.

BURG: I might also say to my transcriber, Mrs. Stone--I have been given a copy of the letter, Lillian, and it's a lengthy letter, and I will be bringing that back with me to go into our files at the Library.

INGRAHAM: I think I mentioned earlier that it was Sinclair Weeks who told me that it was this letter, more than anything else, that really broke the tide--that there was a gloom in the Eisenhower headquarters in June of 1952 in New York, and when this letter was published that this revived things. And it, it gave the facts and figures on what did happen in Texas.



BURG: Uh-huh. And gave them a new campaign strategy to employ. They could take a moral position, if I can use that word--they could take a moral position with regard to what had happened in Texas, a position that was going to be listened to throughout the United States. At least as far as I can tell, that's, that's what they could, and what they did do.

INGRAHAM: That copy of the letter you have is a carbon copy; it does not show the letterhead. A person looking at this would not know that it had been written from Houston, Texas--that appeared on the engraved letterhead. You may want to insert Houston, Texas, above; the date does appear there.

BURG: Right.

INGRAHAM: It is indicated who signed the letter.

BURG: Was it, was it written on your law firm stationery?

INGRAHAM: My law office letterhead.

BURG: Right. O.K. Yes, and I will indicate that it was sent from Houston.

INGRAHAM: So you may want to indicate Houston, Texas above the date.

BURG: Right. Now I'll just--