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Among Friends of LBJ

A NEWSLETTER OF THE FRIENDS OF THE LBJ LIBRARY



HER HEART BELONGS TO THE LBJ LIBRARY

Mary Martin Launches New Exhibit

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James Rowe Reflects on Presidents He Knew

James H. Rowe, Jr., Washington attorney who has known every President since Franklin Roosevelt, for whom he worked as an aide in the 1930s, shared his recollections of those leaders in a speech at the Library in March. Excerpts from those reminiscences:

On Roosevelt:

Roosevelt was full of charm. He charmed everybody, I don't think he could help it. His staff adored him for that reason. If you saw him six times a day, he'd put the charm on you. If you saw him every two weeks, he would. He was known for this and he loved to do it. It did have problems and it caused some problems because he used the charms as a filibuster.

Recently in Washington we had a large celebration for a week of the Roosevelt Centennial and there was a large joint session of Congress and among the speakers was Claude Pepper, then a young Senator, when Roosevelt was President, and he told the story at the joint session of Congress about coming in to see Roosevelt. He had a project in Florida he was really very worried about and he needed some help. And he said he rather got the feeling that Roosevelt didn't want to help him but he was going to press him. He walked in, Roosevelt looked up and said, "Claude, have I ever told you about Robert Livingston? Robert Livingston is an ancestor of my wife, and he signed the Declaration of Independence." And the President told him about Robert Livingston for 15 minutes . . . Claude kept edging in, never got a chance. Finally the reporters, the photographers came in, and the President said "Glad to see you, Claude, but I've got a press conference." Claude said, "My project . . ." "Well, we'll have to talk some other day," said Roosevelt . . . and Claude was out the door! He said he didn't get his project but he was the best informed man in America about Robert Livingston.

Roosevelt was a very good politician . . . he loved politics. He saw a great number of Senators and Congressmen and he kept his eye on them, and he kept a careful count, and they could get in quite easily, on-the-record and off-the-record and it was a rather good relationship.

I remember once I went in, he was sitting in the Cabinet Room, and I went in to see him. He was on the phone all by himself, with a list of telephone numbers, and I heard him talking to a man who turned out to be the County Chairman of Kansas City. He was coming up to the third term election in 1940 and I remember he said "Hello, Bob, how are you, how is your wife Maisy, how are the children (calling them all by name), you haven't been in to see me, I don't know why you haven't . . . how's everything out there? But Bob, I've been looking at your registration figures, they're down from last time, don't you think you'd better get to work and get those figures up?" And he talked a while and then he hung up and laughed! He said "Bob will call 10 more County Chairmen tonight and say the boss is on my tail to get me on yours, and you'd better get your figures up." And he did a lot of that . . . I think that's why he won four terms.

It was a great period for the young . . . the young came flocking in to work for Roosevelt. If I can quote from something I wrote: "With the possible exception of the founding fathers, there was never before, and certainly has not been



since, the excitement, the intellectuality, the excellence, with a sense of accomplishment, that existed in the New Deal. It is remembered by the hundreds, even thousands of young men and women who flocked to Washington to serve under such leaders as Franklin Roosevelt and his braintrust." Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes' words, when speaking of his old Civil War comrades on Memorial Day 1884, also I think apply to New Dealers: "Through our great good fortune in our youth, our hearts were touched with fire."*

On Harry S. Truman:

I wrote two long memoranda [for him] . . . one on how a President should handle an opposition Congress, and in 1947, a long memorandum on how he should get elected. I made several charming mistakes, such as "Pay no attention to the South, no matter what you do with the Southerners, they're going to vote Democratic—and you don't have to pay any attention." Well, there's a fellow named Strom Thurmond who got loose, and he took four states away from Truman . . .

I was interested in how he became Vice President. At the time I was a naval officer on a carrier in the Pacific so I missed the election. When I came back on leave I went in to see Roosevelt. I said "Mr. President, how did you pick Truman?" "Well," he said, "I wanted to pick the man who would hurt me the least. I couldn't pick Henry Wallace [again]. The bosses said 'we won't take him'." In those days there were bosses and they were powerful and you had to listen to them, and I'm not at all sure it wasn't an improvement over what we have now. He said, "Senator Bankhead of Alabama wanted to be a candidate, but labor and the bosses vetoed him." Jimmy Byrnes, who had left the Supreme Court to work for Roosevelt in the White House, wanted to be Vice President. However, labor vetoed Jimmy Byrnes . . . and that was the end of him. And, Bill Douglas of the Supreme Court, was a favorite of Roosevelt's and sort of wanted to be Vice President but he ran around town, according to Roosevelt, saying he didn't want to be second-fiddle to anybody—so that was the end of Bill Douglas.

Truman, Roosevelt pointed out, was popular with labor, he'd done a great job as Chairman of the Preparedness

Committee of the Senate, he was popular with labor, he was popular with the bosses and he was popular with the Southerners because he came from southern Missouri and they thought he understood them. "So," said Roosevelt "I picked Truman." At no time in this conversation was there any talk about whether Truman would be a good President or a bad President. And, of course, Roosevelt was dead three months later and Truman was President. And, I think, was quite a good President. I didn't think so at the time. Truman didn't like the New Dealers; the New Dealers didn't like Truman. But if you look at him, particularly in foreign policy, in looking back, he was a superb President.

On John F. Kennedy:

He was a great politician—the best national politician, except Roosevelt, that I ever knew. For he knew the country far better than Johnson, far better than Humphrey, and the reason for that, I think, is quite interesting. In 1956, Adlai Stevenson, who was our nominee, threw the Vice President's nomination open and there was a huge race between Kennedy and Kefauver. Kefauver won it but Kennedy made a great impression on everybody. It was the first real race on the convention floor ever to be shown on television. And he was a fine striking young figure and therefore all the politicians wanted him to come out to speak on their campaigns in their states. So he did. And he kept doing this for the next three or four years, and he made a lot of friends, and he got to know the United States.

On Lyndon B. Johnson:

I think Lyndon Johnson was the brightest of all these presidents [and] I think he was probably the most complicated. He was obviously the best parliamentarian we've ever had, not only when he was Senate Majority Leader, but also as President. He understood, I think, the Congress far better than anyone else, even Roosevelt.

I think Johnson's great contributions were in education and civil rights. Education because he taught Mexicans and realized how poor the schools were, not only there but all over the country. In civil rights—I used to argue with him when he was a Senator that he should run for President because I said, "We're going to have a civil war, the way we're going, and only a Southerner can cure this problem . . . and you're the only Southerner who can do it." And he never really wanted it . . . He always said "Our base is in the Senate and this is where we belong, this is where we have our power." By accident, he became President and he immediately went to work on civil rights, and did a superb job, as we all know. I think it is not yet solved, but Lyndon Johnson solved most of it.

*For another recollection of New Deal Washington, see Wilbur Cohen's reminiscence, pages 10 and 11.



Annette Sadler became supervisor of the Library's Volunteer Docent program replacing Debra Tompkins, who resigned in February and moved to Illinois. Mrs. Sadler, whose husband is a retired army officer, is a graduate of the University of Texas, has lived in many different parts of the world and has raised seven children.

The docents, working under particularly unfavorable conditions over the past months, with the renovation of the Museum going on all around them, have given orientation talks to as many as 150 students at one time, helping a total of 35,000 visitors.

News from the LBJ School

McGeorge Bundy, national adviser to Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, was one of the participants in a conference which pursued the subject of nuclear arms control at the LBJ School in March. The conference, entitled "Nuclear Negotiations: Reassessing Arms Control Goals in U.S.—Soviet Relations," drew a distinguished array of leaders. They included James Leonard, former U.S. disarmament ambassador and now chairman of the Committee for National Security; Dimitri K. Simes, director of the Soviet and Eastern European Research Program at Johns Hopkins University; Strobe Talbott, diplomatic correspondent for Time magazine; Philip Bobbitt, UT law professor; Robert Kaiser, national correspondent for the Washington Post; James Goodby, ambassador in the State Department's Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs; Joseph Nye, Harvard professor who was Deputy Undersecretary of State in the Carter Administration; William Hyland, senior associate of the Carnegie Endowment; Paul Warnke, former director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and Robert Gray, acting deputy director of that agency.



Barbara Jordan, Paul MacAvoy Fill Two New Chairs

Two new chairs at the LBJ School of Public Affairs are filled with distinguished occupants. Barbara Jordan, former Texas Congresswoman who has taught at the School since 1979, has been appointed to hold the new \$1 million Lyndon B. Johnson Centennial Chair in National Policy. Half the endowment for the chair was provided by gifts to the LBJ Foundation; the other \$500,000 was matched by the University of Texas as part of a program commemorating the University's centennial.



Dr. Paul W. MacAvoy will be the first holder of the Lloyd M. Bentsen, Jr. Chair in Government/Business Relations for a two-year period beginning in September 1983. Dr. MacAvoy currently is the Fredrick William Beinecke Professor of Economics at Yale University.

The Bentsen Chair, endowed in excess of \$500,000, is named for Senator Bentsen of Texas. The chair is funded by contributions from him, the M. D. Anderson Foundation, The Houston Endowment, Moody Foundation and other gifts given through the LBJ Foundation.

With the establishment of the new posts, there are four chairs in the School. The others are the Dean Rusk Chair, established by the LBJ Foundation in 1975, which is held by Sidney Weintraub, and the Sid Richardson Chair, endowed by the Richardson Foundation in 1979 which is occupied by Wilbur Cohen.



Elsbeth Rostow Announces Resignation

Elsbeth Rostow, Dean of the LBJ School since 1977, and Board member of the Lyndon Baines Johnson Foundation, has resigned her duties as dean effective May 31, 1983.

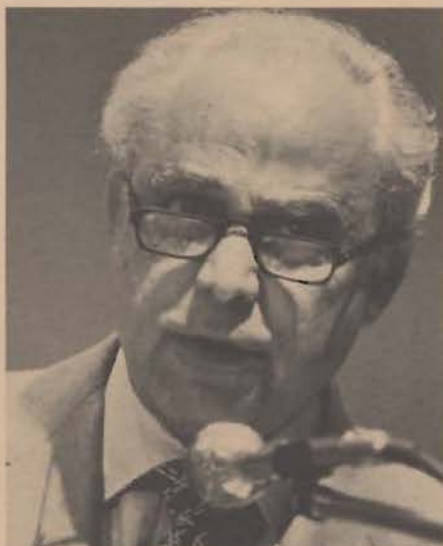
Dean Rostow came to the University in 1969 with appointments in government and American Studies. She became chairman of the American Studies program in 1970-71, chairman of the Comparative Studies, 1972-74, acting dean, 1974-75, and then dean, 1975-77, of the Division of General and Comparative Studies. Her husband is Walt W. Rostow. (see below)

In addition to her duties at UT Austin, Dean Rostow lectures frequently in off-campus appearances, and served on President Carter's Commission for a National Agenda for the 80's and his Advisory Committee for Trade Negotiations.

U.T. President Peter T. Flawn, in accepting her resignation, said: "While I understand Dean Rostow's desire to study and write following a most productive and successful deanship, I regret very much losing her leadership. She has truly served with distinction. I shall depend on her for advice and counsel as we search for a new dean."



The other Rostow in the news: Walt, better known to LBJ hands for his national security role in the Kennedy and Johnson Administrations and to University of Texas students as professor of economics and history, has another distinction not widely recognized; he is a composer of music, an avocation he has followed since he was 14. Among the Rostow papers in the Library's collections, in fact, are some songs he wrote when he was a student at Oxford in the 1930s. His most recent effort is a work titled "And So It Will Be Here," a composition which sets to music a speech delivered by Texas Governor Oran Roberts 100 years ago, setting forth the state's hopes for its university. The Rostow work was performed by the UT symphony orchestra in its last concert of the season, with Barbara Jordan narrating the governor's words.



Robert Strauss, who held several important positions in the Carter Administration, including Special Representative for Trade Negotiations, and is now a Washington attorney, will be the LBJ School's Commencement speaker on May 22.

At Southwest Texas State University Tom Johnson Reflects on LBJ



Tom Johnson, Publisher of the Los Angeles Times and President of the LBJ Foundation, in April gave the first of what is planned as a series of Lyndon Baines Johnson Distinguished Lectures at Southwest Texas State University, President Johnson's alma mater. The series was initiated by SWTSU President Robert Hardesty, who took over his position last fall.

"For this first address" in the series, said Johnson, who was a close aide to the President during the White House

years and afterwards, "I would like to look back in time and reflect on the man whose name and spirit will animate this series."

Following are excerpts from his reflections:

"It is not difficult to understand the importance of this institution to the future President. He came here from a hardscrabble ranch on the Pedernales, and from the provincial life of the hill country.

"Prior to his enrollment, he was working on a highway construction gang for \$2 a day, and before that he held odd jobs in California and Texas.

"The tuition then . . . was only \$17 a term, including books, but he had to borrow to finance his first year of studies . . . There is no doubt that the trouble he had financing his own education on this campus was a factor in his determination that poverty should not be a barrier to a higher education."

Recalling that LBJ interrupted his college experience for a while to teach poor students of Mexican descent in a small school in Cotulla, Johnson continued: "These were the years that first brought him into direct contact with the social, economic and racial injustices that were major factors in shaping him as a public man . . . This campus, then, set Lyndon Baines Johnson on a course that was to have dramatic impact on the life of every American. . ."

ALLEN SCHICK RECEIVES SECOND HARDEMAN AWARD

The late D. B. Hardeman, long-time aide to Speaker Rayburn and then House Majority Whip Hale Boggs, gave his entire collection of books on the Congress to the Library in 1979. Mr. Hardeman was known as a scholar of the Congress and his collection considered the best such in private hands. To commemorate his gift, the Library initiated the D. B. Hardeman prize, to be awarded every second year to the author of the best book on the Congress published in that two-year period.

The winner of the second Hardeman prize, Dr. Allen Schick, spoke at the Library in late April. The book which won for Dr. Schick, who is Senior Specialist in American Government and Public Administration, Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress, is entitled *Congress and Money: Budgeting, Spending and Taxing*. His address at the Library was on the congressional budgeting process.

The winners of the Hardeman prize are selected, at the Library's request, by a University of Texas committee.

Winner of the first Hardeman prize, awarded in 1979, was Dr. Richard F. Fenno, Jr.

At a dinner following Dr. Schick's address, a Library tribute was paid to D. B. Hardeman by Maury Maverick, Jr., San Antonio attorney and long-time friend of Mr. Hardeman.

Schick



Hardeman

"Texas Women . . ."

Exhibit Opening Draws Mary Martin and Large Cast



Mary Martin and Mrs. Johnson tour the exhibit.

In a setting matched only by a New York opening, Mary Martin, Broadway star and Texas daughter, joined Lady Bird Johnson and a cast of hundreds to launch an exhibit entitled "Women in Texas History" at the Library on the night of February 7.

For the occasion, Miss Martin, perched on a trunk, sang "My Heart Belongs to Daddy," looking back to her Broadway debut in "Leave It To Me" in 1938. She also joined the University of Texas Chamber singers in "My Favorite Things," from "The Sound of Music," in which she also appeared. Other elements of the program included a reading of "That Ney Woman" by Helen Handley, and a documentary by Mary Beth Rogers entitled, "The Capitol Woman, Then and Now."

The exhibit, making use of rare photographs, art objects, authentic costumes and handmade items, honors the achievements of Texas women in business, the arts, the workplace, government, in the home and in the community.

Some of the exhibit items include a trophy won by Olympic athletic Babe Didrickson Zaharais, a schoolgirl's 1910 basketball uniform, a 1905 patchwork quilt, and the surgical tools of a turn of the century woman doctor. There is also an evening coat worn by Carrie Marcus Neiman, co-founder of Neiman-Marcus, as well as the flight suit of a World War II woman pilot.

Along with the photographs and artifacts are diary excerpts and other words of the women who are represented. The exhibition not only depicts the state's most accomplished heroines, but also reveals the struggles, sorrows and joys of the more typical woman. Other highlights include:

—Jeffie O. A. Connor, a black county home demonstration agent who helped eliminate the public school common drinking cup—a source of continuous illness among children.

—Clara Driscoll, who wrote a check for \$25,000 in 1903 to save the Alamo from commercial exploitation.

—Bette Graham, a Dallas secretary whose kitchen experiments produced Liquid Paper and a multi-million dollar corporation.

—Henrietta King, who was the sole owner of the King Ranch for 40 years.

—Jane Y. McCallum, who organized the "Petticoat Lobby" of the 1920's, recognized as probably the most successful public interest lobby group in Texas history.

—Nurse May Smith, known as "mother to 55,000 Dallas babies" because she set up a "baby camp" in Red Cross tents on the grounds of Parkland Hospital in 1913.

—Katherine Stimpson, one of America's first female pilots who had fan clubs all over the world and may have been history's first sky writer.

Texas Women Exhibit *(continued)*

—Chief Justice Hortense Ward and Justices Hattie Heneburg and Ruth Brazzill, who composed the all woman supreme court of Texas in 1925.

The exhibit, developed by the Texas Foundation for Women's Resources, had already attracted thousands of visitors in both San Antonio and Dallas before it opened in the Library.

After a three-month run at the Library, it will close on May 16.



Exhibit visitors examine old-time telephone switchboard.



Reception guest Nancy Becker seems to stand in awe of the cake that was served.



Exhibit proved particularly popular with women, but men like it too.

Library Will Celebrate 11th Anniversary with Gala Re-opening June 4

The museum of the LBJ Library, which has been getting a face-lift for the last several months, will re-open its doors to the public on June 5. On the evening of June 4, a special ceremony on the plaza outside will offer members of the Friends of the LBJ Library an opportunity to preview the new effort.

The purpose of the renovation has been to increase the exhibit space on the first and second floors, construct an orientation theater on the first floor and provide expanded exhibit and conference space on the eighth floor.

The renovation was undertaken by the University of Texas, which owns the Library building. Expanded exhibits in the new space were made possible by the LBJ Foundation.

During the seven months of construction, the Library remained open to visitors, for whom special exhibits were provided in other parts of the building, even while construction went on in the central core.

On page 12 are scenes of the renovation as it entered its final phase.

Painting by Alfred Leslie Will Hang in Great Hall of Library

When the Library's newly renovated museum opens in June, hanging in the Great Hall will be a massive (9' by 11') painting by Alfred Leslie, entitled "Thirteen Americans." It will be at the entry to a new exhibit corridor which will depict the social programs of the Johnson Administration.

The Leslie painting, which was commissioned for the museum, has been in progress since September of 1981.

Visitors will approach the painting equipped with the following information, printed on an introductory panel:

Alfred Leslie is a native New Yorker who began his career in the 1950s as an abstract expressionist. He is now con-

sidered one of our nation's best in the area of 20th century (or new) realism.

He generally works on a heroic scale and combines broad uncluttered areas of the abstract with specific, literal observation. From this comes a penetrating portrait of human strength and human weakness.

This capability to look deep and respond is why Leslie was selected to execute this painting. It is a painting about people—people who are concerned with their lives, who are vulnerable but hopeful, and who above all have dignity.



Detail from "Thirteen Americans"



Alfred Leslie with his painting in progress

Wilbur Cohen remembers life in Washington during the New Deal days



Wilbur Cohen Now . . .

To celebrate the 100th anniversary of the birth of Franklin D. Roosevelt, ceremonies were held in Washington, D.C., and other parts of the country. In his own observance of the occasion, a man with a distinguished career in government, who began that career helping to shape social security legislation in the early years of the New Deal, set down some of his observations. No doubt they will be printed more fulsomely elsewhere. *Among Friends* is privileged to present excerpts from them here.

The one-time New Dealer is Wilbur Cohen, who ended his government service as Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare in the last year of the Johnson administration, then became Dean of the College of Education at the University of Michigan and now holds the Sid Richardson chair at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs.

I recall that Washington, D.C. was warm and humid on August 4, 1934. Franklin Delano Roosevelt had been President for 17 months, boldly and enthusiastically exercising the expansible powers of what later came to be referred to pejoratively as "the Imperial Presidency." But then the electorate had no idea he would preside with vigor, drama and charm in that office for another some 3,800 days. Nor did they fully realize the portents of the Congressional elections in the fall of 1934 which would sweep into office an increased number of passionate FDR supporters who would make possible the far-reaching legislative changes of 1935 which would affect the lives of all future generations.

The Roosevelt charisma, through the radio and Fox Movietone newsreels, hovered over the nation, and permeated throughout Washington in 1934, and entered into the homes and hamlets of America. When the President told a worried and a dejected American people on March 4, 1933, that they had "nothing to fear but fear itself," he set in motion by his choice of words, and later by rapid-fire deeds during the first 100 days of his administration, a vast regenerative process. His clarion call renewed the traditional American faith in the future of the nation. . . .

The impact of FDR on the university campuses was immediate and pervasive. Faculty members responded to the call of government for their creative expertise. University students were attracted to Washington to take up positions as privates in the war against the corrosive impact of the Great Depression and poverty. . . .

Washington was an exciting, evolving, changing city in 1934, as it is now. But it was much different then. It was more like a small Southern town—friendly, congenial, with distinctive neighborhoods and emphasis on the social amenities and racially segregated—the capitol of a nation with an historical past and an unknown future. But the infusion of bustling young people and other persons of all ages from over the length and breadth of the country changed the city by degrees into an urban metropolis, a city whose business was being busy, busy with government and bringing in both individuals and organizations who were for or against it, or wanted to use it.

People who lived around Dupont Circle walked leisurely but briskly to work. One could occasionally see a Supreme Court Chief Justice walking along Connecticut Avenue from R Street and then catching up later with his chauffeured limousine. The overall ethos emanated vitality, joy, energy, confidence, hope.

I came to Washington, D.C. on that warm humid day in early August, 1934, as an eager 21 year old youthful college graduate from the stimulating intellectual environment at the University of Wisconsin. During the trip to his home in Richmond, Virginia, my college friend, Walker H. Hill, had given me a free ride overnight through the beautiful Blue Ridge Mountains in the cold rumble seat of his "jalopy." It was my first venture for me into the Southland, with its black domestics and grits for breakfast, its segregation, and its strong support for FDR in Congress.

My major professor in economics at Madison, Edwin E. Witte, a man with encyclopedic knowledge, was selected by Frances Perkins, the Secretary of Labor, as the Executive Director of the Cabinet Committee on Economic Security established by FDR in the summer of 1934. The Committee objective was to develop a comprehensive economic security plan to meet both the immediate and future needs of the Nation. I became Professor Witte's research assistant and "gofer." It was a heady atmosphere for an untested lad of 21 years of age. We initially occupied Harry Hopkins' simple office as Federal Emergency Relief Administrator while he was in Europe. We had access to his direct telephone to the White House. I became somewhat startled on the first

day of work when I accidentally picked it up and heard the operator say, "White House"—a phrase I learned to know well day and night in the 1960s. Washington was filled with eager-beaver young people who worked 10 to 12 hours a day—some days 16 hours—and then 4 hours on Saturday and sometimes on Sunday to try to repair the damage resulting from 25 percent of the entire labor force being unemployed.

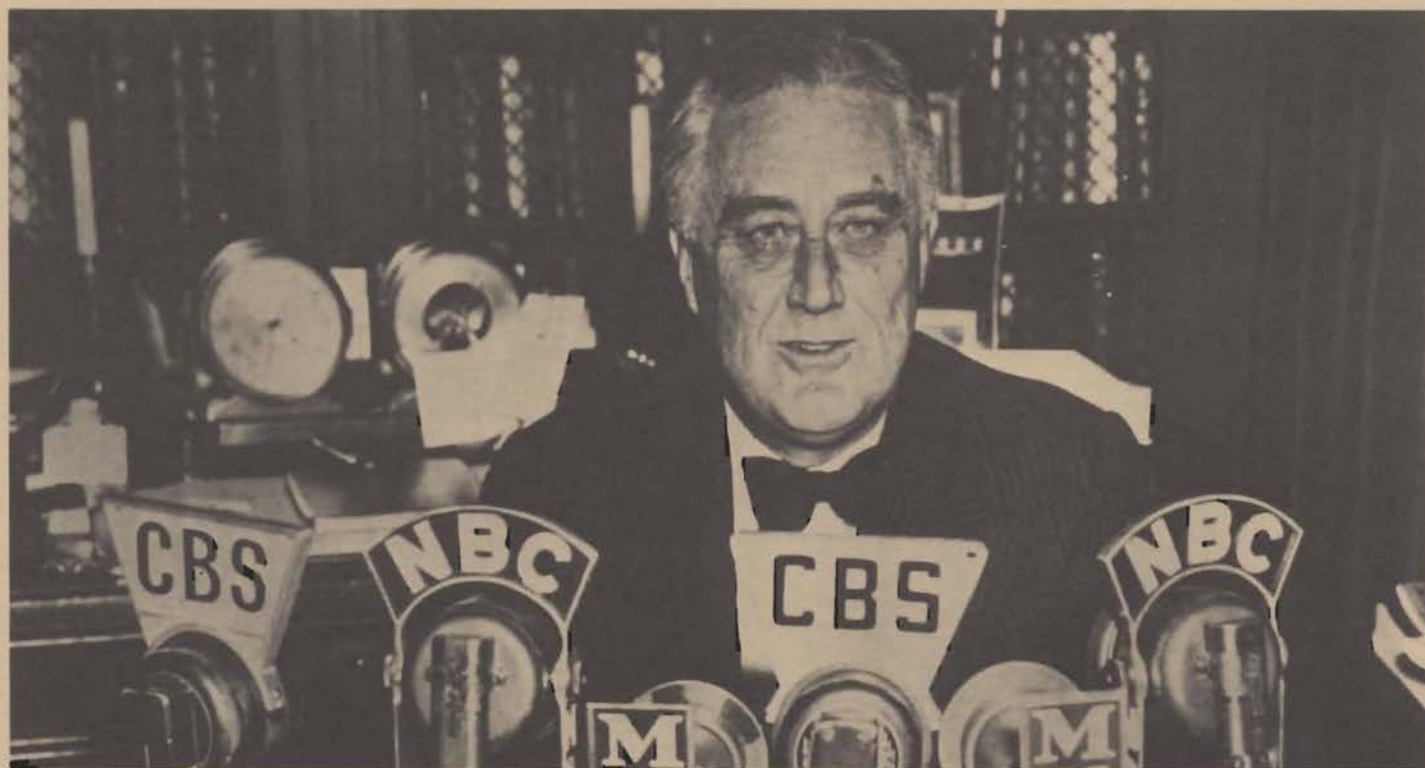
I spent my time in 1934 researching foreign and United States experience in social security, old age pensions, unemployment insurance, and welfare programs. Then, in 1935, Professor Witte assigned me to monitor the legislative course of the historic bill through Congress. Little did I realize that this would become an occupational concentration for me for more than two decades.

I never had the opportunity to meet FDR in the Oval Office, but I wrote some memos and paragraphs for his speeches. I worked, however, for ten years in the Social Security Board under the pervasive stimulus and influence of FDR; then some seven years in the administration of President Truman, who tried very conscientiously to carry on with the program where FDR left off. Then three high-pressure years of working closely with JFK on the New Frontier, and five more such years, day after day with and for LBJ and the Great Society. Throughout it all—especially with LBJ—the spirit and goals of FDR were ever present—to give hope and courage to the less fortunate, to make the economic and social system work, to preserve the States, to eliminate discriminations, and to reduce the extent of poverty.

To have experienced the day-to-day momentum and radiant personality of one of the greats was a gift of history to those of us who came of age during those challenging days.

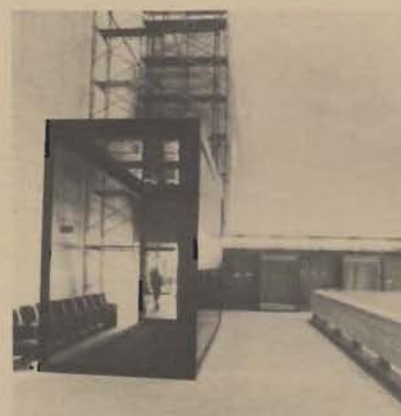
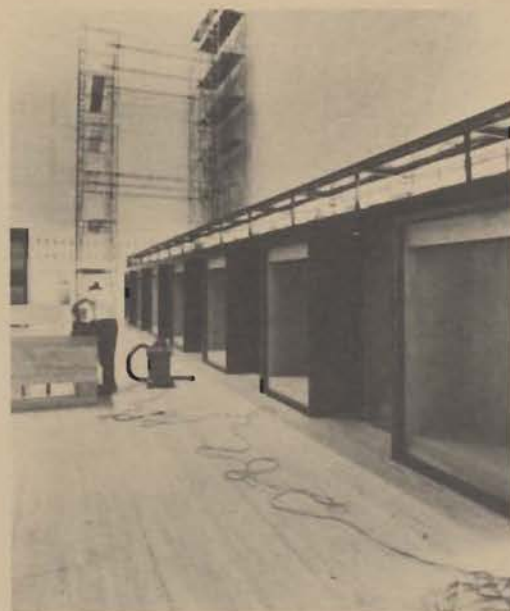
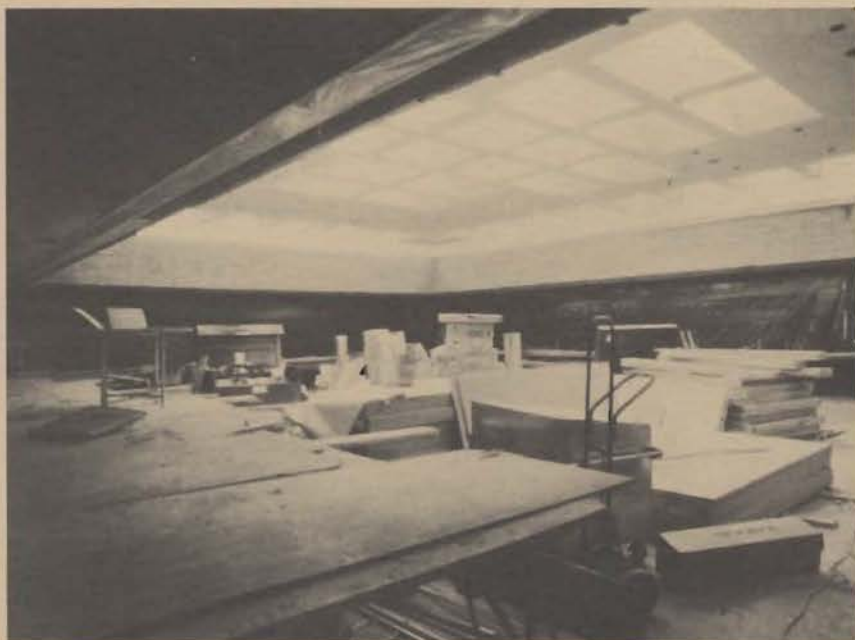


... and Then



"The Roosevelt charisma, through the radio and Fox Movietone newsreels, hovered over the nation, and permeated throughout Washington in 1934, and entered into the homes and hamlets of America."

Gala Re-Opening *(cont. from page 9)*



AMONG FRIENDS OF LBJ is a publication of the Friends of the LBJ Library

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