

INTERVIEW I

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INTERVIEWEE: MISS GRACE TULLY

INTERVIEWER: JOE B. FRANTZ and DOROTHY PIERCE

PLACE: Executive Office Building 125, Washington, D. C.

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T: I was in the house every day for twelve years, and so then you picked up the phone and checked on them. They knew over here that I was expected, so that cleared me. Then I had to go around the other way.

F: It seemed kind of strange, I guess, having to identify your way in.

T: Yes, but I'm glad they do it, because there are so many new policemen on the force now. This man told me he came in Truman's time, so he didn't see anything of me, except if I went to the White House.

F: Well, we'll get started then.

When did you first meet the Johnsons?

T: I've been trying to think of that. I've been asked it a number of times when I was up on the Hill. Various newspapermen asked me where we met, and I can't for the life of me pinpoint it. The only thing I can say is it was probably at a social, a reception, or a cocktail party, or something of that kind. I actually can't tell you what party or when.

F: Probably something at the White House?

T: No, I don't think it was at the White House. It was just a gathering of some kind with mutual friends, I guess. Of course you met many congressmen and their wives in those days.

F: Did you see much of the Johnsons socially in the early years?

T: Through the years? Oh, yes, quite a good deal.

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F: At parties.

T: We had the same friends like Tommy Corcoran and Jim Rowe and all in the old [days], they were all very close to Mr. Johnson in those early days, and they still are. And so I would go to their houses, and sometimes... I think the first time was at their house--they were having a little party for Sam Rayburn.

F: Where were they living then?

T: I think it was Davenport Street. I think that when they first came to Washington they were married. He'd lived, I think, at the Dodge when he first worked for Mr. Kleberg. But after they were married and Lady Bird came up, why, I think that's where they were, because it was a small apartment, but we had a good time, I remember that very well.

F: Did they tend to have small parties with some frequency, or did they have just large parties just now and then?

T: Oh, it was later they had the large parties. At that time, they kept them quite small. It made it pleasanter, because you got to know their friends that they liked, and that you learned to like.

F: Did you have any occasion to be with President Roosevelt when he was visiting with Mr. Johnson at any time?

T: No, I don't think I ever was with the President when he was visiting with them. No, I don't think so.

F: Did you ever hear President Roosevelt make any reference to Mr. Johnson?

T: Oh, yes, he knew that he was a young man who was going places. And I think he also was interested in say, educating him but interesting him in oh, things like water power and forestry; housing; oh, just everything

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that he was interested in. And I think Mr. Johnson took to it like a duck. I think he learned a good deal from President Roosevelt because he admired him so. I think he always wanted to be like him in a way.

F: Did Mr. Roosevelt do a good bit of this sort of educating younger congressmen?

T: Yes. Other congressmen.

F: Or older congressmen, too, maybe?

T: Other congressmen and people in the administration. I can remember going to Shangri-La, and we had the Nelson Rockefellers there. I could see that the President was working on him, too.

F: Did Mr. Roosevelt just sit and visit with people and bring up these topics casually, or did he call someone like Congressman Johnson in about a specific topic?

T: No, Mr. Johnson probably asked for an appointment and came down. But then after he took up whatever business he was on, whatever his mission was, then they would chat, you know, for some time after that. President Roosevelt enjoyed people, especially younger people. And, of course, he [Johnson] was quite young, you know, when he first came to Congress.

F: Well, did President Roosevelt follow a fairly strict time schedule, or did he have plenty of time to--

T: He took plenty of time. Didn't have plenty of time, but he took it. It was hard to get the people away from him. The appointment secretary probably had to go in a half-dozen times to remind him that somebody else was out there. Of course, if it was Secretary Hull or somebody like that, I suppose he'd cut it a little short. But otherwise, he ran late on his

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appointments, because he'd get interested in some particular subject.

Or else he felt that his visitor was very interested in the subject, and so he'd go on.

F: In those days, was Mr. Johnson considered a good listener?

T: Yes, I believe so. I think he still is.

F: Well, he's also known as a fairly persuasive talker.

T: Oh, yes, he's that too. FDR was the same way. He was a persuasive talker and also a listener.

F: Do you know whether Mr. Johnson ever persuaded Mr. Roosevelt along certain lines?

T: No, because I never sat in on any of their conferences. So I didn't know what he took up with the President.

F: In those days what kind of a record did you keep to indicate whom Mr. Roosevelt may have visited with or what they said?

T: We put an appointment sheet on his desk every day in a little holder. And then everybody in the office got a copy that it was concerned with. There were lots of people coming and going, but we didn't have any record of what they talked about. Nobody ever took anything down. And he didn't in the Cabinet. Now they do. They have a secretary, you know, to the Cabinet. I don't know whether President Johnson does, but I think President Eisenhower started that--the secretary. And I think since then, there has been some record of what went on in the Cabinet. But I know there was nothing like that in our day.

F: In fact, the Cabinet meetings now are photographed, although they're not tape-recorded. Unless there's something that they specifically want to

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get in the record.

T: I suppose the idea is to make notes of the things that he says he will do. I know that sometimes after the Cabinet meeting, Cabinet officers would come to my office and say the President said he was going to sign, or he was going to send out, or he was going to do something. And then I would make a note of that and give it to the President as a reminder. But that would be the Cabinet officer himself coming out to tell me to remind him.

F: Did you ever have any great confusion with that system?

T: No, the confusion I had was Cabinet officers bringing something and putting it in front of the President for signing, and then having no record of it. That was very, very confusing and frustrating because if somebody called and said, "Did the President sign such-and-such a thing," how would you know? Well, I put a stop to that. I said, "Mr. President, no more. No more signing things in the Cabinet Room." After that, he told me, said "No, Grace won't let me do it."

F: What would he do in that case--he would call you in and let you make a record of what he signed, or what?

T: No, no, no. I just wouldn't [let anyone] go out of the White House with nobody's having a record of it except the man who took it.

F: I mean, after you had complained of a lack of record of signing, how did he change it?

T: There was supposed to be a carbon copy, and he would make the note on the carbon copy that FDR signed today, and put the date, and so forth, so we'd have at least a copy of it.

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F: You stayed with Mr. Roosevelt then until his death. Where are you from originally?

T: New York.

F: How did you get to know Mr. Roosevelt?

T: I worked in the Democratic National Committee in 1928, when Al Smith ran for the presidency. And President Roosevelt was active as--the Businessmen's group, I think, is what he had. He and Louis Howe ran that end. And so it was while working there for Mrs. Roosevelt that I met . . . Mr. Roosevelt. I used to take dictation from him, go up to the house, and work with him when he would come up from Warm Springs or wherever he had been. I think it was Warm Springs where he came from to run for the governorship. That was the beginning. I went to Albany with . . . them, and then came to Washington.

F: Did you have any association at all with President Johnson's brief wartime experience? Do you have any memory of that?

T: I have memory of it. I remember him in uniform, and I remember when he went off. I also remember that several others wanted to follow. And the President could see that we weren't going to have any Congress--we were going to have them all in the service. So then he said they'd have to do one or the other--stay in Congress or resign and stay in the service.

F: Did President Roosevelt agonize over this decision of calling the congressmen home, or was this something that was done rather quickly?

T: Well, no, he didn't do it so quickly. But when he saw that there might be a considerable number of them, I think he thought that would be pretty bad. And so I guess that's what made him decide to call them home.

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F: Did they all come back?

T: No, Lodge didn't. He was in the Senate, I think, at the time. He resigned and stayed in the service until the end of the war. I don't know of any others who did. I'm not sure. Maybe Senator Magnuson, but I don't know whether he went into the service. I think he did, but I can't remember all those that did.

F: What did you do then after Mr. Roosevelt died?

T: After he died, I took care of the Roosevelt papers that were sent over to the Archives. President Truman appointed me in charge of the papers. And that job--oh, I guess, it was about fifteen or sixteen months later, they took those papers up to Hyde Park. And that ended that.

Then, in a little while, we opened up the Franklin D. Roosevelt Foundation office here on 18th Street. And I was executive secretary of the Foundation. I stayed there about six years.

Then I worked for about a year and a half over at the Democratic National Committee. Then I went up on the Hill, as I said, to President Johnson, then-Senator Johnson, and I said I had come with my hat in my hand looking for a job. And he said, "Well, you'll never come with your hat in your hand to me."

F: Now, what year was that?

T: 1955. The year that he became the majority leader. He had just won a pretty sizeable election in 1954, and so he became the majority leader. I also wrote Sam Rayburn at the time they were both down in Texas. I wrote them each a letter telling them that I was switching from the Democratic National Committee and thought I would like to go up on the

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Hill, and asked them if they could find an opening for me somewhere.

So I know they consulted. One phoned the other--I don't know which one--but anyway, they talked about it. So when Senator Johnson got back to Washington, he had somebody call me and he sent his car for me. Then I went up, and that's when I said, "I've come with my hat in my hand." I had already written him a letter, so he knew what I was coming up about, I'm sure. And he was very kind and very thoughtful, and he did find a spot. He made a spot for me, really.

F: What did you do?

T: I was with the Democratic Policy Committee. And he announced at the time through his pressman George Reedy that I would be his executive assistant.

F: And what did you do with the committee as executive assistant?

T: Well, of course, we had all kinds of things with legislation, roll calls; that office takes care of all that sort of thing. There were about four or five or six of us, I guess, and later, about ten of us. Well, you do anything. You know, in a political office, as you probably well know, you don't do the same thing every day. You do all sorts of things.

F: How often did the Policy Committee meet formally?

T: Usually about one every week or two weeks, I think, Senator Johnson would call a [meeting]. They used to have a luncheon meeting and discuss the legislation to come to the floor, of course.

F: Were people placed on the Policy Committee by reason of their seniority, or by invitation of the chairman? How did you get to be a member of the Policy Committee?

T: The other people that were there?



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F: Yes.

T: They had had experience with former majority leaders, or minority leaders, whichever. There was one--Pauline Moore was up there, and she was with Scott Lucas of Illinois, and then she was with the next one, I've forgotten, with McFarland. Where is he from?

F: Arizona.

T: Arizona. And then I think Senator Johnson succeeded him as majority leader. So that Pauline was the only one that came that way.

Then he would just hire secretaries after that. People that were looking for jobs, and if they had the qualifications, why, he would take them on. I think that's how that was built up.

F: Did you issue policy statements, or did you run task forces and studies on--?

T: No. No. I think the Republican Policy Committee does, but we didn't. Mr. Johnson likes to run his own, you know. If there is any policy to be made, he wants to make it and he wants to state it. So that he didn't leave that to the other people. He had advice from others; George Reedy used to write things for him and statements that he'd give to the press; and also Gerry Siegel on legislation--as a lawyer. He got some very bright people around him, and it was a very nice family group.

F: How were Senators chosen for the Committee?

T: I imagine pretty much by Senator Johnson. I don't think they took any vote from the committee. I think he just chose whom he wished, and just probably asked for approval after he had made a decision.

F: How large was your committee?

T: About nine, I think. Two ex-officios, I think.

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F: Did you sit in on any of the committee meetings?

T: No. George Reedy sat in, you know, so they could write the minutes.  
The minutes had to be written up, of course.

F: Was there considerable secrecy about what the committee discussed?

T: Yes, until Senator Johnson would talk to the President, of course. If they knew there was a Policy Committee meeting, of course, they were all just outside his door waiting to find out what they had decided and what was coming up. And so he always had a press conference after the meeting. Up until that time, it was all secret.

F: As majority leader, did Senator Johnson report regularly to President Eisenhower?

T: No, I don't think so, because only the Republican groups came down to President Eisenhower, like only the Democrats really on that Tuesday, every Tuesday, that President Johnson has a group down. Just the Democratic leaders. And I think it was the same with President Eisenhower with Republican leaders.

F: On the other hand, one difference is that Mr. Johnson had the Democratic majority, and Mr. Eisenhower did not have a Republican majority, so that Senator Johnson was--

T: We cooperated very well with President Eisenhower, of course, I know that. And he was very fond of him. You can see it even today, though he has been very sick and everything. He has been solicitous about him. He always goes out to the hospital to see him. Didn't this time, because I guess nobody was allowed.

F: Was there considerable difference of opinion in the Policy Committee?

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T: I don't think too much so. At least by the grapevine I never heard it.

F: You were not aware of any factions within?

T: No.

F: You spent six years with Mr. Johnson this time, more or less.

T: Yes, from 1955 until he became vice president.

F: And were all of them attached to the Policy Committee?

T: Yes. I was there the entire time. Well, no, for about six months I went down to his Majority Leader's Office. I don't know what was happening. They needed more help. They brought in a couple of [people]. Ruth somebody, a Texas girl. Then he had Mary Margaret Wiley, of course. She was his secretary. And then they had people in other offices doing various things. But I did spend about six months right in his Majority Leader's Office.

F: Doing what?

T: They're very nice when they get fixed up, you know; they just talk so much about it. Very attractive.

F: What did you do in the Majority Leader's Office?

T: Oh, sometimes I would help Lady Bird out with some things there. And later I used to go up to the house and work with her quite a bit, because everybody got so busy that Senator Johnson called me in one day and he asked me if I would be willing to help her out. He said that it had just gotten intolerable. So maybe I guess she gave [others] things to do and they didn't do them, or didn't have time to do them. And then I used to go up fairly regularly and take her dictation and help her out.

F: This was what? Just regular senatorial business that you did with Mrs.

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Johnson?

T: You answer phones a good deal of the day. Because you know how he likes the telephone and people know it. So they telephoned instead of writing.

F: Did you work with Mrs. Johnson at all after she became either the vice president's wife or the president's?

T: No, just when he was majority leader.

F: Did you retire then in 1961 or did you take another position?

T: No, I stayed up on the Hill with Senator Mansfield.

F: With the Policy Committee?

T: Yes. Five years with him.

F: Did you notice any difference in the way the Policy Committee ran under the two senators?

T: Well, of course, we didn't--you know, we always said that with Senator Johnson it was a crisis every minute, but there wasn't a crisis every minute with Senator Mansfield. As far as the Policy Committee itself goes, it runs pretty much the same. Of course, the men operate differently.

F: Yes. In what ways?

T: Well, President Johnson, you know, he could think of more things a minute than most people, and Senator Mansfield isn't of that temperament, I guess. You know President Johnson is a driver; he drives himself and therefore drives everybody else. But he gets the job done.

F: Did you find him fairly easy to work with?

T: Yes, I found him easy to work with. I don't think that everybody did, but I did.

F: Did you work long hours?

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T: No, not terribly long. If we were going in session, he liked to know that we were around. And actually, once in a while, we would have a speech coming up and everybody would be, you know, putting it together and stapling and doing all sorts of things. If it was late at night and he was still in the Senate Chamber; he would come in and out to see how things were going. But we were all around. I don't know that we did much more than that at night.

F: What particular legislation did the Policy Committee handle that stands out in your mind?

T: Well, I think civil rights probably is the one that stands out in my mind.

F: How long did you work on that?

T: Oh, well, we worked--he worked--I think it was two weeks around the clock, day and night. I think Bird used to bring down his clothes every morning. She would bring him down some fresh clothes, because she never knew whether he was coming home or not. But he stayed right there, and I recall that a lot of the senators did not, so it was difficult to get a quorum, you know. And you were up and down all night trying to get a quorum. He had a couch in his office.

And I remember Mrs. Roosevelt, who was very interested in the civil rights legislation, was down in Washington. I don't know whether he wanted to see her or she wanted to see him. I can't remember, but I know that Senator Johnson called me and asked me to take his car and go get Mrs. Roosevelt--she was staying over at Mrs. Eugene Meyer's house and bring her over to the Capitol. So I did, and went into his office. She sat down and I was going to leave. And he said, "No, Grace, you sit

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down, too." So I sat there while he talked to Mrs. Roosevelt about civil rights legislation. And I remember his saying, "I'm here every night all night, day and night, but where are all the liberals?"

She was so interested in it and yet he wanted to point out, I'm sure, that he felt she thought he could have done more about civil rights before that time. And when he finally got down to doing it, he did a good job. But he brought up the point that these people that talked so much about it and were crying liberals weren't there to vote.

F: They weren't working.

T: No, they weren't working. He made that point and I was remembering. And I think that's why he wanted me to sit down. He wanted me to hear what he had to say to Mrs. Roosevelt.

F: Were he and Mrs. Roosevelt fairly close friends?

T: No, I don't think so. In later years, they were more. When Senator Johnson started this civil rights and other things that she was very interested in, they saw something of each other. He gave a little party for her when he was majority leader. He asked I don't know how many senators--a good many senators--to come in and pay their respects to her, or she may have wanted to talk to them about some particular legislation. And then [there was] this time when he had her over to this office on the civil rights thing. And occasionally a few other times I think they saw each other, which

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was more than they had seen each other before, I think.

Of course, they would go to the White House congressional receptions and things, but you know there were hundreds of them there, and there wasn't any opportunity to visit.

F: Why do you suppose Mr. Johnson became interested in the civil rights action?

T: I thought that he always was interested in it, but I also felt that he couldn't really come out forward because if he did, he wouldn't come back to Congress.

F: He just waited until the time was right?

T: That's exactly it. And I think then he felt he had to do it. But I think you know and I know that if he had come out full force or signed that--what was that so many of them signed, the Southern--?

F: The Southern Manifesto.

T: Yes. He didn't sign that. And it was a good thing he didn't sign that, I think, because later he was taking the lead in civil rights. And I always felt that his heart was in the right place, but that he knew he couldn't accomplish the job unless he was sent back to the Congress. And for that reason he held back.

And then once he became vice president, he felt freer to take an active part.

F: Did you witness any kind of personal growth in Mr. Johnson's outlook over this period?

T: Yes.

F: Did you feel it?

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T: Yes, I did. Just in watching what he proposed and what he fought for.

F: Did Mr. Johnson manage to hold on to his southern friends while he was pushing for civil rights?

T: Yes, he and Senator Russell were always the closest of friends. And yet Senator Russell was a leader on the other side.

F: Well, did they feel that Mr. Johnson had betrayed--?

T: I never heard them say that, and I don't believe that they did. At least, I never read that they did, and I know they remained friends. It was just a question of Senator Johnson's taking the stand that he felt was the right stand, and at the right time. Timing is so important; he's pretty good on timing. President Roosevelt was, too.

F: Back to the Policy Committee for a moment. I'm trying to get some of the mechanics of this time that you know so well. Where did the Policy Committee meet?

T: Well, first of all, it met in a room off our office. We had a long table there for dining and so on. It was sort of narrow and not very attractive. And so then they began meeting in Skeeter Johnson's office, the Secretary of the Senate's Office.

F: You had an office there in the Old Senate Office Building? Where was your office?

T: On the third floor.

F: Of the old Senate Office Building?

T: No, no. In the Capitol.

F: In the Capitol. And where was the Majority Leader's Office?

T: It was on the floor with the Chamber. The second floor, isn't it?



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F: Did Mr. Johnson have still another office as Senator?

T: Oh, yes.

F: So, in effect, he had three offices during that period.

T: Yes, he had that very nice one that you probably read about--that very attractive one.

F: That's the majority leader's?

T: That's the majority leader's office, and he was chairman of the Policy Committee, so he had those offices on the third floor, and then he had an office over in the Senate Office Building. That was called the Texas office, over in the Senate Office Building.

F: Did he circulate among the three offices, or did he tend to stay in one place?

T: No, he stayed pretty much in the Majority Leader's Office.

F: Was he fairly available to other senators, or was he hard to see?

T: No, I think to other senators he was available, but I think he was hard to see for a lot of other people.

F: By this time was it difficult for Texas constituents to see him?

T: No, if they had some advance notice. Unless it was something like civil rights, and he was on the floor all the time. But usually, he would come off the floor and see them maybe in the lobby right outside the Senate Chamber. Most of them came over to him. I don't think he got over to the Texas office very often. You see, Walter Jenkins was over there, and he ran that shop.

F: Jenkins ran the Texas office.

T: Yes.

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F: Well, now, who ran the Majority Leader's Office?

T: The Majority Leader.

F: Did Mr. Johnson pretty well pick his own secretarial staff, or did people like Jenkins run the office for him?

T: No, I think if they were going to work closely with him, I think he made the selection.

F: Did anyone work for Mr. Johnson who didn't work closely with him?

T: Well, you would work for him, but not every day. Like Mary Margaret was right in his office, and Juanita Roberts--of course, she's his secretary now-- and she was in his Majority Leader's Office. And Mary Rather worked for him for years, of course, She was in the Majority Leader's Office and sometimes in the Texas Office. But I think he liked to select his own secretaries.

F: Did he keep the lines between the offices fairly separate, or was there sort of a--?

T: We all worked together. If they had an overload of mail or something would come over to our office--I got all the out-of-state mail. They kept all the Texas, because they knew the constituency and so forth. But anything outside of Texas was sent over to me to go through and handle as best I could.

F: What sort of mail did the Majority Leader's Office handle?

T: More the personal--the people that he knew. That would be sorted out, and of course in the Texas office, Walter would probably go through that batch of mail before it would be sent over to the Majority Leader's Office for his personal attention. That was as much as he could handle, I

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would think.

F: Have you seen much of Mr. Johnson since 1961?

T: No, I haven't seen a great deal of him. When he came up to the Capitol a few times, I saw him. But since he has been in the White House, I've been down there quite a lot. I won't say quite a lot, but we had two Roosevelt affairs, one hanging Mrs. Roosevelt's picture and one the President's, and I was invited to be present on those occasions. Then I think a reception and Shakespearean play one afternoon, and George Reedy's birthday, you know, various [occasions]. Bill Hopkins, when he had spent thirty-five years or whatever it was, they had a party for him. Of course, he was there in my day, and so we, the old-timers, the old New Dealers, were invited. So on those occasions I've seen him, and occasionally I saw him, you know, at some party. But that's about it.

Let me see, we went up to Campobello, I guess it was two years ago, and President Johnson was up there to meet with Prime Minister Pearson. They were dedicating, I think, the new center--or breaking ground, I've forgotten. But anyway I was up there to that, too, because we had a meeting of the Roosevelt-Campobello National Park Commission, and President Johnson was kind enough to appoint me as an alternate commissioner. I'm Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr.'s alternate. And so we had our meeting up at Campobello, and afterwards I was coming back to Washington. I had flown up in a small plane with Senator Muskie and Jim Rowe. So I said to Mike Manatos, "Have you got an extra seat in that Air Force One?" And he said, "Sure." So I boarded Air Force One. You have to move pretty fast, too, you

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know, to keep up. Sometimes you get right on his heels. And so we took the helicopters to wherever the jet was, and got on Air Force One.

I got on and wasn't on very long when word came out from the President to come in and join the inner circle of congressmen and senators that he had in his sitting room. So I came back and had a little chance for a visit with him that day and with Bird, too.

F: Were you involved in Mr. Johnson's beginning interest in space aeronautics when he set up?

T: Yes, I was still with him on the Hill. We had a good deal to do with the Preparedness Committee. He was chairman of that, the Sub-Committee of the Armed Forces Committee. And he was very active in that.

Then space came along. I wasn't so familiar with that. I think I know more about the Preparedness Committee.

F: Let's talk a little bit about the Preparedness Committee. Was he on the Preparedness Committee when you went with him, or did he come on afterwards?

T: I don't really remember. I think he was on it when I went up there. I believe he was.

F: What was he trying to do?

T: Well, investigate all kinds of things, I think. Because they had this-- [Cyrus] Vance, you know, and the Committeemen in New York, [Edwin] Weisl, and special lawyers came down to serve the Preparedness Committee. So they had a lot of things going.

F: Why did they use lawyers?

T: Well, I suppose for investigating. Back when they were doing some

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investigating work. And they needed legal advice.

F: What were they investigating?

T: I don't recall that, either, because I didn't work with the committee.

F: You didn't work directly with the committee?

T: No.

F: Before we began, you were telling me that Mr. Johnson invited the people on the Hill to come with him when he was vice president. Would you mind repeating that now so we can--

T: Well, when Mr. Johnson was elected, he sent letters, I recall, to all the people that worked on different staffs, various staffs, asking them if they would like to come down to the Executive Department to work. He would try to get them a job there, or would they like to stay where they were. I think if they wanted to stay where they were, and whoever was going to succeed, like Senator Mansfield--if Senator Mansfield hadn't wanted me to stay on the staff, I'm sure that President Johnson would have found me a place in the Executive Offices somewhere. But I wanted to stay on the Hill. I think he was very thoughtful and wanted to see that everybody was placed, and of course he had to give up the Texas office, and so on, but he brought a lot of those people down with him to his Vice President's Office.

F: Did Senator Johnson and Senator Mansfield work closely together?

T: Yes, very closely together.

F: There has been some difference of opinion since over the Vietnam War between Senator Mansfield and President Johnson. Did they have any differences in those days?

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T: I don't believe so. I think this is just recently on the war issue. I think they see pretty much eye to eye on other things.

F: In other words, there is no basic disagreement that goes way back?

T: I don't believe so, no.

F: Did you know Senator McCarthy in those days?

T: No, well--I knew him. I've known him socially, really.

Which McCarthy are you talking about? The good McCarthy or the bad McCarthy?

F: I was talking about Eugene, in this case.

T: Oh, yes, I knew Eugene McCarthy, too, but I also knew Joe McCarthy. He was in the Senate still when I went up there.

F: Senator Johnson until fairly well along did not get involved with Senator Joe McCarthy?

T: No.

F: Was this because he was busy on other things, or why?

T: He wasn't on that committee. The Un-American Committee, was it?

F: Yes.

T: Well, Senator Johnson didn't have anything to do with that, so I think in that way he didn't get involved with Joe McCarthy. Stuart Symington did and some of the other senators. You know they battled it out. Day after day.

F: Did you ever hear Mr. Johnson express any opinion on Joe McCarthy?

T: No. Never did. I think he must have ignored him.

F: This has nothing to do with Mr. Johnson, but curiously, was Mr. McCarthy, Joe McCarthy's staff--did they all tend to believe in him?

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- T: It seemed so. But I didn't know any of the staff. I never met Roy Cohn or any of those people. But, of course, I think he had been censured by the time I got up there. I guess he had.
- F: I don't remember now when he died.
- T: About 1957, I think.
- F: That's about right. When did you retire from the Senate Policy Committee?
- T: In 1965.
- F: What have you been doing since then?
- T: Just as I please. That's what everybody asks me. "Well, what do you do?" I say, "Just what I please to." Oh, I get around a good bit, and I do do some things, but I'm not very active in anything anymore.
- I thought maybe I'd get into this campaign, but I haven't done it so far. I read that they have \$300 dues, and then they don't need me.
- F: They may need you. It looks like it sometimes.
- T: I know. Ed Muskie is the chairman of our Campobello Commission, and I'm thinking of calling his aid, Don Nichols, and asking him what's the place for me to work in it. In Muskie's office--in his headquarters. I read the other day what sounded like it was special headquarters that Muskie has, instead of a combined one with Humphrey.
- F: Did you know Senator Humphrey fairly well?
- T: Yes. I met him when he first came to Washington in 1949.
- F: Was he a fairly enthusiastic supporter of Mr. Johnson?
- T: Yes, I would say a very enthusiastic supporter.
- F: Well, now where was he during this civil rights fight?
- T: Oh, I imagine he was probably around. I have a feeling that Humphrey

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would have been there, but there are a lot of others that weren't there.

F: You don't know whether he was one of these liberals that didn't work?

T: No, I think he was a liberal that did work. That's very close to his heart, and always has been. You know, going back to 1948 when he walked out of that convention and so forth, he has fought for civil rights right on straight through.

F: Did you attend the conventions from 1932 down through 1956 or so?

T: No, I flew up with Governor Roosevelt then, to Chicago, in 1932. In 1936 I went up with him to Philadelphia. In 1940 he did not go to the convention, which was in Chicago, and in 1944 he didn't go to the convention. We were on our way out to the coast and stopped in Chicago and Chairman Hannigan came aboard and wanted him to switch the names of the people he said he would approve of, and that was Douglas and Truman.

And so Hannigan, because he was for Truman, naturally--he came from Missouri--wanted the names switched around, so Dorothy Brady was sitting right behind the typewriter when Bob Hannigan came back and said, "Grace, we'll just switch these names."

So we wrote the letter and gave it to him, and he took it back to the President; the President signed it and he went back to the convention. He wanted to show that he preferred Truman to Douglas.

I didn't go to that convention, either.

F: This was Dorothy who?

T: Dorothy Brady.

F: Brady. B-r-a-d-y. Now who was she?

T: She was secretary in the White House; she was first secretary to Steve Early, the press secretary, and then later came over to work with Missy



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Le Hand and me.

F: Did Mr. Roosevelt really have no preference between Mr. Truman and Justice Douglas?

T: He was very fond of Bill Douglas, and I don't think he knew President Truman very well at that time.

F: Well, I was wondering whether there was much decision-making in deciding to go with Mr. Truman?

T: I think the politicians all got together--Ed Flynn, Frank Walker, a lot of them--and discussed the running-mate. A lot of people thought that Wallace would hurt the ticket, and so I think, as I recall, they decided that Bill Douglas wasn't known enough to the country, certainly not to the politicians.

But anyway President Roosevelt, I think, admired him very much; was very fond of him; and I think he thought he'd make a good vice president. So he wrote that out for Hannigan. Then Truman, being a politician, and he was known then--it was known as the Truman Committee on Munitions, you know. He did a lot of investigating and got quite a lot of publicity. But that's the first time, I think, anybody had really heard much from him.

F: So, he wasn't much better known than Mr. Douglas?

T: No, that's right. And I think they decided he'd be the better of the two.

F: And Mr. Roosevelt didn't care sufficiently one way or the other?

T: No.

F: Well, that's the way you get president.

T: Exactly. But I think they pay more attention to that now, don't you; I mean, to the number two man.

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F: Do you know Mr. Muskie fairly well?

T: Yes.

F: Did you know him in the Senate?

T: Yes. I didn't know him too well in the Senate, but I've known him better since we're working on this commission.

F: I have read newspaper writings that Mr. Muskie annoyed Majority Leader Johnson when he first came in by opposing him on certain issues. Do you know anything about that?

T: Well, only what I've read. I've read it recently, of course, since he has been nominated. They talked of the earlier days when Muskie first came to the Senate, I guess. You can't agree with the Majority Leader on everything. He knew quite a lot about legislation, I think; it may have been local, but still I think he was well informed, and had his own opinions.

F: When a new senator came in, did Mr. Johnson do anything in particular to welcome him?

T: I think he had him in for a visit, you know, and probably sat down and had coffee or a drink, depending on the time of the day. And got to know his feelings, I guess, about various things. But most of them that came in had some knowledge of what legislation was before the Senate. And so I think he would probably do a little talking to them just as President Roosevelt did to him.

F: Were you around when Mr. Johnson as majority leader changed the way of staffing committees in the Senate?

T: Staffing?

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- F: Staffing. I'm talking about committee appointments. You know, he introduced a lot of younger people onto them-- onto the Committees, and other senators that once would have had to wait and gave him more--
- T: Well, I remember senators being disappointed because they didn't go on Judiciary or they didn't get on that. As you say, some new young man coming in probably got it instead of somebody with more seniority. But I think he believed in giving them a chance, and it wasn't an easy thing to do--to distribute the senators around all these committees. I think it was a pretty hard job. That is, to please everybody. You can never do that.
- F: Did Mr. Johnson talk with other senators before he would give a new senator a committee?
- T: Yes, I think so. He would talk with Mansfield and some of the other leaders--Humphrey, probably. People like that.
- F: Did you get to see much of Senator Kennedy, John Kennedy, in those days?
- T: Only in the hall and around that way. He wasn't in and out of our office.
- F: You don't have much knowledge of the relationship between the two men?
- T: No, I don't. Of course, I think it was very strained, as we know, in 1960. But I don't know that they had been very close before that.
- F: Well, Mr. Johnson put Senator Kennedy on the Foreign Relations Committee. It was a choice appointment. And I wondered what dictated that appointment.
- T: Well, the fact that he'd lived abroad and he'd written about--well, I don't know whether it was England. And I think he thought he was probably better qualified, better read, and had made a study perhaps more of foreign affairs than other senators who may have come in at the same time he did.

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- F: In those years between 1956 and 1960, were you aware of Mr. Johnson's presidential ambitions?
- T: No, I always thought he had them, though.
- F: But this was strictly your own intuition?
- T: Yes, my own intuition.
- F: But there was nothing visible to a fellow worker of his?
- T: No. I think you had to be conscious of it all the time though. In everything you say and do and how you vote.
- F: Well, one thing I was leading around to--he placed Senator Kennedy on the Foreign Relations Committee where he would get some visibility to the public, and Senator Kennedy by then was obviously starting to campaign for the 1960 nomination and Senator Johnson was heading in the same direction. I wondered, in a sense, why Mr. Johnson raised a rival like that, or was it in his nature. Let me restate it. Did Mr. Johnson consciously keep down certain people who might outstrip him?
- T: I think maybe he did, but I couldn't name any of the ones. But I'm sure he did.
- F: But no one we can identify?
- T: No one that I can remember.
- F: From your vantage point of knowing two presidents rather well, how would you compare the two and the methods of President Roosevelt and Johnson in presidential leadership?
- T: On the presidential issue?
- F: As presidential leaders.
- T: Well, I think both were strong leaders. I see some similarity between

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President Johnson and President Roosevelt. They loved the land, their interest in farming, and of course, water power and all sorts of things like that. I think they liked people. Both of them liked people very much. Both of them very kind and generous. I don't know that there's very much more that I could say that they were alike.

F: In what ways were they different?

T: President Roosevelt never got excited. And President Johnson does, at least a few times every day.

F: Mr. Johnson was telling a group of us recently about visiting with Mr. Roosevelt out there. They were having lunch out there in the wing, you know, along that walkway, between his office and...

T: You mean the magnolia tree, there.

F: Yes, and when Joseph Kennedy called and what a friendly conversation they had--this was when Joseph Kennedy was leading the isolationists, you know.

T: That must have been in 1940.

F: And that when he hung up, he just exploded. And Mr. Johnson was very much impressed by the fact that it had been such a polite conversation and that Mr. Roosevelt was keeping his political viewpoint separate from his personal viewpoint. He could manage to get along with him personally but politically was annoyed with him.

T: Yes, of course, I know he was. But he did come down to see the President. You know, he was going to make a big blast over the radio, I think, at the time but he never did.

F: You're talking about Joseph Kennedy?

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T: Yes.

F: You think coming to see the President kept him from it?

T: Yes, I think it had something to do with it. President Roosevelt was quite a charmer and even if you were angry with him, you'd come out not as angry.

F: Some people say that Mr. Johnson represents the sort of ultimate or the culmination of the New Deal. Has it hurt him a bit or would you agree with that?

T: Yes, I would agree with that.

F: Has Mr. Johnson stayed in close touch with the early New Dealers?

T: Yes, like Tommy Corcoran and Jim Rowe, those people who served in the late 1940s. He was an original one, too. In the Interior Department-- a young lawyer, Ed Foley. I think he is pretty close to all those men.

F: Do the New Dealers get together here and those that go back to the 1930s. Do they get together with regularity?

T: No, not with any regularity. I guess the men do at lunch, but occasionally I do see them over at Tommy Corcoran's house. Ben Cohen and Jim Rowe and a few others.

F: Ben Cohen is still around?

T: Yes.

F: Do you know where Leon Henderson is?

T: New York. That's all I know. I don't have an address.

F: I've been trying to find him without any luck.

T: Tugwell, I think, is in California. Not too many of them left, you know.

F: I know, and I'm trying to get as many of them as I can. But I haven't

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been able to track down Leon Henderson yet.

T: Well, he's in New York, but where I don't really know. His wife moved to Florida, so. . . I mean, his former wife.

Ed Foley was a young lawyer in the government and part of that group that used to meet occasionally. And I'm just trying to think of a party that Senator Johnson had and had all these people in-- a lot of New Dealers. I'm trying to think who they were. It has been sometime ago.

I remember it because I came in the Capitol one morning and who came along but his "nibs," Senator Johnson, and he said, "Come on, honey, come on in the elevator." So I got in the Senator's elevator with him. I had a big box done up in birthday fashion with navy blue ribbon, because the Navy--because we always used to wrap everything for President Roosevelt up in the Navy blue. He looked at it and he said, "Honey, looks like somebody's birthday." And I said, "Yes, yours." He said, "Oh, honey, my birthday isn't until August." I said, "Honey knows when your birthday is, but if I have something for you and think you'll enjoy it, I'm going to give it to you in July." I think it was July. So anyway I wrote a little note and gave it to him. He didn't get around to opening it until late in the day, and it was a little--like a little bronze bust of the President, pretty much like he has his bust now. So he showed it to all the New Dealers, and he said, "Oh, look what Grace brought me."

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So he was very proud of it. I couldn't have given him anything he liked more.

And it all started at Hyde Park. I didn't know he and Bird had never been to Hyde Park until he spoke in the Rose Garden on Memorial Day. Mrs. Roosevelt invited me to come up. As a matter of fact, she invited President Truman. Mrs. Truman got sick, and President Truman couldn't make it. And I think that Senator Johnson had read in the paper that President Truman was going up to Hyde Park for Memorial Day. Then, of course, he was invited. I don't think he liked to play second fiddle even to an ex-president. But anyway he delayed accepting the invitation which came through me, and I was getting calls saying, "Have you heard anything from him?" Time was getting short. I thought I knew Senator Johnson well enough to know that when he delayed that long, it meant the answer was going to be yes. So surely enough, Mrs. Roosevelt finally called him herself and asked him if he was going to be able to come up and make the address in the Rose Garden at Hyde Park, and he told her "Yes."

We flew up. I went with him. Mary Margaret and Bird and President Johnson and I flew up and had a very pleasant day. We went into the little library, and there was the big bust from which the little one was made, the Jo Davidson bust. He stopped and looked at it and said, my, he thought it was magnificent. And I said, "Well, you must have one of the little ones, because the Democratic National Committee sold them years ago for about five dollars." They're much more now, quite a lot more. So I said,



"You don't have one of those?" And he said, "No." I said, "Well, I'll take care of that when I get home."

So I wrote and found out where they had them. I had seen it in some catalog, but I had to track it down. And finally I got the bust and when I got it, I thought he might as well have it right away and never mind waiting until the twenty-seventh of August.

Then when I came back on the Air Force plane with him from Campobello, he invited me to go over to the office with him. So I went over and the first thing he did was look at the ticker tape. Then he pointed out some things to me, and then he wanted me to look at these busts. There were about three, I think. And [he] asked me which one I liked best. So I studied them for a while, and then I [chose one].

F: These were busts of him?

T: Yes. He hadn't made up his mind, I guess, which one he was going to decide on. So I chose one. I think it was the one he had in mind that he thought was best. So he said he would give me one. So I was at a White House reception, and I don't know how that came up. I shook hands with him and kissed him. Then he said something about telling somebody to go get a bust, I think, for somebody that probably passed through the line. And I said, "By the way, you were going to give me one." And he said, "All right." So then he sent somebody right up to get the bust. And the Secret Service man told me to stand in a certain place so I could be found in the

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crowd when the bust was brought down to him, and then he made me a present of it.

F: That was a nice time for that. He can do the remarkably thoughtful thing at times.

T: Yes, and he does. He has a lot of things on his mind usually, you know, and you have to remind people. I was reminding him, because I knew he wanted to give me one. So I reminded him, so I gave him one of Roosevelt and he gave me one of himself.

You know, the human memory is short. And you forget a lot of the things that were important, and that were interesting, and that you experienced. Of course, a lot of them stand out that you never forget, of course. I wish in a way, although I always said I didn't want it, I'd made note of things, you know, every day. But there wasn't the time; and as I look back on it, I wouldn't have had time to do it.

F: You worked.

T: Well, I worked around the clock some times until four o'clock in the morning.

F: When you were working for Senator Johnson and you were working that late.

T: I never worked that late for him.

F: You never worked that late for him? This was when you were in the White House?

T: Yes, this was when I was in the White House. The latest we would stay up on the Hill would be until the Senate adjourned. And it was during the civil rights thing, because I didn't stay for that. Because that was going on and we knew that. But probably midnight would be the latest of

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me to meet the people over there, I guess, and of course, she and Senator Johnson were always such good friends. And I guess he was with Maury in the House too. I knew Maury Maverick, too. And I met the son when I was down there, Maury, Jr. I had a very pleasant visit. She took me sightseeing.

P: That's my town.

T: It's a delightful town. I suppose you've been to the Fair [HemisFair]?

P: Oh, yes, I was home for about... Just spent practically the whole time down there. It was very delightful.

T: I'm sorry I didn't get down for it. I guess it's closed now.

P: It closed Sunday, the sixth.

T: Was it a success?

P: In terms of the people that went to it, yes. I think financially they're going to lose some money.

T: I think Expo did the same thing. Except I think Expo did very well on the first go around. But I don't think it's doing so well on the second one. I don't think the second one ever does. I think Bob Moses was silly to continue that one in New York, because they lost a lot of money.

P: This was such a fun fair because everything was accessible. You could go down and come back, and kind of take it at your leisure if you had the time. And there was so much to see. In a very San Antonio way, you know, kind of like, "Well, I think I'll sit there and look at this building." It was quite delightful.

T: I was down to San Antonio when Senator Kennedy came down to make a speech. And we went over to the Alamo, and we were coming out, I just happened

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to--Kennedy just came up alongside of me, and we came out of the Alamo together. And there was a photographer in front who said, "Just hold that." So Kennedy looked down at me, and I had to look up at him, and he said, "Two Irishmen trying to look like Mexicans." And I never did get a copy of that picture. I always regretted that I didn't. After he died, [I regretted] that I hadn't made an effort to get it and have him sign it for me.

I went to one of those big shindigs here at the Armory, you know, a Democratic dinner, and then-Vice President Johnson and President Kennedy were there. President Kennedy was very close to me. I think as a matter of fact Vice President Johnson sent me the ticket. He had somebody call and ask me if I was going to the dinner, and I said, "No." He said, "Well, would you like to go?" And I said, "Yes." So he sent me a ticket up to the house for me. I wanted to say hello to President Kennedy, because I knew his father and mother very well, especially his father, who worked here in the Roosevelt Administration for quite a few years before he went abroad. So I wanted to ask him how his father was. It was after he had the stroke. I went to go up toward him and the Secret Service man said, "No." So I stepped back. I just waved to him, and he put his hand down and the Secret Service man couldn't do anything about that. Well, I got to talk to him, and that was the Saturday night [after] on Friday I had been interviewed by Marie Smith, and that big picture and the story in the paper.

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She asked me if I had been back to the White House recently. I said, "No, I haven't." She said, "Well, would you like to?" And I said, "Oh, one day I'll sneak in and take a look." So she put that in the paper. Well, Tish Baldridge saw it and called me on Saturday morning and asked me if I would like to come over that following Monday. And I said, "Yes, I would." So that Saturday night when I spoke to the President, I asked him how his father was, and he said, "Not well at all." And I said, "I'm sorry, but give him my love." So then he said, "You know, I'd like you to come over to the White House one day and meet my secretary, Mrs. Lincoln, and also take a look at the desk in my office and see if it was the one that President Roosevelt used." So I told him, "It just so happens that I'll be over in the White House on Monday." And he said, "Oh, fine." I said, "I'll take a look."

I went over to the White House, and I did go over to the office and did meet Mrs. Lincoln. And he wasn't in his office, so I went in and took a look. Now at the time I was thinking--after I had spoken to him, I thought, "Well, of course, that isn't the desk that President Roosevelt used, because that's up at the Hyde Park Library. So I told the man, "No, that's not President Roosevelt's desk." As a matter of fact, I had gone in and he wasn't there and then when I came out, I was going past Salinger's office and there he was behind a newspaper, you know. I almost kissed Salinger trying to get his attention so that I could say

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a word to the President about the desk. But he realized somebody was there or looking at him, and so he dropped the paper and came over and spoke to me, and then I told him.

Later when I mentioned this to one of my former colleagues in the White House, she said, "Well, yes, that's the desk. That's the desk he had over in the study in the [White] House. And the one I was thinking about was the one in the office. He did use that one in the study. It was made from the wood of a ship. And because President Roosevelt liked anything like that, so President Kennedy did, too. He had been in the Navy. And so I must one day tell Jackie Kennedy or write her a little note. I was going to tell Bobby [Kennedy] and never did. So I must write her a little note, because that will go into his Library up at Harvard there. So I think she would have liked to have known that President Roosevelt did use that desk for his study in the House.

F: That's not the desk that's there now. That's not the same desk that President Johnson--

T: Well, no, they've taken that out, I imagine. I imagine they asked for it for the Library, or bought it. You have to buy these things. Maybe the Library at Hyde Park did; I don't really know. But I know one time when President Roosevelt, after one administration, got a new chair to start the new administration, I think we bought it for his birthday gift, gave him that chair so that he could take it up to Hyde Park or whatever he wanted to do with it. We had to pay

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Gift of Personal Statement

By Grace G. Tully

to the

Lyndon Baines Johnson Library

In accordance with Sec. 507 of the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended (44 U.S.C. 397) and regulations issued thereunder (41 CFR 101-10), I, Grace G. Tully, hereinafter referred to as the donor, hereby give, donate, and convey to the United States of America for eventual deposit in the proposed Lyndon Baines Johnson Library, and for administration therein by the authorities thereof, a tape and transcript of a personal statement approved by me and prepared for the purpose of deposit in the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. The gift of this material is made subject to the following terms and conditions:

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Signed Grace G. Tully

Date April 25, 1978

Accepted James B. Rhoads

Archivist of the United States

Date May 11, 1978