

COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP AND ECONOMIC GROWTH

DISSERTATION

Presented to the Graduate Council of the
North Texas State University in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

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December, 1970

Jones, Jr., Hubert K., Community Leadership and Economic Growth. Doctor of Philosophy (Management), December, 1970, 168 pp., 4 tables, bibliography, 97 titles.

This study is concerned with discovering relationships between community power structures and economic growth. The economic growth in selected Northeast Texas counties and their major cities is compared with the power structures in each of these communities during the 1944 through 1968 period.

Economic growth in Gregg County and its major cities, Longview and Kilgore, and in Harrison County and its major city, Marshall, is measured by ten economic indicators. These indicators are population, total personal income, per capita personal income, retail sales, employment, unemployment rate, postal receipts, bank debits, bank deposits, and building permits.

The power structures in each community are discovered, traced, and classified by interviewing persons who themselves have been identified as a part of the power structure of the community or who would be in position to recognize power-structure elements. Use is made also of published data to confirm interview information.

As it is predicted that growth is greater in communities where there is a strong, cohesive power structure with an

orientation toward the economic growth as a whole, comparisons are made between power structures as classified and actual growth as measured by the indications. In addition, inter-area comparisons are made

As employment and unemployment data are available only for counties and as postal receipts, bank debits, bank deposits, and building permits are available only for the cities, some comparisons are not possible. The comparisons made are classified in one of four categories. These classifications are that the data support the hypothesis, the data only favor the hypothesis, the data are of questionable support, or the data are contrary to or tend to disprove the hypothesis. Of the forty-six comparisons made, thirty-five support the hypothesis, five only favor it, four are questionable, and two tend to disprove it.

In Gregg County all comparisons support the hypothesis except the unemployment rate which is of questionable support. In Longview bank deposits provide questionable support, but all of the comparisons favor the hypothesis. In Kilgore total income and per capita income comparisons tend to disprove the hypothesis, but all other comparisons support it. Harrison County comparisons of the unemployment rate is questionable; per capita income only favors the hypothesis whereas population total income and retail sales favor it. In Marshall comparisons of population, total

income, retail sales, bank debits, and bank deposits all support the hypothesis whereas per capita income and postal receipts only favor it. In the inter-area comparisons population, total income, retail sales, employment, postal receipts, bank debits, bank deposits, and building permits all support the hypothesis. Per capita income is only favorable while the unemployment rate is questionable.

From these comparisons it is concluded that there is a positive relationship between economic growth and the power structures in the communities studied. It is further concluded that a strong, cohesive power structure alone did not result in economic growth but that such growth was greater when the power structure was oriented toward economic growth and was either financially strong itself or enjoyed strong financial support.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Personal discussion with various persons of expertise who are concerned with community economic growth indicates that power-structure leadership is a major factor in both community economic and population growth. It seems almost self-evident that community economic growth in the United States has not always been equal in its geographic distribution. Some communities seem to progress more rapidly than the national average while others progress more slowly or even experience economic regression. This difference has been underscored by recent studies of poverty, poverty areas, and the designation of certain localities as distressed areas. The uneven growth of specific communities all located in the same general geographic area and having relatively equal natural resources seems to indicate that non-economic factors are a component of economic growth. The significance of non-economic factors is further emphasized by the faster growth of some communities which seemingly are at a disadvantage in respect to location and natural resources when compared to their more generously endowed, yet slower growing, neighbors. However, no empirical evidence was discovered to support the assumption that community leadership is a major factor in both economic and population growth.

This study is concerned with determining the significance of power-structure leadership on a community's economic growth.

Statement of the Problem

The problem of this study is to compare economic growth in selected East Texas counties and the major cities in these counties with the power-structure leadership in each of these localities.

The problem is divided into four basic components as follows:

1. To identify and trace the power-structure development in Gregg County and its major cities, Kilgore and Longview, and in Harrison County and its major city, Marshall, from 1944 through 1968.
2. To classify the power structure in each of these localities.
3. To measure the economic growth in each of these localities.
4. To discover and report any relationships between community power-structure leadership and community economic growth.

Hypothesis

Power groups with varying patterns of leadership can and often do emerge in individual communities; they may range from a power structure which is scarcely identifiable as such to a

highly cohesive and active group. Both their bases of power and their overall general objectives may vary. The number of such groups in a community and their life spans, as well as their compatability, may also vary.

It is predicted that the development or lack of development of such groups, their general goals, their leadership patterns, and their interactions, as well as their bases of power, are a factor in the economic and population growth of the community. Specifically, it is predicted that growth is greater in communities where there is a strong, cohesive power structure with an orientation toward the economic growth of the community as a whole.

Review of Related Literature

A Datrix Reference Search of American dissertations from 1940 through 1968, using the key words leadership, influence, growth, development, economic, community, city, county, and local by University Microfilms, Incorporated, failed to disclose a single reference. Despite this, there seems to be no shortage of published references concerning community power structures. Over sixty such references were discovered. None of these, however, were directly concerned with relationships between the community power structure and economic growth.

Some, such as Dahl's Who Governs, are concerned with power structures in general (4). Other works by Bonjean, D'Antonio,

Ehrlich, Freeman, Polsby, and White are concerned with the methods of determining and tracing power structures (1, 5, 8, 10, 12). Still others, such as Booth and Adrian, are concerned with power structures and community change (2). The works of Clelland, Form, and Schulze bear a closer relationship to this study in that they are concerned with economic determinants and community power (3, 11). They do not, however, deal with community power and economic growth. Both Form and Miller are concerned with the influence of business and industrial leadership in the power structure but not with economic growth (7, 9). Thus, despite what appears to be a reasonable supposition that there is a relationship between community power-structure leadership and community economic growth, no studies were discovered to support such a hypothesis.

Background and Significance of the Study

Leadership appears to be a primary factor in the success of various endeavors. Certainly, in the area of business, leadership seems to be an essential ingredient of success. Accordingly, considerable time and effort have been devoted to the study of leadership and the training and development of leaders. Any evidence that community success, that is growth and development, is directly related to the leadership of the community power structure would be helpful in

understanding and facilitating such growth as well as in choosing and developing community leaders.

Such evidence would also be significant to the individual businessmen within the community. It seems rather generally accepted that the growth and well-being of local business firms are at least partially dependent on the economic health of the community. If community leadership is a factor in economic growth and economic growth is a factor in business success, then the social responsibilities concerned with community leadership are of prime importance to local businessmen.

In recent years there has been considerable discussion of business statesmanship and the social responsibilities of business. These may be rather ill-defined terms to the local businessman. He may engage in certain community affairs because he has some vague idea that it is good for business in the long run. But, unless he has some understanding of the types of leadership and community action that actually facilitate economic growth, he may erroneously support actions that will not further growth. Any evidence that certain patterns of leadership are more effective than others in promoting economic growth would seem to provide firm motivation for businessmen to seek to influence such leadership.

Definition of Terms

Two items that must be defined are power structure and economic growth. Power structure or power group as used in

this study is defined as one or more persons who singly or as a group, formally or informally, exercise substantial influence in the community as a whole, as perceived by the respondents interviewed. Substantial influence means the ability to bring about change or to be instrumental in bringing about change that either affects the community as a whole or large segments of the community. Further, substantial influence also means the converse--the ability to prevent change if that is the desired goal.

Economic growth is commonly defined as an increase in the goods and services produced over some time period. At the national level it is usually measured by changes in gross national product. But gross national product is more than goods and services produced. By economic definition it is also the total expenditure on goods and services produced and the total income received by the sellers of goods and services. Thus, there is an implication that the additional goods and services are distributed within the nation and that the payments for these goods and services remain in the country. However, wealth resulting from an increase in goods and services produced in a smaller political entity, such as a city or county, does not necessarily remain in the community. For example, a county may have considerable timber resources but no facilities for processing timber or timber products. If the timber is owned by outside interests and processed outside the

community, the only wealth accruing to the community may be wages paid for cutting. Even these may be paid to persons outside the county. If a business enterprise is owned by persons outside the county, profits may not remain in the county. Nor is there any assurance that wages paid will be spent in the community. Conversely, basic industries may bring wealth into the community from the outside. Hence, economic growth is defined as an increase in goods and services produced within a community that results in a corresponding increase in the wealth of the community.

Limitations of the Study

This study is limited to Gregg and Harrison Counties in the state of Texas and to the major cities in each of these counties. The major cities are Kilgore and Longview in Gregg County and Marshall in Harrison County. Counties, along with some of their major cities, are the smallest geographic or political entities for which data are available to trace economic growth.

This study is also limited to the time period 1944 through 1968 for several reasons. Insofar as counties and small cities are concerned, there is a paucity of reliable and continuously comparable data prior to this period. Even during the early part of this period some of the desired economic data are not available. It is progressively more difficult objectively to identify and trace community power structures and their

patterns of leadership as one looks farther into the past. The data to identify and trace these power structures are obtained through interviews, and it is desirable to interview persons living at the time power structures came into being and functioned. Finally, the period of time following World War II seems to differ from the preceding periods which of course included World War II and the depression during the 1930's. This twenty-five-year period 1944 through 1968 should provide ample time for the development of power structures in a more modern setting. However, in order to show the beginnings of certain power groups, to review and compare county backgrounds, and to preserve continuity, it is occasionally necessary to review data prior to this period. This study is limited to the relationships of power structures and economic growth and does not deny that there may be other growth factors.

Procedures for Collecting Data

Three distinct classes of data are necessary in this study. First, some county and city background information is essential if valid comparisons are to be made. Second, economic data are required to measure economic growth. Finally, data concerning the power structures and their patterns of leadership are essential. The following procedures were employed in the collection of each of these classes of data.

County background data were obtained from historic and geographically descriptive publications. Some background data

were obtained through interview at the time power-structure data were obtained.

There is no single city or county economic indicator that serves as a composite measure of area economic growth in the same sense that gross national product serves this purpose at the national level. Personal income provides a reasonable measure of economic growth, but this indicator alone does not provide a complete picture. Consequently, a greater variety of indicators is essential. But the choice of indicators is limited by the availability of data, particularly continuously comparable data.

Based on these two criteria, the following were chosen as economic indicators:

1. Population
2. Total personal income
3. Per capita personal income
4. Retail sales
5. Employment
6. Unemployment rate
7. Postal receipts
8. Building permits
9. Bank debits
10. Bank deposits

Of these, total personal income, per capita personal income, retail sales, employment, unemployment rate, and bank

debits are used by the National Bureau of Economic Research as coincident indicators. Building permits are a leading indicator. Population seems to be an essential measure of growth whereas postal receipts are frequently used as a measure of business activity. While bank deposits do not play exactly the same role that they do at the national level as an indicator of the status of the money supply, they do provide some such indication at the county and city level.

Data pertaining to population, total personal income, per capita personal income, and retail sales were obtained from published sources. Employment and unemployment data were obtained directly from the Texas Employment Commission. Postal receipts, bank debits, and bank deposits were obtained from the Bureau of Business Research, The University of Texas.

Data pertaining to community power structures were obtained by interviewing persons who live or have lived in the communities concerned. These interviews were supplemented by published data. The interview format used is shown in Appendix T.

Four overlapping steps were involved in the collection of this data:

1. Preliminary Search. Preliminary search included the identification of persons who might themselves be able to provide information concerning power structures or to indicate others who could. Although at this time no limitation was

placed on who might be contacted, the following were primary sources of contact:

- a. Officers of the East Texas Chamber of Commerce.
- b. Persons suggested by the officers of the East Texas Chamber of Commerce.
- c. Persons whom preliminary search indicated to be prominent in the community.

Persons contacted in this step who appeared to be able to furnish information concerning the power structures were interviewed at this time.

2. Main Interviews. This included contacting and interviewing all persons identified in Step 1 who would consent to such an interview. This step also overlapped Step 1 in that each person interviewed was asked to name anyone he knew who might be able to furnish information concerning the power structure in the community. In turn, these persons who consented were interviewed.

3. Supplementing Interview Data. This step includes seeking published material to supplement, clarify, and confirm interview data. It overlaps Step 2 in that some of the persons interviewed either suggested sources or actually furnished published information.

4. Re-interview. Although the above procedures permitted putting together pictures of the community power structures, there were some gaps and fuzzy spots in these

pictures. It was necessary to re-interview some of the persons originally contacted to fill in such gaps and bring the pictures into sharper focus. No specific format was followed. Rather, questions were directed to clarify particular areas as seemed necessary.

Procedures for Classifying and Treating Data

County and city background information is presented for each area, primarily in narrative form. Comparisons are made between areas.

Economic data are presented in both narrative, table, and chart form with primary emphasis on the latter. In order that direct comparisons may be made between data reflecting different absolute amounts of change, the data are presented on a series of semilogarithmic charts. On such charts the same vertical distance anywhere on the chart shows the same percentage of change.

Information pertaining to power structures is presented primarily in narrative form. The reputational method was used to discover and trace the power structures. While there are other methods, the reputational method seemed most appropriate to the circumstances of this study. Power groups are classified according to type, objectives, the economic or social bases of the groups, and the time during which the power group was effective.

Power groups, as evaluated by the respondents interviewed, are classified as belonging to the following:

1. No identifiable or definite power structure or evidence of power group leadership.
2. One or more nebulous or ill-defined groups intermittently exercising influence.
3. One or more nebulous or ill-defined groups that exercise influence with reasonable consistency.
4. Well-defined power structures that intermittently exercise influence.
5. Well-defined power structures that exercise influence with reasonable consistency.
6. Groups that do not fit any of these categories.

A narrow, specific classification of power objectives may result in separate categories for various specific objectives that have essentially the same relationship with economic growth. A broader yet more discriminating classification insofar as relationships with economic growth are concerned seems more desirable. This classification represents the author's evaluation of interview data. Accordingly, an effort is made to classify power groups within one of the following categories of general objectives:

1. Power groups preserving or advancing their own definite self-interest by preventing change. Such groups advance their self-interests by preserving the status quo

although this may be detrimental to the economic growth of the community as a whole.

2. Power groups initiating change to protect or advance their own definite self-interests.

3. Power groups exercising influence for the benefit of the community as a whole, provided that their own self-interests are not threatened. An example of such a group might be an industrial group seeking hospitals, libraries, and so forth for the community but opposing the introduction of new industries that might provide competition for their type labor supply or the sale of their products.

4. Integrative power groups attempting to find points of compatability in their own interests and those of the community as a whole and exercising influence to advance both.

5. Power structures exercising influence primarily designed to advance community interests.

6. Power structures that do not fit any of these categories.

Power structure bases may vary widely. They may, for example, be political, religious, social, commercial, industrial, financial, or even philanthropic. The power structure may rest on a single base or on a combination or coalition of bases, and these bases may shift over a period of time. If power group types do not change appreciably and

if their objectives remain fairly constant, the importance of their bases may be questionable. However, there may be some relationship between power group bases and group types and objectives. It seems probable that a shift in power group bases will have an effect on their structure and objectives. Thus, it seems desirable to classify power group bases.

In view of the large number of possible power group bases and power base combinations, it seems presumptuous to attempt to establish categories for all possible contingencies. Accordingly, no specific categories are set up. Instead, an effort is made to identify, trace, and report power group bases that are discovered.

It goes almost without saying that power groups must also be classified by time periods if valid comparisons are to be made with economic growth. It seems possible, if not probable, that power groups classified in one way in any of the three major areas of classification will not remain in that category throughout the entire period of the study. In order to achieve meaningful comparisons with economic growth, a change in any of the three major areas of classification is treated as a change of power structure insofar as reporting time periods is concerned.

Once power structures have been classified by time periods in each of the three major areas of classification, they are

compared with each other, and an attempt is made to predict economic growth according to the hypothesis of this study. Each power structure is compared with each economic indicator to determine the validity of the hypothesis. Each comparison is evaluated as follows:

1. Does not support the hypothesis.
2. Questionable support of the hypothesis.
3. Generally favors the hypothesis.
4. Supports the hypothesis.

If a majority of the comparisons favor or support the hypothesis, a positive relationship between economic growth and community power groups would be indicated. However, because of the limited size of the sample and the possible effects of other variables, a positive relationship between economic growth and community power structures of a given type, objective, base, and time period may not be established. Further, if such a positive relationship is established, it does not necessarily imply that such a pattern would be effective elsewhere. It would, however, provide a strong indication to that effect. On the other hand, little or no relationship between types of power structure and economic growth would provide a more definite indication that power groups are not a significant factor in economic growth and would strongly tend to disprove the hypothesis of this study.

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CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND

Chapter II describes how the communities for this study were chosen and presents background data for each of these communities.

Several criteria were employed in selecting the counties to be studied. First, it was considered essential that the counties or their major cities be roughly comparable in population at the beginning of the period covered by this study. While comparisons are measured in percentages of change, there was the possibility that larger counties, because of their size, might be more self-sustaining than smaller ones. It would not seem reasonable to compare Dallas county with a much smaller county even on a percentage basis. While it was not considered essential that the counties studied be contiguous, it was considered desirable that they be located in the same general area.

It was deemed essential not to include the author's county in this study in order to avoid any biased evaluations involving either the power structure or economic growth. It was also desirable that the author have no prior knowledge or bias concerning the power structure or economic growth of the area which was chosen.

While it seemed essential that there be no prejudgments of the results of the study, it also seemed essential that there be a reasonable possibility of discovering and tracing the power structures in the counties chosen and that the economic data to measure their growth be available. These criteria seemed to establish the need for a preliminary survey.

The East Texas Chamber of Commerce at Longview was contacted for assistance in selecting counties in which there seemed to be a reasonable possibility of discovering and tracing power structures. Alf Jernigan, Jr., now Executive Vice President and General Manager of the East Texas Chamber of Commerce, suggested various counties, and from these an initial list of four was selected. In addition to Gregg and Harrison Counties this list included Cherokee and Smith Counties.

From a preliminary economic survey it was apparent that complete, continuously comparable, completely reliable data to measure economic growth were not available in any of the counties. Some, however, suffered greater deficiencies than others. Data for Cherokee County as a whole seemed reasonably available, but data for its major city, Jacksonville, was so sketchy as to make meaningful comparisons impossible. The picture was further complicated by the fact that Rusk, the county seat of this county, is slightly less than half

the size of Jacksonville. It seemed surprising that Smith County, with Tyler as the county seat, had not reported labor force and employment data before 1960. While other data in Smith County was available, labor force and employment data was considered one of the key measurements of economic growth and economic well-being.

In addition, Cherokee and Smith Counties represented extremes in population and other economic factors at the beginning of the time period for this study. There were greater discrepancies between Cherokee and Harrison Counties than between Harrison and Gregg Counties. Furthermore, there were greater discrepancies between Gregg and Smith Counties than between Gregg and Harrison Counties. These factors, then, resulted in Gregg and Harrison Counties being chosen as the two counties to be studied.

Gregg and Harrison are adjoining counties in Northeast Texas. Harrison County is on the Louisiana border, and Gregg County is immediately to the west. The counties are similar in topography and climate as is shown in Table I. As may also be seen from the information contained in Table I, Harrison is considerably larger than Gregg County. In both, the major city is the county seat. Harrison is the older county, having been created in 1839 (2). Its major city, Marshall, was settled in the same year and became the county

TABLE I
 TOPOGRAPHY AND CLIMATE GREGG AND
 HARRISON COUNTIES

Gregg County	Harrison County
49% forested	69% forested
Hilly terrain	Hilly terrain
Area: 284 sq. miles	Area: 892 sq. miles
Altitude: 300-500 ft.	Altitude: 200-400 ft.
Annual rainfall: 46.16 in.	Annual rainfall: 46:96 in.
Jan. temp. average: 38°	Jan. temp. average: 37°
July temp. average: 96°	July temp. average: 95°

Source: 1968-69 Texas Almanac.

seat in 1842 (14). Marshall was a thriving city by the time of the Civil War (14).

While Gregg County was settled at about the same time, Longview was not incorporated as a city until 1871 (5). In 1882, it had an estimated population of 2,300 and grew to an estimated 6,000 by 1930 (14). As a result of the East Texas oil boom in the early 1930's, its population more than trebled (14). But, unlike Harrison County, Gregg County has two other population centers. Both Kilgore and Gladewater were little more than villages before the oil boom; but, as a result of this boom, they grew to small cities. In 1940,

Gladewater had a population of 4,454 and Kilgore a population of 6,708 (13). By 1950, however, Gladewater's population had increased to only 5,310 while Kilgore had grown to 9,693 (13).

The two counties also differ in natural resources. While both have similar timber resources, Gregg County is in the East Texas oil field and enjoys an abundant supply of oil. Although there is some oil in Harrison County, it cannot compare with the amount found in Gregg County. For example, on January 1, 1966, the total crude oil production in Gregg County had reached 2,042,105,500 barrels while in Harrison County the total reached only 32,608,400 barrels (12). Harrison County has lignite deposits that Gregg County does not have (12). However, the value of oil in Gregg County vastly exceeds the value of coal in Harrison County. This large difference in oil resources merits careful consideration and evaluation in making county comparisons.

Industry, however, was not a novelty in either county before the beginning of the time period covered by this study. Of all the manufacturing corporations operating on at least a statewide basis from Longview, as shown in the 1967-68 Directory of Texas Manufacturers, eight were in operation before 1944 (1). In Marshall seven were in operation before this period (1). In addition the Texas and Pacific Railroad had major elements of its shops located in Marshall before this

period. Only one manufacturing corporation now in operation was functioning in Kilgore before this period (1).

At the beginning of the period a major east-west highway, U. S. Highway 80, served both Longview and Marshall. Later, Interstate 30 passed near all three cities. All three are located on a major north-south route, with U. S. 259 passing through Kilgore and Longview and U. S. 59 passing through Marshall (12). Marshall claims the services of four railroads, the Texas and Pacific, the Missouri Pacific, the Sante Fe, and the Kansas City Southern (6). Longview claims three, the Texas and Pacific, the Missouri Pacific, and the Sante Fe (5). The Texas and Pacific is now affiliated with the Missouri Pacific. Kilgore is on a Missouri Pacific main line with transfer service on less than car-load lots and a bulk break point at Longview (7).

In 1944 the estimated population of Gregg County was greater than that of Harrison County, being 51.7 and 45.2 thousand respectively (11). However, in 1947, the first year that continuously comparable data is available for the cities, both Longview and Marshall had an estimated population of 23.4 thousand (9). Kilgore had an estimated population of 7.3 thousand at that time (9).

Gregg County also had more monetary wealth than did Harrison County at the beginning of the period. In 1946 Gregg County had an estimated effective buying income of

\$55,548,000, Longview \$22,088,000, and Kilgore \$8,291,000 as opposed to \$36,088,000 for Harrison County and \$15,189,000 for Marshall (10). There was a similar situation with per capita income. In 1948, Gregg County, Longview, Kilgore, Harrison County, and Marshall had per capita incomes of \$1,200, \$1,436, \$1,433, \$882, and \$1,091 respectively (8). Bank deposit data are not available for the beginning of the period, but in 1950, Longview had deposits of \$29,380,000 as compared with \$18,874,000 in Marshall (2).

In 1946, Gregg County as a whole seems to have had more business activity than Harrison County, with total retail sales being estimated at \$55,773,000 and \$22,889,000, respectively (10). However, there was not as wide a discrepancy between Longview with \$21,650,000 and Marshall with \$18,700,000 (10). Surprisingly, Kilgore had estimated retail sales of \$18,110,000 in that year (10).

Continuous and comparable labor force and employment data are not available before 1950, at which time the labor force in Gregg County was considerably larger than that in Harrison County (3). However, 1940 U. S. Census data shows a labor force of 22,782 in Gregg County and 19,276 in Harrison County (4).

Although it is intangible, there is one other area that should be mentioned to complete the early comparison of Gregg and Harrison Counties. One of the persons interviewed in

Longview said that Longview was more concerned with the future than with the past. Several persons interviewed in Marshall stated that in order to understand the economic situations in Marshall during the time period covered by this study, it was necessary to understand something of the past of the area. They contended that Marshall is on the western edge of an area that is oriented toward a plantation-type society of the Old South. They contend that even in Gregg County, immediately to the west, the old agricultural economy was largely a family farm-type operation and not the plantation-type society they indicated for Marshall and Harrison County (*).

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CHAPTER III

GREGG COUNTY POWER STRUCTURES

In Chapter III the raw data concerning the power structures in Gregg County and its principal cities, Longview and Kilgore, are presented. No attempt is made here to analyze or classify the data since this is done in Chapter V.

A vital part of the data presented in this chapter and in Chapter IV was obtained from interviews. Some of the persons approached for interview indicated a willingness to furnish information provided its source was not publicly attributed to them. Others, during the course of interview, indicated that what they were saying at a particular time was in confidence. Much of this information was essential to the study. It soon became apparent that if significant information were to be obtained, the anonymity of those interviewed would have to be protected. While there were some who did not object to having information attributed to them, to do so would jeopardize the anonymity of those who did object. Consequently, every person interviewed was informed that all of the information furnished might be used but that it would not be publicly attributed to the individual furnishing it.

Complete anonymity, however, would make it impossible for anyone not involved in the study to check the authenticity of

the interview data. More important, it would prevent any evaluation of the interview sources. As the persons interviewed were chosen because of their information and their positions in the community, complete anonymity would seem to comprise seriously the validity of the study.

To provide the required anonymity and still maintain a reasonable credibility of the interview information, the following procedures were followed:

1. The names of all persons interviewed, as well as a brief description of their positions in the community are shown in the Chapter Bibliographies of this chapter and Chapter IV as well as in the final bibliography.

2. An asterisk is used where part of the text would ordinarily be footnoted with a number referring to the source in the Chapter Bibliography. This indicates that the source is one of the interviewees listed but does not identify the particular source.

3. Interview data sheets with complete identification of persons furnishing information are available to officials at North Texas State University concerned with the supervision of this study. In addition, this information will be made available to all persons legitimately interested in this study provided they agree to use it only to check the authenticity of the interview data and to evaluate the sources of the data.

All interviews were personally conducted by the author of this study.

Gregg County

Each person interviewed was told that an attempt was being made to identify and trace the power structures in a given city and county. Yet, of the 22 persons formally interviewed in Gregg County, only two indicated any possibility of a unified, county-wide power structure. Other than these two, those specifically asked denied that such a structure existed (*).

One person interviewed in Longview shortly after Robert Cargill had suffered a heart attack voiced the opinion that the loss of what he considered the top leader in Longview might pave the way for Henry Atkinson, County Judge of Gregg County, to become a unifying force in a county-wide power structure. He seemed to feel that only a person not strongly associated with either city, Longview or Kilgore, might be able to become a unifying focal point, and he cited Atkinson's role in development at Gregg County Airport as a basis for such a possibility (*). Another person in Longview expressed the opinion that the Gregg County Commissioners Court was a unifying force, but he stopped short of indicating it was actually a unified, county-wide power structure (*).

Two other persons interviewed in Longview named Atkinson as being moderately influential. They indicated that he had worked closely with other Longview leaders in securing a Ling-Temco-Vaught plant at the airport and that his leadership on the Commissioners Court was instrumental in the location of the Texas International Airways reservation center at the airport. In addition, one gave Atkinson credit for the building of a 10,000-foot runway at the airport and in representing Gregg County in securing a 12 point, \$15 million highway improvement program from the State Highway Commission (*). Yet neither of these persons indicated that Atkinson was part of a unified, county-wide structure.

The former county judge was named once and a longtime county commissioner, Jack Bean, was named once in Kilgore and once in Longview as being influential, but there was no indication that either was part of a unified structure or that either was more than moderately influential (*).

Longview

The first person interviewed in Longview provided a general picture of the power structure that, with only minor modification and some enlargement, seemed to be supported in subsequent interviews. This interview is summarized as follows:

From approximately 1940 until just before his death in 1967, Carl L. Estes was the center of the Longview power structure and the dominant leader in Longview. His primary goal was the advancement and industrial development of Longview, and he used his newspaper and his influence to that end.

Although Estes was the most prominent, he headed a team effort that included two influential bankers. They were V. A. Clements, then president and now chairman of the board of the Longview National Bank, and C. A. Loftis, president of the First National Bank. Both were influential, but Clements was probably the more influential.

Beginning in the late 1960's Robert Cargill began to exert an influence in the industrial development of Longview. He was not and did not become a part of the Estes group while Estes was alive. He did not oppose Estes, nor was he opposed by Estes. Both were working in the same direction. Estes gave at least tacit support of Cargill's efforts (*).

There is evidence in the form of an editorial written by Estes which praises Cargill for his part in securing a Schlitz brewery in Longview that Estes overtly supported Cargill's actions (33):

Upon the death of Estes there was no vacuum or faltering in the top leadership for 'it were as if Cargill had been waiting in the wings to take over the leadership of the Estes group.' Under Cargill's leadership industrial development became more of a team effort involving perhaps more people. But when Cargill suffered a heart attack, 'there was almost panic in the ranks of the power structure' (*).

There is some disagreement among those interviewed as to the beginning of Estes' influence. There is about an equal division of those who say it began in the early 1940's and those who say it began after World War II. Two persons interviewed contend that it was not strongly felt until the late 1940's or early 1950's.

They contend that such power structure as did exist in the 1940's was politically based and that G. A. McCreight, Longview mayor from April, 1941, to April, 1949, and from April, 1951, to April, 1952, was the most influential during the 1940's. They supported this contention by stating that the city of Longview was in shaky financial condition when McCreight first took office and that he was instrumental in putting it on its feet and leaving it in good condition when he left office (*).

While there may be some disagreement among those interviewed as to when Estes' influence began to be most strongly felt, there is no disagreement that he was the most dominant leader from somewhere between the early 1940's and the early 1950's to just before his death in 1967. All of the persons interviewed in Longview and some in the other communities named him as such. Occasionally, an interviewee mentioned a person in another community as being influential, but Estes was the only person mentioned by interviewees in both of the other communities. Not all of the persons interviewed or informally talked with professed to like Estes personally. There were a few who expressed a personal dislike but who, nevertheless, named him as the most influential person in Longview and who further indicated that they felt he helped Longview (*).

Carl L. Estes came to Longview as a newspaper publisher in 1934 during the oil-boom period in Gregg County and East Texas and was a part of this total picture. As such, he was a leader in the fight of independent oil producers against their big competitors. A national news magazine gave his editorials credit for being helpful in stamping out "hot oil" and in bringing about the passage of the Connally Oil Act (6).

He was active politically up to and including the national level. Originally a Democrat, he broke with Roosevelt over the New Deal (6). In 1938, he actively supported Arthur H. James, a Republican, for Governor of Pennsylvania. He toured that state under the pseudonym "Colonel English" in support of James. His political influence during the James administration resulted in some political writers referring to him as the "ghost governor" (6).

Newsweek provides further insight into the Estes character. According to this publication, during the oil boom of the 1930's he adopted two symbols: a baseball bat and a buggy whip. Estes is reported to have said, "If I were engaged in a fight with a one-eyed man and he was getting the best of me, and the devil came along with a pitchfork, I'd borrow it" (6, pp. 65-68). Once he was sick when the Lone Star Steel Company was planning a move that he disapproved;

yet he traveled to the directors' meeting, 125 miles from Longview, in an ambulance and expressed his criticisms from a stretcher (6). At a Democratic National Convention he crashed the hall in a rented doorman's uniform to campaign for his favorite candidate, Estes Kefauver (6).

A person very close to Carl Estes helped to provide some insight as to the course of his leadership after World War II. This person indicated that, during his tour of duty with the Navy during World War II, Estes was increasingly impressed with the desire of the average sailor to finish the war and go home. But this person indicates that Estes felt if suitable jobs were to be available for military men when they came home, jobs would have to be created at home. Some sort of industrialization would be necessary at the community level. This person stated that Estes envisioned the economy of Longview, Gregg County, and East Texas as progressing through three stages. The first he considered to be agricultural. The second was the oil development in East Texas, and the third and final stage was industrial diversification from an oil-based economy (*).

Those interviewed gave varied examples of Estes' leadership, but there was an emphasis on industrial development. An example of his early influence was his role in locating a military hospital, Harmon General, in Longview (*). After the war Estes is generally given primary credit for the

hospital's being sold to the R. G. LeTourneau interests for the token sum of one dollar to be used as a technical institute and for the locating of the LeTourneau Company in Longview (1) (*).

Shortly after World War II, Estes went to Washington to persuade governmental agencies to sell the Lone Star Steel Company to private ownership rather than dismantle it. He then came home to lead a campaign to raise private capital to buy and operate the company (5). He went on to establish his own industrial park, which one source referred to as the largest private industrial park in the world (5). Industries that he has been given credit for attracting to Longview include, in addition to LeTourneau, Texas Eastman Company, a division of Eastman Kodak Company; Resistol Rough Hats, Incorporated, a subsidiary of Byer-Rolnick Corporation; ITT Marlow, Fluid Handling Division of International Telephone and Telegraph Company; Trailmobile Division of Pullman Incorporated; and Screw and Bolt Corporation of American, Colona Division (*) (1).

While Estes' role in industrial development was emphasized in the interviews, so were his other roles in the community. One politically oriented interviewee stated that Estes took a stand on almost all issues and used his newspaper to support his stand (*). Another said that he "was involved in almost anything you could name" (*). One printed

source credited him with either initiating or playing a leading role in the following projects:

. . . removal of unsightly awnings in the downtown^{*} business district, doubling the size of the city's largest hotel, securing a \$300,000 post office building, four-lane highways west to Gladewater and east to Hallsville, a new highway between Lone Star and Hughes Springs, widening of State Highway 149 from Longview to Tatum and Beckville and later to Carthage. He also headed campaigns that secured major improvements in Highway 259 from Longview to Daingerfield, on rerouting and rebuilding this highway northward to the Oklahoma border, expansion of S. H. 149 to four lanes between Longview and the Sabine River and widening the Sabine River bridge to four lanes, constructing of a modern four-lane divided highway between Longview and Kilgore, and many other major highway improvements in North East Texas (5).

This same source indicated that his efforts locally and in the state capital played a key role in securing approval and allocation of funds for the expansion of the Good Shepherd Hospital in Longview and the Roy H. Laird Memorial Hospital in Kilgore (5). The latter point pertaining to Laird Memorial Hospital was not mentioned by any of the persons interviewed in Kilgore. This source also linked Estes with the building and expansion of Gregg County Airport; securing the building of the Knox Lee Power plant and Lake Cherokee; building Lake O' the Pines; the developing of plans and securing legislative approval for full utilization of the Sabine River; and being an initial investor in and major supporter of Longview Industrial Districts Incorporated (5).

Texas Parade of September, 1966, gave him credit for many of these things as well as for advocating a new railroad station (1).

With this diversity in examples of influence, it does not seem surprising that those interviewed should indicate that Estes had a broad base of support. Two interviewees specifically indicated that his newspaper was a base of influence (*). At least one person indicated that the support of certain banking interests was a major factor of his influence (*). Others at least partly attributed his influence to a dynamic and driving personality (*). One person who had traveled with him stated that Estes was on familiar terms with many persons in high governmental offices and that he did not hesitate to call on them (*). Another felt that Estes' efforts in this respect were responsible for the location of Texas Eastman in Longview. Most of those interviewed indicated that he had a broad business and political support as well as the general support of the people of Longview (*). One person close to Estes stated that he was generally supported by a large segment of the population of Longview because of a common goal--the advancement of Longview (*). Another person who did not appear to admire him personally nevertheless said he was an effective leader because "he had the support of the people of Longview" (*).

Not everyone interviewed professed to admire Estes personally. Two quite evidently did not (*). One of these felt that at times Estes had used his influence unfairly (*). Even among those who seemed to admire and support him, there were a few who indicated that he could be ruthless in pursuit of a goal (*). However, the person who felt that he unfairly used his influence also said "he was good for Longview" (*).

Estes was the only person in any community who was named as being influential by all persons interviewed. In Longview he almost invariably was the first person named. Generally, there was at least an implication that he was the most influential person in the community, but there were some who indicated that he was the most influential only during the period of his leadership, not necessarily the single most influential person for the entire period covered by this study. These interviewees indicated that Robert Cargill was the most influential during his period of leadership and indicated it would be difficult to choose between Estes and Cargill as the single most influential (*). But Cargill was not the second most-named person. This position was occupied by Verne A. Clements who was named as being influential by ten of the eleven persons interviewed. Each of these persons, either directly or through implication, indicated that Clements was the second most influential person in the community, following Estes and Cargill in their different time periods (*).

Verne A. Clements is presently chairman of the board of directors of the Longview National Bank and before that was president of this bank. The person whose interview was summarized early in this chapter indicated that Clements, along with C. A. Loftis and Estes himself, comprised the inner core of what he called "the Estes group" (*). Most of the interviewees painted Estes as colorful and flamboyant but Clements as retiring and shy of publicity. One person referred to him as a "progressive yet very proper banker" (*).

Not as many specific examples of leadership were given for Clements as were given for Estes. The most prevalent statement was something to the effect that he worked for the industrial and commercial development of Longview (*). At least two persons used the word "supported" in describing his relationship with Estes (*). One indicated that Clements' financial support was important (*). Four others used the phrase "worked with" in describing the leadership relationship of Clements and Estes (*). One interviewee indicated that he felt Clements was really "the power behind the scenes" (*). Several took pains to indicate that the so-called "Estes team" was not dominated by Estes and that the people, as Clements did, could and did take action on their own (*).

Specifically, several persons interviewed indicated that Clements was largely responsible for the building of Cherokee Lake, which is the source of water for Longview and appears to have played an important role in the industrial development of the city. Also cited about an equal number of times was his role, along with Atkinson, in the location of the LTV plant at the airport, the location of the Texas International Airways reservation center there, and the enlargement of the airport to a 10,000 foot runway (*). One interviewee stated that his banking interest was secondary to his interest in the development of Longview (*).

Another banker, C. A. Loftis, has already been mentioned. In addition to the person who indicated that he was a part of the "Estes group," he was named by four other people as being influential in Longview (*). Two of these four were close to Estes, and two were those who expressed the least personal admiration for Estes (*). One of the former gives Loftis credit for working with Estes in securing Harmon General Hospital (*). All four indicate that Loftis was primarily influential in the industrial and commercial development of Longview. Before his death in 1966, he was first president, then chairman of the board of the First National Bank. According to one interviewee he was a financial leader in the community for thirty-six years during which time he built Longview's tallest building, his 10-story First National Bank building (*).

Although he was named only once, it may be significant that another banker was named as being influential. Jasper Allbright came to Longview in 1955 and is presently president of the Longview National Bank. He is also chairman of the Middle Sabine River Navigation District and a director in Longview Industrial Districts (*).

Only one other person was named as being influential in Longview with anything like the frequency that Estes and Clements were named. Robert Cargill was named as being influential by nine of the eleven persons interviewed in Longview. Most of them rated him as being very influential and his influence as being consistent (*). Only one rated his influence as moderate and the consistency of his influence as average (*).

Cargill was originally in the wholesale grocery business in North East Texas. He moved to Longview in 1935 and retired from the grocery business at the age of forty. He became interested in oil in about 1951, and twelve of the first thirteen wells he drilled were producers (*). One person interviewed stated that Cargill felt North East Texas had a lot of potential but that there was a need to arouse and inspire community effort in order to develop this potential (*).

It has already been noted that one interviewee indicated that Cargill became most influential after the death of Estes. There are, however, earlier examples of his leadership. In

April, 1964, Estes wrote an editorial in his newspaper giving Cargill primary credit for the location of a Schlitz brewery in Longview and highly praising his efforts in this respect (33). Texas Parade gave the Longview Chamber of Commerce and a nineteen-member Longview Community Development team credit for helping to secure the Schlitz brewery and to expand the Stemco Manufacturing Company (1). Cargill is a past president of both these organizations and active in both (*).

In 1956 Cargill was a leader in the creation of Longview Industrial Districts and was its president after it was founded (*). Longview Industrial Districts is a non-profit corporation devoted to securing and developing land and facilities for the industrial development of Longview. Originally 150 people raised \$150,000 through the purchase of non-dividend-paying stock (*). It is perhaps worth noting in passing that one of the two people who did not name Cargill as being influential nevertheless named Longview Industrial Districts as a factor of influence (*). Longview Industrial Districts owns some 700 acres of land in four industrial locations (*). In 1969, its balance sheet showed assets of \$846,119.32, and Robert Cargill is still its president (32).

The person who rated Cargill as only moderately influential indicated that Cargill owned considerable land in Longview and was at least partly motivated by the development

of his own land. He specifically cited the Contessa Inn, the Cargill Theater, a subdivision, and other large commercial projects (*). On the other hand, the person who listed Longview Industrial districts but not Cargill as a factor of influence stated that Estes was primarily interested in the development of his own industrial park (*). But it has already been noted that one source stated that Estes not only supported Longview Industrial Districts but was an initial investor in it (*). Of the two people who it would seem would be closest to Estes, one did not name Cargill as being influential while the other was the one who rated him as only moderately influential (*). There did not seem to be, however, any serious rivalry between Estes and Cargill. As the total picture began to develop, this possibility was probed, but those asked denied any serious factionalism.

Not as many examples of Cargill's leadership were cited as were cited for Estes, nor were as many published examples of his leadership discovered. It was noted, however, that he founded the East Texas Development Council and headed a Sabine River development group. And the June 29, 1969, "Sunday Magazine" of the Dallas Times Herald said of Cargill:

Another name that drops everywhere in Longview is Robert Cargill, oilman, business leader, civic luminary--a man who seemingly has the same golden touch as King Midas. In 1968 he was named "Volunteer Industrial Developer of the Year" by the Texas Industrial Development Council--just one of many civic and business honors bestowed on this dynamo (3).

Several of those who indicated that Cargill replaced Estes as the top leader in Longview also indicated that development of Longview became more of a team effort with Cargill at its head (*). Yet the Chamber of Commerce manager in another city recently in competition with Longview for an industrial plant remarked that Cargill could add inducements of his own outside those offered by the Longview organizations devoted to attracting industry (*).

One interviewee stated that Cargill's wealth was the base of his influence, while eight indicated a broad-based business and citizens' support (*). One of these stated that the base of Cargill's influence was essentially the same as that of Estes (*).

Other than Estes, Clements, Cargill, and Loftis no one person was named as being influential by more than three interviewees. However, there were clusters of people associated with a specific area or function where the total named for the function was higher. The city government, for example, was one such area. Three persons named the city government itself as being influential (*) while three named city manager Harry Mosley. Mayor D. A. Benton was named twice, and former mayors Tomlinson and McCreight were each named once. Of the total number of times that the city government was named, approximately half were named by persons not associated with it. Persons connected with the

city government tended to name the organization itself while those not associated with the city government tended to name individuals. All three indications of the city government as an entity being influential came from persons connected with it (*).

Three interviewees stated, in effect, that city officials were interested in the growth of Longview and cooperated with others seeking that end by maintaining and expanding municipal facilities necessary for growth (*). One went so far as to provide a chart showing the growth of city facilities and services from 1950 to 1970 (*). One interviewee noted that Longview had what he considered to be a very low tax rate of \$1.15 per \$100 evaluation (*), and three took pains to note that this rate had not been raised since 1938 (*). Another interviewee attributed this static tax rate to the industrial development of Longview and a growing tax base (*). Two noted that Longview had an AA bond rating, and the same number indicated that the city had never defeated a bond issue (*). One interviewee stated that a city sales tax passed 10 to 1 on the first attempt and then added that it was defeated twice in Tyler (*). Two others indicated a stability in the city government and cited the fact that Harry Mosley has been city manager since 1952 (*). Another pointed out that Longview employed competent firms in the development of long-range city plans (*), and another called attention to the fact that

Longview mayors serve without compensation (*). Finally, one interviewee stated that the city officials did not use their official positions for personal financial gain although there was an opportunity to do so in a rapidly growing community such as Longview (*). Two interviewees indicated they felt what they termed the success of the city government was based on the trust and support of both the leaders in Longview and ordinary citizens (*). One person indicated that prior to Estes' death the newspaper took strong stands and vigorously supported political issues but that the tenor of such support changed to a lower key after his death (*).

At the county level it has already been noted that Gregg County Judge Henry Atkinson was named twice by persons in Longview as being influential. Examples of his leadership and influence were cited earlier in this chapter. There was also a cluster, although smaller, around the Chamber of Commerce function. Fred Pool, executive vice-president and general manager of the East Texas Chamber of Commerce until his retirement January 1, 1969, was named once (*). The Longview Chamber of Commerce and Walter Koch, manager of the Longview Chamber were also named once (*). Both were cited particularly in relationship to industrial development (*). Although Koch was named only once by persons interviewed in Longview, Weldon Owens in his column in the Dallas Times Herald wrote: "The man with the big oil can

in Longview's most recent amazing industrial development since 1950 is Walter Koch" (4).

The only other person to be named more than once by those interviewed in Longview was R. G. LeTourneau, who was named twice. One of the persons who named LeTourneau cited his founding of LeTourneau College. This source stated that he cooperated with every major industrial development in Longview by assuring industrial prospects their operations would be successful in Longview. This same source also cited LeTourneau as a religious lay leader and indicated his motivation was primarily religious (*).

LeTourneau was not named as being influential by the first persons interviewed in Longview. As LeTourneau was the only person that the author of this study associated with Longview before the beginning of the study, he specifically asked about LeTourneau. Answers in general indicated that LeTourneau was considered something of a mechanical genius but that his business acumen was not particularly admired. Further, while he was well known, even world-wide, and Longview was proud of him, these first interviewees did not consider him to be particularly influential in Longview. They seemed to indicate that he was more of a front than a power (*).

In addition to persons already indicated, seven other persons were named once as being influential in Longview.

In at least one case such persons were influential in one specific project or endeavor (*). Perhaps the most typical example of the influence of this group was cited by one of the interviewees who named four of these seven (*). He said, in effect, that these people were not initiators of action, but they supported it once it was initiated; and because of wealth or position, their support was influential in the success of what the real leaders initiated (*).

All of those interviewed in Longview indicated that no serious factionalism existed among the leaders and that they were mutually supportive, particularly insofar as industrial development was concerned (*). This does not imply that all was sweetness and light. A few of those who named persons as being influential and good for Longview nevertheless had rather harsh words for some of the people they named (*). Two of those interviewed indicated that Estes was, for the most part, "a one man show" (*). Others indicated a team effort (*). One of those who did so also stated that Estes would have proclaimed himself team captain (*). Another indicated that Estes quickly nipped any opposition in the bud (*). One interviewee stated that there was some minor factionalism but that it was primarily between potential leaders over leadership position (*). Every person interviewed indicated that all persons and groups in leadership positions were mutually supportive insofar as the advancement of Longview and the good of the community was concerned.

The indications of the motivation or objectives of those named as influential were divided between integrative ones as defined in Chapter I and a desire to serve the community. This latter purpose would ordinarily be classified as altruistic, but this is not completely descriptive. While classifications of the power structures are treated in a later chapter, at this time it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the indicated motivation to serve the community was in reality motivation to lead.

A few of those interviewed indicated that they felt other parts of the county, particularly Kilgore, were both a little suspicious and envious of Longview (*). Yet several indicated that the leadership in Longview was concerned with more than just the city of Longview (*). This attitude is summed up by one of the interviewees who stated: "When we go after an industry, we try to get it in Longview; but if we can't get it in Longview, we try to get it in Gregg County; and if we can't get it in Gregg County, we try to get it in North East Texas" (*).

Several of the interviewees tried to impart something of the general attitude of the community. One stated that, after he finished law school, he toured the country looking for a place to settle. He chose Longview because it was "a town of young people, not in age, but in ideas" (*). He went on to say that many of the communities he visited were

proud of what they had accomplished, but they looked at past accomplishments and not toward the future; in Longview, he said, "people don't cite names on tombstones to indicate their greatness; they talk about what they are going to do tomorrow" (*).

Kilgore

In tracing the power structures that developed in Kilgore, it is necessary to go back to the 1930's because this is when both Kilgore, as a city, and its power structures had their inception. Before late 1930, Kilgore was a small unincorporated community with an estimated population of between 300 and 600 (*). Then, on September 5, 1930, oil was discovered near Overton, another small community not far from Kilgore, and the East Texas oil boom began. The original discovery was not in Gregg County, but, as the field developed, Kilgore was in the center of the East Texas field. As early as 1920, J. Malcolm Crim, a Kilgore merchant, leased 30,000 acres of land and tried unsuccessfully to get someone to drill on it. Finally he succeeded and on December 28, 1930, these efforts were rewarded when a well blew in on his lease some four miles south of Kilgore with an estimated flow of 20,000 barrels a day (31). Almost overnight Kilgore became a boom town. Before the Crim discovery it could not even boast a weekly newspaper,

but within four days, after the Crim well blew in, the Kilgore Daily News was being published (31). As might be expected, fortunes were made overnight. C. M. Joiner, the Dallas wildcatter who made the first discovery, sold the well and 1,440 acres of land for \$2,100,000. One \$500 shareholder sold a part of his interest for \$75,000, with the amount that he retained valued at \$200,000 (31).

The boom resulted in an election to incorporate the city, and on February 20, 1931, J. Malcolm Crim was elected its first mayor (31). Of the eleven persons interviewed in Kilgore, two named J. Malcolm Crim as being influential (*). One of these said that he was influential because of his oil wealth (*). The other indicated Crim was influential because he was the first mayor but also stated that he was not as influential as were others in the early days of Kilgore as a city (*). Neither cited any other examples of his influence (*). The Kilgore City Directory states that the history of modern Kilgore began in 1933 (31).

In 1933 J. Malcolm Crim was succeeded as mayor by Roy H. Laird, who continued in this position until his death in 1950. Of the eleven persons formally interviewed in Kilgore, nine named Laird as being influential, and a majority of these indicated that he was the most influential person in Kilgore (*). More examples of his leadership were cited than were cited for any other person or group.

In the history of Kilgore several family names stand out. The Lairds, the Crims, and the Elders are the most prominent (*). In addition to being named by nine persons in his own community, Laird was named as being influential in Kilgore by two persons outside the community (*). Of the two persons who did not name Laird, one came to Kilgore in 1940 and the other in 1946 (*). As will be indicated later, both seemed more concerned with the economic and industrial development of Kilgore than Laird appeared to be. Those who named Laird indicated that the period of his influence was from the early 1930's until his death in 1950. Several of those interviewed called attention to the fact that Roy H. Laird was a rural mail carrier before the oil boom; they indicated that, while he owned property, he became wealthy in the oil boom rather than from simply being a property owner when it occurred (*). They also indicated that just the opposite was true of his cousins, S. S. and Ben Laird (*).

One interviewee who appears to have been fairly close to Laird stated that his one primary goal was to change Kilgore from a temporary oil shanty town to a modern, permanent city (*). This same source indicated that Laird felt the first step in doing this was paved streets and permanent buildings and homes (*). One source stated that, before he became mayor, Laird paved the street in front of

his own property in downtown Kilgore and was later reimbursed by the city (*). The source first mentioned stated that early in his long tenure as mayor he was responsible for the concrete paving of all of the streets within the then existing city limits, and because of the oil wealth of the city this was done at no expense to the tax payers (*). This same source also indicated that Laird opened the first residential area in Kilgore (*).

The most frequently cited example of Laird's leadership was his role in securing a hospital for Kilgore. Of the nine people who named him as being influential, six cited his role in the establishment of a hospital as an example of his influence (*). One interviewee stated that, when costs exceeded the original estimates, he strenuously opposed a cut-back in the original plans. Instead, he donated \$100,000 and was instrumental in raising another \$50,000 to complete the hospital as originally planned (*). Both he and his wife left the hospital generously endowed (*). Now known as the Roy H. Laird Memorial Hospital, it was not named for him until after his death because of his opposition (*). However, he donated land for a country club with the stipulation that this facility be named for him (*). Other cited examples of his leadership included a new \$150,000 city hall built without a bond issue, a city park, a public library, and a city swimming pool.

Although most of the persons interviewed in Kilgore indicated that Laird exercised his greatest influence in Kilgore, there were a few who indicated that he was influential on a wider scale (*). Cited in this respect was his influence in choosing a site for the Gregg County Airport that neither unduly favored Kilgore nor Longview. Although the site chosen is almost equidistant from both cities, there was some feeling that the airport would become known as "the Longview Airport" because it was on a Longview mail route. Yet Laird was influential enough to insist on what he considered to be the best overall location (*).

The interviewee previously cited as being fairly close to Laird indicated that he was not in the forefront in bringing new industry to Kilgore. This source said though that Laird did not oppose such efforts. He supported efforts to organize Kilgore Ceramics, but he felt that the oil industry best served Kilgore and that it was all that was needed (*).

None of the examples of Laird's leadership cited by the interviewees included any long-range programs for the economic or industrial development of Kilgore. One interviewee suggested that his lack of support for a surface water supply was actually a handicap in attracting industry (*). Another interviewee stated that Kilgore did not have an adequate water supply to support industrial development (*).

An interviewee in Longview stated that Laird turned down attempts to make Lake Cherokee a joint Longview-Kilgore project (*).

The interviews indicate that Laird had the support of the newspaper as well as that of general business and the citizens (*). One person interviewed stated that Laird was responsible for the progress in Kilgore but at times was almost alone in his efforts and had to "twist arms" to get things done (*). However, the statement of another interviewee may indicate that the arms Laird had to twist were not those of other active leaders. This interviewee noted that not all of the oil-wealthy persons in Kilgore supported community efforts and that one basis of Laird's leadership was his ability to influence these people, particularly his own cousins, S. S. and Ben Laird (*). While he was not unanimously named, the nine interviewees who did name Laird indicated that he was the single most influential person in Kilgore (*). Several suggested that his wealth was the basis of his leadership. Unlike Estes in Longview, no controversy concerning his personality or methods of leadership was discovered.

Although Laird was the most named as being influential in Kilgore, two other persons were also named by a majority of those interviewed. Both Eugene Elder and Liggett N. Crim were named seven times each (*). One person who did not

name Crim and is not included in the above tally nevertheless indicated that he was influential (*).

Crim, an old family name in Kilgore, is a family that prospered in the oil boom (*). Liggett N. Crim was the most named member of this family. One interviewee stated that in the early history of Kilgore as an incorporated city Crim briefly challenged Laird as being the most influential leader but that the challenge was not serious and Crim then turned his efforts more to cultural and entertainment areas (*). And it was in these areas that most of the interviewees cited examples of his influence. Seven persons referred to his role with the Kilgore College Rangerettes, noting that he had been both official and unofficial sponsor of this group and had devoted both time and money to them (*). One interviewee said "he put the Rangerettes and Kilgore College on the map" (*). Four persons referred to his role in the Kilgore Community Concerts Association, citing his leadership in organizing the association and his long tenure as its president (*). One person said that the attractions of the Community Concerts were more outstanding than those of neighboring communities and attracted attention from larger cities such as Tyler (*).

There were, however, examples of Crim's leadership cited in areas other than these. He was mayor of Kilgore from 1957 to 1962 (*). He was one of the organizers of the

Chamber of Commerce and its third president in 1934 (*). He was a county commissioner at the time Gregg County Airport was built, and one interviewee gives him credit for helping to get the Texas International Airways reservation center at the airport (*). He leased and operated a downtown hotel at a loss as a community service (*) and was on the board of trustees of Kilgore College (*). While there were no specific examples of Crim's influence being directed toward industrial development, one interviewee did say that he was interested in and worked for the development of the community (*). The cited bases of his influence were much like Laird's. They included both business and general community support as well as oil wealth (*). The interviews indicate that the period of Crim's influence extends from the early 1930's to the present (*).

The general tenor of what those who named Eugene C. Elder as being influential said about him is summarized in the following:

He has been a little bit of everything--mayor, a member of the city council, city manager, and even justice of the peace when an unexpected vacancy occurred. He is well liked in the community and could be elected mayor if he would run again. People listen to him because they respect and like him (*).

Another stated that Elder was influential because "he was willing to do just about anything that needed to be done to

help Kilgore" (*). Most of those who named Elder cited his roles in the city government as examples of his influence (*). He succeeded Roy H. Laird as elected mayor and held this office from 1951 to 1957. He was also president of the Chamber of Commerce in 1940. Before the oil boom, he was Principal of the Kilgore High School and later became Superintendent of Schools, continuing in this position until 1935 (*). Although Elder was frequently named as being influential and the various public offices that he held cited as examples of his leadership, none of those interviewed cited any specific projects or programs in which he was involved.

The Elders were one of the original land-holding families in Kilgore who prospered in the oil boom (*). Eugene Elder was the only member of this family who was named as influential by those interviewed. The cited bases of his influence were general public support and oil wealth (*).

The person named the fourth number of times was the present mayor of Kilgore, Foster T. Bean. Bean was named as being influential by five persons interviewed in Kilgore and by two persons interviewed in Longview (*). Bean is another life-long resident of Kilgore except for the period between 1920 and 1931 (*). He was city attorney for eighteen years before he became mayor and was most frequently

mentioned as an attorney (*). One interviewee said that after Laird's death Bean and Elder were the two most influential persons in Kilgore; and, while Bean did not fill Laird's shoes, he came closer than any of the other leaders to doing so (*). One interviewee noted that Bean is chairman of the board of directors of Citizens State Bank of Kilgore (*). Another indicated that Bean is concerned with making Kilgore a better community and said that his efforts were influential in Kilgore's being named one of the ten best cities in a national beautification and cleanup program (*). The bases of his influence were cited as business and political (*).

Other than those already mentioned, no person or group was named more than twice. However, in some cases interviewees who had not formally named a particular person or group nevertheless made reference to the influence of that particular person or group in the course of their interviews. The Chamber of Commerce is a case in point. Although it was formally named by only two persons, four others made direct reference to it in the course of their interviews (*). One of the persons who did name the Chamber of Commerce stated that it was effective from its founding in 1931 to the present and was responsible for all the progress that had occurred in Kilgore since World War II (*). The other indicated that it has been the focal point

for attempts at industrial development as well as other community projects (*). This person also named the Kilgore Industrial Foundation (*). One of the persons who did not name the Chamber of Commerce but who cited it in his interview indicated that the Industrial Foundation was founded as a subsidiary of the Chamber of Commerce (*). The person who named the Industrial Foundation stated that it had not been too successful but had, however, been responsible for two plants in Kilgore---Kilgore Manufacturing Company, a subsidiary of Nardis of Dallas, and Blakney Mobile Homes (*). He also indicated that while it still owns some land, it is out of money (*). He listed reasons why he felt the Industrial foundation had not been more successful, and these will be discussed later in the chapter.

One interviewee who did not name the Chamber of Commerce did name E. Hyde, who was the Chamber Manager at the time the Industrial Foundation was founded (*). Another who did not name it gives the Chamber of Commerce credit for the founding of Kilgore Ceramics (*). Still another indicated that the Chamber of Commerce was a focal point for persons working to improve Kilgore (*). Several interviewees listed "working in the Chamber of Commerce" as an example of the leadership or influence of the persons they were discussing in interviews (*).

Charles K. Devall, publisher of the Kilgore News Herald, is also an example of a person who was referred to as influential more times than he was formally named as such. Devall was formally named only once, but three other persons who did not name him nevertheless spoke of his influence during the course of their interviews (*). The one person who did name him stated that he used his newspaper to support the advancement of Kilgore and that he was influential from the early 1930's to the present time (*). This same person said that Devall was successful because "he is a conservative Democrat in an area that supports conservative Democrats" (*). One of those who did not name Devall formally said that he was strongly pro-Kilgore, so strong in fact that at times he tended to isolate Kilgore from the rest of the county (*). Perhaps most important to this study was his position on industrial development which he favored and strongly supported (*). One source indicates that Devall admired and generally supported Roy H. Laird but that he was unable to convince Laird of the need for industrial development or a surface water supply to support it (*). Devall was one of those indicating various problems that were encountered in industrial development (*). As previously noted, this topic will be discussed later in the chapter.

While none of them were named more than twice, there is another group of five persons who generally have two things in common. The cited examples of their influence are oriented toward commercial and industrial development, and they were "boomers"; that is, they came to Kilgore after the oil boom was underway. They are not from original Kilgore families as were almost all of the other persons mentioned. William R. Yazell, J. J. Jenkins, and O. N. Pederson were each named twice, and Scott E. Lucas and Dayton Walkup were each named once.

William R. Yazell came to Kilgore in 1946. Along with J. J. Jenkins he helped to organize the Industrial Foundation, helped found the Citizens State Bank of Kilgore, and was a partner with Jenkins in the construction and operation of a commercial building (*). One of those who named Yazell named him and Jenkins together and stated that they led in a corporation called Home Builders, Incorporated, designed to produce housing in Kilgore (*). Another interviewee stated that Yazell's efforts, both in time and money, were not fully appreciated in Kilgore (*). Yazell was the Chevrolet dealer in Kilgore, on the City Council from 1951 to 1957, and President of the Chamber of Commerce in 1948 (*). Ill health caused him to play a lesser role after 1956. He is now semi-retired, dealing only in investments (*).

J. J. Jenkins has been described as an oilman, business man, and rancher interested in the industrial development of Kilgore. Some of his activities were described above. He was President of the Chamber of Commerce in 1937 and was named as being active in the founding of Kilgore Ceramics (*). He has been described as being most influential from approximately 1946 to his death in 1956 (*).

O. N. Pederson is an oilman. One source indicates that he was Chamber of Commerce Manager at the time Kilgore Ceramics was founded (*). It was the Chamber of Commerce Manager who was largely responsible for bringing together the diverse interests that resulted in this corporation (*). Pederson, along with John T. Crim, was also instrumental in raising money for this project (*). He was President of the Chamber of Commerce in 1967 (*).

Scott E. Lucas was described as the owner of the Longhorn Drug Company, a business leader, one of the organizers of Kilgore Ceramics, an active member of the Chamber of Commerce, and an influence in Kilgore from approximately 1946 until his death in 1956 (*).

Dayton Walkup is the President of Kilgore Ceramics and is cited as being influential since the foundation of this company in 1948 (*). Persons interviewed in Kilgore frequently referred to Kilgore Ceramics as a home-developed industry (*). The account of its founding, as provided by

the person most closely associated with the company, is summarized below.

Kilgore Ceramics was founded in 1948, well before the Industrial Foundation came into being. At that time, Walkup was in the oil supply and plumbing supply business, but as a wholesaler of bathroom fixtures he was having difficulty in getting merchandise. At this time a man from outside the community called on the Chamber of Commerce Manager, trying to get backing to locate a plumbing ceramics plant in Kilgore. The Chamber Manager called Walkup, and the idea of creating a manufacturing company as a source of plumbing supplies was born. The Chamber of Commerce was instrumental in attracting the attention and interest of local businessmen. After it was decided that it was feasible to proceed, \$175,000 was raised in approximately a week from local stock subscriptions. Walkup was interested in the company as a source of plumbing supplies, but as he was known and trusted by the local investors who wanted some active local control, he became general manager of the company. At first it prospered, but then it ran into managerial difficulties. Walkup took over as president. Because of what was largely a seller's market, the company quickly bounced back and has been profitable since. It presently employs approximately 300 people (*).

Two other persons who were named twice were B. E. Masters and S. S. Laird, who both were named as being influential in the creation of Kilgore Junior College. Although the college was founded before the time period included in this study, both were named as being influential in the 1930's and early 1940's. B. E. Masters was cited as the first president of the college and as being instrumental in the establishment of the Kilgore Junior College District (*). One interviewee noted that he was not particularly successful in this latter effort until he convinced S. S. Laird of its desirability and secured his support (*). This same interviewee named Laird as being influential in this respect (*). The other simply stated that the Laird brothers were influential in founding the college (*).

Although some of the persons previously named had bank connections, they were not bankers. In contrast to both Longview and Marshall, only one banker was named in Kilgore, and he was only named twice (*). This one was George Hays, who retired at the end of 1969. Before that he was president and then chairman of the board of directors of the Kilgore National Bank (*). One interviewee cited him as a progressive leader but noted that as a banker he "was a bit on the conservative side" (*). The other simply said he was a bank president. Another interviewee who did not name Hays and who said he was not particularly influential

indicated that financially he was too conservative to be greatly influential in the industrial development of Kilgore (*).

Eight other persons not previously mentioned were each named once. Some of these were named as being active in one particular area of community effort (*), and some appear to have been named primarily because of their wealth. One interviewee who named two persons not mentioned by other interviewees and who did not cite specific examples of their influence was asked why they were named. The indication was that they were considered influential because they were wealthy (*). Another interviewee, reasonably wealthy himself, put it more bluntly when he said, "when you have four or five million dollars, people listen to what you say, and what you say has influence because you are wealthy" (*). This interviewee went on to indicate that some of the wealthy of Kilgore had not contributed to its growth and noted that he "doubted that some of them ever contributed a dime even to the Chamber of Commerce" (*). Three other interviewees also indicated that some of the wealthy landowners had not contributed to the growth and benefit of Kilgore (*). The interviewees who expressed these views represented a cross segment of those interviewed and included original residents as well as "boomers."

Although none of the interviewees were asked to evaluate the Kilgore leadership, six of them indicated that such growth and improvement as Kilgore had achieved was largely due to the community leadership (*). The only area in which there was any question as to the effectiveness of the leadership was in industrial development (*). The lack of industrial development, however, was not entirely attributed to community leadership.

Seven interviewees noted various problems that were encountered in industrial development efforts. One person stated that Kilgore did not have good leadership but that leadership was only one factor in industrial development (*). Another indicated that the Chamber of Commerce hired a professional firm to see what could be done in the way of industrial development and that the report was pessimistic. It indicated that Kilgore was a nice town but that it had nothing special to offer industry and had several disadvantages, such as an established relatively high-paying oil industry (*).

Four of the interviewees indicated that labor-supply competition from the relatively high-paying oil industry was a problem in attracting other industry (*). Six indicated that the lack of suitable land was a problem (*). Much of the land around Kilgore is either owned by or under lease to oil companies (*). Its marginal revenue productivity

is higher for oil than for other industries (*). The land is criss-crossed with pipe lines (*). Land in the Sabine River bottom between Kilgore and Longview is low and periodically floods (*). One interviewee stated that he "had spent a lot of time walking up and down the railroad track looking for land suitable for industrial development" (*).

Three interviewees indicated that a lack of water was a serious handicap (*). As previously noted, one interviewee stated that Kilgore did not have sufficient water to support industrial development (*). In this respect, one person stated that the inability to convince Roy H. Laird that an additional source of water was essential was a factor (*). One person in Kilgore and one in Longview indicated that Kilgore was at a disadvantage as compared with its larger neighbors insofar as rail transportation was concerned (*).

Two interviewees stated in effect that Kilgore had been too prosperous for its own good (*). Because of its oil wealth, the city has been able to accomplish many things that cities of comparable size could not afford without a tax increase. As a result, some people failed to see a need for diversification and industrial development (*). One person indicated that the area was not big enough to support certain similar retail, service, and professional firms both in Longview and Kilgore, and because of its larger population

Longview enjoyed an advantage in attracting these types of firms (*). However, two other persons indicated that development in Longview helped Kilgore because there was some spill-over to Kilgore (*).

Several interviewees indicated that attempts at industrial development had not been entirely unsuccessful (*). They cited Kilgore Ceramics, Kilgore Manufacturing, Blakney Mobile Homes, and the Community Inn as examples of successful operations (*). All except the Community Inn have been mentioned. The Community Inn is a motel-restaurant complex that was established as a community project (*). Two interviewees indicated that there had been some dissatisfaction with the Community Inn since it had not been as profitable as some of the investors had hoped (*). About 1,300 people raised \$750,000 to establish this organization (*). These two interviewees also indicated, however, that it was originally intended to provide a community service rather than be a profit-making venture (*). It has recently been sold to one of the persons named once in Longview as being influential there (*).

Despite these cited successes several interviewees indicated that industrial development had not progressed very far (*). One interviewee, a businessman, indicated that much of Kilgore's economy today is still oil related, although oil-well service and supply have replaced exploration and mechanization and automation have changed the

job picture (*). There are still 17,000 producing wells in the East Texas field, and it will take an estimated 31.8 years to produce the remaining 2.1 billion barrels of oil (2).

About half the interviewees indicated that the leadership in Kilgore was motivated by community service, although the leaders themselves often benefitted in performing this community service (*). About half indicated an integrative objective (*). One interviewee indicated that the leadership was self-serving (*).

There were no indications of serious factionalism in the leadership. One interviewee noted that strong personalities often have differences of opinion and indicated that this was true in Kilgore; he nevertheless stated that no real factionalism existed (*). Most of the interviewees indicated that generally the leaders, both as individuals and as groups, supported each other (*). Several of those interviewed suggested that after the death of Roy H. Laird community action became more of a team effort (*). One interviewee named team effort as a factor of influence (*). One indicated that Laird was a strong personality but that he was not a member of any one particular group to the exclusion of others (*). The Chamber of Commerce was frequently named as a focal point of community effort (*). One interviewee stated that about twelve businessmen were

usually at the core of any community effort, although these were not necessarily the same twelve (*). The city government, particularly the city council, was also named as a focal point of influence. Two of the interviewees named wealth as being the base of community leadership in Kilgore.

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CHAPTER IV

HARRISON COUNTY POWER STRUCTURES

In Chapter IV the raw, primarily interview data concerning the power structures in Harrison County and Marshall are presented. No attempt is made to analyze or classify the data since this is done in Chapter V. The same method of presenting footnotes described in Chapter III is used in this chapter.

Harrison County and Marshall

All power structures discovered were centered in Marshall. A majority of all the persons interviewed indicated that the persons they named as influential were influential in Harrison County and in the city of Marshall or the area around Marshall (*). Two interviewees indicated that parts of Harrison County were oriented toward cities in other counties (*). One noted that the Texas Eastman plant, while actually located in Harrison County, was really on the edge of Longview and oriented toward that city (*). Another indicated that Hallsville, to the west, was oriented toward Longview while Waskom, to the east, was oriented toward Shreveport (*). One interviewee indicated that Marshall was the center of activity in Harrison

County (*). The power structures discussed in this chapter, while centered in Marshall, represent both Marshall and Harrison County.

In contrast to both Kilgore and Longview, no one person was named as being influential by more than six of the thirteen persons interviewed in Marshall. Most named was an organization, being named by seven interviewees. Two persons and one organization were each named six times while a person, an organization, and a business were each named five times. Five persons were named three times; and a formal organization, an informal group, and six persons were each named twice. Many of the individuals named were cited as being influential in or through one of the groups named. In addition, there were both overlaps and changes in the memberships in the various groups as well as overlaps in periods of influence.

In chronological order of periods of influence, the Texas and Pacific Railroad begins the period covered by this study. It was formally named by five of those interviewed and mentioned by several others. Actually it considerably antedates the period of this study, having first come to Marshall in 1870 (*). In the years following, the Texas and Pacific established more of its facilities in Marshall, and in a few years the city became a railroad center (*). This in turn led to other railroad-related

industries, and in 1873 the Marshall Car Wheel and Foundry was established. At its peak the railroad employed 2,000 to 2,500 persons and was the dominant economic factor in the community (*). One interviewee indicated that from about 1880 to 1940 the Texas and Pacific Railroad was the power structure in Marshall (*). This interviewee, along with several others, indicated that the railroad managed to have several of its officials on the city commission and that the city leadership was reluctant to bring up any issue that might be considered adverse to the railroad (*). Another stated that before 1940 the railroad shops were the largest employer in Marshall and that the railroad wielded considerable influence in the community (*). Another said that the Texas and Pacific got tax benefits because the community leadership was afraid that it would move away if it were not granted special considerations (*). One interviewee indicated that the railroad expected and got preferential treatment and that the passage of an airport bond issue in 1944 "infuriated the railroad" (*). The railroad was not the only industry in Marshall before 1940. There were others, but even the larger ones, such as Atlas Chemical, were not mentioned as being influential.

One interviewee indicated that the pattern of railroad dominance began to weaken as early as 1936 when Bryan Blalock was responsible for starting two new companies (*). Another

indicated that around 1940 the non-railroad leadership began to question the wisdom of so much dependence on the railroad (*). However, most of the interviewees who spoke of railroad influence indicated that this influence began to decline as the railroad phased out some of its operations in Marshall (*). One said that the advent of the diesel engine marked the final turning point as the diesel shops were not located in Marshall (*). Another indicated that the leadership in Marshall expressed a preference for keeping the car shops rather than diesel shops and that the latter were located elsewhere (*). Two interviewees said, however, that the railroad influence did not end until the middle or late 1940's (*). One noted that the Texas and Pacific influence extended longer than was warranted by their economic position in the community (*). The other said, "Even as the railroad declined as a physical factor, it still maintained an influence all out of proportion to its physical plant" (*).

Every person who named the railroad as being influential indicated that its influence was self-serving (*). One interviewee provided a typical answer to the question of how the railroad used its influence when he said that it was used "for the benefit of the Texas and Pacific Railroad and also sometimes for the benefit of the community" (*).

The most frequently mentioned base of railroad influence was economic power (*). One interviewee said that some people felt that the railroad was the economic life of the community (*). In speaking of how the railroad worked with other parts of the community one interviewee said, "The Texas and Pacific Railroad did not work with any group it did not control" (*). Another said that when the railroad was the dominant influence, it opposed any other groups that did not see things the railroad way (*). Still another said that, when the railroad was dominant, it was very independent (*).

The fact that the railroad was formally named by only five of the persons interviewed may be misleading insofar as the extent of its influence is concerned. Several interviewees did not formally name it because they indicated that it was primarily influential before the period covered by this study. Others who came to Marshall after the decline of railroad influence did not name it because they were not personally in Marshall at the time of its influence. However, several of them did indicate they believed it was a prime factor in the economy of Marshall. It is significant to note that not a single source named an individual railroad official.

The greatest area of agreement among those interviewed in Marshall was not in naming persons or groups as being

influential but in indicating a relatively ineffective leadership insofar as growth and progress are concerned between about 1940 and 1960. Eight of the interviewees indicated a general lack of dynamic leadership, even apathy, in Marshall even before the decline of the railroad influence. Several gave Bryan Blalock credit for starting two new industries and noted that Blue Buckle Overalls established a plant in Marshall in the late 1940's (*). One interviewee indicated that some segments of the leadership opposed the Blue Buckle Plant (*). Another said that after the establishment of Blue Buckle, "the people and the leaders sat on their laurels" (*). This interviewee indicated there was a feeling among some of the leaders that the town was large enough as it was (*). The same interviewee stated that there was a general reluctance to get together and that there was no one strong leader. He said that this, coupled with a lack of wealth and a large Negro population, made economic growth difficult (*). One interviewee who lived in Marshall for only a part of the time covered by this study stated that when he came to Marshall in 1955, he felt the leadership was apathetic (*). Although the East Texas oil boom occurred in the 1930's and Marshall was not actually in the East Texas field, two interviewees indicated that Marshall remained aloof from the boom. One said, "some Marshall leaders wanted no part of the oil boom," and the other said,

"Marshall turned its back on the oil boom" (*). Still another interviewee said, particularly of the 1950's, "Marshall sat on dead-center" (*).

Yet, despite these indications of a lack of dynamic leadership, the interviewees who provided them gave examples of leadership during the period. While it may not have been completely effective, there were some examples of success and progress. Most of the power structures that are the concern of this study either existed or came into being during this period. In fact, only two major power structures lie outside this period.

Even during the period of railroad dominance two persons were named as being influential. One of the two most-named persons, Bryan Blalock, named six times, exercised his influence prior to and in the early part of this period. His role in two industries, lignite and a milk producing plant, has already been mentioned. He was also mentioned several times as being active in the Chamber of Commerce (*). Another interviewee said that Blalock was a good public relations man, a good speaker, and a man who could motivate people (*). Bryan Blalock was one of seven brothers, two of whom were named once by the interviewees as being influential (*). A brief review of the history of Marshall indicates that the Blalock name has long been prominent in Marshall. Bryan's father, William M. Blalock, was active in restoring white

supremacy in the area after the Civil War and served three terms in the Texas Legislature.

Like Blalock, Cameron McElroy, Sr. was influential prior to and in the first part of the 1940 to 1960 period. However, he was named only twice, once as being politically influential and once as being a general community leader (*). One person who did not name Cameron McElroy, Sr. noted that he was the first person in the area to employ a Negro in an executive position and that he was active in the Chamber of Commerce at the time Atlas Chemical began operation in Marshall (*). However, his son, Cameron McElroy, Jr., was named six times, and thus, along with Blalock was one of the most-named persons. In order not to confuse the two, further references to McElroy will refer to Cameron McElroy, Jr.

McElroy is Chairman of the Board of Turnbull, Inc., an engineering firm located in Marshall. Those who named him generally indicated that McElroy was influential from the 1940's to the present (*). Four indicated that he was politically active and influential (*). Three interviewees stated that he was close to U. S. Representative Wright Patman (*), and one stated he was Patman's campaign manager (*). Another said he was a friend of Lyndon B. Johnson and Congressman Ray Roberts (*). This interviewee stated that McElroy had been very influential with the Federal

Administration in "getting things for Marshall" (*). Another indicated that he was active in and first president of the East Texas Development Council (*). This source further indicated that Federal funding through this organization has been an important factor in the growth and development of Marshall (*). McElroy was also named as being influential in the industrial development of Marshall and the area. Two interviewees gave him credit for Thiokol Chemical being located at the Longhorn Ordinance Plant (*).

Longhorn Ordinance is a government owned, contractor operated plant at Karnack, approximately fourteen miles from Marshall. It was opened in 1942 with the Monsanto Chemical Company as the contract operator. After the war it was closed except for a small operation by the Universal Match Company. In 1952 it was reopened with Thiokol Chemical as the contract operator and currently is Marshall's largest employer. One interviewee stated that Joe Crosby, Chairman of the Board of Thiokol, gives McElroy credit for Thiokol's being at Longhorn Ordinance (*). Another interviewee stated that McElroy worked with various people, including Thiokol itself, to have the facility reopened (*). McElroy was also named as being influential in Greater Marshall Industries, but his role in this respect will be discussed when data for that organization are presented (*).

Two interviewees formally named bankers as a group as being influential, particularly in the 1940's. Four other

interviewees who did not formally name them nevertheless discussed the role and influence of the bankers in Marshall (*). One of those who named bankers as a group indicated that what he termed the "old guard" bankers were influential from about 1940 to about 1950. Beginning in the early 1950's there were changes in the banks, and by the mid 1950's the influence of the "old guard" bankers had been greatly reduced, if not eliminated (*). This interviewee indicated that the "old guard" bankers did not actually oppose industrial development but rather that they were too busy fighting each other to support it (*). He also indicated that on one occasion they did unite, but this was at the expense of the community (*). Another interviewee also indicated factionalism in the banking area with one bank and one savings and loan association on each side of a two-party faction (*). Two other interviewees indicated that before 1950 the banks were under the control of old, conservatively oriented families (*). One of these went so far as to say the bankers did not want progress (*). Originally he made no distinction between the "old guard" bankers and those that followed, but in the course of his interview such a distinction did appear (*). One interviewee presented some insight into the changes that he and others said did occur. He indicated that Vivian Hackney, Chairman of the Board of the Marshall National Bank, became involved in

banking because of family connections and that this was the beginning of a change. This change progressed even further when Hackney brought in an outsider, William Gaw, as president of the bank (*). Gaw was named by several of the interviewees as being influential in the industrial development of Marshall (*). Similar changes occurred when Frank Green, an attorney, joined the First National Bank and later became its president (*). Green was also named as being influential in industrial development (*). This same interviewee indicated that the final turning point was reached when a new, third bank was established in 1965 (*). One of the bankers interviewed stated that, although at first he opposed the founding of a new bank, its founding turned out to be good for Marshall (*). Another interviewee indicated that bank factionalism ceased with the end of the influence of the "old guard" bankers; following this, there was cooperation between the banks, particularly insofar as industrial development was concerned (*). One interviewee made no particular note of any changes in the banking field and said simply that Marshall had good bankers, attuned and responsive to the needs of the community (*).

Some of the interviewees who indicated that informal banking groups were influential also indicated the influence of formal organizations in the late 1940's and in the 1950's.

In chronological order the first is the Citizens' Advisory Council. This organization was named as being influential by five of the persons interviewed, although one of them was highly critical of it (*). Another interviewee indicated that it was definitely a factor of influence, although he did not originally name it (*). Founded in 1947, the Citizens' Advisory Council is sometimes referred to as the "do gooders" by both its friends and its enemies (*). While it is not a secret body, it works without publicity or fanfare (*). One interviewee was evidently not even aware of it and tended to confuse it with an old Citizens Party and a Citizens' Advisory Committee (*). The latter is an organization intended to promote biracial understanding (*). The Citizens' Advisory Council is composed of some thirty-odd businessmen (*). Membership is by invitation only and only after the Council has decided in advance to accept the person to whom an invitation is extended (*). According to both its charter and the interviewees concerned with it, the Council is non-political (*). According to one interviewee who is a leader in the organization, "its primary purpose is to interest people in city government and to select qualified people and induce them to run for city office, and it gives considerable attention to bringing in new, young people" (*). Another said, "the purpose of this organization is to review and select persons to run for public office and

then persuade them to run and support them when they do. Once they are elected, the council does not try to control them" (*). Several of the interviewees indicated that the Council takes a stand on bond issues and also said that a bond issue supported by the council had never been defeated (*). This interviewee also indicated that candidates selected by the Council are seldom defeated (*). Several of the interviewees carefully explained that the Council considered selecting and encouraging persons to run for city and school board offices was not political because these are non-paying jobs (*). Another stressed that the Council took no stand on paid political positions such as county offices (*).

As noted, one interviewee was highly critical of the Citizens' Advisory Council. He said it was "influential in preventing progress, in blocking public housing, and in maintaining the status quo in regard to the race question" (*). He also stated that it was self-appointed and did not represent the general populace, but primarily the white power structure, and that its influence was used to "keep the Negro in his place" (*).

There seems little question that it is self-appointed. One of the Council members interviewed used these same words to describe it (*). He also stated, however, that the tenor of the Council had changed since its original founding and

said that it had been influential in changing the attitude of people away from a conservative orientation (*). Other interviewees stated that it supported rather than opposed other organizations whose goals were the industrial development of Marshall (*). Actually there is some overlap in the membership of these latter organizations and the Council (*). One of the leaders in the Council was given credit for the success of an Urban Renewal project (*). To complicate matters further, two of the interviewees who supported the council seemed to be quite progressive insofar as both industrial development and race relations were concerned (*). Because a majority of those interviewed indicated that race and racial problems were an important factor in the economic life and growth of Marshall, this subject will be treated later as a separate topic. However, the comments of a Negro interviewee seem appropriate to the discussion of the Council at this time.

He stated that he was interested in running for a place on the school board and that several members of the Council indicated to him they felt the time had come to have a Negro on the school board. He said they indicated they would approach the Council concerning support for him and let him know the results, but he never heard from them again. As a result, he said that he did not run because his entry in the race would have precipitated more factionalism and that,

when he ran, he wanted to win, not simply create more factionalism (*).

In the mid 1950's another organization, one intended to facilitate industrial development in Marshall, came into being. This organization, the Marshall Industrial Foundation, was named six times as being influential. In addition, three other interviewees indicated its influence by naming individuals active in it and then relating their activities to the organization (*). Despite the number of times that it was named, there was a general indication that it was not particularly influential or effective until another complementary organization, Greater Marshall Industries, came into being in the early 1960's (*). Various people were named as being influential in or through the Marshall Industrial Foundation. However, because of the indications that the Industrial Foundation was not immediately effective and because the discussion of this organization is closely related to a discussion of Greater Marshall Industries, they are not named until the data concerning this latter organization is presented. With one exception all persons named more than once who have not previously been mentioned were named in relation to industrial development and either or both the Industrial Foundation and Greater Marshall Industries.

The one exception is J. P. Duncan. Although he was named only twice, various examples of his influence were

indicated. He is one of the leaders in the Citizens' Advisory Council (*). He was also named as being influential in the success of an Urban Renewal project; he was considered politically influential and sort of an "elder statesman" (*).

Greater Marshall Industries was named by seven interviewees, and several others indicated its influence by naming people associated with it instead of the organization itself (*). Most of the people who named the organization either directly or indirectly indicated that it marked a turning point in Marshall, particularly in industrial development (*).

One interviewee stated that in 1961 the Board of Directors of the Chamber of Commerce initiated the idea of an industrial committee designed for the express purpose of seeking new industry; Greater Marshall Industries was the end result (*). This interviewee said that Greater Marshall Industries, also referred to as G. M. I., was at least partly the brain-child of Ray A. McElvogue, manager of the Longhorn Division of Thiokol (*). Several others indicated essentially the same thing (*), and one noted that McElvogue did most of the leg work in getting G. M. I. started (*). Originally sixty local businessmen were invited to participate in the venture (*). Forty of these agreed to participate and financially to underwrite G. M. I.

on a three-year trial basis (*). G. M. I. was organized as a non-profit corporation with a chairman, vice-chairman, and twelve board members (*). The Chamber of Commerce felt that the Chamber Manager could not effectively serve in that capacity and also serve as the director or manager of G. M. I. (*). It was decided to hire a paid director who was an expert in industrial development and who also was an outsider. Sylvin R. Lange was hired in this capacity (*). One interviewee indicated that the G. M. I. board of directors represented a cohesive cross section of top leaders in finance, law, and business in the community (*). It was divided into specialized sub-groups that gathered extensive data and information in their own particular specialty (*). One interviewee said that the effectiveness of these sub-groups was indicated by the fact that they were able to anticipate questions that would be posed by new, prospective industries and that they had the necessary data and information before the questions were even asked (*).

G. M. I. did not replace or supplant the Industrial Foundation (*). Rather, G. M. I. became the promotional and selling arm and the Industrial Foundation the financial arm of a concentrated, cohesive drive for industrial development (*). The Industrial Foundation also made use of Federal funds available through the Area Redevelopment Act (*). In 1962-63 three new industries located in Marshall. They were

the Tank Line Corporation; Southwest Abrasives, a subsidiary of Mid West Abrasives; and Marshall Tile, a fully automated plant and a subsidiary of Monarch Tile (*). These plants resulted in 300 new jobs in approximately one year (*). Area Redevelopment funds were used in the tile operation (*). One interviewee stated that the effectiveness of G. M. I. and the Industrial Foundation was revealed when Area Redevelopment officials stated that the Marshall application for funds was one of the best that had been received at that time (*).

By 1968 three more major industries had located in Marshall, and a fourth was being built (*). They included:

- a. ALCOA, which began operations with approximately 400 employees and which may eventually employ over 1,000.
- b. EXOMET, a subsidiary of Air Products of California, manufacturing products used in the finishing of steel.
- c. WITCO Chemical, a subsidiary of Argus Chemical, manufacturing commercial peroxide.
- d. East Texas Fabricating Company, being built in 1968 and expected to employ approximately 400 people.

Several interviewees used the term "worked hand and glove together" in describing the relationship between G. M. I. and the Industrial Foundation (*). Initially, however, the role of the Citizens' Advisory Council was not as clear. Several interviewees indicated that it supported industrial development (*). One said, "The Citizens'

Advisory Council, the Marshall Industrial Foundation, and Greater Marshall Industries work together and complement each other. Each is very effective in its own area, and together they provide an effective instrument for the development of Marshall" (*). Other interviewees made no direct connection of the Council with the other two organizations (*). A reinterview of one of the persons concerned with industrial development indicated that the Citizens' Advisory Council is a separate and distinct entity from the other two organizations. This interviewee stated that, while he was active in the industrial development of Marshall, he had no formal relationship with the Council (*). However, there is some overlap in the membership of all of these organizations, and thus it seems logical that there may be an information relationship.

Various persons were named as being influential in the industrial development of Marshall, particularly in relation to the Industrial Foundation and G. M. I. Ray A. McElvogue has already been mentioned. He was named five times and was second only to Blalock and McElroy in the total number of times a person was named. In addition to being named as influential in industrial development and G. M. I., he was named as vice-chairman of that organization and as well as named as a city commissioner (*).

Cameron McElroy has already been mentioned also. Among other areas previously noted, he was named as being influential in industrial development and G. M. I. (*).

Although not initially listed more than three times, some persons were on an informal basis mentioned more than three times. Ernest Smith, Frank Green, and Carlos Cacioppo are in this category. Smith is an attorney, a former county judge, and president of the Industrial Foundation (*). Green is also an attorney, president of the First National Bank, and Chairman of G. M. I. (*). Cacioppo is president and co-owner of the Timberland Saw Company. He was president of the Chamber of Commerce when changes in industrial development began to occur and was influential in industrial development and G. M. I. (*). He was also named as being instrumental in the consolidation and integration of a Negro and white parochial school (*).

Two other persons were also named three times. Gerald Smith was an organizer in Smith Steel Castings, an industry that came into being in the 1950's, and Joe Hirsch is the manager of a department store (*).

The Chamber of Commerce was named twice as were Barton Hill, president of the Peoples Bank; William Gaw, president of the Marshall National Bank; Q. B. Carlisle, a C. P. A.; and W. M. Woody, publisher of the Marshall News Messenger. The Chamber of Commerce was named as instrumental in the

origination of G. M. I. and as one focal point for community action (*). Woody was named for the support that his paper afforded the industrial development of Marshall (*). The others were named as being influential in the industrial development of Marshall and G. M. I. (*).

As has been noted, some of the interviewees indicated that the 1960's marked a turning point in the course of Marshall (*). Yet many of the same people were named as influential both before and after this indicated turning point. It has also been noted that some interviewees indicated that a fusion of the Industrial Foundation and G. M. I. into an effective instrument of industrial development marked the turning point, but there still remains the question as to what caused the union.

Several interviewees indicated that the leadership came to realize that if Marshall were not to "wither away," something had to be done (*). In respect to Marshall in general, one interviewee earlier said that despite some long-range city planning, Marshall usually dealt with its problems on a crisis basis (*). He also stated that this approach had been effective (*).

Named about an equal number of times was a blending of the old leadership with the leadership offered by newcomers (*). In this respect one interviewee said, "there was an infusion of new blood in the power structure (*).

The old leadership that remained effective included persons like Cameron McElroy, Ernest Smith, and Frank Green (*). The new consisted of people like Ray McElvogue, William Gaw, Barton Hill, and Carlos Cacioppo (*). Cacioppo was always named as a part of the new element, although he has been in Marshall about twenty years (*).

One interviewee said that a change in the attitude of the Citizens' Advisory Council was instrumental in moving people away from a conservative orientation (*). Yet another seriously questioned the effectiveness of the Council as an instrument of progress (*). Deciding whether or not there was a change in the orientation of the power structure as well as speculation as to what caused it must wait until the data are analyzed and classified in a later chapter. However, the account of one interviewee does seem appropriate at this time:

Prior to 1960, Marshall had the same Chamber of Commerce manager for 20 to 25 years. In the early 1960's a new Chamber president, V. S. Morley, was elected, and he fired the manager. This turned out to be good for Marshall, but at the time it caused considerable dissension. The new president brought in Bob Idleman as manager. Idleman was very progressive, but he was also very young and not too tactful. He stirred things up, but at least Marshall began to move off dead center. After Morley's term things began to settle down again, but there was a growing realization among Marshall's leaders that Marshall would wither away unless something was done. Businessmen felt that something could be done through the Chamber of Commerce but that the Chamber president would have to be someone who did not have any strings attached to him by anyone. Carlos Cacioppo was selected as such a person and agreed to serve.

With the help of people like Ernest Smith and representatives of the power and gas companies, things began to get done. G. M. I. was formed and things began to go (*).

One other factor was mentioned by a majority of those interviewed in Marshall as having a bearing on the economic growth of the community, and indirectly it was indicated that this factor may have had some influence on the power structure. This factor, as stated by the interviewee, is a racial problem. Before discussing this it seems essential to mention one interviewee who was not named by any of the other interviewees although they did discuss him once the subject was broached. This interviewee, Franklin Jones, Sr., presented and documented one facet of the racial problem that was not earlier commented upon by any of the other persons interviewed.

Franklin Jones, an attorney, is Chairman both of the Cypress Valley Navigation District and of the county office of Economic Opportunity (*). He was usually described as a liberal, although he was described in other ways too (*). Even those who did not always agree with him gave him credit for being influential. One said, "he did a marvelous job in the Navigation District job" (*), while another said, "some of his ideas are refreshing (*). Nevertheless, his role was not mentioned except when specifically asked about.

Jones named the same persons and groups that were named by many of the other interviewees as the power structure (*).

However, he questioned that progress was being made, particularly on the racial problem, and questioned the effectiveness of the Citizens' Advisory Council as being an effective instrument of progress (*). The fact that he named essentially the same power structure as many of the others while at the same time he was critical of or opposed some of the elements he named would seem to be some indication as to the validity of the other power-structure information.

Ordinarily a racial problem as such would be beyond the scope of this study. However, ten of the persons interviewed stated that race had been a factor in the economic growth of the community (*). One additional interviewee who did not originally mention a racial problem nevertheless described such a problem when asked about it (*). There were also some indications that this problem may have had an effect on the power structures (*).

The interviewees usually defined the problem as involving a large Negro population that had not been able to make its proportionate contribution to the economic growth and well-being of the community (*). Various reasons were given for such a situation. One interviewee said that the customs of many of the Negroes and their low economic status were barriers to economic growth (*). Another stated that some Negroes were not productive in an economic sense and

that some, particularly the older Negroes, could not be trained to be productive (*). One said that, because of its plantation-oriented, agricultural economy, Marshall had a large Negro population. However, the economy had changed, leaving some Negroes with no opportunity to be productive (*). He noted that prior to World War II more than 100 tenant farmers lived on land owned by his family, while shortly after the war there were none (*). Still another interviewee indicated that the power structure had been responsible for the situation by attempting to maintain the old status quo (*); two others of a different race indicated essentially the same thing (*). Some said that two Negro colleges in Marshall compounded the problem, while others said that the colleges alleviated it (*). Bishop College has moved to Dallas, leaving only Wiley College in Marshall. One interviewee indicated that old customs had made the Negro dependent on the whites, particularly landholders, and that some Negroes did not want this situation to change (*). Another noted a patronage society in the past and said that, while there might be some Negroes who benefitted and did not want this situation to change, most did (*). He noted a growing militancy which he felt would grow worse unless there were change (*). This interviewee said that the leaders in Marshall recognized the existence of a racial problem but that they had not properly defined it or

been able to cope with it (*). Two other interviewees, both Negroes, indicated a middle ground between militancy and a patronage society (*). An in-depth probe of all the aspects of the racial question in Marshall is beyond the scope of this study. However, both the interviews and informal discussions with other persons in the community seem to indicate varied attitudes on the part of the Negroes (*).

The interviews of whites indicated conclusions similar to those of the Negroes. One interviewee told of the resignation of a community leader over the issue of admitting Negroes to an all white Chamber of Commerce (*). On the other hand, whites led in the consolidation and integration of a Negro and white parochial school (*). A Negro interviewee said essentially the same thing as a white interviewee who stated that Marshall had made some progress toward integration and solving its racial problem but that it still had a long way to go (*).

The interviewees indicated various solutions. One felt that the answer was in the continued out-migration of Negroes until a ratio similar to the national average was reached (*). Another, himself a part of the power structure, said that an attempt should be made to prevent out-migration by providing jobs in which Negroes could be productive (*). He cited industrial development and the jobs that had been created, but he was particularly concerned about higher level jobs

for Negroes and indicated one company in particular that employed Negro engineers (*).

Several mentioned that Marshall had long had a biracial committee but that it was no longer particularly effective (*). One indicated that the committee had been used as a white listening post to keep informed of the Negro community (*). However, most of those indicating that the committee was ineffective stated that it was so because of a lack of agreement as to who should represent the Negro community (*). One interviewee noted the formation of a new human relations committee that he hoped would be more effective because the Negro community could then choose whom it pleased to represent them (*).

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4. Interview with Vivan Hackney, Chairman of the Board of Directors Marshall National Bank, former Superintendent of Schools in Marshall, August 18, 1969.
5. Interview with Robert J. Hall, owner and manager of a nursing home, Negro leader, May 26, 1970.
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7. Interview with Karl J. Keller, Manager of Marshall Chamber of Commerce, March, 1960 to September, 1968, August 4, 1969.
8. Interview with Camelia Koford, Librarian and Director of Research, East Texas Chamber of Commerce, August, 4, 1969.
9. Interview with Max Lale, Plant Relations Director, Longhorn Division, Thiokol Corporation, former city councilman in Marshall 1961-1963 and former newspaper man in Marshall, May 19, 1970.
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11. Interview with Chesney Martin, businessman, August 19, 1969.
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14. Interview with Sidney Spain, Pastor First Christian Church of Marshall, 1955-1964, August 11, 1969.

CHAPTER V

POWER STRUCTURES AND ECONOMIC GROWTH

In Chapter V the information presented in Chapter III and IV is analyzed according to the classifications established in Chapter I. A summary of the economic data necessary to test the hypothesis is presented, the hypothesis is then tested by comparing economic growth with the power structures, and conclusions from this comparison are presented.

Longview Power Structures

Two consecutive, similar power structures appear evident in Longview, although their orientation is different from those in Kilgore. There may be some question as to when the first actually began and a possibility that a third structure existed in the early part of the period covered by this study. However, most of the interview information indicates that the power structure in which Carl Estes was the leading figure was at least in existence at the beginning of the period, even if it had not reached full development, and it continued from this time until the death of Estes in 1967.

Carl Estes was clearly the leading figure in this structure. He was named as such more than any other person or group, and more examples were given of his leadership. However, there is serious question as to whether or not he dominated the other elements of the structure. These elements seem more clear-cut than in Kilgore and include a banking element represented by Clements and Loftis and a political element represented by both elected and appointed city officials. There seems to have been a coalition of these elements with each maintaining its own identity. There also appears to have been as great an overlap in roles as there was in Kilgore where single persons played dual roles in both business and politics. City officials appear to have been concerned with the extension and improvement of city facilities to make development possible, and other leaders did not seem to intrude directly into this area. This does not imply that Estes was not politically active, for the evidence indicates that he was. But he did not run for city office as was the case with Laird, Elder, Crim and Bean in Kilgore.

There may be some question as to whether or not the various elements of the power structure were effective because Estes supported them or if Estes were effective because the various elements supported him. In all probability it was a little bit of both. At any rate, the power structure seems to have been a fairly cohesive body.

In the sense that leadership itself might be a motive, this power structure had integrative objectives and was strongly oriented toward economic growth by means of industrial development. It seems to have enjoyed a rather broad-based support. However, there appears to have been some who, while not critical of Estes' goals and what the structure accomplished in the community, were critical of some of his methods. He clearly seems to have been a colorful and even flamboyant figure. It is beyond the scope of this paper to pass judgment on Estes's methods, but it is sufficient to note that he was an effective leader. It would have seemed surprising had there not been some persons critical of anyone as dynamic as Estes appears to have been.

Before the death of Estes, another person, Robert Cargill, began to exhibit influence, particularly in the area of industrial development. While there were some indications that he was not originally an integral part of the existing structure, his influence seems to have been compatible with and complementary to it. Their goals appear to have been basically the same, and there is some evidence of mutual support. After Estes' death Cargill seems to have assumed the role of leading figure in the existing structure.

The basic orientation of the structure appears to have remained unchanged, although there are indications of changes in its personality. There seems to have been a move toward a more formalized team effort and less emphasis on the role of any one man. Some of the elements of influence used by Estes do not seem to have been used after his death. There was only one Carl Estes, and he could not be replaced. But while he may differ from Estes in both personality and methods, Robert Cargill is himself a dynamic personality.

In summary, the following classifications are made of the power structures in Longview:

Power Structures: Two similar, consecutive, well-defined power structures exercising considerable and consistent influence.

Power Structure Objectives: Integrative objectives, strongly oriented toward economic growth by means of industrial development.

Bases of Power: Both the general support of the community and interlocking support of the various elements of the structure.

Time periods: The first existing from about 1940 until about 1967 and the second from this time until the present.

Kilgore Power Structures

Two similar, consecutive power structures appear evident in Kilgore. The first was in existence at the beginning of the time period covered by this study and lasted from then until the death of Roy H. Laird in 1950. While Laird was undoubtedly the most influential person in the first time period, he does not appear to have dominated the structure completely. Rather, there appears to have been a coalition of business and political interests with Laird as the most prominent and leading figure. There was sometimes no clear-cut distinction between business and political elements as Laird and others were often at one and the same time both business and political leaders in the city. The city government seems to have been one instrument for achieving power structure goals just as to a lesser extent the Chamber of Commerce was.

Power-structure goals themselves do not seem to have been oriented toward economic growth or industrial development. Rather, they appear to have been more concerned with improving the facilities of Kilgore as a city and a place to live. Laird's original goal seemingly was to transform Kilgore from a shanty oil town into a permanent, modern small city. In one respect these goals might be considered a series of relatively short-range goals. This power structure seems to have enjoyed general business and

public support, although there was some wealth that did not support its goals. However, members of the power structure itself appear to have possessed considerable oil wealth. If the acquisition of wealth alone is considered as the major difference between altruistic and integrative leadership, then some of the actions of the power structure must be considered as altruistic. Although if personal satisfaction, a desire to lead, and perhaps even a desire for power are considered motives, then the leadership would have to be classified as integrative.

After the death of Roy H. Laird in 1950 no one person appears to have succeeded him as clearly the single most influential person in the structure. But neither does there appear to have been a vacuum in the leadership. Members of the original structure seem basically to have continued the same leadership patterns. With a few minor exceptions the second power structure might simply be considered an extension of the first, but without Roy H. Laird. The power structure may not have been as dynamic as it was before his death, but it continued to function in much the same manner. There are some indications that the leadership became more of a team affair and that the Chamber of Commerce became more of a point of coalescence of the leadership.

From an initial review of the information provided by the interviewees, there is some temptation to conclude that the second power structure was oriented toward industrial development but that the obstacles were too great to be overcome. Certainly there seemed to have been some attempt at industrial development, and certainly the obstacles were formidable, but several factors warn against drawing such a conclusion.

First, while the obstacles to industrial development in the various communities were not the same and Kilgore might have been at the greatest disadvantage, nevertheless the other communities also faced obstacles, some similar to those in Kilgore, and this did not prevent industrial development. It might be interesting to speculate what the situation would have been in Kilgore had persons such as Carl Estes and Verne Clements been leaders there.

Second, by the end of the period some of the leaders that seemed most inclined toward industrial development were no longer influential. Scott E. Lucas and J. J. Jenkins both died in 1956, and William R. Yazell was semi-retired because of health.

Finally, some of those who originally seemed interested in industrial development, even before the death of Laird, seemed to be more concerned by the latter part of the period with the general improvement of Kilgore rather than with its

industrial development. It seemed almost as if the general improvement of Kilgore were being used to compensate for a lack of industrial development. At any rate, the following conclusions are drawn concerning the power structures in Kilgore:

Power Structure: Two similar, consecutive, well-defined power structures that exercised influence with reasonable consistency.

Power Structure Objectives: Integrative objectives, oriented toward the general improvement of Kilgore but not particularly oriented toward economic growth. Goals might be considered as a succession of short range goals.

Bases of Power: Broad business, political and general citizens' support. Oil wealth does appear to have been a factor or base of influence.

Time Periods: The total time period of the first structure being from about 1933 to 1950 and the second from about 1950 to the present.

Marshall Power Structures

Three dissimilar, consecutive, and perhaps overlapping power structures appear discernible in Marshall. The first was in existence at the beginning of the time period covered by this study, although its influence was on the wane at that time, and by the middle or late 1940's it was no longer an

influence of consequence. However, for many years before this time it appears to have been the single most-influential structure in Marshall. Its demise as a factor of influence seems to have resulted primarily from the relocation of its facilities and a decline of its economic power in the community. This power structure appeared to have been designed to serve its own interests, and its base of influence seems to have been its economic power.

From the late 1940's to the early 1960's there does not appear to have been any single, cohesive power structure. Instead there appears to have been a varied collection of persons and groups each exercising some influence in a particular area at a particular time. While there were various leaders, there does not appear to have been any one leader strong enough to weld all the factions into a cohesive unit.

Members of the Blalock family, particularly Bryan Blalock, had some influence even during the days of railroad dominance and in the first part of this period. The same is true of the McElroy family, although the influence of Cameron McElroy, Jr. seems to have extended throughout the period. Families controlling the banks also were a factor of influence, although there are indications of factionalism in the banking community. The influence of the banking element seems to have extended throughout the entire

period, even though there appears to have been a change in both the composition and orientation of this group in the mid 1950's with the more conservative elements giving way to more progressive ones.

As a formal group, the Citizens' Advisory Council seems to have been influential throughout the period, but its influence was limited to certain areas. There are conflicting indications as to a change in the Council's orientation, particularly in relation to the racial question. However, at least the beginning of a change in its orientation does seem discernible.

Another organization, the Marshall Industrial Foundation, began attempting to exercise influence in the area of industrial development in the late 1950's, but its attempts do not appear to have been particularly effective in this period. The influence of new persons in the community was also probably being felt in the latter part of the period. However, the full weight of this influence was not felt until the following period.

Just as there appears to have been no overall, cohesive power structure, neither does there appear to have been an overall objective. Leadership seems to range from self-serving to integrative with each element or sub-element pursuing its own, sometimes ill-defined, goals.

The bases of influence were also varied. Persons like Blalock and McElroy probably owed their influence to their own personalities and family positions in the community, as well as to some political influence. The influence of the banking element seems to have been based on its financial position. The Citizens Advisory Council was supported by certain businessmen and the Industrial Foundation by those interested in industrial development. If there is any one thread tying these elements together, it is a generally conservative bent, particularly in the early part of the period. However, there do appear to have been elements favoring change.

In the early 1960's there was a marked change in this power structure and in its actions, particularly insofar as industrial development was concerned. Greater Marshall Industries was formed and joined with the Industrial Foundation to form a cohesive instrument for industrial development. And these organizations included a seemingly cooperative banking element. Persons who are members of both the organizations devoted to industrial development and the Citizens' Advisory Council indicate that the Council supported these efforts. From a fragmented structure there appears to have sprung in a relatively short time a cohesive unit. The background for this change, however, may

not have been built as suddenly as the change itself seems to have been.

Two of the most common causes given for the change were a realization that something had to be done and an infusion of new blood into the power structure. However, in the previous period there were some who realized a need for change and for economic growth. The so-called new blood had been in the community well before the time of the change. It seems probable that factors of change had been building up for some time in the previous period and that they finally reached the point at which they dramatically tipped the scale in the other direction. It is difficult to determine the final incident that brought about the change. It may have been the firing of the old Chamber of Commerce Manager and the actions of the new one. But this is supposition.

It also seems evident that a particular type of labor force resulting from a large Negro population with limited economic opportunities has been a problem in Marshall. While no interviewee mentioned it specifically, the racial problem appears to be an element of division in the power structures. At the time the interviews were conducted it is evident that changes had occurred in the racial picture as compared with earlier periods. Nevertheless it was still possible to discern a variety of attitudes ranging

all the way from what might be termed conservative to liberal. There were also varied solutions offered for the problem. It is evident that, while some progress has been made, there has not been a cohesive breakthrough as there has been in the area of industrial development. However, this industrial development to some extent has alleviated the problem. Determining how much progress has actually been made depends on the point of view being heard.

Despite a seemingly cohesive instrument for industrial development in Marshall, no single clear-cut leader seems to have emerged. The comment of one interviewee to the effect that Marshall has many capable people but no outstanding leaders seems appropriate and true.

To summarize, the power structures of Marshall are classified as follows:

Power Structures: There are three dissimilar structures. The first was a well-defined structure that consistently exercised influence. The second does not seem to fit any of the categories set up in Chapter I. It would be best described as a collection of well-defined groups, each exercising influence in particular areas and not combining to form a unified and cohesive structure. The third is a well-defined structure consistently exercising influence.

Power structure Objectives: The objective of the first group would have to be classified as seeking to advance its

own interests. The second must be classified according to the objectives of the various elements of the structure, and these range from seeking to advance their own interests to integrative. Despite the seemingly static nature of the overall structure, it did contain some elements oriented toward change and progress. The third structure was integrative and oriented toward economic growth by way of industrial development. It seems interesting to note that the motivation of Ray McElvogue of Thiokol was often listed as altruistic and that some of the interviewees seem to have difficulty understanding why the manager of a plant operated by a corporation such as Thiokol should be concerned with the welfare and the economic development of the community. One answer was provided by a representative of the company. Thiokol takes its social responsibilities to the community seriously and does not particularly enjoy being in a position of vital economic importance to the welfare of the community.

Power Structure Bases: The base of influence of the first structure was its economic power. Each element of the second had its own particular base as previously described. The third was supported by the business and financial factions of Marshall.

Time Periods: The first was from 1880 to mid 1940. The second was from this time until the early 1960's, and the third was from this time until the present.

Economic Summary

Before the hypothesis can be tested, some indication of economic growth must be provided. Table II gives a summary of such growth. A discussion of economic changes is presented as the hypothesis is tested. A detailed documentation of economic growth is shown in Appendices A through S. In these appendices the economic measurements established in Chapter I are shown in both table and chart form. With the exception of unemployment which is shown as a percentage of the labor force, the charts are plotted on a semilogarithmic scale to facilitate comparison of the data. On these charts the same vertical distances anywhere on the chart show the same percentage of change regardless of the absolute amount of change. However, before proceeding to test the hypothesis, several comments concerning the economic data are in order.

The data pertaining to population, effective buying income, per capita buying income, and retail sales are estimates published in Sales Management. While they represent the best year to year continuously comparable data, they are nevertheless estimates and should be considered as such rather than as precise measurements. Correspondence with the Population Research Center of the University of Texas confirms that, other than census data

TABLE II
SUMMARY OF ECONOMIC DATA

Area	1948	1952	1956	1960	1964	1968
Population (000 s)						
Longview	28.8	26.6	36.9	41.1	45.2	51.9
Kilgore	13.2	10.1	10.6	10.1	10.0	...
Marshall	26.5	32.1	27.3	24.0	24.2	26.8
Income (000 s)						
Longview	\$40,493	\$38,812	\$60,375	\$69,235	\$94,431	\$150,456
Kingore	18,912	17,523	20,442	20,858	23,454	...
Marshall	28,360	27,030	32,425	35,817	46,550	72,666
Per Capita Income						\$
Longview	\$1,436	\$1,459	\$1,636	\$1,685	\$2,089	....
Kilgore	1,433	1,735	1,928	2,065	2,355	....
Marshall	1,091	1,170	1,261	1,491	1,717	....
Retail Sales (000 s)						
Longview	\$27,972	\$47,554	\$51,116	\$65,270	\$77,308	\$132,467
Kilgore	23,430	26,304	26,398	23,959	23,329	...
Marshall	23,327	29,529	31,100	33,240	38,512	72,666
Unemployment						
Gregg County	....	4.4%	3.7%	3.6%	4.3%	2.3%
Harrison County	....	4.5	4.7	4.9	4.8	2.6
Postal Receipts						
Longview	....	\$307,686	\$396,671	\$586,357	\$813,139	\$1,125,452
Kilgore	....	131,378	151,226	182,880	208,789	264,390
Marshall	\$153,882	202,342	204,036	319,602	386,386	520,120

Source: Appendices A C E G I and L.

every ten years, there is no completely reliable year-to-year measurement of population of the communities studied during the time period of the study. It is quite probable that the decline in population shown in some of the data in census years results from a correction of estimates rather than an actual decline in population. As a population factor is included in some of the other estimates, such corrections may affect them too. It would seem that the farther removed the data are from a census year the more imprecise the figures are likely to be.

In some cases data are not shown for the entire period. In other cases data are presented for the counties and not the cities or for the cities and not the counties. In such cases reliable, continuously comparable data are simply not available. For example, both correspondence and personal conversations with representatives of the Texas Employment Commission confirm that employment and unemployment data are available only for counties and that such data prior to 1950 are not available except in census years. Despite these limitations the economic data as a whole seem to provide a reasonably valid picture of the economic growth of the communities concerned.

Testing the Hypothesis

If the hypothesis of this study is valid, the power structure as just classified should provide some indication

of the economic growth that did occur in each area. Because of a possible lagged effect of leadership, the influence of other factors, and the difficulty in calculating the quality of leadership, precise predictions seem unlikely. However, if the hypothesis is valid, it should be possible to infer general growth trends. To test the hypothesis, actual growth as measured by each economic indicator is compared with the growth that would seem to be indicated in each area from the power-structure classifications. In addition, the conclusions that might be inferred from inter-area comparisons are compared with each economic indicator. Each comparison is classified according to whether or not it supports the hypothesis, favors the hypothesis, is of questionable support (that is, does not either confirm or deny), or tends to deny or disprove the hypothesis. In addition to the following narrative presentation, these comparisons and classifications are shown in tabular form in Table III on the following page.

Longview with two similar, consecutive power structures both strongly oriented toward growth should show a single, progressive trend. Kilgore, also with two similar, consecutive power structures, should show a single trend for the entire period, but the rate of growth should be less than that of Longview. A single trend indicating no growth or even regression would also seem to support the hypothesis.

TABLE III
DATA SUPPORT OF HYPOTHESIS

Area	Population	Total Income	Per Capita Income	Retail Sales	Employment	Unemployment Rate	Postal Receipts	Bank Debits	Bank Deposits	Building Payments
Overall Gregg County	Sup	Sup	Fav	Sup	Sup	Ques	Sup	Sup	Sup	Sup
Longview	Sup	Sup	Sup	Sup	...	Ques	...	...	...	...
Kilgore Harrison County	Sup	Disp	Disp	Sup	...	...	Sup	Sup	Ques	Sup
Marshall	Sup	Sup	Fav	Sup	Sup	Ques	...	...	...	...
							Fav	Sup	Sup	Fav

Sup--Data supports hypothesis.
 Fav--Data favors hypothesis.
 Ques--Data is questionable support.
 Disp--Data contrary to hypothesis.

As Kilgore and Longview provide the major power structures of the county and as Longview should exhibit a greater growth rate than Kilgore, the Gregg County rate should lie between the Longview and Kilgore rates, probably closer to the Longview rate.

Neither of the power structures in Marshall before the early 1960's could be classified as being conducive to growth. The industrial foundation that came into being in the mid-1950's was ostensibly oriented in that direction, but in reality it exercised little influence at this time. It was not until the early 1960's that a third structure, strongly oriented toward growth and exercising an influence on the existing structures, began to exert an influence. Consequently, faster rates of change would be anticipated in the latter years of the period. As Marshall seems central to the county, it would be expected that the county rates would be similar to but perhaps lag behind the rates in Marshall.

Regardless of the actual growth rates in each of the separate areas, inter-area comparisons should indicate a faster rate of change in Longview than in Kilgore or than in Marshall prior to the early 1960's. From the early 1960's the growth rate in Marshall should have been faster than in Kilgore and perhaps more akin to the Longview rate.

Population

The population of Longview did increase substantially as a general trend. This rate of increase was greater than that of any of the other areas. The rate of increase in Kilgore was much smaller with only a small, absolute amount of change. Gregg County as a whole increased but at a slightly lesser rate than Longview did. Over the entire period Harrison County actually had a decline in population. Despite this, Marshall posted a slight overall gain with the greatest rates of increase occurring in the last two years of the period. There were noticeable rises, sharpest in Longview and Kilgore, immediately before the 1950 and 1960 census years. If an allowance is made for possible over-estimations that were corrected by the census, growth rates become considerably more stable.

In summary, population trends in all areas and the inter area comparison seem to support the hypothesis.

Total Effective Buying Income

The effective buying income for all areas showed a sharp increase from 1946 to 1948. After 1948 there was a general upward trend in Longview as might be expected. However, while displaying a more erratic movement, Kilgore had approximately the same overall rate as Longview. During the first part of the period both Marshall and Harrison

County showed a lesser rate than Longview or Kilgore. But both showed upturns in 1961 with rates comparable to those in Longview from 1964 to 1968. With the exception of Kilgore all income data and the inter-area comparison support the hypothesis. Income data for Kilgore are not available from 1965 to 1968. However, the available data and a projected trend based on this data tend to deny or disprove the hypothesis. It would be expected that the Kilgore rate would be less than the Longview rate whereas it is approximately the same.

Per Capita Income

Again with per capita income Longview experienced an upward trend, but again Kilgore displayed approximately the same upward rate. Perhaps of equal significance is the fact that from 1951 to the end of the period, per capita income as an absolute amount was higher in Kilgore than in Longview. It seems evident that one of these areas is not behaving as might be expected. A comparison with Marshall and Harrison County seems to indicate that this is Kilgore. The total rates of increase in Marshall and Harrison County are somewhat similar to those in Longview, but the most rapid growth in Marshall and in Harrison County came in the latter part of the period. While this would seem to support the hypothesis, the actual increases in the last period are

classified only as favoring the hypothesis insofar as Marshall and Harrison County are concerned. With the exception of Kilgore, other data seem to indicate support. However, the data concerning Kilgore tend to deny or disprove the hypothesis.

It is possible to speculate why both total and per capita income data of Kilgore tend to disprove the hypothesis. The contention of some of the persons interviewed in Kilgore (*) to the effect that the oil industry is relatively high paying is a possibility. This might indicate that types of industry are a factor in economic growth. But whatever the underlying cause, the income data of Kilgore does tend to deny the hypothesis.

Total Retail Sales

Total retail sales in Longview showed a fairly rapid increase between 1944 and 1950. After 1950 the growth trend continued at a slower rate until 1958. Then it began to increase more rapidly. Data for Kilgore are available only since 1946. During the first two years there was a rapid increase followed by a lesser rate of increase until 1955. From 1956 to 1964 there was a downward trend of approximately the same magnitude as the 1948 to 1955 increase. While Kilgore posted a slight increase for the overall period, it was largely accounted for by the rather sharp 1946 to 1948

spurt. Gregg County exhibited a pattern similar to that in Longview except that the rate of increase was not as great. Marshall and Harrison County showed a marked increase until 1951. From then until 1962 there was only a slight upward trend. But beginning in 1963 that rate of increase began to grow markedly and was quite similar to the Longview and Gregg County rates of increase. It seems quite possible that the sharp increase in most areas at the beginning of the period could be at least partly attributed to the general increase in consumer activity following the end of World War II and a return to civilian production. Even with this inconsistency at the beginning of the period, the data of all areas and the inter-area comparison appear to support the hypothesis.

Employment

Employment and unemployment data are available only for counties and only since 1950. During the 1950 to 1968 period employment in Gregg County climbed slowly but steadily. The most noticeable increase occurred between 1954 and 1955, but it was not a very marked increase. Employment in Harrison County showed a slight decrease from 1950 to 1952, a slight increase from 1952 to 1953, and then a slow, steady downward trend until 1965. From 1965 to 1966 there was a slight upturn followed by a more rapid upturn from then until the end of the period. All of the employment data seem to support the hypothesis.

Unemployment Rate

The unemployment rate in Gregg County was erratic with markedly high peaks in 1955, 1958-59, and 1963. From the 1963 peak of 5.8 per cent the rate declined steadily to 2.3 per cent in 1968. Harrison County had high peaks of unemployment in 1958 and 1961 with lesser peaks in 1954 and 1965. All of these peaks were less than comparable peaks in Gregg County. While the rate was also erratic in Harrison County, it was much less extreme than in Gregg County. It is difficult to classify the unemployment rate data. The greater rate decrease in Harrison County from 1965 to 1968 would seem either to favor or to support the hypothesis, but it is the only element in the data that does. Consequently, all data are classified as questionable.

Postal Receipts

Data pertaining to postal receipts, bank debits, bank deposits, and building permits are available only for cities and not available at all during the early part of the period. In addition, there are some gaps in the data. However, based on available data, postal receipts in Longview showed a marked increase with a rather stable rate of change. The Kilgore rate was noticeably less rapid and more erratic. The Marshall rate was also erratic, but there was a general upturn in the latter part of the period. In general, postal receipts data

seem to support the hypothesis. However, because of the relatively late upturn in the Marshall data, Marshall is classified as only favoring the hypothesis.

Bank Debits

Again Longview showed the greatest rate of increase in bank debits. Little data are available for Kilgore, but such data that are available show a light overall decline for the 1952 to 1968 period. From a low point in 1963 there was a gradual upturn that barely failed to reach the 1954 level. Marshall, although experiencing several slight downturns, exhibited a general upward trend. This upward rate was greater after 1963. Bank debits data all generally support the hypothesis.

Bank Deposits

Longview did exhibit an increase in bank deposits, but it was not particularly strong. In general Kilgore displayed a slight downward trend, although there was a noticeable upturn from 1967 to 1968. Even though the pattern was erratic, Marshall showed no overall growth from 1948 to 1960 and only a slight overall growth from 1949 to 1960. However, 1960 marked the beginning of a steady increase which continued until 1964. From 1965 to 1968 there was an even greater rate of increase. The data of Marshall and Kilgore and their comparison appear to support the hypothesis. However, it would

be expected that Longview would have shown a greater rate of increase, especially in relation to Marshall for the period 1948 through 1963. Consequently, the Longview data are classified as questionable.

Building Permits

Building permits in all areas show a greater variance from year to year than do any of the other indicators. Despite this, certain trends are discernible. Even if the sharp peaks of 1958 and 1964 are discounted, Longview still displayed a sizeable upward trend. Kilgore, on the other hand, showed a declining trend. Marshall showed an upward trend largely because of the 1951 to 1953 and 1966 to 1968 increases. The trend between 1952 and 1966 did not reflect growth. All data except that of Marshall are seen as supporting the hypothesis. Marshall did experience a marked rate of increase in the last two years of the period. However, this occurred so late in the overall period as to warrant only a "favors" classification.

Remarks Concerning the Testing of the Hypothesis

Of the forty-six comparisons just discussed and shown in Table IV, thirty-five tend to support the hypothesis, five favor it, four are questionable, and two tend to disprove it. There is only one area of economic indicators where a majority of the classifications are either questionable or negative.

TABLE IV
TABULATION OF DATA SUPPORT OF HYPOTHESIS

Area	Supports	Favors	Questionable	Disprove
Gregg County	5	-	1	-
Longview	7	-	1	-
Kilgore	6	-	-	2
Harrison County	4	-	1	-
Marshall	5	3	-	-
Inter-area	8	2	1	-

Source: Table III.

All three comparisons of the unemployment rate are considered questionable. However, it seems significant that the total labor force in Harrison County actually declined from 1950 to 1967, although there was an increase from 1966 to 1967, and that over the entire period there was a total decline in population. It seems quite possible that without these declines the unemployment rate in Harrison County would have been greater and that perhaps a classification favorable to the hypothesis could have been made. It also seems significant that the lowest rate of unemployment in Harrison County, 2.6 per cent, occurred in 1968 when the total labor force was greatest, 18,600, and when a power structure strongly oriented toward growth appeared to be having its greatest impact.

In no geographic area were a majority of the economic comparisons unfavorable. The numbers of the various types of classifications for each area are shown in Table IV.

Conclusions

Even if an allowance is made for some subjective variance in the discovery and classification of the power structures and in testing the hypothesis, it is still possible to conclude that in the communities studied in the time period covered economic growth was greater in communities where there was a strong, cohesive power structure with an orientation toward the economic growth of the community as a whole. The data strongly support this conclusion. In addition to this conclusion concerning the validation of the hypothesis, several other conclusions seem warranted.

First, there is a relationship between the goals of the power structures and growth. Economic growth did not accompany the reasonably strong and cohesive power structures in Kilgore where the major orientation was other than growth, but it did accompany the strong and cohesive power structures in Longview with their orientation toward growth. The common element of growth orientation in all areas appears to be industrial development. There is nothing to indicate what the results would have been had another element of growth orientation been primary.

While there was a relationship between growth and leadership, other factors also appear to be related to growth. This seems indicated by the varying degree of support that the economic indicators provided for the hypothesis.

Finally, common bases of effective leadership structure seem to have been wealth or a control of wealth and a desire for leadership. In Kilgore leadership was largely due to the personal wealth of members of the power structure. In Longview Carl Estes had the support of banking interests. Robert Cargill also had the same support in addition to his personal wealth. In Marshall both banking and business wealth supported the effective power structure. But wealth or the control of wealth alone does not appear to be sufficient. This seems indicated by the wealthy in Kilgore who were not a part of the power structure and the Industrial Foundation in Marshall that had some support of wealth but was not particularly effective until complemented by the more dynamic Greater Marshall Industries.

It is tempting to conclude that, in general, power structures are factors in economic growth. This study appears to provide such an indication, and certainly persons concerned with community growth would seem to have reason to be concerned with community leadership. But a general conclusion that economic growth is always related to community leadership is not warranted for several reasons.

This study may not be a representative sample of all geographic and economic areas. Although it does point in particular directions, additional studies would seem necessary before drawing more general conclusions.

One of the conclusions of this study itself is the presence of other factors. Natural resources were certainly a factor in the development of Kilgore. These same natural resources also seem to have been a bar to industrial diversification and further development. It seems logical that there should be an interaction between leadership and other factors, but it is beyond the scope of this study to analyze all other possible factors and their relationships.

This study simply indicates a positive relationship between community power structures and economic growth in Gregg County and its major cities, Longview and Kilgore, and in Harrison County and its major city, Marshall, for the period 1944 through 1968.

APPENDIX A
POPULATION OF GREGG AND HARRISON COUNTIES
(THOUSANDS)

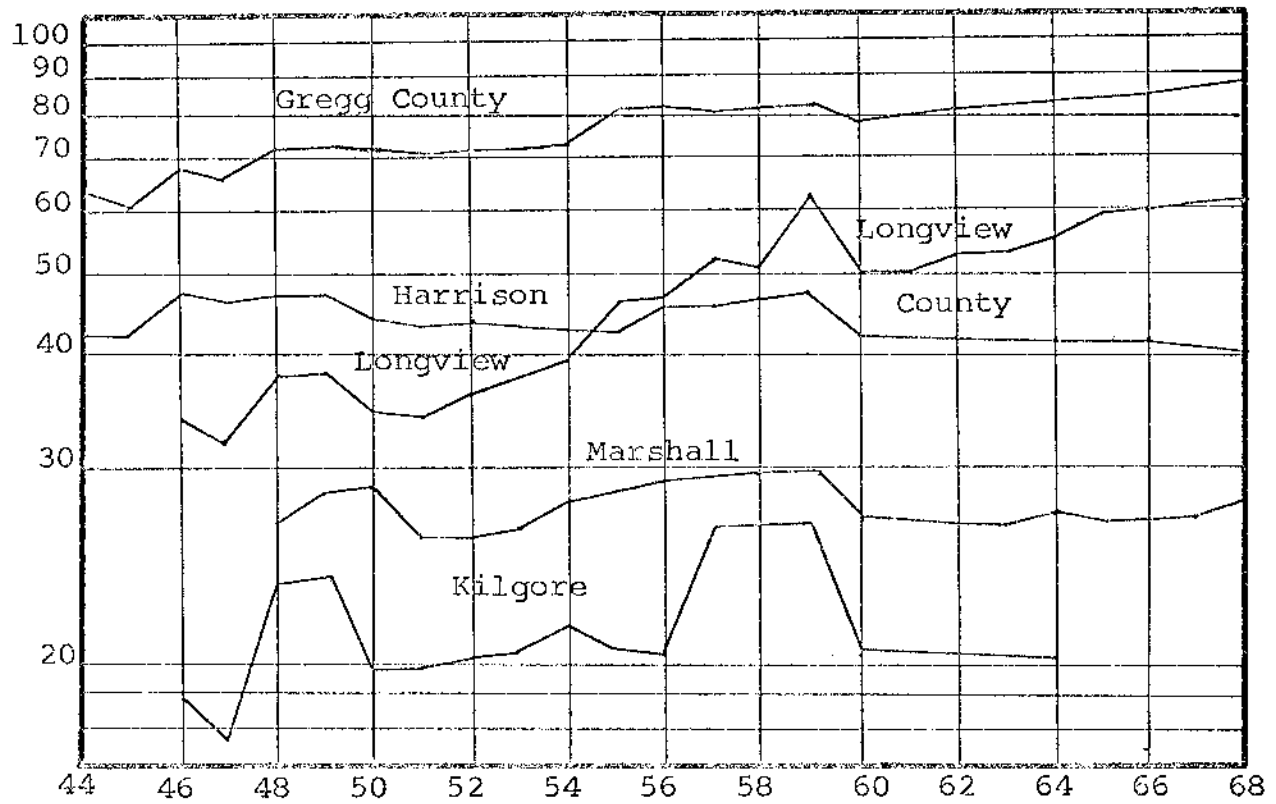
Year	Gregg County			Harrison County	
	Gregg County	Longview	Kilgore	Harrison County	Marshall
1968	78.3	51.9	....	43.1	26.8
1967	77.7	51.0	....	44.2	24.4
1966	76.4	50.0	....	44.4	23.6
1965	75.7	49.5	....	44.6	23.7
1964	75.4	45.2	10.0	45.4	24.2
1963	73.7	43.7	10.0	44.6	23.3
1962	73.0	43.2	10.0	44.8	23.4
1961	70.9	41.1	10.1	45.2	23.6
1960	70.1	41.1	10.1	45.4	24.0
1959	73.1	52.2	16.7	53.0	29.7
1958	73.0	41.2	16.6	52.1	28.4
1957	71.5	42.8	16.6	50.3	27.8
1956	73.6	36.9	10.6	50.2	27.3
1955	71.8	36.7	10.5	46.6	26.3
1954	64.2	29.5	11.5	46.8	25.5
1953	62.7	27.4	10.6	47.5	23.2
1952	63.0	26.6	10.1	48.1	23.1
1951	61.7	24.7	9.8	47.4	22.2
1950	62.0	24.8	9.9	48.4	22.5
1949	63.4	28.6	13.5	53.6	26.5
1948	62.4	28.8	13.2	52.8	26.0
1947	57.4	23.4	7.8	51.8	23.4
1946	59.5	24.3	9.0	53.6	....
1945	51.7	....	....	45.2	....
1944	51.7	....	....	45.2	....

Source: Sales Management, Survey of Buying Power.
1945 through 1969.

APPENDIX B

POPULATION OF GREGG AND HARRISON COUNTIES
(THOUSANDS)

Population



Source: Appendix A.

APPENDIX C

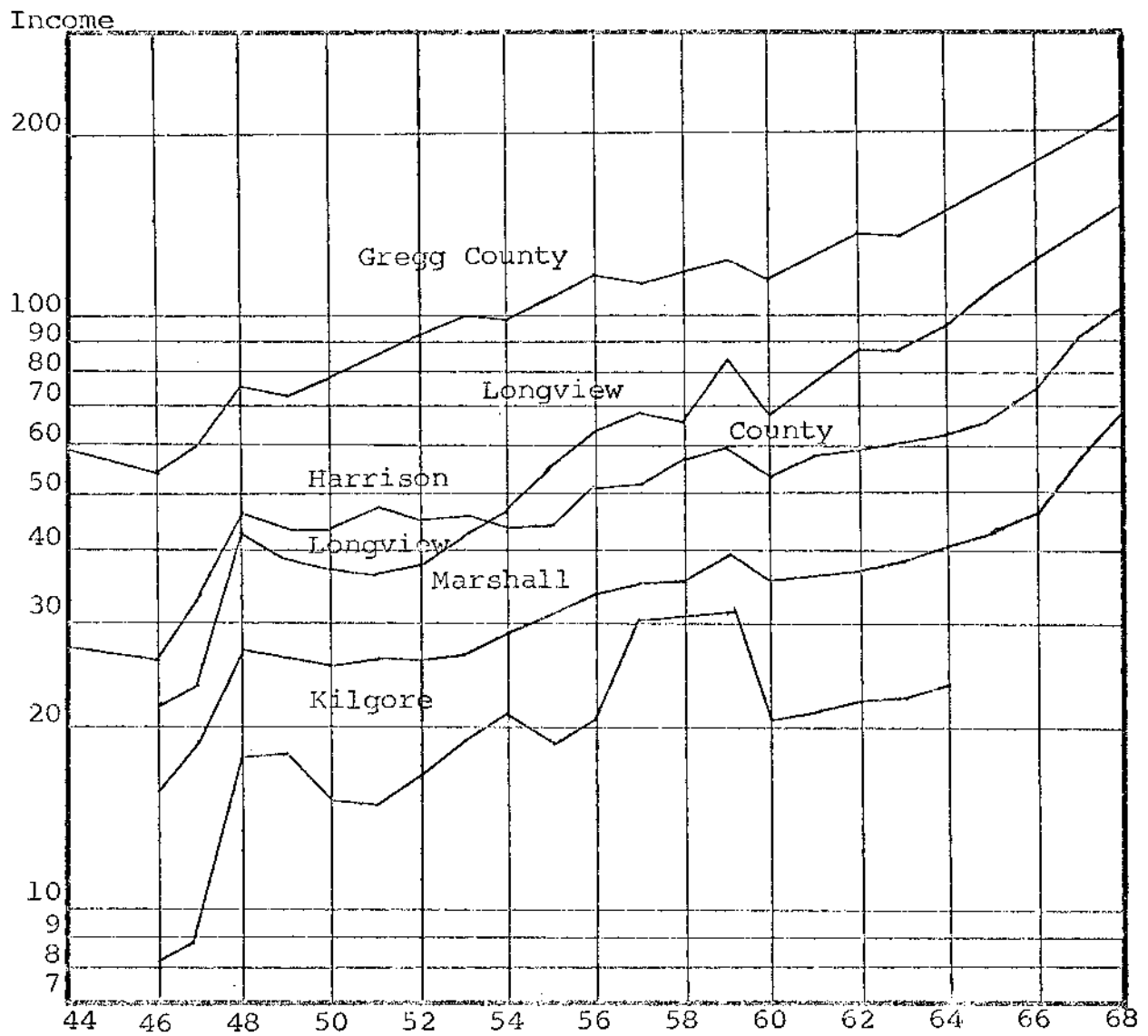
EFFECTIVE BUYING INCOME OF GREGG
AND HARRISON COUNTIES
(THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS)

Year	Gregg County			Harrison County	
	Gregg County	Longview	Kilgore	Harrison County	Marshall
1968	215,955	150,465	....	103,352	72,666
1967	192,098	132,361	....	93,150	59,494
1966	179,963	123,832	....	75,590	47,609
1965	162,546	110,697	....	69,008	43,429
1964	147,986	94,431	23,545	65,874	46,550
1963	137,635	86,935	22,474	61,363	38,103
1962	134,100	84,567	22,210	60,406	37,510
1961	126,129	77,862	21,702	59,099	36,687
1960	118,589	69,235	20,858	55,002	35,817
1959	124,655	83,482	31,648	50,800	39,851
1958	119,277	67,813	30,994	58,757	37,639
1957	113,933	69,045	30,356	53,068	35,948
1956	117,110	60,376	20,442	51,430	34,425
1955	109,294	57,455	19,372	45,622	31,686
1954	98,736	46,732	21,397	44,669	30,027
1953	98,827	42,388	19,504	37,032	27,608
1952	93,590	38,812	17,523	46,886	27,030
1951	85,051	37,051	15,219	48,523	27,635
1950	78,484	38,043	15,157	45,593	26,235
1949	72,360	39,062	18,400	44,963	27,499
1948	74,880	40,493	18,912	46,570	28,360
1947	60,403	23,799	9,000	33,611	19,509
1946	55,548	22,063	8,219	36,088	15,189
1945	58,430	....	....	27,444	....
1944	60,875	....	....	28,595	....

Source: Sales Management, Survey of Buying Power
1945 through 1969.

APPENDIX D

EFFECTIVE BUYING INCOME OF GREGG
AND HARRISON COUNTIES
(THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS)



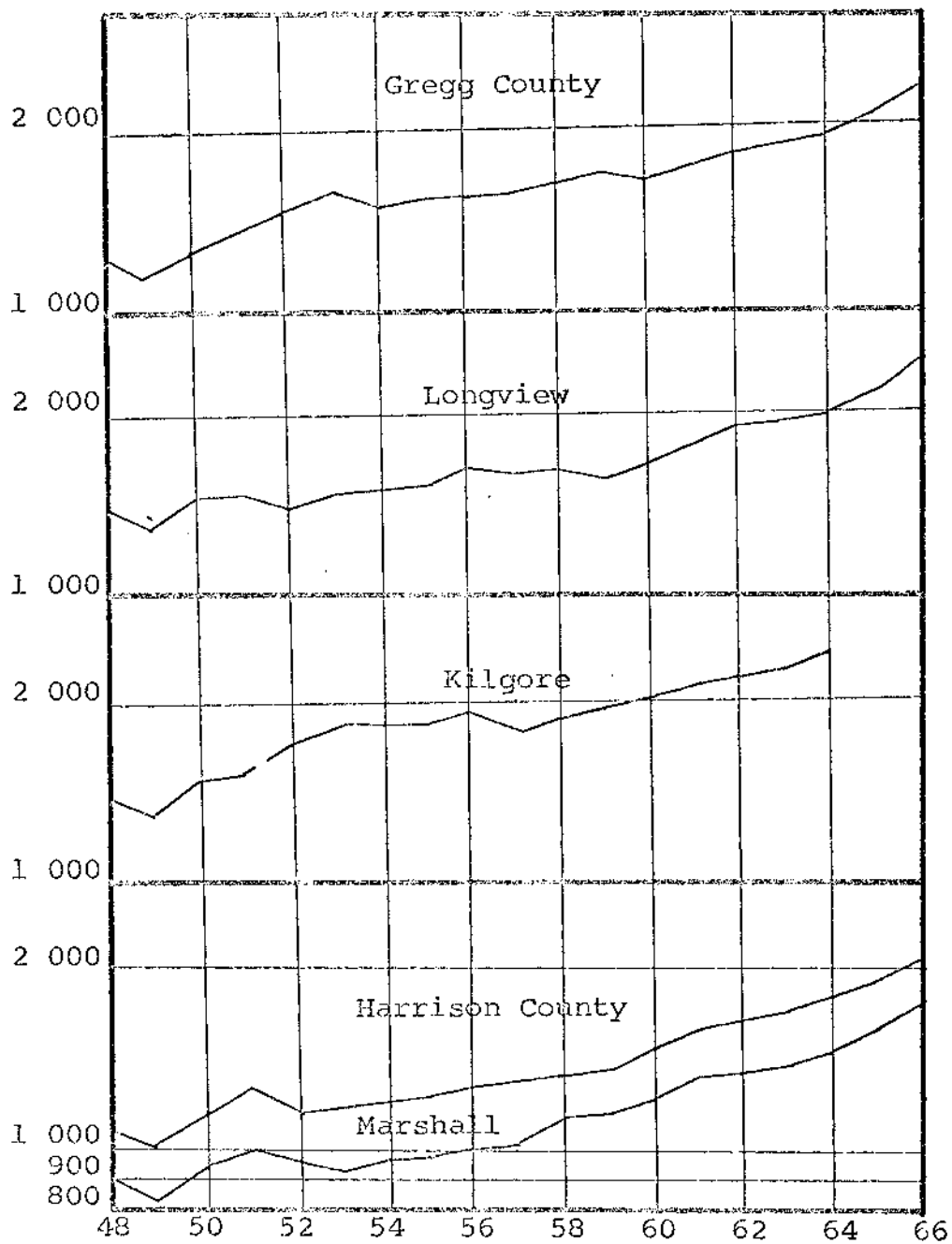
APPENDIX E
PER CAPITA BUYING INCOME OF GREGG
AND HARRISON COUNTIES

Year	Gregg County			Harrison County	
	Gregg County	Longview	Kilgore	Harrison County	Marshall
1966	\$2,356	\$2,377	....	\$1,702	\$2,017
1965	2,147	2,236	....	1,547	1,832
1964	1,963	2,089	\$2,355	1,451	1,717
1963	1,888	1,989	2,247	1,376	1,635
1962	1,836	1,958	2,221	1,348	1,603
1961	1,779	1,894	2,149	1,308	1,555
1960	1,692	1,685	2,065	1,121	1,492
1959	1,705	1,599	1,895	1,147	1,342
1958	1,634	1,646	1,867	1,128	1,325
1957	1,593	1,613	1,829	1,055	1,293
1956	1,591	1,636	1,928	1,025	1,261
1955	1,522	1,566	1,845	979	1,205
1954	1,538	1,584	1,861	954	1,178
1953	1,576	1,547	1,840	930	1,190
1952	1,486	1,459	1,735	973	1,170
1951	1,378	1,513	1,553	1,017	1,245
1950	1,282	1,534	1,531	942	1,166
1949	1,141	1,366	1,363	839	1,091
1948	1,200	1,436	1,433	882	1,091

Source: Sales Management, Survey of Buying Power
1949 through 1969.

APPENDIX F

PER CAPITA BUYING INCOME OF GREGG AND HARRISON COUNTIES
AND LONGVIEW AND MARSHALL



Source: Appendix E.

APPENDIX G

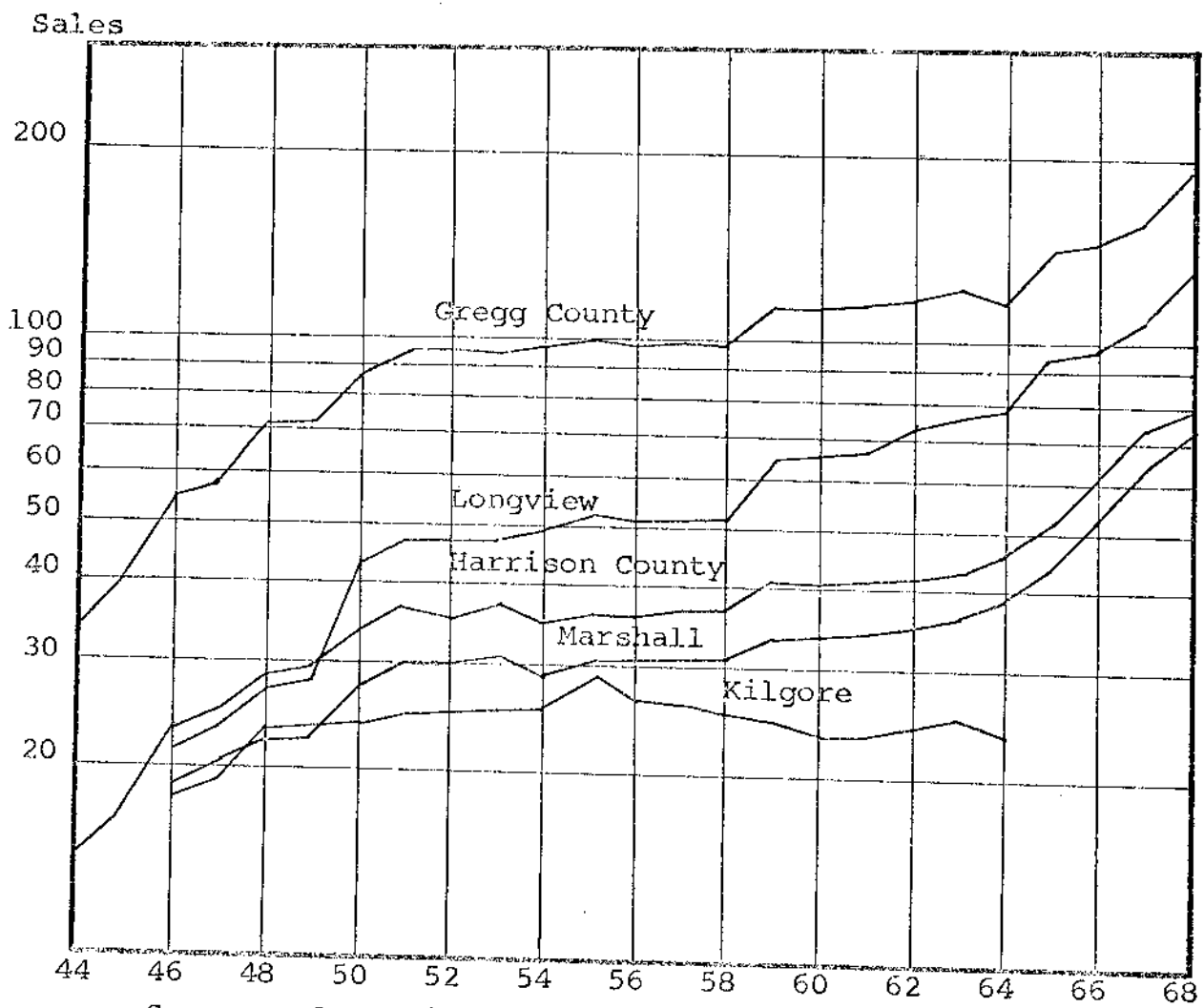
TOTAL RETAIL SALES OF GREGG
AND HARRISON COUNTIES
(THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS)

Year	Gregg County			Harrison County	
	Gregg County	Longview	Kilgore	Harrison County	Marshall
1968	191,021	132,467	....	77,037	72,666
1967	159,900	109,739	....	72,689	63,888
1966	145,916	98,682	....	58,198	50,884
1965	141,715	94,431	....	49,010	42,614
1964	117,822	77,308	23,329	44,588	38,512
1963	121,628	75,282	24,518	42,597	35,470
1962	117,500	71,620	24,180	41,803	34,698
1961	112,401	67,444	23,507	40,541	33,539
1960	111,210	65,270	23,959	40,297	33,240
1959	111,424	65,112	24,557	40,580	33,387
1958	97,319	51,524	25,007	36,600	31,112
1957	98,951	51,664	26,090	37,026	31,641
1956	98,372	51,226	26,398	36,245	31,100
1955	101,332	52,031	28,076	36,630	31,452
1954	98,859	49,427	26,550	35,151	28,894
1953	95,275	47,160	26,091	37,762	30,990
1952	96,052	47,554	26,304	35,953	29,529
1951	94,163	46,609	25,787	36,356	29,860
1950	87,873	43,496	24,065	33,928	27,865
1949	72,360	28,215	23,633	28,800	23,530
1948	72,044	27,972	23,430	28,552	23,327
1947	59,598	23,124	19,369	24,280	19,837
1946	55,773	21,650	18,110	22,889	18,700
1945	40,960	....	....	16,809	....
1944	35,042	....	....	14,381	....

Source: Sales Management, Survey of Buying Power
1945 through 1969.

APPENDIX H

TOTAL RETAIL SALES OF GREGG
AND HARRISON COUNTIES
(THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS)



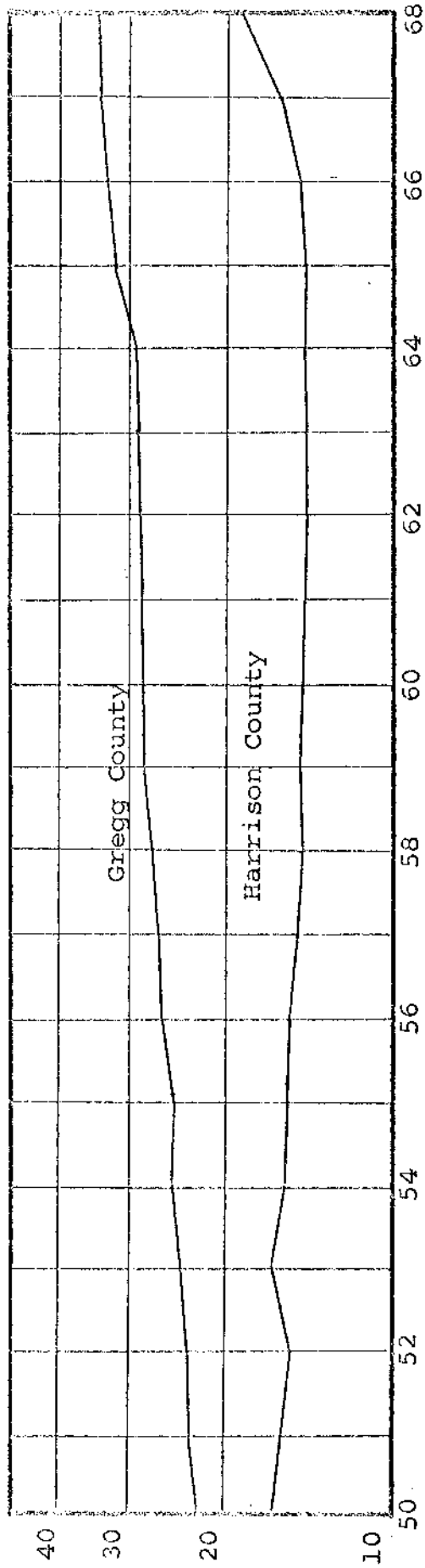
APPENDIX I

EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT OF GREGG
AND HARRISON COUNTIES

Year	Gregg County			Harrison County		
	Labor Force	Employed	Per Cent Unemployed	Labor Force	Employed	Per Cent Unemployed
1968	35,005	34,205	2.3	18,600	18,120	2.6
1967	34,755	33,855	2.6	16,600	16,100	3.0
1966	34,675	33,650	3.0	15,260	14,660	3.9
1965	33,050	31,900	3.5	14,975	14,225	5.0
1964	31,050	29,750	4.3	15,250	14,525	4.8
1963	31,090	29,290	5.8	15,075	14,275	5.3
1962	30,690	29,490	3.9	15,015	14,165	5.7
1961	30,250	29,025	4.0	15,130	14,230	5.9
1960	29,515	28,440	3.6	15,195	14,445	4.9
1959	30,300	28,750	6.1	15,600	14,750	5.4
1958	29,500	27,700	6.1	15,400	14,500	5.8
1957	27,700	26,700	3.6	15,400	14,575	5.4
1956	26,700	26,700	3.7	16,000	15,250	4.7
1955	26,400	24,925	5.6	16,700	15,925	4.6
1954	26,200	24,950	4.8	16,200	15,400	4.9
1953	25,400	24,325	4.2	17,000	16,250	4.4
1952	25,400	23,275	4.4	16,000	15,275	4.5
1951	24,400	23,275	4.6	16,500	15,800	4.2
1950	24,000	22,350	4.9	17,000	16,365	3.7
1940*	22,782	.....	11.1	19,276	.....	4.3

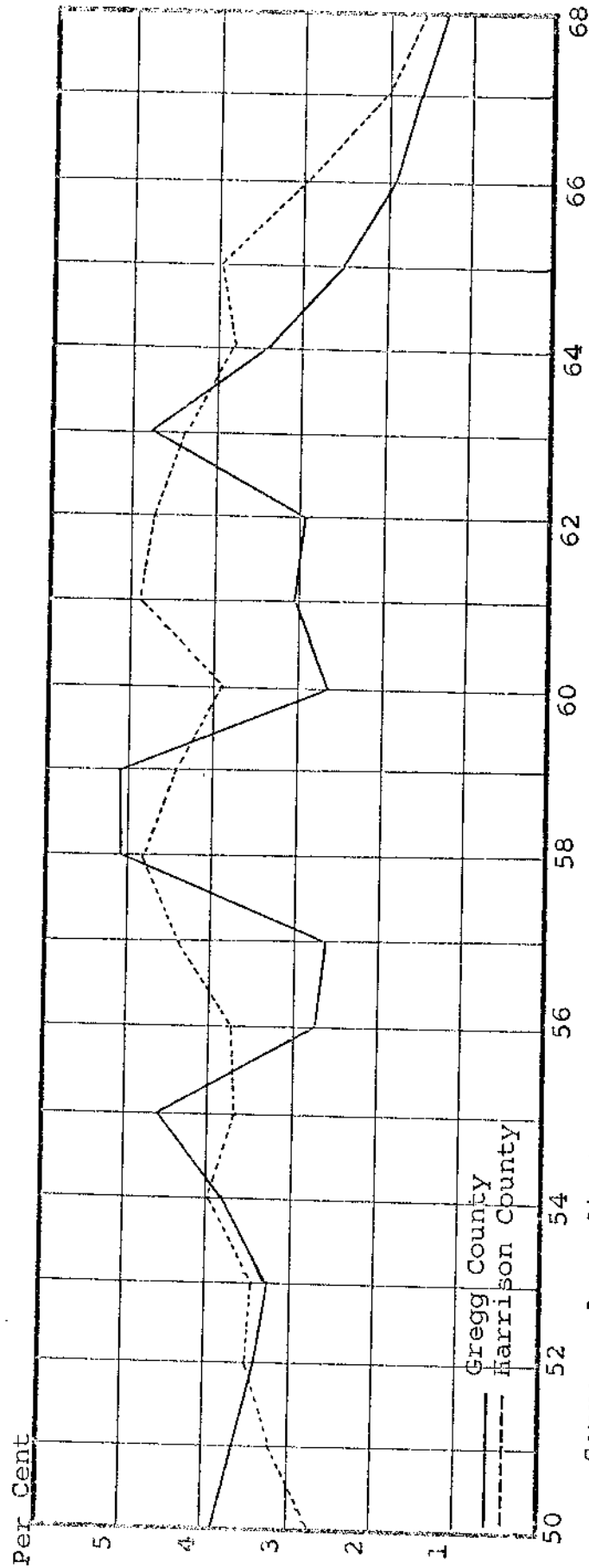
Source: Texas Employment Commission. 1940 figure is U. S. Census data furnished by TEC.

APPENDIX J
 LABOR FORCE OF GREGG AND HARRISON COUNTIES
 (THOUSANDS)



Source: Appendix I.

APPENDIX K
UNEMPLOYMENT OF GREGG AND HARRISON COUNTIES



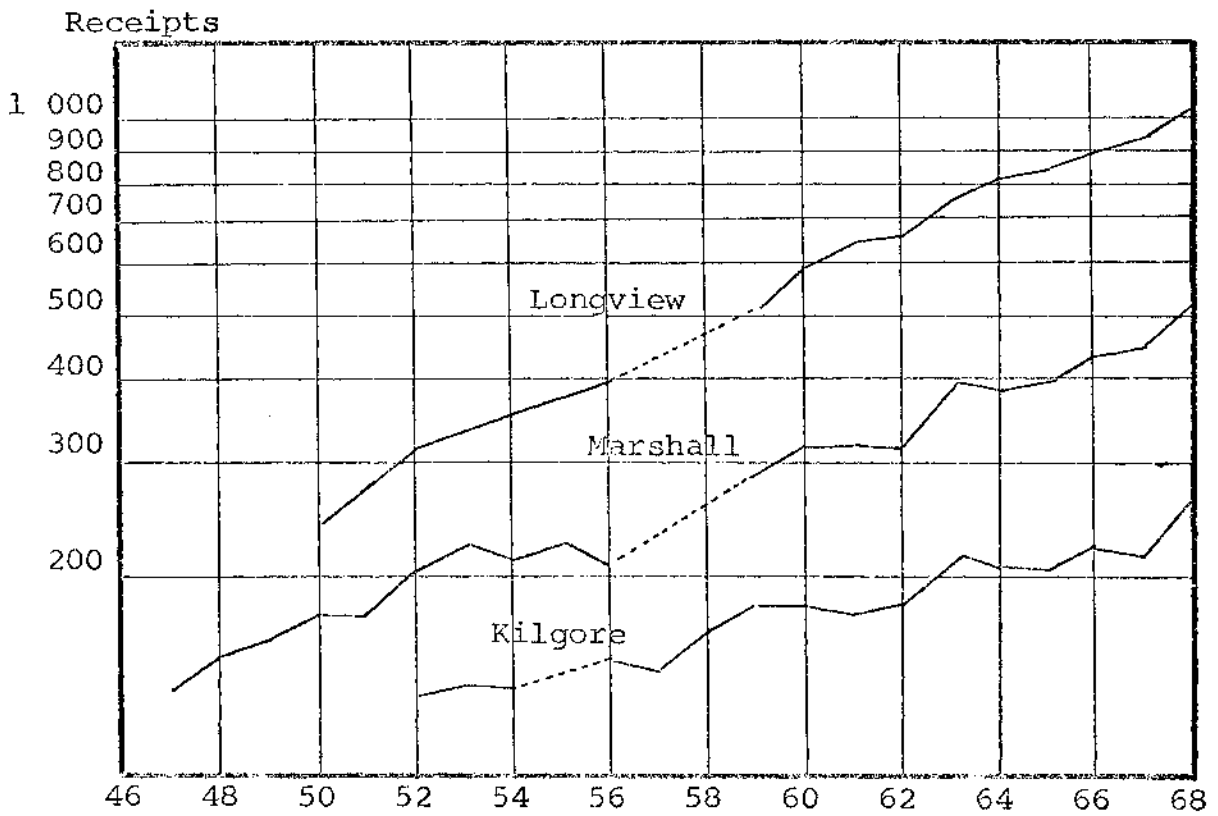
Source: Appendix I.

APPENDIX L
 POSTAL RECEIPTS OF LONGVIEW
 KILGORE AND MARSHALL
 ANNUAL TOTALS

Year	Longview	Kilgore	Marshall
1968	\$1,125,452	\$264,390	\$520,120
1967	924,349	218,916	431,940
1966	893,304	220,250	429,886
1965	834,551	207,634	393,036
1964	813,139	208,789	386,386
1963	759,670	214,944	390,673
1962	657,104	180,631	312,042
1961	645,278	179,916	318,606
1960	686,357	182,880	319,602
1959	516,049	180,469	289,492
1958	....	162,929	....
1957	....	149,568	....
1956	396,671	151,226	204,036
1955	371,480	....	221,182
1954	351,056	140,848	211,105
1953	332,511	138,206	223,870
1952	307,686	131,378	202,342
1951	272,559	....	176,972
1950	238,764	....	175,858
1949	....	....	165,379
1948	....	....	153,882
1947	....	....	133,926

Source: The Bureau of Business Research, The University of Texas.

APPENDIX M
 POSTAL RECEIPTS FOR LONGVIEW
 KILGORE AND MARSHALL
 ANNUAL TOTALS
 (THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS)



APPENDIX N

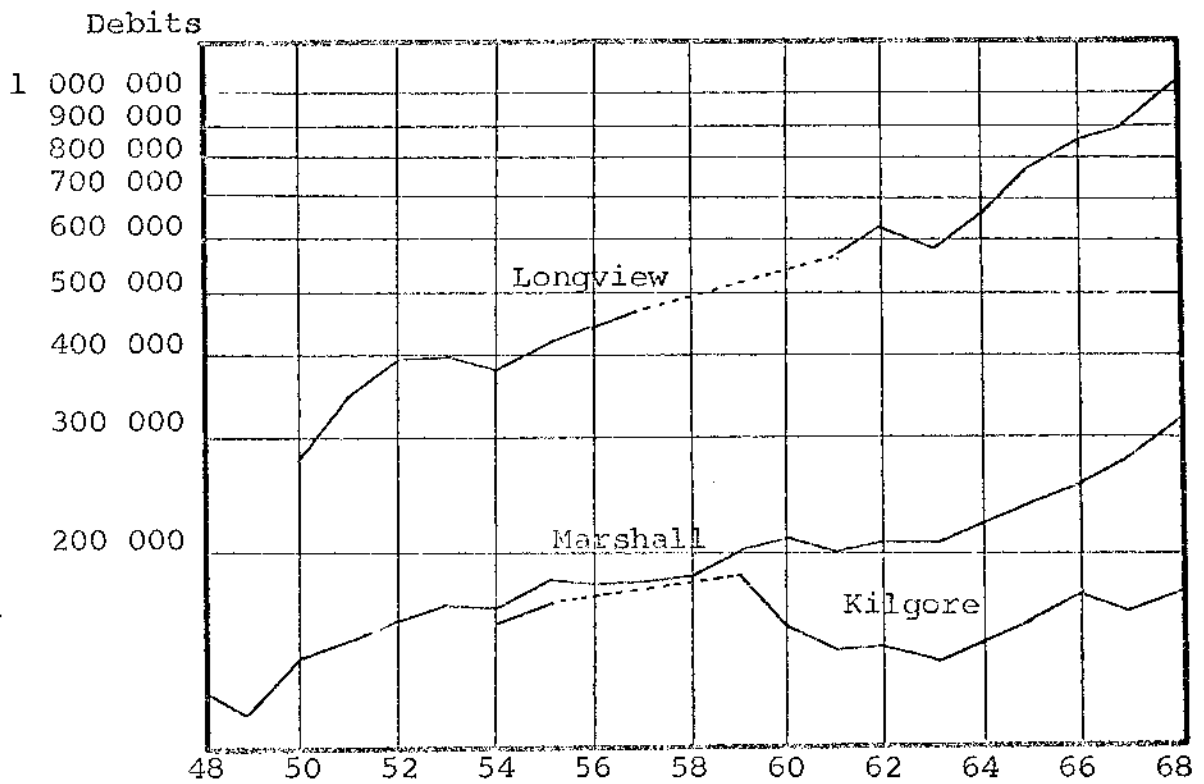
BAND DEBITS FOR LONGVIEW,
KILGORE AND MARSHALL
ANNUAL TOTALS
(THOUSANDS)

Year	Longview	Kilgore	Marshall
1968	\$1,043,966	\$174,056	\$315,348
1967	883,091	165,870	281,616
1966	846,636	170,955	254,913
1965	784,593	156,417	235,611
1964	654,247	146,631	221,317
1963	584,925	139,861	210,726
1962	609,927	148,278	213,940
1961	559,695	147,976	203,341
1960	....	153,572	205,981
1959	....	184,589	200,238
1958	....	....	180,901
1957	462,798	....	178,588
1956	433,882	....	179,518
1955	409,951	168,496	182,741
1954	378,624	154,161	163,499
1953	392,869	....	168,631
1952	391,452	....	157,698
1951	338,968	....	149,935
1950	261,179	....	136,063
1949	....	....	121,182
1948	....	....	129,416

Source: The Bureau of Business Research The University of Texas.

APPENDIX O

BANK DEBITS FOR LONGVIEW
KILGORE AND MARSHALL
(THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS)



Source: Appendix N.

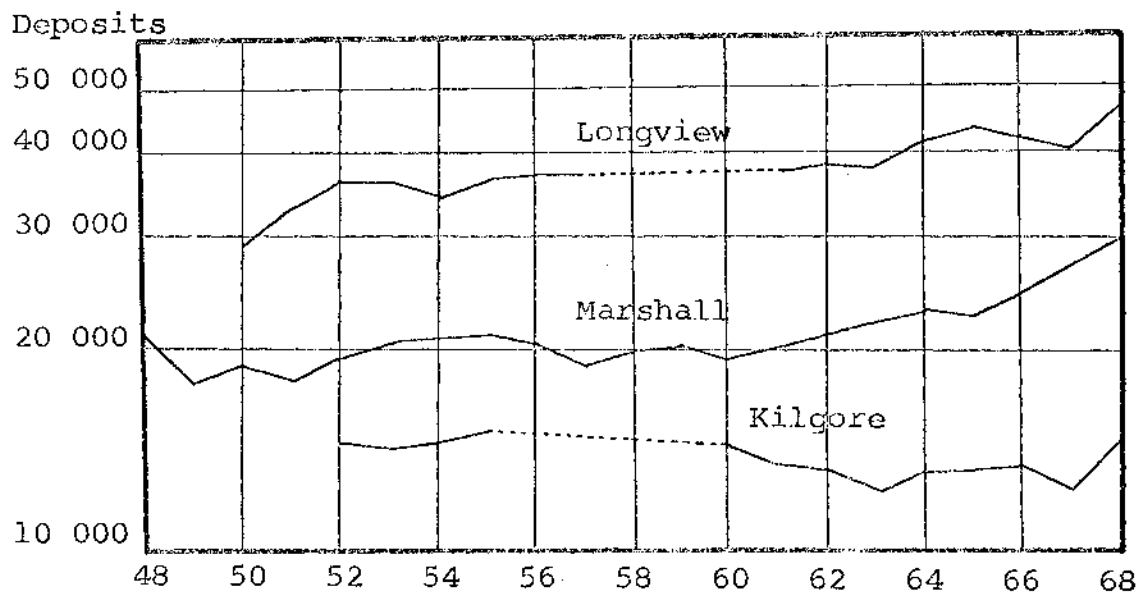
APPENDIX P

BANK DEPOSITS FOR LONGVIEW, KILGORE AND MARSHALL
 AVERAGE END OF MONTH DEPOSITS
 (THOUSANDS)

Year	Longview	Kilgore	Marshall
1968	\$48,383	\$14,094	\$29,698
1967	42,449	12,941	27,581
1966	43,134	13,462	25,055
1965	44,514	13,382	23,090
1964	42,128	13,027	23,187
1963	38,683	12,600	22,336
1962	38,632	13,307	21,485
1961	37,739	13,845	20,396
1960	....	14,366	19,679
1959	....	....	20,817
1958	....	....	20,238
1957	37,372	....	19,795
1956	37,356	....	20,773
1955	36,454	15,465	21,136
1954	34,828	14,839	21,039
1953	36,925	14,878	20,192
1952	35,993	14,958	19,570
1951	32,630	....	18,487
1950	29,380	....	18,874
1949	....	....	17,331
1948	....	....	20,901

APPENDIX Q

BANK DEPOSITS FOR LONGVIEW,
KILGORE AND MARSHALL
(THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS)



Source: Appendix P.

APPENDIX R
 BUILDING PERMITS ISSUED FOR LONGVIEW,
 KILGORE AND MARSHALL
 ANNUAL TOTALS

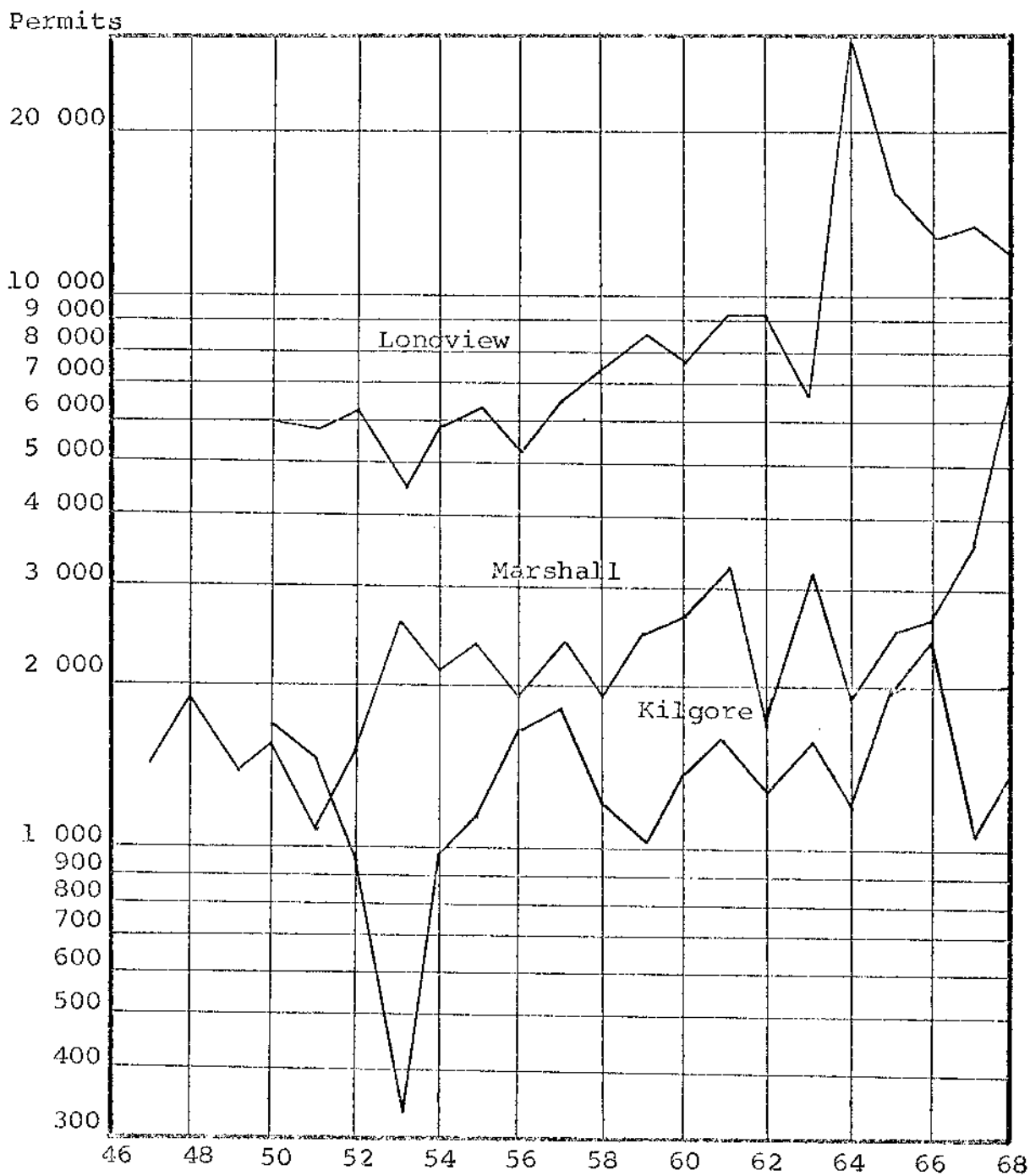
Year	Longview	Kilgore	Marshall
1968	\$11,425,200	\$1,479,516	\$7,955,034
1967	13,006,200	1,023,715	3,446,685
1966	12,937,400	2,310,476	2,544,729
1965	15,380,500	1,975,408	2,432,419
1964	28,614,800	1,076,757	1,950,012
1963	6,359,814	1,159,989	3,220,793
1962	9,110,999	1,279,289	1,658,723
1961	9,989,207	1,570,697	3,171,385
1960	7,550,234	1,319,659	2,523,708
1959	8,349,902	1,010,934*	2,394,137
1958	12,922,075	1,177,573	1,862,795
1957	6,430,054	1,761,537	2,376,036
1956	5,279,765	1,617,536	1,852,285
1955	6,220,527	1,120,435	3,448,119
1954	5,829,441	944,102	2,014,371
1953	4,407,682	329,500	2,557,091
1952	5,953,262	930,600	1,453,724
1951	5,726,796	1,439,450	1,007,426
1950	5,914,235	1,611,125	1,555,026
1949	....	....	1,133,658
1948	....	....	1,839,590
1947	....	....	1,396,010

*10 months.

Source: The Bureau of Business Research The University of Texas.

APPENDIX S

BUILDING PERMITS ISSUED FOR LONGVIEW,
KILGORE AND MARSHALL
ANNUAL SALES
(THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS)



Source: Appendix R.

APPENDIX T

INTERVIEW FORMAT COVER SHEET

Name _____ Date _____

Age (Optional) _____ Sex _____

Education (Optional) _____ Income (Optional) _____

How long have you lived in _____ County? _____

How long have you lived in? _____
(Inclusive dates as appropriate)What is your position in the city and/or county _____

The information furnished during this interview will be used solely for the purpose of studying the relationship of community leadership and economic growth. All information you furnish may be used, but it will not be related to the name of the person furnishing the information. All information will be considered confidential.

3. Specifically, how were they influential? Please give as many specific examples as possible. Please indicate influence to prevent as well as to cause change.

4. How does it appear that their influence was or is primarily used--that is, to primarily benefit the community, to benefit both the community and their own interests, to benefit their own interests, etc.?

5. What seems to be the origin or base of their influence--political, religious, financial, banking, general, city or county support, etc.?

6. If persons are named are they members of or supported by a specific group, and if so what group or groups? If a group is named, is it supported by other groups and if so what groups?

7. If two or more persons or groups are named as being influential at the same time, what is their relationship to each other? That is, do they work together and support each other on most issues, on some issues, generally oppose each other, etc.? Please give specific examples if possible.

Note: On some interviews this question was combined with question 6, and the interviewee asked to rank persons or groups named as to strength or influence at this point.

8. Give any comments that you would care to make concerning the leadership in _____ and _____ County since 1940.

9. Please name any persons or groups that you think might be helpful in trying to put together a picture of the leadership in _____ and _____ County since 1940.

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- D. A. Benton, Mayor of Longview, April, 1968 - March 24, 1970, and April, 1963 - April, 1964.
- Robert Cargill, oilman, businessman, and President of Longview Industrial Districts, March 12, 1970.
- Carlos Cacioppo, President and co-owner, Timberland Saw Company, Marshall, May 26, 1970.
- Liggett N. Crim, businessman and former mayor of Kilgore, March 12, 1970.
- Charles K. Devall, Publisher Kilgore News Herald, February 10, 1970.
- J. P. Duncan, businessman and leader in Citizens Advisory Council, Marshall, August 18, 1969.
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Secretary-Treasurer Longview Industrial Districts
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Thickol Corporation, former Marshall city councilman,
May 19, 1970.

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Negro leader, August 19, 1969.

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Kilgore, February 10, 1970.

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Daily News and Longview Morning Journal, March 19,
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Ernest F. Smith, Attorney, President, Marshall Industrial
Foundation, former County Judge, Harrison County,
August 18, 1969.

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1955-1964, August 11, 1969.

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and public school nurse in Kilgore, August 7, 1969.

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March 24, 1970.

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May 12, 1970.

Randolph Watson, President, Kilgore College, February 16,
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Commissioner 1951-1957, February 10, 1970.