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CLAUDIA "LADY BIRD" JOHNSON ORAL HISTORY, INTERVIEW XXIII PREFERRED CITATION

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Legal Agreement Pertaining to the Oral History Interviews of

CLAUDIA TAYLOR JOHNSON

In accordance with the provisions of Chapter 21 of Title 44, United States Code, I, Claudia Taylor Johnson of Austin, Texas, do hereby give, donate and convey to the United States of America all my rights, title and interest in the tape recordings and transcripts of the personal interviews conducted with me and prepared for deposit in the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library. A list of the interviews is attached.

This assignment is subject to the following terms and conditions:

- (1) The transcripts shall be available to all researchers.
- (2) The tape recordings shall be available to all researchers.
- (3) I hereby assign to the United States Government all copyright I may have in the interview transcripts and tapes.
- (4) Copies of the transcripts and tape recordings may be provided by the library to researchers upon request.

(5) Copies of the transcripts and tape recordings may be deposited in or loaned to other institutions.

Date

rehivist of the United States

Date

Assistant Architek
For Presidential Libraries

Appendix A

Attached to and forming part of the instrument of gift of oral history interviews, executed by Claudia Taylor Johnson, and accepted by the Archivist of the United States on 47 - 10 - 3200.

Mrs. Johnson's Oral History Interviews:

Assistant Archivist
For Presidential Libraries

May 26, 1975, with Merle Miller June 25, 1976, with Merle Miller June 29, 1976, with Merle Miller January 30, 1977, with Merle Miller February 14, 1977, with Merle Miller August 12, 1977, with Michael Gillette August 13, 1977, with Michael Gillette August 14, 1977, with Michael Gillette February 4, 1978, with Michael Gillette April 1, 1978, with Michael Gillette August 6, 1978, with Michael Gillette October 9, 1978, with Michael Gillette January 23, 1979, with Michael Gillette January 24, 1979, with Michael Gillette January 25-26, 1979, with Michael Gillette February 27-28, 1979, with Michael Gillette August 19, 1979, with Michael Gillette September 2-3, 1979, with Michael Gillette September 9, 1979, with Michael Gillette November 13, 1979, with Anthony Champagne January 4-5, 1980, with Michael Gillette January 29-30, with Michael Gillette September 20, 1980, with Michael Gillette September 26-27, 1980, with Michael Gillette February 6-7, 1981, with Michael Gillette February 20-21, 1981, with Michael Gillette August 10, 1981, with Michael Gillette August 23, 1981, with Michael Gillette September 5, 1981, with Michael Gillette November 15, 1981, with Michael Gillette January 2-3, 1982, with Michael Gillette January 10, 1982, with Michael Gillette January 30, 1982, with Michael Gillette March 15, 1982, with Michael Gillette March 19-20, 1982, with Michael Gillette March 22, 1982, with Michael Gillette

March 29, 1982, with Michael Gillette

August 3-4, 1982, with Michael Gillette

September 4, 1983, with Michael Gillette

December 30, 1984, video and audio interview with Michael Gillette

January 4, 1985, video and audio interview with Michael Gillette

February 23, 1991, with Michael Gillette

March 4, 1991, with W. C. Trueheart

March 8, 1991, with Michael Gillette

August 1994, with Harry Middleton (six interviews)

November 5, 1994, with Harry Middleton

January 23, 1987, with Nancy Smith

August 18, 1987, with Lou Rudolph, Jim Henderson, and John and Sandy Brice

August 19, 1987, with Lou Rudolph, Jim Henderson, and John and Sandy Brice

August 20, 1987, with Lou Rudolph, and John and Sandy Brice

August 1994, with S. Douglass Cater

March 22, 1985, with Louis S. Gomolak

July 16, 1996, with Jan Jarboe Russell

July 17, 1996, with Jan Jarboe Russell

INTERVIEW XXIII covering 1948-1949

DATE: September 5, 1981

INTERVIEWEE: LADY BIRD JOHNSON

INTERVIEWER: MICHAEL L. GILLETTE

PLACE: LBJ Ranch, Stonewall, Texas

Tape 1 of 4

J: So the last week of July 1948 found us--Lyndon, me, all his campaign workers--in the mood composed of dogged determination to slog it out, to reach every possible success that could be, and spurts of adrenalin that produced just superhuman work. I don't remember a prolonged period as intense in my whole life as between July and way on up into the late fall of 1948. By whoever's congealed wisdom it was, we pretty soon came to the conclusion that, one, Lyndon had not worked enough in the cities, and so we made the decision to do that as soon as he could get loose from Congress. Second, we just must work on the [George] Peddy voters. I think it was because of that that we decided to open the second primary in the little East Texas town, in Shelby County, wasn't it? I think in Center, because that was his home area, and we had tested the waters and received a lot of friendly feeling from over there.

Two of the things particularly bore Lyndon's stamp, and one that he just harped on us before he left to go back to Congress [was] to write thank yous to every one of the district women, county and district, and suggest that the women take over, quit waiting

for the men to tell them what to do, get lots more active. Second, he urged us to write thank yous as thick as we could to all of his staunch supporters in the Tenth District, because the Tenth District had voted for him 65 per cent. That was our own congressional district, and it was a great source of satisfaction to Lyndon all of his life long, that in every campaign that district voted somewhere between 62 and 67 per cent for him. He used it and hammered it that the people that knew him best voted for him. So those are sort of four major guideposts as we launched into the long next month.

Meanwhile, on the big front, all sorts of important things were happening.

President [Harry] Truman signed executive orders ending discrimination in the armed services and in the civil branches of government, and that was some commitment to it, and some inroad to it. Lyndon went on back to Washington for this special session, which was supposed to work on an anti-inflation program, and a housing shortage. Isn't it amazing how problems surface and then go under and then surface again, rise again?

Several things happened that were sort of good luck for us. Coke Stevenson decided to go to Washington to learn about foreign policy. He devoted really quite a short time to that important project. He went up, oh, I think maybe to about a three-day session and made calls on Senator [Tom] Connally, Senator [W. Lee] O'Daniel, I believe, and Bob Lovett, one of the undersecretaries. When he emerged, the newspapers lit on him like a duck on a june bug, and he had rather a bad time of it, and emerged, I think, somewhat shaken. They also asked him over and over, how did he stand on the Taft-Hartley Act. He said "You'll have to check my record on that. It's plain." But he could not say what the record had been. They kept on asking, "Well, just give us the gist of it."

And some of them said they looked for it and couldn't find it in his record. I'd say that was a sizeable minus to him, that and the fact that he expected to emerge as a foreign expert in such a brief time.

Lyndon did not stay in Washington long. It was apparent that the session was going to be what Truman did later call it, a do-nothing session. So he returned in early August and began his work in the cities, met in Fort Worth with all his campaign workers, to help map strategy for going everywhere. He hammered on Coke's generalities and used the phrase, "wouldn't stand up and be counted." He challenged him on all sorts of controversial issues like Taft-Hartley and the 70-group air force, and something not quite so big but very hot in Texas at the moment: teachers' pay, a possible raise for it. He himself came out strong and clear on all those things, and made some and lost some.

Meanwhile, women did follow Lyndon's directive and got more active, including me, and Marietta [Moody Brooks] especially. We took a trip to Corpus Christi with Elizabeth Odom and [attended] a meeting of the women leaders.

Meanwhile, Lyndon was checking in with all his bases of good friends, like the REA [Rural Electrification Administration] Association in East Texas, going over there to make a speech. We got word because of our financial situation that the helicopter wouldn't be available but about ten days or two weeks.

G: Let me ask you about this trip to Corpus. I noticed that you are more active in this runoff primary. Would these be more or less social gatherings, teas or coffees or something like that, or would they be work sessions designed to get people to--

J: They would be a combination. I believe that that is the time that Juanita Roberts gave us
--no, I think she later gave us a big tea in Port Arthur. But somebody would stand up and
talk after refreshments had been served, and we would tell people what they could do.

They could send a postcard to all their church list, or their Christmas card list, or their
club list. At that time women were very much involved with all sorts of study clubs and
social clubs. Now that they work so much I think that's less and less a part of our culture.

And very importantly, form well-organized teams to take people to the polls on election
day, just load up their car, make two or three trips. Organize it about who was going to
do what.

We had some good organizers. Not to say there wasn't some friction between them from time to time; that seems endemic in a campaign. But I all my life have tried to be unaware of office friction, cross currents or enmities, and mostly I just saw a great combined striving for Lyndon.

- G: Was there a way to balance the strife when it did occur? Or were you forced to take a side?
- J: No. I spent a large part of my time thanking, and bolstering up, and it was easy to do, because people were giving you hours of their life, most of them free. The amount of volunteer labor that you had, you look at it now and you're just amazed. I remember one little boy looked at his mother and said rather plaintively, "Mama, when are we going to have something to eat besides Post Toasties?" (Laughter) Because she would work so long in the volunteer office, you know, she'd get home at night and just put a bowl of cereal on the table. (Laughter)

- G: Now you mentioned also the [George] Peddy votes. I wonder if President Johnson ever met with Peddy himself. I know he met with his brother, or received an endorsement from Peddy's brother.
- J: I cannot say whether he met with Peddy or not. I feel sure that somebody in his behalf did. I do know that before the campaign was over, two of Peddy's brothers came out for Lyndon publicly, and that was just widely publicized and accepted as meaning that Peddy was for him.
- G: Do you recall who would have been the natural liaison to the Peddy camp?
- J: I don't. I think Claude Wild might have, John Connally might well have. And always in the background there was Senator [Alvin] Wirtz, who was the gray eminence and kind of the final judgment.
- G: I thought perhaps some of the Houston lawyers might, too, since they might have been [inaudible].
- J: Could have been. Could have been Charlie Francis.

Lyndon hammered on Coke's generalities and went to cities, made a lot of use of radio speeches in this second one. [He] finally got to making one, a report, every day at noon, covered the big cities several times in the month of August.

Dear Emma Webb from Elgin wrote us that she was working on the Negroes there, as they were called then. It seemed that--well, hardly any of them voted, and they really didn't know much about Lyndon, and so she was arranging to address the colored populations.

The opening rally, I do remember that. It was in Center and it was in kind of an

old-fashioned little East Texas town, as I recall, with a bandstand in a park, not unlike Wooldridge Park. We were up on the bandstand with as many of the most important citizens as we could get. Lyndon praised Peddy's forthright and honest campaign and sought their support.

Then we covered East Texas, all those old familiar small towns that are now getting less and less important: Timpson, Tenaha, Carthage, Mount Enterprise, Henderson, Kilgore. But then he was mindful of everybody's judgment that he should spend more time in the big cities, and went to San Antonio and El Paso. I think I stayed a little while in East Texas with Daddy.

- G: Did the children do any campaigning with you when you traveled or did they stay in Austin?
- J: No, not a bit. See, at that time Luci was one year old and Lynda was four, and they were safely at home. Let's see, I think by that time Patsy White was the nurse, a pleasant, plump, sweet young black woman. Zephyr [Wright], who was with us for more than twenty-five years, did take at some point a brief while out for a marriage that turned out not to be successful, and after either one or two years, she returned to us. I'm not sure whether she was with us at this time or not. But anyhow, the house was being well taken care of with Mrs. Johnson in Austin to look after them.

Then Marietta and I went down to Houston, and I had to screw my courage to the sticking point, because that was a big meeting and it was arranged by Mrs. Jimmie Allred, the wife of the former governor, and Judge Sarah Hughes addressed the group.

We also went to a dinner where all the Harris County councilmen and commissioners and

the mayor was there, and mayors of smaller surrounding towns. Then we went to a big reception at Baytown. We heeded well Lyndon's plea, demand, that we get out and do things on our own and not wait for the men to tell us what to do.

- G: How would these things be set up? Would you get an invitation from a local host group?
- J: Yes, you would. In fact, I'm sure that whoever knew Mrs. Allred best, Joe Betsy, would have called and said, "Could you do this?" In every town there was a local group who invited you, and they did it with more or less organizational ability. Oh, sometimes they just turned out wonderful, and sometimes somewhat more sparse.
- G: During these occasions, did you ever run into any of the opposition? Did you meet people who were strong Stevenson supporters or people who were anti-LBJ?
- J: Well, I'm sure we did, and all my life I have been--I don't consider myself anybody's enemy and don't want to be strident and loud in my espousal of my husband's cause. But nobody failed to know where I stand, and I think I was mostly received warmly and respectfully, if sometimes with a degree of surprise.

I do remember one that you could almost describe as an encounter when we finally got to Fort Worth to that gruesome several-day session there, but as August wore on, that was still in the offing. There was much talk about what Lyndon had done for the Naval Air Training Base in Corpus Christi. About that time it looked like a couple new ordnance depots were going to move to Houston. In fact, other states were being tapped, somewhat, for things that were moving to Texas. Lyndon in his position on the [House] Naval Affairs [Committee], which by that time I think had become Armed Services, plus the labor supply and the water situation in Houston and Corpus made them very, very

viable projects.

We went to a ladies' tea in Columbus. We traveled by automobile mostly, and we used to just buy five gallons of gas at a time so we could campaign at every filling station. I'd always go through the filling station and shake hands with everybody there and introduce myself and, if they would let us, put up a poster in the window of the filling station.

- G: Were they usually receptive to this sort of thing?
- J: Yes, they were. Maybe a little startled, but receptive. Then we also had a hammer and some nails and we'd stop along the way and put some of those posters up on an oak tree that happened close by on the right of way. Those things really lined the roads in those days. We didn't go at such tremendous speeds but what we could see them.

Juanita did have a big tea for us in Port Arthur. She had a tea room at that time. She and Ray [Roberts], their marriage had not survived the war, as many did not. She had been in the armed services, in the WAC [Women's Army Corps], and he had been in the navy. They got back and apparently found out they were two different people, and they were changed, and they got a divorce. She went back to Port Arthur and had a tea room. So she had accepted the chairmanship of our campaign for that area. It was a big and successful tea, because she was a born organizer. It was right after that she came to work for us, I think, and continued on, until Lyndon left in 1969.

Then there were always the sessions to get together with the meetings of district and county chairmen and discuss plans and assess where we were strong, where we were weak, what we had better do with our time and money, for the final weeks of the

campaign.

There was a big drama going on in Washington at that time, and that is the [Whittaker] Chambers-[Alger] Hiss fight, which my main feeling was that I had known Alger Hiss' sister well. She had been head of the women's physical education department at the University of Texas during my four years there, and if there was ever anybody dignified, genteel, and, to my feeling, as patriotic as any of us, it would have been Miss Anna Hiss. That would just bowl me over. I had met him at Georgetown, the very occasional Georgetown dinner party to which I could drag Lyndon. So it was just a startling thing. But the country was beginning to slip into what became the era of McCarthyism. What was justified, what wasn't, I still don't know.

We covered East Texas pretty thoroughly, I a little bit more than Lyndon perhaps actually doing personal campaigning.

- G: Did your father help in Marshall and surrounding areas?
- J: He helped with money, and his natural prestige in a very small area, yes, were helpful.

 He was a very solid citizen, as the Speaker would have described him. But he had no political expertise or desire to have any. He had been sought by many political figures but he had never sought anything himself. And he did--I don't remember how much, but I'm sure we put into it just as much as we could. My brother, throughout all this period, through every race that Lyndon had, Thomas Jefferson Taylor III was county man in Marion County, which was principally Jefferson and a lot of little towns like Linden and Pittsburg, I think, was in that county. I campaigned in some of those, and in Gilmer.

 Dorris Powell was a big help. As I look around me, so many of the people who figured

so prominently in that are now gone. Cameron McElroy, now he had as much political expertise as Daddy and Tommy had zero. He was our county man in Harrison County. He had long carried the banner for Wright Patman, so he knew how to manage. I have the feeling that John Ben Shepperd [Bailey Sheppard?] in Longview helped us.

- G: Gladewater and that area.
- J: Yes. I'd have to go back to remember.
- G: He would have been with the Jaycees then. I guess this was before he actually . . .
- J: And one way of campaigning was to arrive at an airport and be met by a band and a reception committee. Then there would be a caravan of as many cars as you could get. You'd go through the downtown with your horns blowing, if that wasn't against the city ordinance, and your sound truck going and arrive at your headquarters. You'd have big blatant signs on sign trucks and headquarters and have public receptions at which everybody was invited to come and dragooned to come.

In the middle of one of these planned affairs, something very terrible happened. Mary Rather's father was seriously, fatally burned in a fire that I think occurred in his own home, I'm not sure where. But at any rate, she got the message en route on one of these trips. Lyndon turned the plane around and went back to I think it was Sugarland, maybe we had to land in Houston. But anyhow, wherever was the closest place where she could be met and get to him. I do think she got there before he died. Lyndon always felt deeply the pain of somebody that he cared a lot about, and of course, Mary was just devastated. When the funeral took place Lyndon did stop whatever he was doing and flew in to the funeral.

I went to Wichita Falls and talked to the folks there. Whenever I was there, I was always comfortable under the care of Rhea Howard and his lovely wife, Kathleen. I believe Gene Chambers had already entered our life by that time, and his wife, Dee. We were much more--we talked a lot more; it wasn't just shaking hands and moving around. Marietta talked well, effectively, and liked it. I talked scared, I don't know how well, and didn't like it a bit. But I must say, I was determined to do it. I just wasn't going to consider not doing it, because I did get good response from people, and I think they at least thought I was sincere, as they expressed it, if nothing else.

- G: Did you have any speaking advice or coaching or training during this period?
- J: Not any until years later in either 1959 or 1960 I took what nearly every political wife in Washington has either taken or considered taking, and that was a marvelous course with Hester Bell Provenson. If I had taken it in 1937, and I do not know at what time in her life she began this, I would have been lots more help to Lyndon all along. But anyhow, it took me a long time to get around to realizing that I was going to have to say more than, "Thank you for inviting me to this barbecue."

So we wound on toward the last day of the campaign, which was August 28, and a big rally was set up in San Antonio. It was Lyndon's birthday. It was going to be a combination birthday party and rally. Meanwhile, in the last three or four days our schedule was absolutely frenetic. Marietta and I went to Dallas for a big meeting with Julia Brydon and the women's division there, and Lyndon courted San Antonio assiduously and over and over because he had lots of friends there. If you worked at it hard enough, you could turn out the San Antonio vote; you could get the people to the

polls. That is what he felt had not been done in the first instance. We had, I think, lost San Antonio, and he considered it traditionally a strong place for him and that was a slap, and he wasn't going to do that again without exerting everything he could to prevent it.

Even Mrs. Johnson, Lyndon's mother, attended a lot of these coffees and meetings and wrote all the ladies that she had dealt with in her work on genealogy, and Baptist Church friends. She was not a joiner, not a woman who engaged in many social activities, but anybody that knew her knew she was a woman of quality and liked her and listened to her and respected her. So whatever she said was helpful.

We went to a big coffee in Fort Worth, and just right at the last those two brothers of George Peddy came out for us, I think two days before the election. Oh, there were reasons for elation and reasons for depression just buffeting you, just slap, slap. You sort of felt like one of those clowns that they're throwing balls at at the fair, you know. One blow came from E. B. Germany in East Texas [who said] that we'd had a secret understanding with the CIO [Congress of Industrial Organizations].

Lyndon spent a lot of time in Dallas. I went to a tea there. I believe that was the time that Mrs. Barefoot Sanders, Jan Sanders, gave one for us, and Tom Clark's--I cannot remember, I think it was one of Tom Clark's brothers and his wife. Then we had a big, nice reception in our honor--that's the way they always were billed--in McAllen, and Judge J. C. Looney, who was our district man and a marvelous sage, canny, wise, a fine gentleman.

- G: Was he related to Everett Looney?
- J: No, not at all, so far as any of us knew.

But then the final crowning event was to be this rally on the 27th for Lyndon's birthday, in San Antonio, right in front of the coliseum I think the name of it was. En route to that, Marietta and I were going to attend a tea at Seguin put on by Lyndon's old San Marcos friend and NYA [National Youth Administration] friend Wilton Woods and his sweet little wife, Virginia. They had just invited everybody, every lady in Seguin, to come to this tea.

Marietta and I set out with our little suitcases packed; you know, we were going to spend the night in San Antonio after the rally. Marietta was driving. There had been a light shower. The road was a little slick. Apparently an oil truck had been ahead of us and had been dribbling some oil. At any rate, we ran into a particularly slick spot; she lost control of the car. It was apparent we were going into the ditch. I'll never forget the next few seconds--and they were only seconds--and we did careen right into the ditch and I remember hitting top, sides, Marietta herself, top, sides, you know, just like a ball in a box that you're shaking.

Finally we came to rest in a pretty deep ditch with the nose of the car pointed up at the road, and the back resting at the bottom and sides of the ditch. I tried to open the door and I couldn't, but I could run down the window. So I looked at Marietta and it was obvious that she was pretty bad. I couldn't tell if she was unconscious, but anyhow, she was very shaken--I, not so much. I climbed out of the window and scrabbled up the steep bank of the ditch and stood up on the shoulder of the road and began to flag people down. I never will forget my amazement. I felt sure that the first person going by would stop for me. Not so. I remember a lone woman, a nice-looking woman, youngish, gave me

sort of a startled, frightened glance, and picked up speed. I was just openmouthed.

About the third or fourth car did stop. It was a very old car driven by an old gentleman, a farmer I think. He said, "Anything I can do for you?" I said, "Sure is. You can help us get out of this car and just take us into the closest town. How close are we to Seguin?" He told us, and it wasn't many miles. He said, "I'll take you into Seguin. I'll run you by the doctor's office." So, with his help, we managed to get Marietta out of the car.

- G: Was she conscious at this time?
- J: Yes, and I think she was helping us. But she was hurt, and she was letting us know she was hurt. We sort of half led, half carried her, and put her in the car. I remember thinking, oh, Lord, here it is Friday, the voting is tomorrow; I wish I'd voted absentee. I made myself a promise never to let that happen again.

Tape 2 of 4

- J: I was a mess. I was scratched, and dirty, and my stockings were all torn up and I think my dress was ripped a bit. We bounced along in this old gentleman's car with Marietta moaning and me saying to myself, I wish I had voted absentee. We got to the doctor's, as I recall, and he examined us and said, "You're all right. I do not find any broken bones. I think I can turn you loose, but I'd better hospitalize Mrs. Brooks." And he did. I just saw that she got into the hospital. I'm sorry; I just really left her there unattended.

 Meanwhile, I had phoned the Wilton Woodses. It was almost time for the tea. They came down and rescued me, and we thanked the old gentleman, and to this day I regret that I don't know his name.
- G: Did he know who you were?

- J: I don't know. I'm sure that I introduced myself, and solicited his vote. I think I remember doing that. But I don't--I was shaken, too, although I was not seriously injured.
- G: Did anyone notify Max Brooks that this had occurred?
- J: I'm sure they notified him as soon as they got to the hospital. I can't say from my own knowledge. Because Marietta was plenty able to talk, and she was hurt and she was telling us so.
- G: Whose car was it?
- J: I think it was ours.
- G: Your family car?
- J: Yes.
- G: I see. Well, did the car turn over at all, or did it just go down into the ditch, do you recall?
- J: Oh, I think it turned over several times, which accounts for the bam, bam, hitting the top, hitting the sides, hitting Marietta with your arm, with your shoulder, your head. Just bam, bam, bam. I said, "Virginia, I want to take a bath, and I've got a dress in this suitcase I can put on, but you're going to have to give me some stockings." I think we shined up my shoes a bit, and so I was in the receiving line about twenty or thirty minutes late with a big story to tell, and a little bit wobbly, but all right. After we finished the tea, someone drove us, me and the Woodses--thank heavens I didn't have to drive--on over to San Antonio. I got dressed for a big final night. That was the night of my debut on speaking to a really large group. Not much of a speech indeed, but the biggest I had

- made up to date.
- G: Did you write the speech out in advance or was it something that you did impromptu?
- J: As I recall I had notes and did it impromptu, and it was just more of my evaluation of Lyndon from the years I had known him and how I had seen him represent the Tenth District and what sort of a human being he was.
- G: This was also his birthday, wasn't it?
- J: Oh, yes. We made much of his birthday, we always did, every birthday of his life.

Meanwhile, I had told whoever was there in charge, John Connally or Claude Wild or whoever, not to dare let Lyndon know what had happened because it was going to be all right. All I was going to have was some bad bruises. So we got through that evening, and we shook hands with a *jillion* people, and San Antonio showed its love for us. It was a big warm successful rally. We went to bed for a very short night. Lyndon decided to stay in San Antonio and just visit with his precinct managers and local people all day long in an effort to see that people really did get out to the polls. I went on back to Austin. He set no little task, I will assure you. He just said, "I want you and Mama and Rebekah and Josefa to take the Austin phone book and divide it up four ways"--he may have cut Sam Houston in on it; I don't know--"and just sit at the phone all day and ask everybody to go to the polls." And that was a gargantuan job, but remember, it was a very much smaller phone book then, very, very much smaller. But we pretty much did it; anyhow, we phoned all day long.

I remember the next morning when I got up I was appalled at how bruised I was. Fortunately the bruises were in places that they didn't show. But for more than six

months, in fact nearly close to a year, there was a huge black place that became hard as a rock on the right-hand side of my right thigh down close to the knee. I didn't realize that a bruise made a hard place, but it sure did. I was very stiff, but not too stiff to lift the telephone. I drove home, the car being in no shape--in fact, I guess that car was still in the ditch, and I don't know when and how it got out.

- G: So how did you get back?
- J: I drove home with Lyndon's sister, Rebekah, and her friend, Anne Nalle, Anne Bird Nalle, who quipped as we went along, "And one of these days we will get our just reward, a form letter beginning 'Dear Friend.'" (Laughter) And it was an absolutely natural response and it's probably exactly what happened. But I thought, oh, dear, if you were just on the other side of the fence and knew that you were trying to write thousands and thousands of those, you'd realize why some of them didn't say, "Dear Anne." Anne Bird would have been the correct thing to call her.
- G: Well, when did LBJ find out about the accident?
- J: I don't know. As late as I could arrange, but I imagine sometime during the day.

 Because he was just too weary that night to observe bruises. They mostly became more apparent the next day and then went through a marvelous variety of changes from black to purple to green.

So we went on back. Lyndon cast his vote late in the afternoon in Johnson City. I forget whether I was with him or not. I always cast my vote in Johnson City and I had not voted absentee so I know I went there at some time; I just don't remember whether we were together. The next morning--my recollection is that once more we stayed in a hotel

suite for days and days. I would expect that it was the Driskill, and we would meet in the Jim Hogg Suite, but I don't know. Have any of your other . . .

G: Well, I hear that and also at Dillman, spending a lot of time at Dillman Street that whole weekend after.

Yes. It was just that downtown there was a better liaison with telephones, and votes coming in, and news wires and all like that. So I really don't know how much of the time we were at Dillman and how much at some hotel. But Sunday morning the *Dallas Morning News* said, "The Senate race looks like a photo finish, with Stevenson holding a slight edge, but LBJ threatening to overtake him." We didn't get the Peddy vote in Harris County. We did get it in the East Texas counties, and in those days city votes were not as formidable as they now are. Former Governor Miriam Ferguson wired all of her supporters that, "It's important that all Johnson votes be counted and returned in present close contest. As soon as the votes are canvassed, wire results Johnson Headquarters collect." I don't know whether I had told you that it became my job at one point during this campaign to go and see Mrs. Ferguson. Did I?

- G: I don't know whether we have that on tape or not.
- J: All by myself, up to that house on Enfield, that at that time was a much more attractive house because no rent quarters had been built on the back end and the lawn was well kept, and it was a very nice house. It's at a sort of a--almost the crest of a hill where the road divides into a Y, white stucco, old-fashioned, but a home of some grace. She was a highly interesting woman. She was no figurehead. She got out, really and truly, a little black book, which one had heard about all one's life. But she went through it, and said,

"Yes, I can write this one. I will write that one. This one will be very helpful to you."

This of course was much earlier in the campaign. By this time the Governor, Jim

Ferguson, was dead, but she also had been governor, of course. Anyhow, she was helpful and in a very pragmatic way, and I felt like I was seeing a Texas legend.

- G: Could you see any tangible results of her work? Did you get any reports back that soand-so had been contacted by her, that such-and-such a county had gone for you as a result?
- J: I can't really assess that, but I just feel sure that in deep East Texas, which had been one of their strongholds, that we did. That plus the heavy work that we did there in the beginning of the second primary, opening in Center, I think that swung a lot of that for us.

So the vote just began to swing backwards and forwards for the next I don't know how many days. Saturday was the 28th. On Sunday, Lyndon wired all his county campaign leaders that, "The race is so close that an honest error in tabulation could easily make the difference. Please check the returns now and immediately contact the chairman of the executive committee and find out when the committee is going to canvass, and have one of our representatives present when the returns are canvassed, and let us know right away." On Sunday night, the 29th, we had a 693 [-vote] lead over Stevenson, on revisions and additions from three counties: Harris--the biggest--Duval, and Childress, a very mixed bag. Stevenson lost no time in beginning to criticize the returns from Duval, which had been his stronghold in every previous election that he had run in.

G: What was your mood over the weekend? Did you, and LBJ, and the others in the

- organization feel that you were going to win? I know in 1941 you had a lead and saw it evaporate. Did you feel that the same thing was going to happen?
- J: Well, we were tense as a violin string. I don't think there was any feeling of assurance any way. I just know, sharpened by the experience of 1941, we weren't going to fail to have our supporters there in X box whenever anything was counted. I remember in a far northwest county, Jacksboro I believe it was, there was a very elderly county--anyhow, the fellow who is the judge of the voting box, who made what was undoubtedly an honest error of transposition. Let us say Lyndon had 94 votes, and he recorded it as 49. And I think later on maybe a recount may have showed that, but meantime, there had been sworn returns and--when you've got 252 counties--are we 252 or 254?
- G: I guess it's 2, yes.
- J: One or the other [254]. And at that time a lot of them were very rural. There is room for errors, just human errors unintentional. So we wanted extreme vigilance to make sure that we got our honest shake.
- G: Now there's a note that LBJ hadn't slept at all Saturday night and was absolutely weary and unshaven. Can you describe this?
- J: No better than that. He could not sleep in a condition of such tension.
- G: I mean, he must have been exhausted after the campaign anyway, even if it'd been a clear-cut outcome.
- J: Well, it's amazing what reserves you can finally plumb and what adrenalin there is left in your system. I think it must be not unlike a war, not unlike a real physical battle.

Then on Monday Stevenson regained the vote, got pulled back up to 119 and

there was said to be about 400 still out. And then by Tuesday it did look hopeless because Stevenson was leading by 349. At some point in this, George Parr did make the statement that, "Yes, we all voted for Coke Stevenson in the last election." And in I don't know how many elections. I think maybe he had had two terms as governor at least, and maybe before that he had been some statewide office. So they'd had several opportunities.

- G: Lieutenant governor, I guess.
- J: And they had voted for him every time. "But he promised to name somebody county judge down here, a judge down here, and he didn't keep his promise. He's no longer our friend and we're against him. You bet we voted for Johnson."
- G: Did you observe any contact with George Parr during that campaign or particularly in the closing, in those moments?
- J: No, I think there very likely may have been telephone contact, but never anything personal. I think our relation with him was greatly exaggerated. I think he's had a relation with everybody who ever was in politics. Lyndon had a natural affinity for Latins, and he had a respect for Parr, because as a leader of the Latins he had the reputation of trying to protect them and help them. But, yes, he did try to also get them to vote a certain way. Only thing I think he ever asked of us was to get him some tickets to the Kentucky Derby one time because he knew we were good friends of Senator [Earle] Clements. This was years later, and I think that was the extent of his attempt to control our actions.

So then Stevenson's lead began to be chewed away at. Twenty-five more counties

were reporting official returns and then one would call back and say that wasn't official; they had found some more somewhere. And Lyndon was harping on, that, "A canvass is to correct errors made by precinct officials who work under pressure and report their votes at the end of a long, hard day at the polls. So canvass them and count them." All that went on all week: Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and by Friday, Lyndon was in a 17-vote lead, and by Saturday issued a victory statement. Stevenson didn't comment. Texas Election Bureaus gave Lyndon a lead of 162. The *Dallas Morning News* was calling for an investigation by the state senate investigating committee, and Lyndon responded by asking for an investigation by the FBI.

Then the next big hurdle that loomed before us was September 13, which was about at that time seven or eight days away, when there was going to be a State Democratic [Executive] Committee meeting. It was going to be in Fort Worth. Lyndon began to get out word to all of his friends to come to that. Normally those things can be very sparsely attended by the old pros, but he just wanted to be backed by flanks of friends. That really did turn out to be sort of a contest in a Roman forum. I felt like one of the Christians. (Laughter) Oh, dear.

- G: Was someone nominally in charge of the campaign at this point? If you had to say who was making the decisions and who was sort of at the helm of the command center here, who would it have been?
- J: I would think that very likely Senator Wirtz would have risen more and more to constant attention and advice, because it was apparent that it was going to lead into the legal field.

 It looked like it was.

- G: It has been alleged that President Johnson went down into the Valley county during this time frame, after the election, and before all of the counts were in. Do you know anything about that?
- J: No, I don't, and I don't think he did, because he never was gone from wherever the counting was going on, to the best of my knowledge, or from--I do believe that we were mostly at Dillman, maybe the first twenty-four or forty-eight hours at a hotel.
- G: You know, I really have received two different pictures of him during this week. One is of a man who is on the phone all the time and one thing and another, and checking with all of his district people and county people. The other is someone who is totally exhausted, who is completely out of it by this point, and who has sort of just turned it over to his supporters. Would one of these be more accurate than the other?
- J: I think it depends on when you came into the house, and I would think the former is more accurate in that he was doing a tremendous amount of phoning, managing, recording, questioning. But I think at some point surely, he took out time to lie down on the bed. I cannot say that I remember it point by point.

I look back on that little house and I think, gee, that was mighty close quarters to have that much tension in. I hope we got those children out to Mrs. Johnson's house some, I don't remember. At any rate, it had the insulation of the most marvelous backyard there ever was, so maybe that was their chief solace. I know I had promised them a slide. They already had some marvelous swings which I had built them a previous year, I think. I think I had promised them a slide when the campaign was over, and they kept on wanting to know when was the campaign going to be over. (Laughter)

Somewhere in the course of all that, and this long drawn-out fall--because it did indeed go on much longer--I was at some ladies coffee sort of thing, and ran into a friend that I hadn't seen in probably a couple of years, and let us assume she had left Texas for a while, because she certainly was not very well informed about what was going on. She said, "Lady Bird, what are you and your husband doing now?" I sort of threw up my hands and said, "I wish I knew," and everybody in the room just collapsed in laughter. (Laughter)

And at one point Attorney General Tom Clark ordered the Justice Department Criminal Division officials to check reported irregularities in the runoff election. The Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections received a number of telegrams and letters urging investigation. Everybody wanted everything investigated.

- G: Well now, LBJ that Labor Day weekend, Monday I guess, made a statewide radio broadcast, discussing the Stevenson charges. Do you recall this?
- J: Well, I know that he willingly would have pointed out--I mean he would have pointed out that Stevenson happily accepted those same counties' votes when they were overwhelmingly in his favor in four previous elections. And that statements had been made down there that the reason they didn't vote for him this time was because he broke a promise to appoint somebody, I think it was one of the Kazens, as a judge. They believed in your friends rewarding you, and when he didn't, he wasn't anymore their friend. I think that was when he also used the occasion to urge everybody to show up at the convention.

So the days just went forward with all sorts of tensions, like a Texas Ranger of

very considerable fame--

- G: Frank Hamer.
- J: --Frank Hamer going down to Jim Wells. Those people down there are scared of guns, and they're scared of Rangers. He went down there with Stevenson and they filed an affidavit with the county clerk charging that Precinct 13 had been counted incorrectly and should be discarded. Lyndon filed a suit in the district court in Alice to prevent him discarding it.

Bob Calvert was the chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee.

Lyndon wrote him and asked that Mrs. Alma Lee Holman of Taylor and Jerome Sneed,

Jr., of Austin be appointed to the subcommittee, canvassing the runoff votes. I guess that
was on the statewide level. That was about the time that we moved our whole tattered
battle formation up to Fort Worth for the State Democratic Convention. I think it took
place on Monday the 13th. We stayed I think at the Blackstone Hotel. Or did we stay at
the Texas?

Then we had everything that you could imagine, all the bad luck that you could imagine. Everett Looney was injured in a traffic accident, and couldn't--he was our main legal staff standby. Senator Wirtz was the wise guidance, but Everett Looney was out there in front doing major talking for us. He got hurt. Then somebody collapsed in the lobby of the hotel, somebody who was for us.

- G: Jerome Sneed, I think.
- J: Was it? They didn't know whether it was a heart attack or what. So he was out of commission for a while.

Then the secretary of the Democratic committee was Vann Kennedy and he announced that Lyndon had an 87-vote lead, and Wirtz moved that the subcommittee accept that count. So that is a scene in the hotel I will long remember. You could cut the tension with a knife. Coke Stevenson had a very impressive countenance, kind of dour, and a big, tall, silent, man who smoked a pipe all the time, woulda made a good--looked sort of like a stage character out of the Old West. You could look around and you could count your friends and you could count your enemies and then there were some that you just didn't know which way they were going to come down. Then there was a recheck and Lyndon still got [an] 87-vote majority.

- G: What were you doing during this period at the convention?
- J: I was doing absolutely nothing to be helpful because I was way beyond my depth. I was just observing and feeling the tension and thinking this is a tremendous drama and I don't know how it's going to come out. Then, whenever I could, I was trying to get Lyndon to eat something and ordering up something light like bacon and eggs and milk and getting him out a fresh shirt. A shower always revived him. Sometime on campaign days if he could get to a hotel for a midday rest, he would take two or even three showers in the course of a day, change shirts even more often. This was as tense as--more tense I guess--than any campaign day. Senator Wirtz was pointing out that really that the 87-vote majority wasn't all the majority there was, that as late as the 9th of September, eleven days after the voting, he had entered disapproval of the Dallas County returns, but just let them stand, didn't pursue them since it was evident that we had the 87-vote [lead]. So he would just stand on that, so to speak. However, the question was if they threw out all of

Jim Wells [County], then we would not any longer have that 87. All the news sources were saying what was entirely correct, that it looked more like a courtroom than a political party session.

One of the scenes that I remember was in the hotel room, there was such illustrious legal counsel there as Charlie Francis and John Cofer, and at some point Dudley Tarleton and, of course, Senator Wirtz always, and Everett Looney as soon as he was back on his feet. There were times there when Lyndon was the calmest and most contained person in the room. The lawyers would just be all talking at once and all wondering what course to--figuring out what course to pursue. I remember, and I don't know whether it was the calmness of utter fatigue or whether--I don't know what to attribute it to. I think maybe he knew that now was the time that he had to be.

And, on Stevenson's side, his chief legal counsel was Clint Small. I believe Charlie Francis and John Cofer were ours.

- G: Now it was here that Abe Fortas appeared on the scene, wasn't it, during this time, or was that later in the [contest]?
- J: I don't know. I think maybe he appeared later.
- G: Maybe you're right.
- J: Finally, after each of the two sides had a chance to present their statement to the executive committee, then the executive committee voted, 29 to 28, to proclaim Lyndon the Democratic nominee. Then the minority group gave notice of an appeal, and then, before the vote was announced, one member withdrew and asked that he be counted as not present and not voting thus tying the vote, and I, to this day, don't know who that was

and don't want to know. But I do know that a member who had been absent on the first roll call, several people [tried to locate him] because we knew that he was for us, and we knew that if we could locate him he would vote for us. We just knew he had to go to the bathroom; maybe he had to go to the telephone for some terribly important personal reason. Anyhow, if we could just locate that man and bodily pull him back in, we would once again break the tie. So there are lots of funny stories about the folks that went in search of him. I can't repeat them at this point. But some of our friends since then have taken great pleasure and with much gusto recounted how they found him in the bathroom and hauled him up into a standing posture and got him into the floor. (Laughter)

And, all through the years we have met many people who claimed to be the one who really cast the deciding vote.

- G: I think it was Charlie Gibson, wasn't it?
- J: I think maybe it was.
- G: Did you feel like you were going to win that vote?
- J: Yes, yes, by that time I was beginning to think that the committee was going to come down on our side. So the convention delegates overwhelmingly approved Lyndon's certification, after it got to be 29 to 28 again. Then by a voice vote, Tuesday night, that was proclaimed and Lyndon and I were presented to the delegates. Lyndon made a brief statement and we drew a sigh of relief, and I guess, on that night, we must have slept well. That was seventeen days after the election; the election was the 28th, this was the night of the 14th.

But, we slept too early, because sometime in the middle of the night some partisan

of Coke Stevenson--it may have been Coke Stevenson himself, I don't know who it was-got in the car and drove over to East Texas to the home of [Federal District] Judge Whitfield Davidson and got him to issue a restraining order against the certification of Lyndon as the Democratic nominee by the Texas secretary of state. That order was granted at 6:20 in the morning in Harrison County at Judge Davidson's sister's ranch. So they traced him down, knew where he was, lit out and found him, sometime I guess between midnight and 6:00 a.m., because it's a good little drive from Fort Worth.

- G: Was there any reason that you know of why they went to Judge Davidson?
- J: I should think there was a very good reason. He was about as conservative a judge in the entire state and a good friend of Coke Stevenson's. It also happened that he had been intertwined in my own early life, but that comes about later. He set the hearing for September 21, once more in Fort Worth. Then he enlarged the restraining order, telling all the county judges and clerks and sheriffs and election boards that they must not distribute ballots for the November election carrying Lyndon's name as the Democratic senatorial nominee.

So, then it moved undeniably out of the field of election committees into the field of lawyers and judges. The hearing was going to take place on the 21st and that was five or six days off, and I don't know how we got through that week. But the sample ballots were made up that excluded Lyndon's name from the ballot. That was the time that we had to begin to think about what we would do in case we lost the case before Judge Davidson. So we called on Jim Rowe and some of our friends back in Washington: Thurmond Arnold, Francis Biddle, I'm sure that Abe Fortas appeared in there somewhere.

I really don't remember how we could have survived those three or four days between the 16th and 17th on up to the 20th, but we did go back to Fort Worth, Lyndon, and John, and I, for the hearings before Judge Davidson.

That is one scene that is printed very clearly on my mind forever. We were in his courtroom in the morning, seated close to the front. Our lawyers were there and a fine array they were: John Cofer, John Crooker, James Allred, Raymond Buck, Everett Looney, Alvin Wirtz, L. E. Jones, Dudley Tarleton. Stevenson, one of his principal ones was Dan Moody, a former governor, formidable opponent. Our lawyers made a motion for dismissal, based on the grounds that the federal court lacked jurisdiction, and said that any claims for fraud should be tried in a state court, and an investigation should be extended to the entire state. Judge Davidson made a very strange off-the-record suggestion that we just run it all over. (Laughter) Put both names on the ballot and just run it all over. Well, Lyndon of course responded that he had won it, and he just didn't want to have to win it twice, and that he had a legal right to the nomination and to have his name on the official ballot. "To barter away that right would be to stultify myself and result in betrayal of the Democratic Party and the Democratic votes of Texas."

- G: Was Judge Davidson in that hearing, did he appear to be partisan or did he appear to be [objective]?
- J: Well, this is where the interesting drama came in, and I don't know whether it was before or after, he made this interesting suggestion that we do it all over. He came in, looking very dignified and kind of unctuous and said, "The defendant's"--we were the defendants, because Coke Stevenson had brought the suit, sought the injunction--"The defendant's

wife I have known all my life. When I was a young practicing attorney, just out of law school, one of the first employments that I received was from her father, and I represented him for a good many years and respected him highly." And at about that point, Senator Wirtz leaned across me to Lyn--

Tape 3 of 4

- J: He was speaking in a very unctuous, almost saccharine tone of voice. At that point,

 Senator Wirtz leaned across me and talked I think to Lyndon and John, whoever was over
 there, and said, "I'm going back to the hotel and pack my bags and leave for New

 Orleans." That was where the next court of appeal was. That was where you would go to
 seek a remedy if you lost at this one. He said, "Tell"--I think he said Jimmie Allred--"to
 take over," or Everett Looney or some team of them, "and I'll be in touch with you later."

 And he very courteously departed from the courtroom. Judge Davidson went on to say,

 "But the evidence is so overwhelming that I cannot look with favor upon the defendant's
 plea in this case." And so that's when he said he decided in favor of maintaining the
 injunction.
- G: Did you ever ask your father about Whitfield Davidson and whether or not this was accurate?
- J: Oh, it was a fact. I remembered it. His name was well known in our household, and I smiled at him when I came in and he'd smile back, but it was just a greeting, that is all.

Lyndon was known as an FDR [Franklin Delano Roosevelt] supporter and somewhat of a young liberal. I'm sure Judge Whitfield Davidson just couldn't abide that and so whatever his cause was, he was doomed before Judge Davidson.

- G: Now during this period we've talked about the irregularity in George Parr's area that

 Davidson homed in on, but my impression is that there were also some irregularities the

 other way in East Texas counties.
- J: There were, and in Dallas, especially, I think. Oh, there were many instances of them, but it was Senator Wirtz' judgment that if you make your stand on what you can prove, even if it is a slim stand, and go on through with it quickly, that's the wiser course.

 Because you could spend from now till doomsday picking out irregularities. Whether that was wise or not, I don't know.
- G: During the time that the votes were coming in--historians are always counting and recounting those votes--did you get any indication of some of these irregularities? Like San Saba I've heard was a county where you received information that votes were being tampered with and returns were being altered and things like that. Do you recall hearing this in the campaign headquarters?
- J: I personally did not. In the first place, I really didn't want to. And second place, I just have the feeling that that was a time when my role became more to try to see that those men late at night got something to eat and some water and some coffee and the phone answered for them. I wasn't in on the strategy because I didn't know what to do about it.
- G: Besides Dallas, did they seem preoccupied with what they considered questionable returns in particular counties?
- J: Yes. And there was a hesitation about whether to try to open up this little Jacksboro [Jack County] box, for instance.
- G: Any other counties that spring to mind that seemed to be under discussion when they

- were . . . ?
- J: No, I don't. I'm sure though, that there were some. I vaguely remember Bob Long telling about some instances.
- G: Gregg County was one where it had gone for you in the first primary and then turned.
- J: Yes. Oh, yes, I think that Carl Estes was very active over there with success, and he was for Stevenson.
- G: Oh, he was, really?
- J: Yes.
- G: I had the impression that he was for you at first, but something had happened and he had
- J: I think maybe that was the case.
- G: Do you know why? Why would he switch, if he did in fact switch?
- J: No. (Laughter) He is dead now and I don't really know.
- G: Okay.
- J: So, Judge Davidson denied Lyndon's motion for dismissal and announced that he would grant the injunction asked by Stevenson, then just signed the injunction enjoining the Secretary of State from certifying LBJ as Democratic candidate for the Senate. Then Dudley Tarleton had a heart attack. That was the third one of our folks who suffered some serious problem in the course of all this strain. It's amazing that Lyndon survived it. It's amazing, too, that Senator Wirtz did.

So down in New Orleans Senator Wirtz got an appeal set up before the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals and asked Judge Joe Hutchinson [Hutcheson] for a staying

order. Hutcheson denied the motion for a stay, saying that a single circuit judge did not have that authority. So there we were, with another setback.

Our next step was Governor Allred went up to Washington to consult with Thurmond Arnold and others and Wirtz was going to join him right away. About this time Truman's campaign train came through Texas. How on earth we ever separated ourselves from the morass that we were in to go and stand on the back of it and smile, I don't know. But Lyndon did, and so did Wright Patman and Johnny Lyle and Maury Maverick. They met him in--he had stopped in Uvalde and seen John Garner, and then I think Lyndon and them met him in San Antonio and came on through Austin. They were going on up to--they had made speeches all the way along from San Antonio and San Marcos, and then on.

They stopped in Austin, had a big rally. I was there, looking up at Lyndon on the back of the platform with a broadly smiling Truman. Lyndon looked down into the crowd and beckoned me up, and I went up and shook hands with him. Lyndon was always looking to see, you know, he wanted to get everybody in the act that he could. He saw the man who was running to succeed him, Homer Thornberry. He saw him, "Come on up here, Homer." Homer got up there, and about that time--I'd meanwhile had gotten off--this train pulled out headed for Georgetown and Temple and Waco and so forth, and Homer didn't have any money in his pocket (laughter), hadn't meant to go, didn't have a car meeting him at the other end. (Laughter) But Lyndon lent him some money and arranged to get him a ride somehow or another at the other end. There was humor even in the midst of all . . .

- G: Did you ever ride on that train during its . . . ?
- J: No, I do not recall riding on it. I recall, to my chagrin, actually marching up on it not once but twice and shaking hands with President Truman. I think Tom Clark was up there, and Tom Clark had called me up and had me do it. Then I had meekly gotten down again and then Lyndon saw me, and it was very hard to say no to Lyndon and you couldn't shout above the crowd that "I've already been up." So I think poor Truman had to endure still another handshake and picture of me.
- G: The stories have been told that Truman received a tremendous welcome everywhere he went in Texas.
- J: Oh, he did! He did receive a marvelous welcome! And yet, you know, this was a very chancy campaign, and there were a lot of people scared to appear with him. There was no general feeling that he was going to be the winner, except in his own heart and in those close around him I guess, but with every stop that feeling must have been reinforced because he did receive, in Texas, marvelous welcomes as he went on up toward Dallas and Fort Worth and through Georgetown and Temple and Waco and Hillsboro. The final speech I think was in Bonham, the hometown of the Speaker. He endorsed LBJ as the candidate along the way. Then when he got up to Bonham, which is right across the line from Oklahoma, he endorsed Bob Kerr. Of course Speaker Rayburn, who was not at that time speaker as you know, was there to meet him somewhere along the line.
- G: They spent the night in Bonham, didn't they?
- J: Yes, I think they did.

- G: The Stevenson people believed that Hugo Black was called that night and asked to render a decision in favor of LBJ. Have you ever heard anything to that effect?
- J: No, that's absolute news to me. However, I do know that in Washington where Rowe and--let's see, on the 25th, Allred had gone up to consult with Thurmond Arnold, and Wirtz was going to join him the next afternoon. So they were already taking steps up there two or three days before Lyndon joined the Truman train. I don't know anything about a telephone call. In fact, I wasn't along on that. I think I got off the rear end of the platform for the second time and stayed there in Austin. But on the 28th of September, Justice Hugo Black ruled that Federal Judge Davidson did not have the authority to interfere with the state election, and stayed the temporary injunction barring Lyndon from the ticket. He had in his office Governor Dan Moody speaking for Stevenson and then Lyndon's counselors: Jimmie Allred, Thurmond Arnold, Abe Fortas, Alvin Wirtz and Hugh Cox. And Black did state that it was subject to review by other members of the Supreme Court, but at that time the Court was out of session, I think. It was the custom for individual Court members to hear things that had to be heard immediately.
- G: Now LBJ was not there when that took place, was he?
- J: No, he was in Texas.
- G: Have you heard accounts of that hearing in Justice Black's chambers?
- J: No, I have not, and that is one reason why I wish that we had Justice Black's own oral history.
- G: Well, we do. He does talk about it.
- J: I know it, but he never has turned it loose to us, so for all practical purposes we don't

have it. Unless his son, who is his executor, sees fit to do so.

Two days later he signed the staying order clearing the way for the Secretary of State to put Lyndon's name on the ballot and that was just nip and tuck, because those ballots had to be gotten out to all the 252 or 254 counties well ahead of election day. Lyndon wrote Judge Looney down in the Valley to make sure that every last county in his district did indeed put his name on the ballot, and I'm sure that--Judge Looney was a district man--he must have called every one of the district men or written them. By October 5 the Supreme Court did approve Justice Black's action, putting Lyndon's name on the ballot.

There was still more legal carrying on, but I don't know what it is, because of course, Stevenson in his turn could still appeal again. But time was running out. This was early October. The election was November 2, so for all practical purposes it seemed actually that the endurance contest was over.

Homer Thornberry had been elected, and Lyndon took him to Washington with him to introduce him to a lot of folks he thought he ought to know: Secretary of Defense [James] Forrestal and Claude Wickard, head of the REA, and Stu Symington, one of Lyndon's best friends.

- G: Now we haven't talked about the Homer Thornberry election, and I wonder, since this is the old Tenth District and LBJ's seat, he must have had mixed emotions about giving that seat up, and he must've had an interest in who got it. Do you recall if he encouraged Thornberry to run or if he was asked for support by Thornberry?
- J: I don't recall it specifically, but I feel sure that both of those things happened, because the

old Tenth District was always very close in Lyndon's heart. I know that he became very close friends with Homer. I don't think he had known him very well before. I think Homer had been on the city council in Austin. Their paths had crossed in politics, but I think it was just briefly.

- G: He wasn't what you would call a hand-picked successor then?
- J: No.
- G: Was there anyone else the LBJ would have liked to have had run for that seat, that he tried to get to run that wouldn't?
- J: No, not to my knowledge. I do know that in a later race when Homer finally got off,

 Lyndon did so hope that Jake Pickle would, and Lyndon did encourage Jake Pickle to, I

 think somewhat to Mrs. Jake Pickle's concern. But in this one I think he was too busy on
 his own business, as well as I recall.

So, then Coke Stevenson announced his support of Jack Porter, the Republican candidate for the Senate. Lyndon went back to Austin on October 15, and we thought we were going to have a quiet two weeks before the general election, which we did not regard in those days as a matter of great concern. Some rather big things happened to Lyndon. He got to go to New York to participate in the *New York Herald Tribune*Forum, which was a big deal for a young congressman. He was going to be on a panel on the subject, "Goals for Leadership in the International Crisis," with John McCloy on it and George Kennan, and Governor Tom Dewey was also scheduled to speak. It was sort of an entrance on the national scene that he had not quite had before, and I remember he was impressed and proud.

- G: Did he make any effort to blunt Stevenson's opposition at this point? Did he try to get Stevenson to come out for him rather than the Republican candidate?
- J: I do not know that he did. Historically, he has sought to assuage feelings and heal wounds, somewhat to such an extent that he has made his own supporters annoyed by it.

 In this instance I do not think he did. I think he thought that one was too decisive, too deep. That was just the end of that.
- G: Stevenson never became a supporter, did he?
- J: Never. Unlike the Fergusons.

So, then, that was not quite the last we heard of everything though, because

Stevenson made a radio speech and appealed to a senator who was chairman of the

Senate Committee on Rules and Administration requesting that the United States Senate
investigate the runoff primary and refuse to seat as a fellow member Lyndon. However,
that was about October 18, and the election was hot on the heels of that. By the time the
election was over with, the Senate had turned from--I think it had turned from Republican
to Democrat. So, whoever was chairman of the Senate Committee on Rules and
Administration would not have been quite as anxious to do that.

Then there were numerous complaints to the Criminal Division of the Justice Department. [J. Edgar] Hoover did start some sort of an investigation of the runoff election. So the rumblings went on. Our name was on the ballot. I felt reasonably secure. I don't know how much troubled others were.

G: It seems like Stevenson must have given up any hope of winning. He was not going to be on the ballot himself, and he wasn't going to be able to reverse it. I wonder if this was

more of a campaign tactic at this point, to cast suspicion on LBJ and influence votes toward Jack Porter.

J: If it was, it wasn't the time to do it, because in those days Texas was strongly Democratic, and it was notably unsuccessful, because when the general election day did finally roll around, we had over 700,000 votes, and Porter had 340,000. It was not two to one--yes, it was, it was better than two to one, better than a two to one. So you'd settle for that any day.

There was a marvelous array, to my thinking, of senators elected then: Hubert Humphrey, Bob Kerr, Estes Kefauver, Clinton Anderson. And the Democrats recaptured both the House and Senate majorities. So that apparently sealed off one of the last hopes of Stevenson, because the committee would be headed by a Democratic chairman. Truman won carrying twenty-eight states.

I remember we did get some help from Senator Frank [Francis] Myers I think of Pennsylvania, who demanded a recall of the Senate Election Subcommittee investigators in Texas and said they were just trying to lend themselves to an organized effort to influence the November election and secure a Republican nominee in the Senate. So there were still people pursuing different avenues. There was a lot of talk about impounding boxes, putting them under lock and key. I don't know how many ever were.

But at any rate, my personal recollections of that period are frail and dim. I guess I was sort of worked out. I do remember one amusing little family incident. Let's see, this was--no, this could not have been the time that that happened because Luci was only one year old. It must have been a few years later. So I won't include that.

- G: There's a note that you and LBJ took a brief post-election vacation. Do you recall that?
- J: I have the feeling that may have been the time that, at Wesley West's suggestion, we went out to his ranch, without leaving word with any but just very--one or two people knew where we were because we were so dead beat that we just didn't want to see reporters.

 We wanted to remove ourselves from the scene and sleep for about seventy-two hours.

 And we took with us, let me see, Mary Rather perhaps, and one or two secretaries. I remember distinctly that there was warm sunshine. Could that have been this time or could it have been some earlier [period]? Could it have been at the end of the first primary? At any rate, if I haven't told you this it's worth telling in my small lexicon of bright--of amusing memories.

We were lying around the pool getting sunshine--and it could really have been November because Texas can be quite warm in November, but it may have been an earlier one--thinking that we were lost to all the whole world. Our host was not there on purpose. He wanted us to be there. He'd sent up a cook. He was guarding our presence faithfully from anybody. All of a sudden we looked up. I saw a pair of boots looming up right in front of my eyes and I followed on up, and here was an enormous figure of a man, very portly, with a huge belt with a great big map of Texas as a buckle, studded with stones, and an impressive-looking hat. I caught my breath, and I exclaimed something, I don't know what. He said, "I'm Jim West, Wesley's brother. I just wanted to see if you all were comfortable." (Laughter) And I explained, "So kind of Wesley to let us come out here. We really did want to get away from everybody and everything for a few days rest." He said, "Huh. Should have come to my place. It's twenty-five miles

from the front gate to the house." (Laughter) In other words, if you wanted to be really totally sealed off, his place had that much insulation. Wesley's was just about a mile or so from--well, less than that--from a road that was traveled some. It was a public road, but very little traveled.

But nevertheless, a few people knew we were there and miraculously enough, in the morning we would find a load of papers and a very select bunch of little messages lying on the front porch, and I think that was Melvin Winters, who would drive out there about daylight and not even tell anybody where he was going, deposit them and turn around and go back. We've always laughed about it and credited Melvin with it anyhow. It's the kind sort of thing he would do.

- G: Who else do you think was out there, do you recall? You said Mary Rather.
- J: Just Lyndon and I and one or two secretaries, and I'm not sure who they were, but I think

 Mary was one of them. I'm pretty sure that not even John or Senator Wirtz was there.
- G: They probably took a vacation, too.
- J: If that incident didn't take place in November, it must have taken place at the end of the, well, first or second primaries because both of them--which could have been tenser?
- G: Well, the first one it seems like he went right off to Washington.
- J: Right back to Washington. It couldn't have been then. It had to be the second one, or this time. At any rate, it was on Senator Wirtz' advisement. He felt that we were in no shape to think further, to make statements further. I think he thought Lyndon's temper might finally have reached the point where he had better have some rest.

 (Interruption)

The more I think about it, though, the more I think that this incident of going out to Wesley's to rest may have taken place after the first primary or the runoff, and that this time we went out to Tony's, my brother in Santa Fe, for a few days and then returned.

There was a little bit of news of much more interest to me than to Lyndon, that the investigation of the architectural shape of the White House had been completed, and it was found to be so unsafe for occupancy that they were going to have a real complete, thorough gutting and going over of it, and it would be closed indefinitely. Mrs. [James M.] Helms, the social secretary, had announced the cancelling of the social season and the President and Mrs. Truman were moving right away to Blair House. All of this suited Lyndon just fine and no doubt the Trumans. I was a little sorry. I always liked the glitter of the entertainments.

The long drawn battle seemed staggering to an end. There was a piece in the paper that the Democratic victory in the Senate elections virtually ruled out the possibility that the Senate itself would deny Lyndon his seat. Then the Democratic senator [Francis Myers] who did replace [William] Jenner said that he didn't see any reason why the senators should not go on and take their seat at the start of the election [session], although there would be a subcommittee investigation investigating election irregularities in both the elections of Lyndon and Bob Kerr of Oklahoma.

[We] got a letter from Jim Forrestal saying we hoped we'd be on the Senate Armed Services Committee. Oddly enough, Lyndon--once more there surfaced his desire to be on the Appropriations Committee, and he made a pass at it, through writing the chairman, Senator [Kenneth] McKellar, informing him of his desire to, and on his advice

went around to see several of the senators. He actually stated that Agriculture would be his second choice. I find that in the light of his very considerable vision rather odd, because although agriculture was, at that time and had been, the mainstay of the old Tenth District, the state of Texas was moving more and more into an urbanized industrial state and Lyndon had always been somebody to look to the future. But once more his try for Appropriations was not successful.

- G: Did he talk about it? Did he ever say why he lost?
- J: No. I don't know.

Senator Wirtz went right on preparing drafts to answer Coke's *writ* of *certiorari*, or whatever the thing was, that he was going to present to the Supreme Court to try to deny him his seat. Senator Wirtz and several others suggested letters outlining the thing that he might put in the hands of favorable senators like Connally and Myers in case there was some effort on the Senate floor and suddenly they needed to stand up and say something and combat an effort there.

So part of November was spent in Washington and a part back in Texas, where Lyndon talked to a Democratic dinner. Then there was one fun night when we actually went out to a nightclub with John and Nellie, and Everett and Mary Looney, and our dear friend from the [Dallas] Times-Herald, Jackson--oh, this house is full of articles in brass that he gave to us through the years, such a good friend--along with Tom Gooch, who owned it for all that time. Albert Jackson was his name.

We took back over Thirtieth Place. In fact, we'd rented it year after year I don't know how many times, eight or ten in the eighteen that we owned it, maybe twelve.

Never did have any trouble, possibly because I wasn't the world's best housekeeper and didn't expect any better of them. Possibly because I did have quite a good inventory and always went over it carefully with the person when we rented it.

- G: Was it easy to rent it on a short-term basis like this?
- J: Yes, the military was always coming and going. Somebody in the Foreign Service was always in between assignments. I don't think we ever had a bad experience.

Lyndon went, not surprisingly, into Bethesda for a few days. So a year that began with a lot of hospital experiences also drew to a close with one.

- G: He seems to have been ill this fall after the campaign. Do you know, recall what his illness was?
- J: No, I think it was exhaustion, and then he was all his life subject to respiratory ailments.

 I think in the course of his life he had pneumonia three or four times, but more often bronchitis and just deep, deep chest coughs. He paid necessary calls like going to Truman, and he went to the annual Gridiron dinner, something that always belonged to the men. After a while, my recollection is that women got invited to a Sunday afternoon rehash for the entertainment portion of it, or at least to a slimmed-down portion of it. I used to just think they were fabulous, just crazy about them.

Names that were to mean a lot more surfaced. Representative Richard Nixon, who was on the House Un-American Activities Committee, was very active in the Chambers-Hiss affair. He had defeated our good friend, Helen Gahagan Douglas, in 1946, I guess it was.

I went to Scott and White [Hospital] to have a small operation, one of several that

I had during the course of years, always frightening to contemplate and always, thank the Lord, emerging with good answers.

We went back to Washington. Actually, I think Lyndon went ahead of me, and then I got up there after I had recuperated from the hospital. Lyndon dropped a large load of work on me just as the year was winding up to an end. I think he came in and said on about the 21st or [twenty-] second of December, something like that, that John and Nellie were indeed coming up to take over for one year as his executive assistant, and that he had rented them an apartment, but would I please go out and furnish it and get the furniture moved in? They were going to arrive on Christmas Eve. I wish I could remember for sure just what day that was. But I somehow managed it. I usually could skin down things in my own house to some extent, and I went back to R. Mars, the contract company down close to the Capitol, from which so many of these inexpensive leather chairs that are good for a dining room, pull up chairs, bridge tables, just any kind of things. I guess I wound up in my life having probably two dozen of them, as I've given them to various folks. And so part of that two dozen was about six or eight that we bought to go in a little apartment, and two tall white chests of drawers, and I think a double bed and two single beds and some sparse furnishings and a sofa. Just some quick stuff, and big talking to to the people at the stores to get them to deliver them right away. They were less busy and more human and more obliging it seems, as I look back on it, in those days.

Meanwhile, there was still a good deal going on on the front of would we take our seat or would we not. Actually, the case had been docketed with the Supreme Court,

Stevenson v. Johnson. And then the letters were written for the senators to speak their piece in case there was trouble on the floor. Dan Moody had told Everett Looney that he was solely interested in the pending Supreme Court lawsuit, that he was not going to appear before the Senate to contest Lyndon's seating.

So we rolled around to Christmas Eve, and that is when the clouds lifted and we just had one glorious evening. Lyndon found a pink-cheeked, smiling Santa Claus downtown complete with his suit, brought him home to hand out the presents about seven o'clock in the evening at 4921 Thirtieth Place. The tree was never so full. We had over all the office force and their wives or husbands or dates and their children. There were probably seven children there, two Johnsons, there was either two or three Connallys at that time, I don't remember which, and either two or three Jenkins. So it was a glorious firecracker of an end to probably the hardest year of our lives.

Tape 4 of 4

- J: Lyndon was going to move into the Senate Office Building before the week was over, and Homer Thornberry was going to take over his, Lyndon's old office in the House Office Building. We had a wonderful class of new senators to go in with, several of whom became our staunch good friends through the years, particularly Bob Kerr. Paul Douglas of Illinois was in that class, too, and little Allen Frear with his constant smile and constant loyalty. Estes Kefauver. I think Russell Long was in that class, one of the youngest to come in.
- G: And Hubert Humphrey was.
- J: Hubert Humphrey was in it, that star that we liked from the beginning, but didn't know all

- the roles that he would play as the years went on.
- G: Let me ask a question first about John Connally. Do you know how and why it was decided that he would go to Washington again as executive assistant?
- J: I don't know. I imagine it was probably a pretty considerable selling job on Lyndon's part, because by this time I know that John knew that his future lay, or felt that his future lay in Texas, in law. I think he was already established--was he in Wirtz' law firm at that time?
- G: I think he was.
- J: I believe he was in Wirtz' law firm.
- C: And he was manager of KVET, also.
- J: And he was manager of KVET. Bill Deason took over from him there. Lyndon, I know, felt that he would do a much more competent job with John at his side to get things all organized and going. Neither one of them looked beyond one year, and I think from the beginning that's what the arrangement was.
- G: Did this create any problem for Walter Jenkins? Did he just step back in terms of his rung on the ladder? How did it work when Connally came back?
- J: You know, so devoted and unassuming and just so totally kind and understanding was

 Walter that I don't even remember that. I hope it didn't, because it would have been cruel

 if it had been.
- G: Was John Connally brought up there with the idea of doing one thing in particular, maybe focusing on one aspect of the Senator's office or operation?
- J: Not that I know of, mostly just to get it firmly organized, entrenched, going.

- G: Now, did the fact that the election spanned such a period of time and there were so many challenges and court affairs and one thing and another, did that dim the realization that he really was moving from the House to the Senate?
- J: It did rather, yes. It took the edge off of some of the exultation of it.
- G: Was that restored at a particular point when you realized that, sure enough, he was going to be senator, and do you recall when that was if it happened?
- J: Actually right after he got sworn in, really and truly sworn in, and I began to think, six years, six years, don't have to--besides just this one summer ahead when I can draw a free breath, I can draw more or less *five* free breaths of summer, five summers. There's no doubt about it; all of those circumstances carried their darkening shadow, just as his entering the presidency was under the darkest shadow of all, such a painful way. So it is not then exactly one great big celebration after another as he stepped up the ladder.
- G: Anything else on 1948 that we haven't talked about?
- J: Not that I can remember at the moment. I'm sure other things will surface, but what they are right now I don't know.

(Interruption)

January of 1949 began with the usual fanfare. Congress convened on the 3rd, earlier then than it is now, it seems. Lyndon was sworn in as Texas' junior senator. We always said we occupied the seat that had been used by Sam Houston. Lynda Bird and I were seated in the gallery. She was not quite four. At the same time there was a petition protesting Lyndon's election filed with the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration by some of Coke's backers. Senator Connally and Frank Myers issued

statements expressing support and refuting the charges. Lyndon was back again in the Board of Education with Speaker Rayburn once more in his--about to be, I don't know whether the House was yet organized or not. There were the same faces: Truman had been there before, though now he was there as president, Stu Symington, Tom Clark. Soon they were joined, I expect, by Bob Kerr.

Lyndon was appointed to the Armed Services Committee. I never quite knew what happened to Appropriations. He also went on the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

The President delivered his State of the Union Message. That was always a firecracker night for me. I took pleasure in going to every one all through the years. Whatever tickets Lyndon had we gave them away very carefully to visiting constituents. The President recommended an anti-inflation program and public housing--the more things change the more they are the same--but also repeal of the Taft-Hartley and an increase from forty cents to seventy-five cents an hour in the minimum wage. And he recommended compulsory national health insurance for persons of all ages.

Lyndon branched out a bit more in his position as a member of the Senate now by going on nationwide CBS along with eight other new senators, speaking about Truman's foreign policy. Once more, Speaker Rayburn's birthday was the highlight of January. This was his sixty-seventh birthday. The President came up for a surprise visit to the Capitol for a luncheon honoring Rayburn. I had a little party out at the house for the Speaker and thirteen children, something that we repeated, I guess, six or eight years. My children then were just not quite four and one and a half, and the Connallys', and the

Speaker's own nieces and nephews, the Gene Worleys' I'm sure, at some point Liz Carpenter's were there, Lera Thomas--I don't know, they may have been to Lynda's birthday parties. I may be getting them mixed up.

George Marshall left the secretary of stateship because of poor health, and Dean Acheson took over.

(Interruption)

Dean Acheson took over as George Marshall's successor. And Bob Lovett got out as undersecretary and Jim Webb went in, both highly regarded forever by Lyndon, but Jim Webb to become a much more intimate lifelong friend.

It was this month that something occurred in a little town in South Texas that mattered for a long time to us in our relation particularly with Latin Americans. In Three Rivers, the body of a Mexican-American soldier, Felix Longoria, was returned for burial and the funeral director refused to handle him, to hold the services. His widow's sister-in-law had the nerve to get in touch with Dr. Hector Garcia, a longtime friend of ours, who was an organizer of the GI Forum, a group of returned veterans who were working to improve conditions for the Mexican-American communities. Dr. Garcia talked to the *Corpus Christi Caller* and the Texas senators, and congressmen and military officials, calling it discrimination, which it emphatically was. The next day even the *New York Times* carried a front-page article by Bill White.

It was an ugly page in Texas history. I wish it could have been handled in a way in which the region hadn't had a shameful mark left on it. However, their attempts to make amends--and they did make attempts--came a little too late. Lyndon had wired the

widow and said, "If he can't be buried there, we will see that he is buried with full honors in the nation's cemetery in Arlington, if that's acceptable to you." So they shipped the body to Arlington. The family came. A lot of Mexican-Americans felt very warm toward Lyndon for that. I remember going out to the funeral services on the bleakest possible gray, rainy January day, and President Truman had his military representative there.

- G: Harry Vaughan.
- J: Harry Vaughan.
- G: Do you recall where the idea came from to bury him in Arlington National Cemetery?
- J: I don't, but it is exactly the sort of idea Lyndon himself would have had, but it may not have been his.
- G: It was a real stroke of genius for countering that.
- J: Yes.
- G: Did LBJ ever talk about this incident to you? Did he indicate how he felt about it?
- J: Yes. He really was angry because he [thought] if they can fight for their country, they can be buried in the country they helped make safe and they gave their lives for.

 Actually, it ought to be said that the little community came to feel that way, too; it was just the act of one funeral director. Too bad he made that swift judgment. But nevertheless, they did bear the scars.

Then another little thing, Lyndon was able to negotiate something that was good for the future of Austin. There had been a magnesium plant there--one of the war industries--and lots of buildings that was not needed anymore. It was going to be

abandoned. Lyndon was always quick to try to think of a way to put such things to constructive use, and so he asked the University of Texas if they didn't want to put in their bid for it. They did. It was transferred to the University of Texas. It has now become the Balcones Research Center [now the J. J. Pickle Research Campus]. All the old buildings that were useable were retained, and some were torn down.

The civil war in China was winding down to a conclusion. The communists were bombing the capital. Pretty soon, Chiang Kai-shek announced his retirement. On another side of the world, the state of Israel was holding its first election and Ben Gurion won by a heavy vote.

We went to the usual round of festivities. We went to the Truman-[Alben]

Barkley dinner at the Mayflower Hotel--Bob Clark was our host; he's Tom Clark's brother. And we went to the electoral dinner, and inauguration day watched Truman and Barkley sworn into office, and went to the big Texas State Society reception, and then the inaugural ball that evening. Oh, lots of other things. I remember at the Wardman Park Towers, there was a reception and a dance for the President and Mrs. Truman and Margaret.

Finally on the last day of the month the Supreme Court refused to hear Coke

Stevenson's appeal from the lower court decision. That ended his last legal recourse in
the disputed election and sort of the last shoe dropped on that centipede.

I joined the 81st Club. I was already a member of the 75th Club from having entered the Congress in 1937. This one I joined at its very beginning. It had some fun members enjoyed through the years; Betty Ford was one of them. It had both members

- of the House and Senate, so of course Eloise Thornberry was another.
- G: Were the wives partisan as the husbands were?
- J: No, we were remarkably--laid all those things down at the door and got together and had fun, and were very intent on educating ourselves and getting a little more culture.
- G: Did you ever develop close friendships with the wives of people who might be considered political adversaries of LBJ, in these clubs I mean?
- J: Gee, I don't remember any who were.
- G: Well, you could name perhaps some conservative Republicans that he would lock horns with in the Senate. Or liberal Democrats for that matter.
- J: Oh, yes, just as many on the Democratic side. He had fine relations with, for instance, [Styles] Bridges of New Hampshire, as conservative as they come, and [William] Knowland of California. No, I don't think I ever had anything like a--I just stayed away from a few people, and had nothing to share with some of them. But as far as feeling any hostility, no, not a time.

The most fun of all was the Senate Ladies [Club], to which I was introduced in January of that year. We all wore white Red Cross uniforms. We went to work every Tuesday, about nine o'clock. The wife of the Vice President was our presiding officer and if there ever was a loosely organized club, that was it. I mean, what we knew about Robert's Rules of Order was not very extensive. But, it was the best place possible to sort of pick up vignettes of history. I remember one lady, whose Senate husband [is] long since dead, had moved into the Dakotas or Nebraska as a young girl, and lived in a sod house, and talked about the blizzards. You would just pick up little bits of American

history with all its regionalism and all of its color that were just fascinating.

- G: Would you also go calling as you had before?
- J: Oh, yes. The second war pretty much did it in, but to a lesser degree one still did.
- G: Did moving over to the Senate increase your constituent responsibilities?
- J: It certainly did. It increased them and it gave me a different beat, sort of, because the Senate Dining Room and the Family Gallery of the Senate were my principal beat thereafter, so to speak. And to go through the Senate chamber itself when the Senate was out of session and point out chairs where illustrious senators had sat, was also something I enjoyed doing. And just to take people through that great old vast Capitol. It was built over a long period of years with lots of different--you could get lost in that place, little circular staircases about two feet wide that show up in unexpected places and wind on up. Way down in the basement of it the crypt that had been built to receive the body of George Washington and Martha, and of course it never had held them. All sorts of odds and ends down there, like a bathtub that had been imported from Italy, a marble bathtub for the White House for President Taft. It was about four feet deep, looked like one of the Roman--what is, the Roman baths of--that begin with a C--huge and about four feet deep, but unfortunately too narrow in the beam for President Taft, so that it never got used. (Laughter)

So that brings us up into February, and I think I'd better quit for the time being, February of 1949.

End of Tape 4 of 4 and Interview XXIII