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# Among Friends of LBJ

NEWSLETTER OF THE FRIENDS OF THE LBJ LIBRARY

LBJ Riding The Range (see pp 2–3)

# HILL COUNTRY DEPICTED

The Library's newest, and current exhibition is "LBJ's Hill Country," a visual display—using original artifacts, photographs, paintings and sculptures—of the part of the world which was home for, and influence on, the 36th President of the United States.

One part of the exhibit describes the area in the days before electricity, when cooking was done on a wood stove, water drawn by hand from a deep well, and a kerosene lamp or candle the only light at night.

Another section details the history of the LBJ Ranch—its origin and its development by the Johnsons from a two-story, run-down stone house into the spacious, comfortable dwelling it is today. The business of the ranch—land and cattle—is addressed. An audio tape by the ranch foreman describes the problems and the rewards of a working ranch. Saddles and the variety of branding techniques utilized by the ranch are included.

From LBJ's Senate days in the 1950s, the ranch drew an impressive list of national and world leaders, and figures from the entertainment field, as houseguests. During the Johnson presidency it was referred to as "The Texas White House." Several of the ranch guest books are included in this exhibit.

Interior photographs show the president's office, and various family rooms of the ranch. Significant furnishings are also displayed.

Another section is a gallery of western art, many of the paintings and objects being shown outside the LBJ Ranch for the first time. Some of the paintings include "Following the Buffalo Runners" by Charles Russell, "Covered Wagon Train" by N.C. Wyeth and "The Anvil Cloud" by Peter Hurd. Among the four pieces of sculpture are "The Scalp" by Frederic Remington, "White Cloud" by Charles Russell and "Roping" by Harry Jackson. Additional works are by Julius Onderdonk, Porfirio Salinas, Melvin Warren, Elizabeth Shoumatoff, Roy White, Tom Lea and others.

The exhibition will continue through January 11, 1987.

"The Scalp," by Frederic Remington. Generally considered one of Remington's finest works, this sculpture has had three owners—Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn, Speaker John McCormack and President Johnson.

"The April Cloud" by Peter Hurd. The Johnsons greatly admired Hurd's visual interpretation of the southwest. This painting, a gift from C. R. Smith, is a family favorite.

# IN CURRENT EXHIBIT

On the cover: Senator Johnson and his daughter Lucy (as her name was then spelled) oversee the herd at the LBJ Ranch in 1954.

Through a combination of enlarged photographs and artifacts, the opening panel of the exhibit recreates the birthplace of Lyndon Johnson. The backdrop is an enlarged photo of the house as it then appeared. In the foreground are objects—including dirt and wild grass—brought in from the Hill Country by museum staff members.

Ornate silver-encrusted saddle which was given to Lyndon Johnson in 1959 when he was Senate Majority leader by President Adolfo Lopez Mateos, President of Mexico.

# HISTORIC MOMENTS AS CAPTURED BY CAPA

A special exhibition in the Library during the summer presented 160 historic photographs of famed photographer Robert Capa, half of which had never before been displayed.

The exhibit, a traveling show titled "Robert Capa: A Retrospective, 1932-1954," was sponsored by the International Center of Photography.

Capa, who covered some of the memorable events of both war and peace of the mid-20th century, was killed while he was covering the French Indochina War in 1954.

One of the most famous photographs out of the Spanish Civil War captures a Loyalist soldier at the moment he is shot on the Cordoba front in 1936.

Leon Trotsky lecturing Danish students on the history of the Russian revolution, 1932.

Paris, August 26, 1944, in the flush of liberation.

Evenings with:

# ANN LANDERS AND McCARTHY BIOGRAPHER

A historian and a popular newspaper columnist spoke at the Library recently.

The nationally syndicated columnist, Ann Landers, entertained and informed her audience with her report on what goes into the preparation of an advice-dispensing column, as well as her own reflections on contemporary society. Her contractual obligations prohibited a taping of her remarks.

The historian was David M. Oshinsky, Professor at Rutgers University. He is the fourth winner of the Library's D.B. Hardeman prize for the best book on the Congress published in the past two years. (The winners of the prize are selected, on behalf of the Library, by a committee composed of three members of the faculty of The University of Texas at Austin—Lewis Gould, Department of History; Barbara Jordan, LBJ School of Public Affairs; and Terry Sullivan, Government Department.) The Hardeman prize is named for the late aide to Speaker Sam Rayburn, who left a bequest to the Library. (For other mention of the Hardeman bequest, see page 7.)

Professor Oshinsky's book, *A Conspiracy So Immense: The World of Joe McCarthy,* documents the rise and fall of the senator from Wisconsin who in the 1950s, in Oshinsky's words, "came to personify the red scare in America." That was also the subject of his presentation at the Library.

One vignette in his talk concerned the role of Senator Lyndon Johnson in leading the United States Senate's eventual censure of McCarthy. Said Oshinsky: "Johnson did it in the following way. When the censure vote came up, it looked as if the Republicans would probably be split on McCarthy, himself a Republican. The Democrats would certainly vote against him. [But] there were many Democratic senators from the liberal wing who relished the prospect of a debate. LBJ realized this was the worst thing you could do because Democratic attacks would force the Republicans to rally 'round one of their own. Johnson literally roamed the aisles during the censure, and the vote among Democrats lined up by Johnson was I think 44 or 45 to nothing, with one abstention."

Oshinsky presented a pathetic picture of McCarthy in his final days: "He was not going to his Senate office any more, he was drinking heavily, he was talking about the betrayal of all of his friends. Nineteen fifty-six was an election year, and Richard Nixon was giving a speech at the Schroeder Hotel in Milwaukee. Every important Republican dignitary from Wisconsin had been invited, from the governor on down. The one exception was Joe McCarthy. Nixon gets up to give his speech and suddenly from the back of the ballroom McCarthy lurches in, walks on to the dais and sits down in an open seat. Nixon turns to the master of ceremonies and says, 'I can't talk unless this guy leaves the dais.' And McCarthy is a big guy and he's drunk and the master of ceremonies is not crazy about the idea of going over and asking McCarthy to leave, but Nixon is putting the heat on and so he does. He says, 'Joe, we didn't know you were coming, we didn't have a seat for you, and you're going to have to go.' And McCarthy without a word gets up, walks out the side door. Jack Anderson, whom I interviewed, said, 'I'd heard Nixon speak enough so I decided to follow Joe,' and he walked out the side door and through an alley and there was Joe McCarthy in a fetal position, crying like a little boy, and he was dead four months later."

Ann Landers

David Oshinsky

# LIBRARY ADDS TO ITS ARCHIVES

Among the Library's recent acquisitions are:

- The papers amassed by General William Westmoreland in the course of his lawsuit against CBS.
- Copy of a manuscript by William P. Bundy on the shaping of American policy in Vietnam from 1961 through 1965. Bundy served as Deputy Assistant Secretary and Assistant Secretary of Defense and as Assistant Secretary of State in the 1960s.
- The photographic collection of Jim Cox, prize-winning news photographer for the Houston Press. Covering the years 1959-1965, Cox's photographs document national political campaigns, the early days of the space program, and social and cultural developments as seen from a Houston perspective. Among the political personalities depicted are Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, Richard Nixon, Barry Goldwater, George Bush and George Wallace. Although the collection will require time for preservation and cataloging before becoming available for research, it is a rich addition to the Library's photographic archives.

Some of the photos from the Cox collection are reproduced here.

Senator John Tower introduces Barry Goldwater to a Houston audience during the 1964 presidential campaign.

The 1960 presidential candidate JFK and VP candidate LBJ at a rally at Rice University. (Kennedy's sister Jean Smith follows the candidates).

An early picture of six of the original Apollo astronauts with Robert R. Gilruth, director of Manned Space Center (center). The six: Virgil (Gus) Grissom, Alan Shepherd, Walter Schirra, Scott Carpenter, Donald (Deke) Slayton, and Gordan Cooper. Missing from the photo: John Glenn.

# HISTORY OF THE CONGRESS LAUNCHED

Twenty leading congressional authorities assembled in Washington on July 22 to discuss the prospect of writing a comprehensive history of the U.S. Congress. The impetus for the meeting, which was sponsored by the LBJ Library and the LBJ Foundation, was a bequest from the late D.B. Hardeman. A biographer and aide of Sam Rayburn, Hardeman left an endowment to the LBJ Foundation and a nine thousand volume book collection to the Library in the hope that these gifts could be used to promote a definitive history of Congress.

The Washington meeting, which was held in the new James Madison Building, attracted a distinguished array of experts from the fields of political science, history and journalism. Among the political scientists were Joseph Cooper, Rice University; Roger Davidson, Library of Congress; Richard Fenno, University of Rochester; Sam Kernell, Brookings Institution; Nelson Polsby, University of California, Berkeley; Norman Orstein, American Enterprise Institute; and James Sundquist, Brookings. Historians included Richard Baker, U.S. Senate Historical Office; Michael Les Benedict, Ohio State University; Allan Bogue, University of Wisconsin; Donald Ritchie, Senate Historical Office; Joel Silbey, Cornell University; and Margaret Thompson, Syracuse University. Representing the press were Donald Bacon, U.S. News and World Report; Paul Duke, W.E.T.A.; Nick Kotz, free lance writer; and Cokie Roberts, National Public Radio. Also present were William Holmes Brown, parliamentarian of the House of Representatives, and David Van Tassel from the Office of Presidential Libraries. Harry Middleton, Mike Gillette and Lawrence Reed attended on behalf of the LBJ Library and LBJ Foundation.

The meeting's objective was to determine the feasibility and framework of such a history. In summarizing the difficulty of this undertaking, Nelson Polsby pointed out that "the Congress, as we think of it, is an enormous topic, one that lends itself to a variety of approaches, perspectives, and insights." The project's potential significance, in the words of Joel Silbey, is that it could be the first attempt to structure the history of Congress.

After evaluating a broad range of approaches to the topic, the group recommended the formation of task forces to develop two proposals: a comprehensive history of the Congress and a handbook. At the meeting's conclusion, the participants adjourned to Room H.128 in the Capitol, the location of Speaker Rayburn's "Board of Education," to "strike a blow for liberty."

The Library's volunteers began their fall 1986 season with a presentation by Elspeth Rostow, former dean and now professor at the LBJ School of Public Affairs, who spoke on the Johnson administration. This year's program includes 103 volunteers, of whom 69 are docents giving tours to the visiting public; 14 assist in the archives, and seven are in the oral history section.

# FOOTNOTES TO A GROWING HISTORY

A recently published book, *The Johnson Presidency,* is the fifth in a series of "Portraits of American Presidents" based on forums conducted by the White Burkett Miller Center of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia.

The volume on Lyndon Johnson offers twenty different perspectives of LBJ, and adds considerably to the substantial body of information that is building on the 36th President.

The excerpts from *The Johnson Presidency* presented here, from interviews with LBJ associates, are not intended as reflections of the substance of that work, but simply interesting or amusing footnotes to a complicated history.

Johnson was a pack rat for information, and more particularly for points of view. The impression that Johnson did not provoke disagreement and did not obtain a diversity of advice is simply not true in my experience with him. I was not in the government [at the time], had no official position; I was trying to find time to practice law. Most of the times when he would ask me to come over it would be when all or most of his advisers were taking one position, the same position, and he would ask me to tell him what the other side was. Johnson, more so than anybody I have ever worked with, wanted to hear different points of view. . .I think Clark Clifford would tell you the same thing because President Johnson similarly disrupted his law practice.

**—Abe Fortas, friend and adviser; later Supreme Court Justice**

McPherson

Johnson was a terrible organizer in a business school sense. He received approximately 150 memoranda a night at his bedside table. . .Most of the memos he tried to reduce to a page and respond with a written "yes," "no," or "see me" at the bottom. [But] sometimes there would be long notes from him. After I had been [in the White House] about two or three weeks I had a physical. The doctor said, "you've got to have a hernia operation on Monday." I said, "I can't do that." He said I had to have it. Well, I was terrified. Here I had just been brought over to the White House [from the State Department], and now I had to leave for two or three weeks. So I sent Johnson, in great fear and trembling, [a] memo. I got back a hand-written letter from [him] full of advice on my medical problem. I was still on the State Department payroll at that time. . .Johnson said, "You've got to get off the State Department payroll and on the White House payroll so you can go to Bethesda [Hospital]. It's a lot cheaper." All this in the President's handwriting telling me how to take care of my medical problem."

**—Harry McPherson, White House Special Counsel**

Reedy

An excellent example of a Lyndon Johnson operation [as Senate Majority Leader] was [when] he managed to get 700,000 public housing units in 1956, when [President] Eisenhower had only asked for 35,000. We had very good control over the Banking Committee, [chaired by] Bernie Maybank of South Carolina, [Republican] Homer Capehart [told] Johnson he had his amendment that was going to cut it back to 35,000. Naturally, all the Republicans would vote for it and he expected [because the bill was being attacked as socialistic] all the Southern Democrats would vote for it, too. That would cut it back to 35,000, and he said, "Lyndon, I'm going to rub your nose in it this time." Poor Homer, I'll never forget when they started to call the roll and [Virginia Democrat] Harry Byrd voted against Homer Capehart's amendment; I thought Homer's neck was going to break when he snapped around to see what had happened to Harry Byrd. Very simple. What Johnson had done was to explain to the various southern members that 35,000 public housing units was just as much socialism as 700,000; that there's no such thing as a little bit of pregnancy. [The amendment was defeated, but the basic bill passed.]

**—George Reedy, aide to LBJ in Senate and White House**

Christian

Throughout the two and a half years I worked for him our relationship was consistently good. . .I think he overlooked some of my mistakes. I remember that once, though, I became unhappy with him over something I thought he shouldn't have done, involving another staff member, and he decided that I ought to go to Camp David to cool off. It was August, and hardly cool. He dispatched me there with my wife and three sons. . .and I suffered a two or three day exile, bored stiff. When I returned to the White House I was a good boy. A while later I got a bill for the expenses at Camp David.

**—George Christian, White House Press Secretary**

Macy

Lyndon Johnson took a tremendous personal interest in the entire process of staffing his administration...[Sometimes] evidence of his interest occurred in rather sensitive locations. I think the *most* sensitive one for me was when I was in the midst of my annual physical and at the most sensitive part where I was in a dog-like position, the nurse came in and said, "Doctor, you will have to release Mr. Macy. President Johnson is on the phone." I proceeded, remaining in that position, to talk to him for 18 minutes about who should be the next Director of the CIA. So you see, the search was penetrating in more ways than one.
**—John Macy, Civil Service Commission Chairman and Talent Scout**

Fowler

On quite a few occasions [President Johnson] asked Jack Valenti and me to organize a White House dinner for 100 or so corporate executives or labor leaders...I recall one dinner Jack and I devised [in which] at the outset the President notified his guests that the after dinner speeches were in their hands. [By] drawing lots, one guest at each table would have the responsibility of advising the entire assemblage and the President about what he should do about any problem the speaker or his table suggested. The President always led the applause for each of these dinner talks on "what I should do if I were President," with one exception. One speaker noted that all the Cabinet officers who had spoken before dinner looked very tired and recommended that the President follow his company's practice of issuing a mandatory order that each executive above a certain level take at least one month vacation each year. LBJ, who didn't know the meaning of the word "vacation," merely looked glum.
**—Henry H. Fowler, Secretary of the Treasury**

Shortly after the assassination of President Kennedy, [President Johnson] held his first meeting with the [National Security] Council...There was then no vice president. President Johnson asked Speaker McCormack, then next in line of succession, to attend NSC meetings...The Speaker was just plain ill at ease. He sat down in the back row in the Cabinet Room. When President Johnson came into the room he said, "Mr. Speaker, I want you to sit here at the table." The speaker didn't want to sit in the vice presidential chair across from the President. We had to get him up and almost push him into the chair...Each meeting the procedure was repeated...The Speaker would dream up duties that would keep him away [from council meetings]...The election of 1964 solved the Speaker problem.
**—Bromley Smith, Executive Secretary, National Security Council**

[The President] called me one day on the phone. He said, "There's a story on the front page of the *New York Times* that came from somebody in the Justice Department and I want you to find out who it is and I want you to fire him." I said, "I can't do that," and he said, "What do you mean you can't do that?" I said, "Only you can fire him. I did it." He starts laughing. He said, "That's the first leak I've ever uncovered."
**—Nicholas Katzenbach, then Attorney General**

In April 1972 I heard on the radio on Saturday morning that the President had been in Charlottesville to visit his daughter and her husband and had a heart attack. I saw on the afternoon news that Mrs. Johnson was trying to handle the press, and that seemed sort of inappropriate, so on Sunday morning I drove down there. I arrived at the hospital...All the time I was with Lyndon Johnson, he always had a problem with his health. He was the world's worst hypochondriac, in my view...When I walked in that hospital room, he was all wired up to this telemetry which I had never seen before, a long miniscreen up above the bed with all these things beeping and jumping around in different colors. He was all wires. When he saw me coming through the door his eyes were bright, his face was triumphant and he was rising up off the bed as far as he could...Pointing his finger at me he said, "See! See! What did I tell you?"
**—Horace Busby, long-time aide to LBJ**

**Busby with LBJ in the White House**

Presidential Libraries

# "TAKING THE PRESIDENCY TO THE PEOPLE"

**With the recent dedication of the Jimmy Carter Presidential Center in Atlanta, the number of presidential libraries in the U.S. has grown to eight. Plans are already underway for a Ronald Reagan Library at Stanford University in California, and although discussion of a Richard Nixon Library has generated controversy, eventually an institution to house his papers will be established.**

**Generally, presidential libraries are popular with scholars and the public alike. But they have their critics, too. Frank G. Burke, Acting Archivist of the United States, addressed this situation in an editorial in the current edition of *Prologue*, journal of the National Archives. The editorial itself was inserted into the *Congressional Record* by Senator Mark Hatfield (R.Ore), Chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee. Here are excerpts from the editorial:**

Over the years, criticism of the presidential library system has grown as the number of libraries has increased. The libraries are sometimes characterized as "paper pyramids" by their detractors. . .[But] the presidential library system was never intended to benefit retired presidents directly. Modeled upon the library set up by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1939, the system was officially established by Congress in 1955. Since then the libraries have evolved into rich research institutions that serve not only scholars and students but, equally as important, the communities around them. . .

In addition to sponsoring hundreds of conferences, exhibitions, and public programs, the presidential libraries work with local educators and civic groups to encourage the use of original records in the study of the presidency and national policy. . .[They] also encourage schools to use their museums as educational resources.

. . .In an editorial last year, the *Kansas City Times* called the libraries "reservoirs of history, some remote from Washington, that are accessible to millions of Americans. For many, it is their only direct contact with their national history. . .The cost is reasonable for what America has gotten and will continue to get in return." . . .

Carter Library

Burke

Regardless of these benefits, the costs of operating and maintaining these libraries continue to cause concern. Although the libraries are built with private funds, inflation continues to add to the cost of their upkeep. In view of this concern, recent legislation passed by Congress requires that all future libraries built after President Reagan's be endowed with a fund equal to 20 percent of building, land, and equipment costs. This law also gives to the Archivist of the United States the authority to set standards to ensure efficient and appropriate design of all future libraries. It is hoped that this legislation will put to rest many of the concerns about "escalating costs" as the library system grows.

The White House creates a voluminous historical record. Manuscript holdings at presidential libraries of presidents and administration officials now exceed 200 million pages. Through acquisition of documents, books, and bibliographic information, each library serves as a research center for the study of the presidency and national and international affairs. Each has extensive audiovisual collections, oral history programs, and a wide range of gifts from private citizens and heads of state. These materials afford the scholar and citizen alike a comprehensive view of the presidency "with all the bark off," in Lyndon Johnson's words.

The presidential libraries, as part of the National Archives, have succeeded in making certain that presidential papers are opened for research as promptly as possible. Before their establishment, the papers of presidents often remained closed for long periods. Abraham Lincoln's papers, for example, were not opened for research until 1947, eighty-two years after his death; John Adams's remained closed for 153 years after he left the presidency. In contrast, the main body of Franklin D. Roosevelt's papers—85 percent of them—were opened to researchers in March 1950, less than five years after his death. The first portions of Lyndon Johnson's papers were made available in 1972, less than four years after he left office. This high degree of accessibility has set new standards that have been applauded by scholars and emulated by other archival institutions.

In the course of its history, the presidential libraries system has developed highly effective means of preserving permanently valuable presidential papers and related historical materials and making them available to scholars and the public at large. These programs have assured that "first-hand" information about public policy is deposited with the libraries by administration officials, and that these collections are readily accessible in many forms to the communities and researchers they serve. For scholars and citizens alike, the historical record in its entirety is the finest way to bring the presidency to the people.

COMING EVENTS AT THE LIBRARY:

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| Oct. 22 | An Evening With David McCullough |
| Nov. 7 | Reception to review exhibition, "LBJ's Hill Country" |
| Dec. 8 | An Evening With Senator Moynihan |
| Feb. 19–20, 1987 | Symposium on Bicentennial of U.S. Constitution |
| Feb. 28—March 17 | Exhibition, "Eleanor Roosevelt: First Person Singular" |
| March 5 | An Evening With Barry Goldwater |
| April 4–Sept 27 | Special Exhibition, "Washington Merry Go Round: The World of Drew Pearson" |

Larry E. Temple (far left) joins meeting in progress of the LBJ Foundation Board of Directors. Temple was voted to membership on the Board to replace Mrs. Charles Engelhard, whose resignation was regretfully accepted by the Board.

The Library commemorated "Juneteenth"—June 19, the occasion Texans observe as the day slaves received word of their emancipation in 1865—by sponsoring a roundtable discussion with James Farmer. The founder and former director of CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) had been honored earlier that day by the Texas Legislature for his contributions to the state and nation.

Farmer reminisced about his years as a civil rights leader. Among other participants were Austin attorney Norman Bonner; U.T. professor George Wright; Melvin Wade of the Texas Association for the study of Afro-American Life and History, Inc.; members of the Library's oral history staff; and Pulitzer prize-winning journalist Craig Flournoy, whose report of the event for the *Dallas Morning News* contained the following excerpts:

[Farmer] said "civil rights activism of recent decades has been positive, although he believes that attack was focused too often on Jim Crow laws and other symptoms of prejudice.

"In the 1960s," he said, "we did not attack racism; we attacked the results of racism." Farmer said the sit-ins, the bus boycotts, the Freedom Rides, the March on Washington and other protests produced legislation aimed at regulating behavior. In spite of those laws, according to Farmer, the vast majority of Americans still suffer from the emotional, irrational and often unacknowledged disease called racism.

"We have a racist culture, and without intervention by parents, or someone, the child will grow up to be a racist," Farmer said near the end of his marathon question-and-answer session. It is the responsibility of parents, he said, "to change what goes into a child's mind."

He looked almost stupefied when asked why he continues to push and protest and generally act as an irritant for social change.

"Activism," he said, 'is still my life."

Farmer

Warren Woodward, longtime aide to President Johnson, lays President Reagan's wreath on President Johnson's grave.

## August 27: LBJ's Birthday

Library Director Harry Middleton and Southwest Texas State University President Robert Hardesty, both staff members during President Johnson's White House days, shared memories of the late president at the University's annual LBJ birthday celebration at the president's home on the SWT campus.

As part of a special series of summer concerts, the University of Texas summer Longhorn band entertained on the Library's plaza with weekly concerts. The series, billed as "Evening Concerts Under the Stars," included a mixture of classic band pieces, selections from musical comedies, marches, and songs associated with the University.

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

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