

3-2005

## Lions, Lawyers and "Lead Men": Allan Shivers' East Texas Political Network, 1950

Ricky F. Dobbs

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.sfasu.edu/ethj>



Part of the [United States History Commons](#)

[Tell us](#) how this article helped you.

---

### Recommended Citation

Dobbs, Ricky F. (2005) "Lions, Lawyers and "Lead Men": Allan Shivers' East Texas Political Network, 1950," *East Texas Historical Journal*: Vol. 43 : Iss. 1 , Article 7.

Available at: <https://scholarworks.sfasu.edu/ethj/vol43/iss1/7>

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by SFA ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in East Texas Historical Journal by an authorized editor of SFA ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact [cdsscholarworks@sfasu.edu](mailto:cdsscholarworks@sfasu.edu).

**LIONS, LAWYERS AND “LEAD MEN”:  
ALLAN SHIVERS’ EAST TEXAS POLITICAL NETWORK, 1950**

*By Ricky Floyd Dobbs*

In July 1950, Governor Beauford Jester died while traveling by rail from Austin to Galveston. Jester’s sudden death led to Lieutenant Governor Allan Shivers’ ascension. Had Jester departed politics naturally, as planned, in 1950, it is likely that year would have brought a clash between two East Texas politicians, Shivers and Attorney General Price Daniel. Jester’s death changed the situation dramatically. “I thought I’d not been living right,” Daniel recalled thinking when he heard the news. Shivers became governor and gained the advantage coming into the 1950 election season. That did not mean that Shivers had a free ride into a term of his own. Opposition appeared likely, most dangerously from politicians on his right. While Daniel had lost his enthusiasm for the race, Railroad Commissioner Olin Culberson planned to challenge Shivers’ conservative credentials. Rumors even bubbled about a possible comeback by former governor and U.S. Senator W. Lee “Pappy” O’Daniel. Liberal opposition might also emerge.<sup>1</sup>

Shivers had only run two statewide races, both for lieutenant governor. In 1946, he prevailed over a crowded field and survived a run-off. Two years later, he encountered negligible opposition. However, he faced potential problems in winning the governor’s mansion in his own right. During the 1949 legislative session, then-Lieutenant Governor Shivers alienated many with his heavy-handed management of the state senate. The 1949 session passed needed, but expensive, reforms in education, but also a controversial pet project of Shivers’: four-year status for Beaumont’s Lamar College. This caused him trouble with some state conservatives. The costly 1949 session, coupled with falling state revenues, meant that Governor Allan Shivers would have to call a special session in 1950 that could lead to draconian cuts in state spending or an unpopular tax increase. Complicating the political situation further, Shivers had only held statewide office for two-and-one-half years, and he lacked a strong statewide political organization. Even as he contemplated remedies for his other concerns, the governor moved to strengthen his political network.<sup>2</sup>

Late in 1949, Shivers hired Jake Pickle, an Austin public relations consultant. Pickle’s assignment was to wander the state, assess the political situation, and lay the groundwork for a 1950 race. Campaigning in the era before television demanded a lot of legwork for statewide candidates. Most traveled from one county seat town to another, addressing courthouse crowds, shaking hands, and listening to voters. In smaller towns, a politician might amble along main streets and visit places of business. The effectiveness of this direct and personal style of politics depended upon a network of “lead men” to drum-up a crowd, supply political intelligence, and canvass the area in the candidate’s absence. Politicians with money, like Shivers, hired professionals to create these networks for them. Pickle brought to his task a wealth of polit-

ical experience and familiarity with the state. He had been student body president of the University of Texas. He had done administrative work for Lyndon Johnson's National Youth Administration and had served Johnson's political campaigns, most notably in 1941 and 1948.<sup>3</sup>

Pickle provided detailed reports on his travels, contacts and local political situations. One of the areas that he organized intensively was East Texas, a region that Shivers considered home and one that would be critical to his election. Pickle built Shivers organizations in fifteen East Texas counties. His work offers insight onto the nature of one-party politics, campaigns before the age of television, the changing nature of Texas society, and the political ideology and priorities of Allan Shivers himself. Eventually, the political network he organized made Shivers the most politically powerful Texas governor ever. It propelled him to reelection in 1952 and 1954. Even more astounding, it assisted him in bringing normally Democratic Texas into line behind Republican Dwight Eisenhower in 1952 and 1956.<sup>4</sup>

Shivers has been generally recognized as representative of the Texas Establishment, an elite composed of corporate and industrial leaders, their lobbyists, their lawyers, bankers, and other allies. This "loosely knit plutocracy" went beyond the super-rich to include "local commercial potentates" in smaller towns. While not monolithic, these interest groups and local aristocrats had common interests, friends, and business associates. At this time, Texas had an "extremely fluid social structure" that seemed to produce "wholesale . . . new members of the upper economic orders." When coming to East Texas, Pickle sought out these local elites to build Shivers' organization. Youth and inexperience were not liabilities so far as he was concerned. Reputation and availability mattered highly. Family connections and membership in the proper civic organizations also made recruits attractive. All the while, Pickle had to negotiate small-town political rivalries, avoid alienating anyone the governor might need later, and try to undo the work of the governor's foes.<sup>5</sup>

Shivers' public standing was generally strong in 1950. Still, the governor had potential weaknesses, mainly image problems, which might make the race difficult. Fifteen years of public service in Austin had some criticizing the governor as "*a special interest man*." Others felt his good looks concealed a lack of substance. The Baptist Shivers' marriage into a wealthy Catholic family also provoked whispers. However, Pickle most worried about the governor's personality and public perceptions of his wealth. As a "scotch and soda" type of governor, he lacked the common touch. "[T]oo stiff, too un-bending, too good-looking, too much a reserved gentleman," the governor had to work on his style. All of these concerns surfaced and each county presented its own challenges and personalities. Collectively, however, they hint at matters of wider significance.<sup>6</sup>

In Hunt County various interests differed with, or wanted something from, the governor. Pickle selected thirty-five year old A&M College graduate Jack Finney of Greenville as lead man. "Jack is a hustler," Pickle enthused

"and prominently known there." Along with neighboring Collin County, the governor's scout concluded that Hunt "will stand a lot of working" because of its sizeable vote. Greenville's two newspapers appeared divided in their loyalties, and one had recently criticized Shivers' failure to increase taxes on natural resource extraction. It appeared likely that the *Morning Herald* would offer tepid support for Shivers, while the *Banner* would offer a "luke-warm [sic.] endorsement" to Culberson. In Commerce, though Culberson had well-placed contacts, the outlines of a Shivers group appeared evident. East Texas State Teachers' College dominated the town, and its president, James G. Gee, "a forceful gentleman," seemed prepared to help. Gee criticized Shivers' drive to make Lamar College a four-year institution, but insisted "that was water under the bridge." He offered the college's alumni lists to Shivers' campaign, while Pickle sewed up the support of civic club and business leaders in town.<sup>7</sup>

In February 1950 Kaufman County had already been reconnoitered by Olin Culberson organizers. Pickle moved quickly to establish a Shivers group in the county seat, Kaufman, and in the largest city, Terrell. In both, Pickle lined up younger veterans with civic connections. Although departing for law school in the fall, Floyd Shumpert of Kaufman agreed to head the governor's campaign there. The outgoing county clerk, Shumpert was twenty-eight and had lost a foot during World War II. "A good, clean fellow, with no enemies," he agreed to serve at least temporarily. In Terrell, Pickle enlisted Charlie Tune, a "big American Legion man" who also owned a milling company. Tune held some sway with rural voters because of his traveling grain and feed salesmen. Among more youthful town voters, thirty-five year old Jaycee John Houston Payne appeared the best choice. "Most folks consider him [the] outstanding young man in town," Pickle explained.<sup>8</sup>

Anderson County's Shivers network began with attorney John McDonald. McDonald begged off being "lead man" himself because of his own campaign for county attorney. After a February meeting with Pickle, the Palestine lawyer promised at least to draft a list of possibilities. The next month Pickle selected Johnny Herrington, a teacher turned "insurance man," apparently on McDonald's recommendation. Herrington was "nice looking" and appeared to be about thirty years old. Shivers' Anderson County organizer had "lots of energy" despite being "a relative novice in politics." More important, the insurance agent represented the "high type in town." Both his and his wife's families had deep roots in and around Palestine. Respectable and well connected, Herrington belonged to the Jaycees, the Lions, and the Chamber of Commerce. In Palestine, as elsewhere, Pickle displayed a remarkable interest in younger, less experienced men to serve the governor. Certainly, this must have coincided with some element of Shivers' instructions.<sup>9</sup>

Henderson County worried Pickle. He had enlisted Rupert Craig to find a "lead man" for the Shivers team, but after three months still lacked a representative. Pickle's choice, young Athens attorney William Wayne Justice, presented a challenge because he had to be "sold" on Shivers. Justice's politics were "on the liberal aide," Pickle explained, but he still tried to recruit him.

When the lawyer heard that Austin lobbyist Frank Oltorf supported Shivers, "he was impressed." Pickle touted Justice as an "aggressive man" who would bring a lot of "old line" party loyalty voters along with him. Imbedded in this assessment of Justice is a hint at the governor's own future problems with party loyalty. Why would "old line 'democratic' votes" be hard for a Democratic governor to gain? Why would he have to be convinced to make an effort to go after them?<sup>10</sup>

Hopkins County's Shivers organization centered around Sulphur Springs attorney Howard Smith. Smith had "a good law practice," according to Pickle, and had been sounding out people for three months. While things looked good in the county, Pickle worried that Smith would not "do as much as he should" for the governor's campaign. Former state attorney general Grover Sellers and his dentist brother, Hodge, promised their aid. In Emory, Pickle contacted banker W.M. Rodes, easily the "most potent man" in the county. Rodes had been Lyndon Johnson's lead man in Rains County in 1948, and "the folks really love him." Unfortunately, the Emory banker had recently undergone major surgery and his activity level had been curbed. Nonetheless, Shivers' emissary knew him well enough to believe he could deliver the county "even from a sick bed." Even at the small Rains County hamlet of Alba, the governor's man organized small businessmen for Shivers.<sup>11</sup>

Canton, in Van Zandt County, presented a mixture of good and bad tidings. Able political veterans and former office holders, such as lawyers L.F. Sanders and Paul Stanford, offered to create a county organization for the governor. However, after visiting with Sanders, Pickle came away with some troubling information about rumors being spread against Shivers. The governor's wife was Catholic, and many East Texans worried about the Church exercising undue influence upon Shivers and state government. The governor, some thought, was a "great Catholic friend," and rumor had it that Shivers had ordered the state oath of office altered to suit the dictates of his wife's faith. Other negative scuttlebutt in Van Zandt centered on Shivers' wealth – including the rumor that he had more than twenty automobiles registered in his name. Pickle's sources blamed liberal candidate Caso March for the rumors. March, the governor's man theorized, acted as Olin Culberson's "hatchet man," allowing the railroad commissioner to stay as "clean as possible."<sup>12</sup>

Smith and Gregg counties appeared in danger of falling to a potential Culberson candidacy. Shivers' lead man in Tyler, Byron Saunders, reported that "the top oil boys will be tempted to string along with Culberson," but that the "man on the street" backed Shivers. Saunders held a trusted place in the campaign, having been a friend of the governor's since their days at the University of Texas law school. Reviewing preparations to build a local campaign, Saunders pointed out an oversight that placed only two of Tyler's top three bankers on the state economy commission. He recommended immediate action to get People's National Bank president, John Stephens, onto the panel. Gladewater lawyer and nationally known Jaycee John Ben Shepperd took charge in his home county, Gregg, as well as in Rains, Upshur, and

Marion. He complained that the governor's lists of supporters in that region of East Texas "looked pitifully weak" and needed work. Saunders and Shepperd proved so valuable to the governor that both men ended up in prominent appointive positions. Shivers named Shepperd secretary of state in 1951, a position from which he won election as state attorney general in 1952. Saunders took a seat on the state insurance commission, though he resigned during the insurance scandals of 1955.<sup>13</sup>

Pickle's work in Cherokee County was complicated by political rivalries within its two largest towns, Jacksonville and Rusk. Jacksonville's two leading politicians had committed to Culberson before Jester's death in July 1949. Jacksonville, Pickle cautioned, "will bear some watching," though he had confidence that lawyer Summers Norman would find a good lead man. As in other areas of the state, the governor's emissary worked University of Texas connections, drawing in the town's newspaper editor and Chevrolet dealer. Rusk's lead man was banker James Perkins, an "old time politician" suffering "poor health," but committed to work for Shivers until a better choice could be found. Perkins' age and experience set him apart from many of the Shivers campaign front men.<sup>14</sup>

Cherokee County also provided evidence of how "all politics is local." Gubernatorial candidates seeking support had to negotiate political fissures at the city level. Judge Emerson Stone, Sr. dominated Jacksonville politics and had pledged himself to Culberson. When Jake Pickle went about town searching for likely men to represent Shivers in Jacksonville, he found few willing to cross Stone. First National Bank president Gus Blankenship praised Shivers, Pickle recorded. But, when asked for open support, the banker demurred because he "*had promised the Judge* (Culberson or Stone; is difficult to tell in this context)." Rusk had two political factions, and Pickle established contacts with both, but discovered finding a "lead man" there difficult as a result. Outside the factions, state employees attached to Rusk's state hospital supposedly leaned toward Culberson, and Shivers' friends took steps to get to the bottom of these rumors.<sup>15</sup>

In Rusk County, Pickle enlisted Henderson lawyer Dean Turner, a thirty-five year old Baylor graduate, as the campaign representative. Both a Jaycee and a Lion, Turner was "considered the town's most popular young man." The young attorney "easily understood" the governor's needs and expectations. Turner also received the enthusiastic recommendation of John Ben Shepperd, who greatly influenced the campaign's operations in East Texas. Pickle also signed on the editors of both Henderson newspapers, the *News* and the weekly *Times*. Local concerns trumped issues so far as Rusk County Shivers backers were concerned. Townspeople pressed Pickle about the governor declining a recent invitation to dedicate a city park in Henderson. The town funeral director, Bill Crawford, complained that Shivers' office had refused the May 5 invitation because the legislature might be in session, a transparently poor excuse. The explanation did not sit well in Henderson, and the event organizing committee had even sought out W. Lee O'Daniel when Shivers passed on

the invitation. Pickle noted the townspeople's' disappointment and urged the governor to get up to Henderson.<sup>16</sup>

Pickle preferred thirty-seven year old attorney Kelly Bell to carry the Shivers campaign in Nacogdoches County. "Liked by all," Bell had no political "scars" and had apparently married up. The only possible deterrent would be Bell's law partner's ambitions. Tom Reavley, III planned a race for county attorney, and a "strong opponent" for his partner might require Bell to bow out of "lead man" duties. Pickle obviously liked Bell, describing him as a "hustler" and an "ideal choice."<sup>17</sup>

Bell faced some work in Nacogdoches County because things did not look good for Shivers there. Hardware store owner Orland Patton, for example, "wouldn't vote for you for dogcatcher," Pickle reported to the governor. Shivers' distant cousin, Ralph McAlister, "was extremely unhappy" about the governor's local appointments. He also complained that a Shivers staffer, John VanCronkhite, was "a damned crook," and grumbled that the governor had not replied to his letters. "[O]ther than that," Pickle quipped, "he is strong for you." Nacogdoches veterans groups also appeared to be in league with Culberson because of his rumored support of a monthly pension for former servicemen. Pickle concluded that the county and town could use some work: "[W]e had better do some down-to-earth handshaking there."<sup>18</sup>

Pickle arrived in Marshall, in Harrison County, while the area's most powerful politician, lawyer Myron Blalock, was away in Washington. With Blalock out of town, a formal selection of "lead man" for Harrison County had to be delayed. Newspaper editor Millard Cope described Shivers as being "in good shape" in the area. Concern that the governor might be "too close to Catholics" had seeped into Marshall, as it had elsewhere in East Texas. Of those he visited Pickle came away most impressed with Dr. Pepper distributor Jack Mann, "great friends" with Blalock and his political clique. If Blalock approved, Mann would be Shivers' organizer for the county.<sup>19</sup>

Conditions in Panola County appeared much worse than in Harrison. Carthage's influential volunteer firefighters were "already hard at work ... openly campaigning" for Olin Culberson. Pickle's primary contact, Carthage *Watchman* editor Neal Estes, did "not seem too stable" and urged the governor's staffer to hold off trying to organize the county. He did recommend contacting Margie Neal, who "was related to half the town" and also exercised some influence with the firemen. Neal warmly greeted Pickle and told him that she supported Shivers. However, "lead men" had to be men, so she agreed to help the governor find a reliable leader for Panola County. The county sheriff, Corbitt Akins, "a popular man," supported Shivers, but other important county politicians faced tough races and could not openly campaign for the governor. The town's bankers and lawyers appeared split over the county races and could not be easily lined up behind Shivers. The governor's friends in Carthage urged Pickle to dispatch John Ben Shepperd to help form an organization. "Apparently," Pickle concluded, "we need to do some fast work in Panola County." He urged Shivers to make a point of attending the open-

ing of a local hospital before the campaign began in earnest. In a political atmosphere charged with uncertainty, every vote counted, even in an increasingly obscure region of the state.<sup>20</sup>

What stands out from Pickle's notes about his travels? What do they say about the state of Texas politics in 1950? How do they point away from the past toward the future?

First, they indicate a new trend in political organization, one brought about by Shivers' preferences but also reflecting the changing face of Texas. Governor Shivers wanted to build a personal political machine. Therefore, choosing relatively young and inexperienced "go getters" made sense. Service to the governor represented a form of social climbing endemic to members of the emerging Southern middle class. Often, these youthful amateurs took on organizing duties after an endorsement from plainly conservative hometown elites. Where younger "strainers" were not chosen as "lead men," Pickle tended to recommend older men in conservative professions. Some evidence exists that Shivers intended to seize control of the state Democratic Party and remake it in his own image in 1950. Ultimately, this allowed him to act on his own longstanding disagreements with the national Democratic Party in 1952 and 1956. Once the Shivers political network gelled it proved devastatingly effective in the gubernatorial primaries of 1952 and 1954.<sup>21</sup>

Given the agricultural economy of East Texas, another remarkable point about the composition of Shivers' organization is the absence of farmers. Ten or twenty years earlier, respected farmers, particularly larger landowners, would have been prominent in such an organization. While some of those solicited by Pickle might have owned land or engaged in farming on the side, it did not bear mentioning. The absence of persons working in the petroleum industry, particularly in Gregg and Smith counties, is also notable, although oil money might have been expected to favor a sitting railroad commissioner like Culberson (see Table 1). Compare this to Table 2, which depicts the top social status occupations reported by the National Opinion Research Council in 1949.<sup>22</sup>

**Table 1: Occupations\* of Persons Contacted by Pickle Favorable to Shivers, 1950**

Attorney	25	Contractor	1
Editor	12	Minister	1
Serving Public Official**	8	College President	1
Banker	7	Pharmacist	1
Small Business	6	Undertaker	1
Hardware/Bldg. Supply	5	Soft Drink Distributor	1
Public Employee	3	Doctor	1
Ag. Equipment/Processing	2	Dentist	1
Auto Dealer	2	Total	79
Insurance	2		



\*Only those whose occupations were documented by Pickle included.

\*\* Includes elected and appointed state and local officials regardless of occupation.

Pickle Field Notes, February 13-18, 1950 and March 18, 1950, Box 1977/81-283, Shivers Papers.

Table 2: Top Occupations By Social Status, In Descending Order, 1949

1. United States Supreme Court Justice	6. Minister (Ph.D.)
2. Doctor	7. Architect
3. Professor	8. Dentist
4. Banker	9. Lawyer
5. Judge (lesser courts)	20. Contractor

Vance Packard, *The Status Seekers*, 109.

Surveying changes in the postwar era, social critic Vance Packard described the time as one of great prosperity that hid a lack of progress. Though economic progress appeared to have diminished class differences, in *The Status Seekers*, Packard argued the contrary. Instead, he posited, social class distinctions were “becoming more rigid.” He noted that a “diploma elite” dominated the top rungs of America’s social structure, and that many occupations had lost status with economic changes. Particularly important among the newly affluent were members of the “semi-upper” class. These “confident” and “energetic” *arrivistes* pressed up the social ladder and assumed political and social views of their betters. Frequently, the “semi-upper” class’ social climbing manifested itself in “hyperactive” boosterism. They joined groups such as the Lions, the Rotary, and the Jaycees to “prove” their social worth and status through membership. Packard indicated that increased rigidity of social class distinctions in the United States appeared productive of disturbing social trends. In politics, he claimed, status seeking produced a “growing trend of politicians to treat ethnic and economic groups as blocs” while hoping to build a “winning combination” pitting social classes against one another. Pickle’s particular interest in members of the “semi-upper” class indicates that he saw political potential in this hunger for advancement. Shivers anticipated taking Texas in a decidedly more conservative direction, and within a year of his election began planning to deliver Texas’s electoral votes to the party of America’s upper class: the Republicans.<sup>23</sup>

Beyond these social and political considerations, the Shivers network’s composition reflected developing demographic trends. As the 1950 census revealed, Texas had become a majority urban state and rural residents had lost a measure of their political influence. County seats and towns alone showed population growth in the fifteen East Texas counties between 1940-1950 (see Table 3). If Pickle or Shivers were cognizant of these trends, then their choices of lead men speak to their political acumen; if they were not, these preferences represent ideological choices.

Table 3: Population Change in Selected East Texas Counties, 1940-1950

County	Population Change %	Urban Population Change %	County	Population Change %	Urban Population Change %
Anderson	-14.1	+6.5	Nacogdoches	-14.3	+19.3
Cherokee	-12.0	+9.9	Panola	-14.5	+ 24.7*
Gregg	+5.6	+19.2	Rains	-41.8	na**
Harrison	-6.2	+10.6	Rusk	-17.0	+5.9
Henderson	-26.5	+7.2	Smith	+8.1	+11.3
Hopkins	-22.4	+16.0	Van Zandt	-27.5	na**
Hunt	-17.4	+9.9	Wood	-12.5	+13.8
Kaufman	-18.6	+11.4	Averages	-15.41	+12.75

\* Had no places categorized as "urban" under 1940 census. \*\* Had no places categorized as "urban" in 1940 and 1950. Source: 1950 Census of Population, v. II, "Characteristics of Population," pt. 43, "Texas," (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952), pp. 14-16.

Not only did the relative growth of towns influence Pickle's choices, but his preference for certain occupations was probably driven by the decline in tenant farming and farm sizes. While East Texas lost voters, the concentration of wealth and power as indicated by landownership made local elites that much more important in securing the votes of those who remained in the region. Table 4 indicates the trend for concentration of landownership and the decline of tenancy, 1945-1950.

Declining Tenancy, Increasing Farm Size in Selected East Texas Counties, 1945-1950

County	Farm Size 1950 (in acres)	Tenancy 1950 (% tenants)	Farm Size 1945 (in acres)	Tenancy 1945 (% tenants)
Anderson	170.2	25.9	148.3	34.9
Cherokee	119.3	29.6	108.8	40.9
Gregg	116.9	19.8	74.2	36.5
Harrison	115.2	34.4	92.3	43.8
Henderson	164.0	25.6	145.3	36.5
Hopkins	130.3	30.8	108.0	40.8
Hunt	144.1	42.6	103.5	55.1
Kaufman	188.8	40.2	148.6	47.9
Nacogdoches	134.0	30.6	118.7	42.8
Panola	135.2	27.7	127.7	40.

County	Farm Size 1950 (in acres)	Tenancy 1950 (% tenants)	Farm Size 1945 (in acres)	Tenancy 1945 (% tenants)
<b>Anderson</b>	170.2	25.9	148.3	34.9
<b>Rains</b>	154.9	30.2	101.1	36.9
<b>Rusk</b>	112.0	25.9	97.4	39.5
<b>Smith</b>	107.0	24.7	83.8	37.7
<b>Van Zandt</b>	128.1	29.1	106.3	35.4
<b>Wood</b>	117.6	26.0	103.3	37.7
<b>Average</b>	<b>135.84</b>	<b>29.5</b>	<b>111.2</b>	<b>40.5</b>

Source: 1950 Census of Agriculture, v. I, pt. 26, "Texas," (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952), pp. 62-80, pp. 90-106.

While rural counties lost out in the urbanization of Texas, at this early stage county seat elites' power and wealth grew relative to their neighbors and naturally drew the attention of politicians seeking to advance a pro-business, conservative agenda.

By the end of April, threats from Olin Culberson and Price Daniel ebbed. Culberson suffered a mild heart attack and bowed out. Daniel decided to seek another term as attorney general and wait out Shivers before making a run for governor. The rumored Pappy O'Daniel comeback never materialized. Only liberal Waco lawyer Caso March mounted a determined, flamboyant, but under-financed effort to defeat the governor. East Texas helped favorite son Allan Shivers coast to an easy victory in the July Democratic primary. The governor buried March: 829,730 votes to 195,997. The network forged by Pickle for Shivers became a potent weapon in later, more bitter and contested races. It heralded a new type of politics for an emerging urban middle-class Texas and indicated an ideological direction to the Shivers administration that became manifest in later years.<sup>24</sup>

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>George N. Green, *The Establishment in Texas Politics: the Primitive Years, 1938-1957* (Norman, 1984), pp. 137-138. Daniel quoted in Jimmy Banks, *Money, Marbles, and Chalk: the Wondrous World of Texas Politics* (Austin, 1971), p. 143. *Austin Statesman*, July 11, 1949; *Houston Post*, July 12, 1949.

<sup>2</sup>Green, *The Establishment in Texas Politics*, pp.136-138; *Austin American* and *Dallas Morning News*, June 10, 1949; "Factors Related to House Bill 52, Creating Lamar State College of Technology," memorandum (1949), Box 4-14/46, Beauford Jester Papers, Texas State Archives, Texas State Library, Austin.

<sup>3</sup>Green, *The Establishment in Texas Politics*, pp. 137-138.

<sup>4</sup>Pickle's notes for his statewide travels are housed in Box 1977/81-283, Allan Shivers Papers, Texas State Archives, Texas State Library, Austin.

<sup>5</sup>See Green, *The Establishment in Texas Politics*, pp. 3, 17-20 for a definition of the

Establishment and how it connected to local leadership cliques. V.O. Key, Jr., *Southern Politics in State and Nation*, (New York, 1949), p. 259.

<sup>4</sup>Green, *The Establishment in Texas Politics*, pp. 137-138. "General Political Picture," and "Suggestions," J.J. "Jake" Pickle to Shivers, memoranda (n.d., 1950), Box 1977/81-283, Shivers Papers.

<sup>7</sup>Pickle Field Notes, February 13-18, 1950 and March 18, 1950, Box 1977/81-283, Shivers Papers.

<sup>8</sup>Pickle Field Notes, February 13-18, 1950, Box 1977/81-283, Shivers Papers.

<sup>9</sup>Pickle Field Notes, February 13-18, 1950 and March 18, 1950, Box 1977/81-283, Shivers Papers.

<sup>10</sup>Pickle Field Notes, February 13-18, 1950 and March 18, 1950, Box 1977/81-283, Shivers Papers

<sup>11</sup>Pickle Field Notes, February 13-18, 1950, Box 1977/81-283, Shivers Papers.

<sup>12</sup>Pickle Field Notes, February 13-18, 1950, Box 1977/81-283, Shivers Papers.

<sup>13</sup>Pickle Field Notes, March 18, 1950, Box 1977/81-283, Shivers Papers. Sam Kinch and Stuart Long, *Allan Shivers: The Pied Piper of Texas Politics* (Austin, 1973), pp. 64, 176-179.

<sup>14</sup>Pickle Field Notes, March 18, 1950, Box 1977/81-283, Shivers Papers.

<sup>15</sup>Pickle Field Notes, March 18, 1950, Box 1977/81-283, Shivers Papers.

<sup>16</sup>Pickle Field Notes, March 18, 1950, Box 1977/81-283, Shivers Papers.

<sup>17</sup>Pickle Field Notes, March 18, 1950, Box 1977/81-283, Shivers Papers; Kinch and Long, *Allan Shivers*, p. 100.

<sup>18</sup>Pickle Field Notes, March 18, 1950, Box 1977/81-283, Shivers Papers. McAlister correctly deduced that Van Cronkhite was a "crook." Frequently a source of concern to those close to Shivers, Van Cronkhite was ensnared in the insurance scandals that hurt the governor between 1954-1955. See Kinch and Long, *Allan Shivers*, p. 177.

<sup>19</sup>Pickle Field Notes, March 18, 1950, Box 1977/81-283, Shivers Papers.

<sup>20</sup>Pickle Field Notes, March 18, 1950, Box 1977/81-283, Shivers Papers.

<sup>21</sup>Numan V. Bartley, *The New South, 1945-1980* (Baton Rouge, 1995), pp.110-111.

<sup>22</sup>Pickle Field Notes, February 13-18, 1950 and March 18, 1950, Box 1977/81-283, Shivers Papers.

<sup>23</sup>Vance Packard, *The Status Seekers* (New York, 1959), pp. 4-5, 8, 37-41, 109-110, 304-305.

<sup>24</sup>David Chrisman, "The Public Life of Caso March: Anti-Establishment Campaigns in the Democratic Party, 1946-1950." (M.A. thesis, Baylor University, 1990), pp. 150, 151-156, 159-162, 165-166, 183-184.