

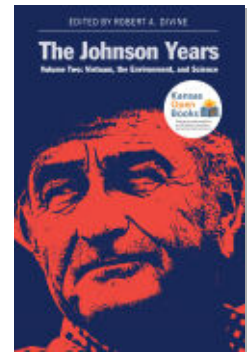


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6. Lady Bird Johnson and Beautification

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6 | Lady Bird Johnson and Beautification

Lewis L. Gould

MRS. LYNDON B. JOHNSON'S CAMPAIGN on behalf of the beautification of the United States has not as yet become part of the historical record of her husband's presidential administration. Although students of the environmental movement now recognize the contributions of Lyndon Johnson and his presidency to the emergence of a new ecological spirit in the 1970s,¹ Mrs. Johnson's similar efforts to improve the appearance and quality of Washington, D.C., and other places in the country, her advocacy of highway beautification, and her concern for the environment in general are still regarded as either a side show from the real work of the Johnson years or as a politically motivated task with which the First Lady could occupy herself.

These conclusions first appeared in the early comments about the beautification campaign after the Johnsons had left the White House. Best-selling memoirs of White House employees assigned credit to Mrs. Johnson's aides, Mrs. Elizabeth ("Liz") S. Carpenter and Mrs. Bess Abell, for having devised a program that enabled the First Lady to emulate, but not to imitate, the restoration work that Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy had performed for the White House. Nancy Dickerson, writing in the mid 1970s, conceded the serious purpose of Mrs. Johnson's work but argued that "beautification was probably the only subject that LBJ would have let her handle without jealousy." The caustic Barbara Howar, in *Laughing All The Way* (1973), speculated on what Mrs. Johnson's impact on her husband and his presidency would have been "had she used her influence in matters more crucial than beautifying a troubled nation."²

More positive evaluations were less widely read. June Sochen, in a 1973 book on women activists and thinkers in this century, advanced the view that "Lady Bird's concern for the natural environment foreshadowed the much publicized ecology movement of the late sixties." More recent appraisals have extended Sochen's conclusions. In a comparison of First Lady activism with the model of Eleanor Roosevelt, Abigail McCarthy has observed that beautification, "despite the somewhat gimmicky tone of its title," bore real results by directing attention to the environment and by improving the quality of

life in towns and cities, especially Washington, D.C. Vaughn Bornet, too, assigns credit to the Johnsons for having laid the groundwork for environmentalism in the 1970s; he calls the First Lady "well suited to being the organizer, propagandist, spokeswoman, and recruiter of talent for her cause of beautification."³

As the ample materials in the Johnson Library reveal, especially the recently opened beautification files, her role in the administration was even more extensive than the impression offered in previous accounts of her work. In pursuing beautification, the First Lady functioned as a legislative aide, adviser on appointments, shaper of policy, and public advocate for the administration. Tangible results of her efforts included the Highway Beautification Act of 1965; a lasting enhancement of the physical appearance of Washington, D.C., and other urban and rural places; and the involvement of environmentally minded individuals and groups in the shaping of government programs. Less immediately visible, but in the long run of equal importance, was the stimulus that she gave to an increased ecological consciousness in the nation at large. Like her husband, Mrs. Johnson had a significant role in providing a foundation for the environmental movement that burgeoned during the 1970s.

A sensitivity to her physical surroundings and their natural beauty marked the early life of Claudia Alta Taylor in Karnack, Texas, where she was born on December 22, 1912. Her mother, Minnie Patillo Taylor, introduced her youngest child and only daughter to music, books, and the arts at an early age. After her mother died when Claudia was nearly six, her busy father, Thomas Jefferson Taylor, the owner of a general store and "Dealer in Everything," often left her in the charge of a maiden aunt, Effie Patillo. Claudia played in the fields and on the lake near her home. "When I was a little girl," she said in 1976, "I grew up listening to the wind in the pine trees of the east Texas woods." Years after her childhood, she wrote about Caddo Lake: "I loved to paddle in those dark bayous, where time itself seemed ringed round by silence and ancient cypress trees, rich in festoons of Spanish moss. Now and then an alligator would surface to float like a gnarled log. It was a place for dreams." Already called "Lady Bird" by a family cook, she disliked the name but made her peace with it in early adolescence.⁴

After attending school in Marshall, Texas, Claudia went on to St. Mary's School for Girls in Dallas, where she pursued her love of the theater. In 1930 she entered the University of Texas, and friends remembered her affection for the out of doors during the ensuing four years. "She loved bluebonnets," her friend Gene Boehringer said; "she

loved everything about Austin and Texas, and she loved the hills and the dirt and everything in Austin."⁵ Though she concentrated in college on history and journalism, she also took a course in geology, "which stretched my perspective of the life of man on this physical planet." She wrote for the *Daily Texan*; she was publicity manager for the University of Texas Sports Association, the women's athletic organization on campus; and she read Dorothy Parker, D. H. Lawrence, and Emily Dickinson. She believed that at the University, "all the doors of the world suddenly were swung open to me."⁶

In November, 1934, after a brief courtship, she married Lyndon B. Johnson, then a congressional aide in Washington. Over the ensuing three decades, the rhythms of his political life shaped her career. Her initial reticence as a speaker gave way to facility by the early 1960s. She ran his congressional office during his wartime military service in 1942, and she successfully managed the radio station that they purchased in Austin and, later, their expanding television holdings. Two daughters were born in the 1940s and were raised around the demands of her husband's emerging prominence in the Senate after 1949. Lyndon Johnson was a demanding and affectionate, though often a difficult, spouse. He criticized her appearance, sometimes embarrassed her, and was faithful when he chose to be. He also stretched her abilities, and she had grown in self-confidence and skill as a public figure before he came to the presidency.⁷

A strong bond in the marriage, she believed, was their mutual interest in the land. They shared, she told an interviewer in 1964, "a deep sense of oneness with the land, a reliance on the land and the love of it." When Lyndon was directing the National Youth Administration in Texas from 1935 to 1937, she participated in the discussions that led to the idea of roadside parks along the state's highways. "I loved the trips across the country to Washington and I never got too many of them," she recalled. On these journeys and on the later campaign trips in Texas, she observed the changing shape of the land and the impact that billboards, junkyards, and buildings were having on scenic views. Her interest in nature also manifested itself in "quite a remarkable garden" that she raised in wartime Washington. "There is something remarkably more beautiful about flowers that you yourself have planted and divided and cared for than any other flowers," she observed in 1965. "It reminds one that creation of beauty is a happy experience."⁸

When she entered the White House as First Lady in the wake of John F. Kennedy's assassination, Lady Bird Johnson wanted neither to imitate what Jacqueline Kennedy had done nor to depart from it

in a manner that might arouse criticism. Most of her first full year as First Lady was spent in feeling her way into a proper role. Until President Johnson decided to run in 1964 and was safely elected, her initiatives could only be exploratory. She made speeches in which she exhorted women to be "dedicated doers" on behalf of a better society, and she gave public support, through personal visits, to the administration's war on poverty and hunger. But even in this transitional phase, she thought about issues of conservation and the environment. In June, 1964, she discussed with Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall and Secretary of Commerce Luther Hodges the effect that highway construction was having on national parks and wilderness areas. In the diary that she kept regularly, she noted that Udall was "a loud voice for preserving the wilderness, the National Parks, the shrines, the jewels of America." Two days later, Jane Jacobs, a critic of urban planning, spoke to the First Lady's "women doer" luncheon about the problems of the cities. Mrs. Johnson identified one issue in particular: "How to make a city beautiful."⁹

The primary political concern of the Johnsons in 1964 was success against Barry Goldwater in the autumn. In October, Mrs. Johnson made a flamboyant whistle-stop tour of the South on the "Lady Bird Special," which helped to keep more than half of Dixie in the Democratic column.¹⁰ A similar motive underlay an earlier trip to the West with Udall in August, 1964, to visit Indian reservations and to assist Democratic senatorial candidates in Montana and Wyoming. The tour also laid the basis for the First Lady's close working friendship with Udall and provided some initial stirrings of the actual beautification program. As they flew in a propeller plane across the Rocky Mountain area, they sat side by side and found, in Udall's words, an "instant rapport" about the land and its resources. Mrs. Johnson had "an instinctive feeling for the beauty of the country," and Udall sensed that her commitment to conservation subjects grew during the trip.¹¹ Speeches that James Reston, Jr., of the Interior Department wrote for her spoke about the beauty of the region and the need to preserve it.¹²

The woman in the seat next to Stewart Udall in August, 1964, was five feet, four inches tall, with dark hair, prominent features, and a ready smile. To help her husband after his heart attack, she kept her weight at 110 pounds. Photographs and television cameras usually failed to capture her attractiveness and her outgoing public personality. Highly organized, very intelligent, and a perpetual reader, Mrs. Johnson had, one close friend said, "one of the most compartmentalized minds I've ever known." Those who worked closely with

the First Lady learned that she was always prepared, and she expected others to have done their homework. Walter Washington recalled that Mrs. Johnson's eyes missed nothing on their walks around the capital city. Cautious with money and hard-headed about business matters, she also had an idealistic impulse to serve humanity and to better society. Above all, she knew how to influence her husband, and she knew the limits of that authority.¹³

The First Lady understood that access to news and publicity was central to success in Washington. She brought in Liz Carpenter as the first officially designated press secretary to a First Lady. Carpenter was ebullient and vocal, "the White House's female P. T. Barnum," as Helen Thomas has called her. Carpenter had an excellent sense of how the working press functioned. To help her with television appearances, Mrs. Johnson relied on Simone Poulain. The social secretary, Bess Abell, daughter of Senator Earle Clements, was a model of discretion and efficiency. Morale was excellent among those around Mrs. Johnson, and her staff exhibited few of the tensions that are often characteristic of work in the White House.¹⁴

As soon as Barry Goldwater had been defeated in November, 1964, Mrs. Johnson "began to think of what I could do to help" the president and his policies. The Head Start program for preschool children attracted her involvement in 1965/66, but the "whole field of conservation and beautification" had "the greatest appeal."¹⁵ In mid November she asked a number of friends and advisers for ideas about how she could best pursue her general goals.

Suggestions came in rapidly. Mrs. Katie Louchheim, who had long been active in the Democratic party and who was a State Department official, surveyed what the administration was already doing about natural beauty; in a memorandum of November 20 she proposed that awards should be given for "preserving, improving, or beautifying the American scene." On that same day, Mrs. Johnson met with Udall at the LBJ Ranch. "It was her idea," Udall remembered, "to start out in the National Capital to demonstrate what could be done" and then to use Washington as a model for the rest of the country.¹⁶ Elizabeth Rowe, the wife of a former aide to Franklin Roosevelt and a long-time friend of the Johnsons, was chairman of the National Capital Planning Commission. In early December she offered the complementary idea "that you extend your interest in the White House's beauty and history to the whole city." Rowe added that a White House Committee on Washington's Appearance might be a suitable vehicle to "support present and future programs on the city's beauty."¹⁷

During the early 1960s the physical situation of the nation's capital and the social problems that it reflected stimulated efforts to revitalize and reclaim the federal city. "Washington is a shabby city compared with most European capitals," Udall told the First Lady,¹⁸ and critics outside of government spoke even more harshly. Wolf von Eckardt, who wrote on architecture and urban design for the *Washington Post*, said in 1963 that among Washington's disgraces were its "many lawns, dilapidated sidewalks, ugly and confusing clutter of traffic signs, decrepit benches, forbidding trash baskets, hideous parking lots, poorly lit, deserted, and crime-ridden city parks, and a desperate dearth of amenities" for residents and tourists.¹⁹

On a larger scale, such issues as pollution, controversies over highway location and construction, public transportation, and a deteriorating inner city made Washington an example of the urban dilemmas that were convulsing the 1960s. To that mix was added the city's subordinate relation to Congress, which left the city's eight hundred thousand residents without self-government. Even more salient was the presence of a black majority that was impoverished and segregated and a white minority that was in control both economically and politically. Touching one aspect of the capital city's problems meant becoming involved in a whole range of issues. As Antonia Chayes, who was a lawyer on the Planning Staff of the National Institute of Mental Health and an aide on Mrs. Johnson's 1964 campaign, observed in a memorandum "On the Cities" in December, 1964, the aim of improving urban life in Washington had large implications for the central domestic theme of Johnson's presidency: "These goals reach for the 'Great Society.'" ²⁰

At the outset the public plans for Mrs. Johnson's beautification initiative addressed only the issue of the city's appearance. By early 1965 the First Lady had decided to form a committee of approximately twenty private citizens and public officials to promote a greater awareness of Washington's beauty. She told her friends that her role would be advisory; she would act as a general sponsor who would make some awards to worthy beautification projects. The name of the panel evolved into the First Lady's Committee for a More Beautiful National Capital, and letters were sent out to the proposed members, inviting them to a meeting at the White House on February 11, 1965. "It is in our own communities," the letter from the First Lady said, "that we can best participate in creating an environment which has beauty, joyousness, and loveliness, as well as dignity." In addition to selecting Udall and Elizabeth Rowe, Mrs. Johnson tapped Laurance

S. Rockefeller; Walter Tobriner, a commissioner of the District; Mrs. Katharine Graham, publisher of the *Washington Post*; and Mrs. Mary W. Lasker of New York City, a benefactor of health and beautification causes. Other members came from the federal government, from the private sector, and from a group of prominent Washingtonians who were active in the District's affairs.²¹

The First Lady's beautification campaign also consciously drew inspiration from the Johnson administration's ambitious effort to beautify the nation in general. In his "Great Society" speech of May, 1964, the president had spoken about the need "to prevent an ugly America" because "once our natural splendor is destroyed, it can never be recaptured."²² As his wife listened to Lyndon Johnson in 1964, "as I began to see the things he was applying himself to, there emerged the interests that made my heart sing, the ones that I knew most about and cared most about. Those were the environment and beautification." The extent of the First Lady's reciprocal influence on her husband remains unclear. Stewart Udall believed that "she influenced the President to demand—and support—more farsighted conservation legislation." Neither of the Johnsons committed much to paper on this and other subjects, and conclusions about the flow of ideas are only speculative. The exchange of views between the spouses was probably mutual, rather than a definite movement from the president to the First Lady.²³

The Task Force on the Preservation of Natural Beauty was named in July, 1964, and it worked through the rest of the year on such topics as "the cost of ugliness" and "natural beauty and the public interest." Mrs. Johnson read the task force's report when it was issued in November, 1964, and discussed it with Udall when he visited the ranch. The president mentioned natural beauty in his 1965 State of the Union speech, the first chief executive to have alluded to the subject in that way. Mrs. Johnson noted in her diary: "I hope we can do something about that in our four years here."²⁴

President Johnson opened the natural-beauty campaign on February 8, 1965, when he sent Congress a special message on "Conservation and the Restoration of Natural Beauty." The president called for "a new conservation," which would provide "restoration and innovation," and urged that "our planning, our programs, our buildings, and our growth" all have "a conscious and active concern for the value of beauty." Specific programs included highway beautification, clean-air legislation, an array of other conservation measures, and the White House Conference on Natural Beauty in May, 1965.²⁵

At the same time, the First Lady prepared to launch her own beautification drive. She met with Laurance Rockefeller, who had already been selected as chairman of the Natural Beauty Conference, to discuss the subject. It was, she noted, "like picking up a tangled skein of wool—all the threads are interwoven—recreation and pollution and mental health, and the crime rate, and rapid transit, and highway beautification, and the war on poverty, and parks—national, state, and local." She was "desperately interested in something positive coming out of this program, something besides a lot of words and proliferation of committees."²⁶

The public learned of the First Lady's plans when a lengthy interview appeared on "Ways to Beautify America" in the February 22, 1965, issue of *U.S. News and World Report*. "I am proud that this Administration has accepted the commitment to make our cities and country more beautiful for all the people." She observed that "the time is ripe—the time is now—to take advantage of this yeasty, bubbling desire to beautify our cities and our countryside."²⁷

The First Lady's Committee for a More Beautiful Capital assembled in the Blue Room of the White House on February 11, 1965. After hearing her read from Lord Bryce's description of Washington in 1913 to underscore the possibilities of the city's beauty, the committee members explored her charge "to implement what is already underway, supplement what should be underway, and to be the catalyst for action." They agreed to plant flowers in the traffic triangles and squares of Washington, to give awards for neighborhood beautification, and to endorse existing projects, such as the revitalization of Pennsylvania Avenue and the preservation of Lafayette Park.²⁸

Mrs. Johnson's interview and news reports about the initial meeting of the committee evoked an enthusiastic popular reaction. To handle the accumulation of mail on beautification, the First Lady's staff was expanded. Sharon Francis, an aide to Secretary Udall, came to the White House, first as a part-time helper and then, by the summer of 1965, as a regular assistant to the First Lady for beautification. Cynthia Wilson had begun to work for Mrs. Johnson in early 1965, and by the middle of the year, Wilson had assumed beautification duties as well. The women gradually acquired their own office space in the East Wing. Francis handled the more public side of Mrs. Johnson's campaign, writing speeches and dealing with agencies and private citizens; Wilson oversaw the extensive correspondence that the First Lady received about beautification issues, wrote press releases, did advance work on trips, and helped with official events.

Both Francis and Wilson had ample personal energy and a good grasp of how Mrs. Johnson's mind operated. They served the First Lady well.²⁹

The beautification work that Mrs. Johnson did between 1965 and 1969 spread out in many directions in response to burgeoning public concern and the mounting national awareness of environmental problems. Washington, D.C., may have been the center of her activity, but inevitably she was drawn into supporting and encouraging efforts that were occurring in the rest of the country. Both in regard to the District of Columbia and for national programs, Mrs. Johnson and her associates sought a more precise and inclusive word than *beautification* to describe their activities and purposes. "It sounds cosmetic and trivial and it's prissy," she told an interviewer in 1980. Critics mocked the term or pretended to agree on the aims while opposing their practical implementation, but nothing better ever came along, so the name endured.³⁰

In the nation's capital, Mrs. Johnson began with a rush of activity in 1965. Her committee took inspection trips on the Potomac; they planted trees and visited schools. Katie Louchheim strongly pursued the program of competitive beautification awards for worthy projects in the District. In November, 1965, Mrs. Johnson escorted a national-network television audience on a tour of the city and asked her viewers: "What will we leave to those who come after us?" A year and a half later, in March, 1967, she accompanied the wives of the governors as they planted dogwood trees near National Airport. As the *Washington Star* noted in October, 1966, "With a green-thumbed glove and a gilt shovel, the First Lady has traveled all over town planting pansies, azaleas, chrysanthemums, dogwood and cherry blossom trees."³¹

Mrs. Johnson also worked extensively with the noted architect Nathaniel Owings on the revival of Pennsylvania Avenue, displaying what Owings called her "gentle urgency." They discussed the merits of underground parking, and she prodded him about the appearance of cherry trees at the Washington Monument and the time that it would take to have fountains constructed on the Mall. She also lobbied with legislators about Owings's bill to establish a permanent commission on Pennsylvania Avenue. Owings remembered one occasion when he, Secretary Udall, and the First Lady had unrolled some plans for the avenue on the carpet and had knelt down to inspect them. At that point, President Johnson walked in and said: "What in hell, Udall, are you doing there on the floor with my wife?"³²

As the beautification campaign progressed in Washington, two alternative tendencies emerged within the committee and among those around the First Lady. Katie Louchheim labeled one group "the daffodil and dogwood set," while the other became identified with Walter E. Washington, later to become the city's first mayor, and Polly Shackleton. The main exponent of those who wished to stress the planting of flowers, trees, and shrubs in the District was the New York City philanthropist and long-time advocate of expanded governmental medical research programs Mary W. Lasker, widow of the advertising executive Albert D. Lasker. She had used her ample fortune to spread trees and flowers throughout Manhattan with the same dedication that she had used to lobby senators and presidents to spend more to defeat heart disease and cancer. Her beautification slogan was "Plant masses of flowers where the masses pass," and she looked to the general improvement of what Sharon Francis called "the monumental and tourist parts of the city."³³

Wise in the exercise of influence in Washington, Lasker operated through the National Park Service, which oversaw most of the District's government land. She enlisted the support of Sutton Jett—the regional director—and Nash Castro, Jett's assistant regional director. A member of the Park Service since 1939, Castro became a central figure in Mrs. Johnson's campaign in Washington. He met regularly with the First Lady at the White House, and he displayed a striking ability to see that plantings were made, materials were secured, and work was carried out on time. She came to regard him as "indispensable," and he reciprocated, by expressing ample respect for "the great work she has begun."³⁴

Mary Lasker's desire to spread seeds, bulbs, and plants at the highway entrances to Washington and in the parks harmonized so easily with the mission of the Park Service that she was able to draw readily on the service's budget for planting, location, and maintenance. Her emphasis on "beautification through planting activities" struck a warm response in the First Lady, who herself admired flowers and trees; the New York benefactor also made herself useful to the Johnsons with her mailing lists, publicity machinery, and friendships on Capitol Hill.³⁵

Knowing that private funds would be required to supplement what the government could allocate, Mrs. Johnson approved of Lasker's plan for the Society for a More Beautiful National Capital in 1965 as a non-profit, tax-exempt body to receive donations from the public and to sponsor beautification endeavors. Initial hopes to raise more than \$5

million did not work out, but the society did take in about \$2 million from such donors as Laurance Rockefeller, Brooke Astor, Marjorie Merriweather Post, and other individuals and foundations. The society did not raise money professionally during these years, but Lasker, with the help of Carolyn Agger Fortas, was able to attract, through membership on the group's Advisory Council, in her words, "those who are rich and possibly sympathetic."³⁶

The tangible outcome of Lasker's efforts was impressive. By April, 1966, Sutton Jett had reported to Mrs. Johnson that thirty-five park sites had been beautified. Four hundred thousand bulbs bloomed that spring along Rock Creek Park and the Potomac Parkway and in squares and triangles across the city. Cherry trees, some donated by the Japanese government, were planted on Hains Point; azaleas, cherries, and magnolias were added along Pennsylvania Avenue. In early 1967, Lasker reported to Douglass Cater of the White House staff that eighty park sites had been landscaped, along with nine schools and eight playgrounds. Half a million bulbs, one hundred thousand of which she had contributed, had been planted, as had, Lasker continued, "83,000 spring flowering plants, 50,000 shrubs, 25,000 trees, and 137,000 annuals." The First Lady recorded one White House discussion in early 1966 as evidence of her friend's irrepressible commitment to things floral. Mary Lasker "said with an absolutely straight face, 'How are we going to get the nurserymen to have enough stock to plant the whole United States?'"³⁷

Lasker displayed less enthusiasm for having the committee deal with the social problems of the District; her interest remained fixed on flowers and plantings. When the question arose in 1967 of having landscape architect Lawrence Halprin speak about beautification in the neighborhoods, Lasker responded "Oh, no, that's not what we want to be doing." She believed that it would be easier to persuade wealthy donors to provide funds for parks and gardens than for projects in the city's black district. When she advocated the creation of community parks out of school facilities or sought recreational facilities for publicly financed housing projects as a way in which the government might discourage idleness and help to alleviate juvenile delinquency, Lasker sounded paternalistic and to a degree condescending. With its emphasis on wealthy contributors and the impact of beautification on the tourist population, Lasker's approach to Washington's appearance seemed to Sharon Francis, Walter Washington, and Lawrence Halprin to have elitist overtones that made what she did merely cosmetic in light of the capital city's complex urban difficulties.³⁸

Walter Washington, at this time the executive director of the National Capital Housing Authority, advocated a beautification strategy that was directed at the needs of the black community as well. The fifty-year-old Washington, who chaired the Neighborhood and Special Projects Committee of the First Lady's Committee, emphasized the involvement of inner-city neighborhoods and schools in the campaign. Even as she backed Mary Lasker, Mrs. Johnson also supported Washington's approach. She offered her visible endorsement at a planting ceremony in the Greenleaf Gardens public-housing project in March, 1965, and at other similar occasions during the next four years. Two decades later, Walter Washington was still impressed with her courage, charm, and personal rapport with residents when she toured even the most impoverished sections of the city's ghetto.³⁹

The First Lady's commitment went beyond these public events. In the summer of 1965, Washington's committee identified three public schools for demonstration cleanup projects and initiated a "clean-up," "fix-up," "paint-up," and "plant-up" program in the Forty-Ninth Census Tract in the city's Second Precinct. "The main focus," Washington wrote to Mrs. Johnson, "was an attempt to motivate the children, youth, adults, and family units in a long-range program of self-involvement for enhancing the physical appearance of the community."⁴⁰

Project Pride, in the summer of 1966, represented a similar kind of central-city beautification effort. Polly Shackleton, a Democratic activist in Washington who was a member of the committee, selected the Shaw Urban Renewal Area, "one of the most deprived areas in the city," for a cleanup campaign. Residents caught rats and hauled off debris, garbage, and abandoned cars. The project employed more than one hundred local school dropouts and high-school students. Funding of \$7,000 came from the Society for a More Beautiful National Capital, and the energetic Shackleton enlisted cooperation from diverse sectors of the District's government.⁴¹

In the following year, Shackleton organized Project Trail Blazers, which enrolled 110 youths in transforming a shuttered movie theater into the Anacostia Neighborhood Museum, in creating "play space" in housing projects, and in cutting nature trails in area parks. Shackleton noted that the participants came "out of a background of extreme deprivation which often makes its mark physically and emotionally." Again, the society underwrote the project, and Laurance Rockefeller added \$50,000 to carry it through the summer and into the fall. The First Lady visited the Anacostia Museum in August and, according to Shackleton, "seemed pleased with what she saw."⁴²

Another project that Mrs. Johnson pursued in the inner city was the beautification of the recreational facilities at the Buchanan School at Thirteenth and D streets, in southeast Washington. Walter Washington had taken her to see the school, which was "surrounded by a sad area of broken concrete and weeds." Later, Washington also showed the school to Mrs. Vincent Astor of New York City, whose good works there included the upgrading of school playgrounds and parks. In 1966 Brooke Astor's foundation donated \$300,000 for an outdoor community center near Buchanan School, and a year and a half later Mrs. Johnson spoke at the dedication ceremonies. Sharon Francis reported that in the ensuing days, "Buchanan Plaza was overwhelmed with users."⁴³

In April, 1967, the *National Geographic* did an article about Mrs. Johnson's campaign. Walter Washington summed up the benefits of her commitment to the projects that he and Shackleton had sponsored: "When this program started, there were some, I suppose, who regarded it as Marie Antoinette's piece of cake, I mean, out in east Washington, how many rats can you kill with a tulip? But it hasn't been that way at all. We started with mass plantings, then we moved on to Project Pride, and we are here."⁴⁴

By mid 1966 the beautification campaign in the nation's capital was moving in an even more expansive way than the initiatives of Walter Washington and Polly Shackleton had envisioned. Stephen Currier, president of Urban America, first came to Mrs. Johnson's attention when his organization sponsored a conference on cities in September, 1966. The Johnsons hosted a reception at the White House, at which the First Lady said that "the challenge to America's cities is how to govern their growth boom with beauty and with compassion for every life and its fulfillment." Currier, who was married to a member of the Mellon family, pursued good works through his Taconic Foundation. He also gave money to civil-rights work in the South and, as Sharon Francis said, "had an orientation in the direction of helping the needy and black part of the city." Currier initiated conversations with Mrs. Johnson's associates about paying for another staff member who could "work with Washington's business community on a daily basis as a representative of Mrs. Johnson's committee" or could raise money for the committee itself. By the time of the cities conference, Currier and Francis had gone well beyond this initial proposal and had agreed to employ a landscape architect to make plans for Washington. Their choice was Lawrence Halprin of San Francisco.⁴⁵

Mrs. Johnson herself learned about Halprin during a conservation and beautification trip in the West in September, 1966. Sharon Francis accompanied her and, in San Francisco, took the First Lady and Liz Carpenter to Ghirardelli Square, an old chocolate factory that Halprin had transformed into a shopping center and plaza. Mrs. Johnson was impressed, Francis told her about Halprin, and they decided to secure his services. The landscape architect came to Washington in October and toured the city with Walter Washington. As they drove and talked, ideas emerged for improving the black districts. As he rode with Mrs. Johnson, Halprin proposed to create vest-pocket parks and to transform school grounds into recreational spaces. Asked to comment, Mrs. Johnson said: "Well, I'm no expert in these fields. You experts who know how to do the things must make the judgments. All I would say is that any area this committee undertakes should be usable by lots and lots of people. It should be fun, and its maintenance should be easy because any project we sponsor will be a stepchild of the city."⁴⁶

After consultation and planning in November and December, 1966, Halprin set out his proposals at a meeting of the First Lady's Committee on January 12, 1967. He described ambitious designs for a large park near the Anacostia River, conversion of a transit-car barn on East Capitol Street into a recreational center, and the development of inner blocks near the Capitol into vest-pocket parks and recreational places. To accomplish Halprin's vision, some adjustment of construction plans for a projected freeway would be necessary. Mrs. Johnson called it "an imaginative, exciting program with great potential. It will take a lot of hard work to implement it." A subcommittee, composed of Udall, Clifton Shackleton, Secretary Robert C. Weaver of Housing and Urban Development, Commissioner Tobriner, and others, was established to explore ways to bring Halprin's ideas into being.⁴⁷

Within days of its unveiling, Halprin's initiative received a devastating setback. Stephen Currier and his wife were lost on a plane flight in the Caribbean. With their deaths went the assured funding for Halprin's work as a consultant, as well as the money that Currier had hoped to raise. It was, Sharon Francis recalled, "a very, very major blow that, of course, no one could have foreseen."⁴⁸

Nonetheless, Mrs. Johnson, Francis, and Halprin went forward. They opened discussions with the local community, sought alternative funding from the Rockefeller Foundation, and started negotiations with the Department of Housing and Urban Development

(HUD) about federal beautification grants for the Capital East–Inner Blocks project. But changes in congressional funding for HUD grants slowed the process, as did the general turning away from Great Society programs that marked 1967/68. Consequently, the Halprin proposals remained largely unrealized possibilities during the Johnson years, though they underscored the ambitious range of Mrs. Johnson's definition of beautification.⁴⁹

The First Lady's work with Walter Washington and Polly Shackleton, as well as her endorsement of Halprin's plans, did not, of course, prevent the city from undergoing serious violence and rioting in April, 1968, after the death of Martin Luther King, Jr. The conditions that fueled the riots were more deep-seated than even the programs of the Johnson years recognized. Nonetheless, Walter Washington believed then, as he did twenty years later, that Mrs. Johnson, between 1965 and 1968, did important work in improving the self-image and pride of the black community in Washington and that her efforts had reduced tensions and alleviated problems. "Her heritage as First Lady," he said at the White House in April, 1968, "is not in beautification per se; it is in communication. It is in the hope and desire to identify a human being with his environment."⁵⁰

The legacy of Lady Bird Johnson in Washington, D.C., endured after her departure in 1969. The Society for a More Beautiful National Capital continued into the mid 1970s; but without the support of a First Lady, it experienced fund-raising and organizational problems that eventually caused it to disappear. Her floral contribution, however, pervaded the city. The Park Service and the District government did better maintenance in the monumental and tourist areas than in the black sections of the city, but all Washington residents felt the impact of Mrs. Johnson's work as the seasons turned. Each spring, say Washingtonians and visitors alike, when the cherry blossoms, the azaleas, and the other flowers bloom, the collective thought is "Thank God for Lady Bird Johnson."⁵¹

The First Lady's beautification campaign in Washington engaged her energies and filled her schedule. Yet she also carried on an equally ambitious program nationally. She used the drawing power of the institution to stimulate citizen action to improve the appearance of the nation's landscape. She encouraged participants in environmental affairs, the young, and the business community to meet and discuss common issues. She spoke widely on beautification topics. Most important, Mrs. Johnson involved herself deeply in the administration's effort to enact and implement legislation to regulate billboards and junkyards and to preserve the natural scenery of the nation's highways.

After the president's message on natural beauty and after the *U.S. News* interview, popular interest in Mrs. Johnson and beautification burgeoned. To meet the public's concern, she traveled widely for her cause and enlisted surrogates to assist her. Unable to meet all the invitations to speak that she received, in early 1966 she recruited cabinet and Senate wives, under Mrs. Henry Fowler, wife of the secretary of the Treasury, to serve on the Speakers Bureau. Beginning in the spring of 1965, Mrs. Johnson herself took numerous well-publicized well-organized tours for beautification. On May 11/12, 1965, she led a "Landscapes and Landmarks" excursion through Virginia to Monticello and on to the Blue Ridge Mountains. Later that year she went to Jackson Hole, Wyoming, to Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and to Buffalo, New York, on separate trips.⁵²

Perhaps the most memorable of the conservation tours was the trip to the Big Bend region of Texas in April, 1966. Seventy-five reporters accompanied Mrs. Johnson, Secretary Udall, Liz Carpenter, and other officials through the rugged mountains and on rafts down the Rio Grande. "But mostly there were just the awesome spires of the canyon walls pierced by centuries of wind, eroded by centuries of water, with all sorts of tales to tell to a geologist," the First Lady recorded in her diary. When the party of one hundred and thirty camped at last after running the river, Liz Carpenter observed: "Frankly, I like the parks where all the concessions are run by the Rockefellers." This event impressed the media, but it also made the important point that what Udall called "a wilderness experience" had the direct support of the president's family.⁵³

Mrs. Johnson also delivered dozens of speeches on beautification topics to groups across the country. In Jackson Hole in September, 1965, she told the National Council of State Garden Clubs and the American Forestry Association that beauty "cannot be reserved 'For nice neighborhoods *only*.'" She informed the American Roadbuilders Association in Denver in February, 1966, that "great roads not only get you from 'here' to 'there,' but they afford a revelation of America's great beauty along the way." Toward the end of the presidency, in May, 1968, she declared, in dedicating a park in Stamford, Connecticut: "We *can* make and re-make this land of ours into a land where people can not only prosper but where they can see and feel the beauty of our time and place."⁵⁴

As the Johnson administration became mired in the Vietnam War, Mrs. Johnson encountered protests and hecklers on her travels. In October, 1967, at Williams College, where she received an honorary degree and gave a speech on the environment, picketers appeared, and

some students walked out when she was introduced. On the next day, at Yale, there were eight hundred demonstrators outside and a "very quiet very attentive audience" of the same size inside for another speech on the environment, "one thing that all of us share." The experience, Sharon Francis concluded, left her "very, very disheartened and upset." Worried that she might not be able to visit campuses in the future, the First Lady wrote: "I want to know what's going on—even if to know is to suffer."⁵⁵

Mrs. Johnson's political style was inherently inclusive. Accordingly, she saw the business community as an important and necessary ally of beautification. She wanted to move, as she wrote to a financial columnist in December, 1965, "from the garden club to the hardware stage of the problem." Responding to her campaign, corporations such as the Reliance Insurance Company, Giant Food, and major oil companies embarked on diverse beautification projects. Through Adam Rumoshosky of the American Petroleum Institute, the First Lady sought industry approval of the renovation and landscaping of automobile service stations in Washington and elsewhere. Some of these initiatives did not last beyond Mrs. Johnson's time in the White House, some projects were largely symbolic, and there was a certain inescapable distance between beautification goals and corporate profits that was never bridged. Yet the First Lady identified no villains herself, and she did not drive away any potential supporters from the business sector.⁵⁶

In the field of her personal interest, Mrs. Johnson played a direct role in appointments to boards and commissions that dealt with beautification-related subjects. She watched the functioning of the Citizens Advisory Committee on Recreation and Natural Beauty with particular care. In March, 1968, John W. Macy, Jr., who handled federal appointments, sent her the names of potential nominees to the panel. "If you desire to retain any of the present membership," Macy told her, "I will be happy to recommend them to the President." She consulted with her husband, and two months later they "mutually agreed" on a list of appropriate selections. Mrs. Johnson's endorsements helped to obtain the appointment of several individuals who had backed her efforts for highway beautification and other conservation causes.⁵⁷

Two beautification conferences in 1965 and 1966 also offered the First Lady a platform from which to promote beautification. Opening the White House Conference on Natural Beauty, she told the delegates that "ugliness is bitterness" and asked them, "Can a great democratic society generate the concerted drive to plan, and having

planned, to execute great projects of beauty?" Eight hundred delegates spent two days listening to 116 panelists on such subjects as "The Townscape," "The New Suburbia," and "Citizen Action." Thirteen months later, in June, 1966, she welcomed to the White House the five hundred delegates to the first National Youth Conference on Natural Beauty and Conservation, a gathering arranged by her niece, Diana MacArthur. Again, Mrs. Johnson spoke, urging the young people "to consider making America's beauty a full-time vocation." Copies of the proceedings of the 1965 conference were sent out by the president to mayors, county officials, and Congress in a further attempt to create a constituency for natural beauty. Such conferences reflected the essence of Mrs. Johnson's approach to her responsibilities as First Lady. "She always liked to be in a position," Udall said, "of commending those and participating in ceremonies where you were, in effect, highlighting and dramatizing the good things that were happening in the country." Beautification meant consensus to Mrs. Johnson, and she pursued consensus long after her husband's administration had lost it to an unpopular war and to domestic unrest.⁵⁸

The policy issue in the beautification area with which Mrs. Johnson became most closely associated and that best illustrates her role as First Lady was the campaign to regulate junkyards, improve the look of highways, and, most important, to control highway billboards and outdoor advertising. Neither of the Johnsons had been identified with the billboard regulation that emerged in the mid 1950s and culminated in the Billboard Bonus Act of 1958. In fact, as a senator, Lyndon Johnson was regarded as being friendly to the outdoor-advertising industry. By the early 1960s the 1958 law had few friends on either side of the issue. Only about half of the states had adopted laws to oversee billboards and thereby to obtain the extra federal highway funds that went to states that controlled such advertising. The law, which was scheduled to expire in mid 1965, did not please the billboard industry, the Bureau of Public Roads in the Department of Commerce, or the advocates of a more stringent approach to highway beauty. For some time the bureau and the lobbyists for billboards had been talking about the shape of a new law.⁵⁹

In November, 1964, a few days after his election, President Johnson called Secretary of Commerce Luther Hodges and said: "Lady Bird wants to know what you're going to do about all those junkyards along the highways." The First Lady appears to have been a decisive element in her husband's conversion to a proregulation position on billboards. Under the pressure of the president's repeated expressions of personal interest in early 1965, the staff of the Bureau of Public

Roads entered into extended negotiations with key segments of the junkyard and billboard communities. These talks stretched out over four or five months. The First Lady and her staff were not kept informed of the discussions that Bill Moyers, in the White House; the new secretary of commerce, John T. Connor; and the undersecretary for transportation, Lowell K. Bridwell, were having with industry representatives. The administration's strategy was to gain the support of the Outdoor Advertising Association of America (OAAA), a pivotal section of the billboard forces, by allowing billboards in commercial and industrial areas in return for the OAAA's agreement to accept the exclusion of such advertising from scenic areas along interstate highways and the federally supported primary road system. These negotiations had been successfully concluded when the White House Conference on Natural Beauty assembled in late May, 1965.⁶⁰

Because they were not aware of the extent of the administration's bargaining with the billboard industry's lobbyists, particularly with Phillip Tocker, president of the OAAA, the members of the roadside-control panel at the conference recommended a law that would have banned billboards even in commercial areas. To the surprise of the panelists and the advocates of billboard regulation, the president, in addressing the delegates, called for the banning of billboards and junkyards from highways "except in those areas of commercial and industrial use." Feeling betrayed, the members of garden clubs, roadside councils, and other beautification groups withdrew their support from the legislation that the administration sent to Congress on May 27, 1965. Highway beautification went to Capitol Hill without extensive grass-roots backing from the conservation forces. It also faced the resolute opposition of those who owned billboards in rural areas, of economic interests that were dependent on tourist travel and the signs that sought the trade of motorists, and of Congressmen who were indebted to the local billboard operators for campaign help or were sensitive to the impact of regulation on their constituents. "Lady Bird's bill," as it soon became known, needed all of the president's power and the sizable Democratic majorities that it could command.⁶¹

Mrs. Johnson became extensively involved with the billboard-control struggle during the late summer as the bill bogged down in committee in both houses. She had kept up with the legislative situation in midsummer through memoranda from Lawrence O'Brien, the administration's link with Congress, and she participated in a decision to drop some parts of the program that lacked support on Capitol Hill in mid August. Later in the month she met with Walter P. Reuther, of the United Auto Workers, who promised to assemble organized

labor and civil-rights groups to push for highway beauty. "We'll keep our fingers crossed about the beautification legislation," she told Reuther, "I've lived through enough last days of congressional sessions to know that anything can happen. We'll hope for the best." Around Washington at the end of August, 1965, the verdict was that Mrs. Johnson was doing more than relying on hope. The word went out from the White House that "the highway beauty bill was one of the ones the President wanted this year, that he had to have this one, it was reported, 'for Lady Bird.'"⁶²

The most significant aspect of Mrs. Johnson's activity on behalf of the highway-beautification bill began on September 11, 1965. By this time the administration had broken with the Outdoor Advertising Association and was seeking, in the House version of the bill, to secure stronger language that would give the secretary of commerce a greater voice in the regulation of billboards. To move minds and votes, a working group met with the president that Saturday afternoon. Mrs. Johnson received specific lobbying assignments at this gathering. She was to call four important congressmen, including the chairman of the pivotal Subcommittee on Roads, John C. Kluczynski (Dem., Ill.). She spoke to him that afternoon, and she talked with the others over the next few days. In regard to the Kluczynski call, one White House aide wrote: "Obviously Mrs. Johnson's call has had its effect and the Congressman is all for anything we want."⁶³

As final action on the highway bill neared in early October, the involvement of the First Lady and her staff intensified. Liz Carpenter, having "put on my best Joy perfume and tightest girdle," went to see Texas congressmen on behalf of Mrs. Johnson. "No one in the Texas delegation likes the bill," George Mahon told Carpenter, "but no one wants to vote against Lady Bird." Carpenter also talked extensively with conservation lobbyists and friendly newspaper editors. Mrs. Johnson herself wrote letters, made more phone calls, and oversaw the lobbying effort on behalf of the bill.⁶⁴

Passage of the bill in the House on October 7, 1965, further highlighted Mrs. Johnson's role. Debate took place on a Thursday afternoon, as congressmen were preparing to attend social events that night, including a "Salute to Congress" at the White House. The president insisted that House action must occur that day. One disgruntled Republican, Robert J. Dole of Kansas, moved unsuccessfully to insert Mrs. Johnson's name, instead of the secretary of commerce's, in the language of the bill. Late in the evening the solid Democratic majority put the bill through. After the Senate took action on the House bill, President Johnson signed the Highway Beautification Act on October 22, 1965.⁶⁵

Mrs. Johnson's participation attracted criticism during the legislative process. "This legislation is a WHIM of Mrs. Johnson," a Texas billboard owner wrote to the president, and in Montana a billboard sought the "Impeachment of Lady Bird Johnson." Bill Mauldin turned the latter thought to the First Lady's advantage in a cartoon that depicted a motorist in a landscape filled with billboards, one of which read "Impeach Lady Bird." Garden clubs and roadside councils thought that the bill was weaker than it should have been, and they displayed continuing reservations about it. Yet, as a Pennsylvania activist conceded: "Lady Bird scored a notable victory." She agreed: "Isn't it wonderful that Congress has made highway beautification the law of the land," she said to a supporter. Still, she also decided to be a little less visible, if no less active, in pushing her programs.⁶⁶

That decision governed how the First Lady performed in the next phase of the highway-beautification battle over the enforcement of the 1965 act. The billboard industry sought to use its congressional allies to weaken the regulatory standards that the administration was proposing in 1966 to implement the law. At the same time, efforts were proceeding in Congress to reduce or eliminate funding for billboard control. The First Lady and her staff kept a lower profile during 1965, but their participation behind the scenes showed little change in her actual role. In January, 1967, she helped to persuade a California state senator, Fred Farr, to serve as highway-beauty coordinator in the new Department of Transportation. When funding bills came up in Congress in 1967 and 1968, Liz Carpenter, Sharon Francis, and some presidential staffers wrote probeautification speeches and statements for legislators to insert in the *Congressional Record*. Mrs. Johnson also sought to limit the extent to which agencies of the federal government could rent billboards in order to advertise their programs.⁶⁷

Mrs. Johnson and her allies had to fight rear-guard actions during her last two years in the White House to retain the substance of the Highway Act. Strengthening amendments that would have bolstered key provisions languished in committee. More important, appropriations for billboard control were slashed, and the administration had to retreat on key aspects of its enforcement standards. Congress limited, for example, the power of the secretary of transportation to set rules about the size, lighting, and spacing of billboards. Some conservation groups would have preferred to see the 1965 act die, convinced as they were that it had irremediable flaws. For her part, Mrs. Johnson did her best to preserve the law and to keep it

funded, and she participated in the formal details of the legislative process to a degree that was unparalleled for the wife of the president. She believed that an important initial step had been taken, and she applauded the law's less controversial provisions to clean up junkyards and to acquire and maintain scenic areas along the highways. On balance, the Highway Beautification Act of 1965 represented the limit of what could have been achieved at the time, and it would not have been passed and enforced without Mrs. Johnson's support and active lobbying.⁶⁸

Once President Johnson had announced his decision not to be a candidate in 1968, the thoughts of the First Lady and her colleagues turned to the related questions of the significance of her beautification work and the extent to which it might continue under the incoming president and first lady. In the summer of 1968 there was talk within the White House of an executive order raising the First Lady's Committee from informal to formal status. Arguments against the proposal included a recognition that "the First Lady has never been given official duties by law or executive order, and this would be a break with tradition." When the subject of approaching Russell Train, a prospective appointee to the Interior Department in the Nixon administration, about continuing the First Lady's Committee came up after the election, Mrs. Johnson said, "I never want there to be anything on paper that would indicate that we were instigating any self-perpetuation." She did agree to be the honorary chairman of the Society for a More Beautiful National Capital after January 20, 1969, and she accepted Udall's appointment of her to an advisory committee on national parks, historic sites, buildings, and monuments.⁶⁹

Praise and honors accompanied her all through the concluding months of her husband's term. Eric Sevareid of CBS News told a luncheon of conservationists at the White House in November, 1968, that the First Lady had stimulated "a new popular consciousness about the precious American land." The editors of *Christian Century* concurred: "In a difficult time Mrs. Johnson has comported herself with dignity and charm and has exercised a great spirit of leadership." Her beautification associates, working through Secretary Udall, renamed Columbia Island, in Washington, Lady Bird Johnson Park, and they gave her benches and a planted area for the Johnson Library in Austin. Sharon Francis spoke for the staff: "Well, you've made us all better people, Mrs. Johnson."⁷⁰

Even before leaving Washington, Mrs. Johnson planned to carry on her beautification work at the grass roots. She joined the garden clubs of Stonewall and Johnson City and made annual beautification

awards to members of the Texas Highway Department. She rallied the city of Austin to construct parks and jogging paths along Town Lake. The lake trails represented, she said, "a big piece of my heart." In 1982, when she was seventy, she donated sixty acres of land and \$125,000 to found the National Wildflower Center outside of Austin. The center began to conduct research on the economic and aesthetic uses of wild flowers, such as planting along highways to reduce mowing and other maintenance costs. The project would be, Mrs. Johnson told her friends, "my last hurrah," but her active schedule continued unabated.⁷¹

The historical impact of Mrs. Johnson's beautification campaign transcended her specific achievements in Washington and around the nation, important as they were. Her influence and encouragement rippled across the country over the succeeding years. Former colleagues have stressed that she brought people together—Laurance Rockefeller, Mary Lasker, Walter Washington, Lawrence Halprin, Stewart Udall, and Nathaniel Owings—in constructive and productive interaction. In an even larger sense she awakened Americans, as did others during the 1960s, to the environmental crises that lay just ahead. Citizens who wrote to her about the California Redwoods, the Grand Canyon, or a proposed New Orleans freeway received back from the First Lady a sense of concern about their protests that legitimized ecological issues for the future.⁷²

"I came very late and timorously to the uses of power," Mrs. Johnson wrote in her diary in December, 1968. Hardly anyone who knew her during the 1960s would agree with that characteristic bit of self-deprecation and reserve. One associate calls her "the most consummate politician" he has known in Washington, because of her ability to persuade diverse and discordant individuals to serve her goals and purposes. The Johnson Library contains a large body of materials about her beautification activity; these offer much support to that positive judgment; they also provide fresh opportunities for studying how Americans saw the environment during the 1960s, how they responded to an activist first lady, and the diversity of issues that the Johnson administration dealt with under the heading of beautification. Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson was a first lady of unusual influence and range, and her important place in the history of her husband's presidency is rooted in her commitment "to keep the beauty of the landscape as we remember it in our youth . . . and to leave this splendor for our grandchildren."⁷³

Notes

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1. John P. Crevelli, "The Final Act of the Greatest Conservation President," *Prologue* 12 (Winter, 1980): 173-91.

2. Nancy Dickerson, *Among Those Present: A Reporter's View of 25 Years in Washington* (New York: Random House, 1976), pp. 106, 136 (quotation); James B. West, with Mary Lynn Kotz, *Upstairs at the White House: My Life with the First Ladies* (New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, 1973), pp. 331-32; Traphes Bryant, with Frances Spatz Leighton, *Dog Days at the White House: The Outrageous Memoirs of the Presidential Kennel Keeper* (New York: Macmillan, 1975), p. 106; Barbara Howar, *Laughing All The Way* (New York: Stein & Day, 1973), p. 126.

3. June Sochen, *Movers and Shakers: American Women Thinkers and Activists, 1900-1970* (New York: Quadrangle, 1973), pp. 243-47; Abigail McCarthy, "ER as First Lady," in *Without Precedent: The Life and Career of Eleanor Roosevelt*, ed. Joan Hoff-Wilson and Marjorie Lightman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), pp. 220-21; Vaughn Davis Bornet, *The Presidency of Lyndon B. Johnson* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1983), p. 137.

4. The first quotation from Mrs. Johnson comes from remarks at the dedication in 1976 of the LBJ Grove at the Lady Bird Johnson Park in Washington, D.C. [*Congressional Record*, 94 Cong., 2d sess., May 7, 1976, Extension of Remarks of Congressman J. J. Pickle, p. 13033]; the second quotation is in Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, "Memories of the Wilderness," *Wild Places of North America: Engagement Calendar, 1984* (Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society, 1984), p. 4. There is no good, thorough biography of Mrs. Johnson, but see Nan Robertson, "Our New First Lady," *Saturday Evening Post*, Feb. 8, 1974, pp. 20-24; and Ruth Montgomery, *Mrs. LBJ* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1964), for studies written when she became the first lady. Robert Caro, in *The Years of Lyndon Johnson: The Path to Power* (New York: Knopf, 1982), pp. 292-305, paints a picture of a shy, retiring young girl, which other sources contradict.

5. Eugenia Boehringer Lasseter oral history, Mar. 10, 1981, p. 19. All oral histories and manuscript documents are in the LBJ Library unless otherwise indicated.

6. The first quotation is from Mrs. Johnson's commencement address to the graduates of the centennial class of the University of Texas at Austin on May 21, 1983, author's copy; "The Doors of the World Swung Open," *Alcalde*, Nov., 1964, p. 21; "The University of Texas Sports Association," *The 1933 Cactus: Yearbook of the University of Texas* (Austin, 1933), p. 134.

7. There is no satisfactory treatment of the Johnsons' marriage. Caro, *Years of Lyndon Johnson*, pp. 302-5, 489-91, sacrifices complexity to the demands of his thesis about her husband's perfidy. Ronnie Dugger, *The Politi-*

cian: *The Life and Times of Lyndon Johnson: The Drive for Power, from the Frontier to Master of the Senate* (New York: Norton, 1982), pp. 193–94, 254–55, 267–68, is more balanced.

8. Robertson, "Our New First Lady," p. 23 (1st quotation); Katie Louchheim, ed., *The Making of the New Deal: The Insiders Speak* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), p. 300 (2d quotation); the remaining quotations are from "Ways to Beautify America," *U.S. News and World Report*, Feb. 22, 1965, pp. 72, 74; Mrs. Johnson recalled her observations of the landscape in an interview with me on Sept. 16, 1984.

9. "Addresses by The First Lady: Mrs. Lyndon Baines Johnson, 1964," pamphlet in Johnson Library, address to the YWCA National Convention, Apr. 20, 1964, p. 19; Lady Bird Johnson, *A White House Diary* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970), pp. 166, 170. Mrs. Johnson's published diary, representing about one-seventh of the original, is an indispensable source for her activities and thoughts during the White House years. While it gives due space to the public side of her beautification work, there is less in it about the formation of the Committee for a More Beautiful National Capital, her efforts on behalf of highway beautification in Congress, and such matters as Lawrence Halprin's initiative to reshape parts of Washington. The diary, in its original form, is not yet available for scholarly research.

10. Norma Ruth Holly Foreman, "The First Lady as a Leader of Public Opinion: A Study of the Role and Press Relations of Lady Bird Johnson" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1971), pp. 157–79; Liz Carpenter, *Ruffles and Flourishes* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1969, 1970), pp. 141–68; Beverly Smith Wakefield, "The Speechnaking of Mrs. Lyndon Baines Johnson, 1964–April 1968" (Master's thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1968), pp. 20–23.

11. Stewart Udall to Lyndon B. Johnson, Aug. 19, 1964, Johnson to Udall, Aug. 24, 1964, July 15–October 1, 1964. EX/PP5/Lady Bird Johnson, White House central files (hereafter cited as WHCF), box 62; the quotations are from my interview with Stewart Udall, Apr. 11, 1984.

12. Drafts of Mrs. Johnson's speeches at Park City and at Flaming Gorge, written by James Reston, Jr., Aug., 1964, Liz Carpenter Subject File, Western Trip, White House social files (hereafter cited as WHSF), box 9.

13. Robertson, "Our New First Lady," p. 21 (quotation); my interview with Walter Washington, Aug. 9, 1984; Katie Louchheim, *By The Political Sea* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1970), pp. 220–26.

14. Helen Thomas, *Dateline: White House* (New York: Macmillan, 1975), p. 84; Carpenter's *Ruffles and Flourishes* is an engaging and informative memoir that well captures Carpenter's flamboyant style; my conversation with Bess Abell, Aug. 6, 1984.

15. Henry Brandon, "A Talk with the First Lady," *New York Times Magazine*, Sept. 10, 1967.

16. Katie Louchheim to Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, Nov. 20, 1964, two memoranda, box C33, Katharine Louchheim Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress (hereafter cited as LC). I am indebted to Mrs. Louchheim for permission to consult her personal papers. The president's daily diary, Nov. 20, 1964, box 2, records Udall's presence at the LBJ Ranch; Udall interview, Apr. 11, 1984. The Stewart Udall Papers at the University of Arizona Library, Tucson, shed much light on his working relationship with Mrs. Johnson.

17. Elizabeth Rowe to Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, Dec. 8, 1964, Formation of Committee, Beautification files, WHSF, box 1. The Beautification files (hereafter cited as BF) consist of seventeen boxes of correspondence and documents, divided by subject, which form a central body of source material on Mrs. Johnson's activities in this field. Another six boxes contain pamphlets, photographs, and other miscellaneous materials.

18. Stewart Udall, memorandum for the First Lady, Dec. 9, 1964, box C29, Louchheim Papers.

19. Wolf Von Eckardt, "Washington's Chance for Splendor," *Harper's*, Sept., 1963, p. 55.

20. Antonia Chayes, memorandum on the cities, Dec. 9, 1964, box C29, Louchheim Papers; Andrew Kopkind and James Ridgeway, "Washington: The Lost Colony," *New Republic*, Apr. 23, 1964, pp. 13-17.

21. Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson to Katie Louchheim, Jan. 30, 1965, box C33, Louchheim Papers; see also Udall to Liz Carpenter, Jan. 7, 1965; Mary Lasker, suggestions for a national landscape committee, Feb. 3, 1965; and Neill Phillips, suggestions for the First Lady's Committee for a More Beautiful Capital, Feb. 11, 1965, Formation of Committee, BF/WHSF, box 1; *Washington Star*, Feb. 2, 1965; *Washington Post*, Feb. 3 and 6, 1965.

22. *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Lyndon B. Johnson, 1963-1964* (hereafter cited as *Public Papers*), 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1965), 1: 705.

23. Lady Bird Johnson, *Texas: A Roadside View* (San Antonio, Texas: Trinity University Press, 1980), p. xvii; Stewart Udall to Lewis L. Gould, Oct. 1, 1984.

24. James Reston, Jr., to Richard Goodwin, May 4, 1964, Conservation—Natural Beauty, box 28; Paul Sears, "The Landscape: Its Health and Disease as Economic Factors: or The Cost of Ugliness," no date, Task Force on Beauty, box 14; and Natural Beauty and the Public Interest, Oct. 28, 1964, Natural Beauty—Background, box 14—all in office files of Richard Goodwin; on Mrs. Johnson's knowledge of the Task Force Report see Lewis L. Gould to Stewart Udall, Aug. 11, 1985, with Udall's marginal notations about her participation, copy in Lewis L. Gould Papers, LBJ Library; Lady Bird Johnson, *White House Diary*, p. 215; *Public Papers*, 1:8.

25. *Public Papers*, 1965, 1:156.

26. Lady Bird Johnson, *White House Diary*, p. 234.

27. "Ways to Beautify America," p. 78.

28. Lady Bird Johnson, *White House Diary*, pp. 240-42; *Washington Star*, Feb. 12, 1965.

29. Sharon Francis oral history, May 20, 1969, pp. 8-16; Gould telephone conversation with Sharon Francis, July 17, 1984; Gould conversation with Cynthia Wilson, Aug. 6, 1984; Christine Stugard to James Jones, Aug. 22, 1966, Sept. 11, 1965-Mar. 31, 1966, Ex/HI3, WHCF, box 5.

30. Barbara Klaw, interviewer, "Lady Bird Johnson Remembers," *American Heritage* 32 (Dec., 1980): 6; Sharon Francis oral history, May 20, 1969, p. 35; Carpenter, *Ruffles and Flourishes*, p. 237.

31. The most convenient guide to the work of Mrs. Johnson's committee is "Beautification Summary: The Committee for a More Beautiful Capital," 1965-1968, BF/WHSF, box 22, pp. 21, 22 (1st quotation), 47-48, 51; *Washington, Sunday Star*, Oct. 30, 1966 (2d quotation). There are stenographic

reports of each meeting of the First Lady's Committee in BF/WHSF, boxes 1-3. They will be cited hereafter by date and box number.

32. Nathaniel Alexander Owings, *The Spaces in Between: An Architect's Journey* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973), pp. 233-34; Nathaniel A. Owings to E. C. Bassett et al., May 28, 1965, box 34; Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson to Owings, Sept. 16, 1965, and June 14, 1966, box 20, Nathaniel A. Owings Papers, L.C.; see also Pennsylvania Avenue Plan, BF/WHSF, box 7.

33. Louchheim, *By The Political Sea*, p. 232 (1st quotation); *Washington Post*, Feb. 6, 1965 (2d quotation); Sharon Francis oral history, May 20, 1969, p. 24 (3d quotation). For data on Mary Lasker see Elizabeth Brenner Drew, "The Health Syndicate: Washington's Noble Conspirators," *Atlantic Monthly*, Dec., 1967, pp. 75-82; Bornet, *Presidency of Lyndon B. Johnson*, pp. 142-43; and Clarence Lasby's essay, below. Lasker's correspondence with Mrs. Johnson can be traced in Mary Lasker file, alphabetical files, WHSF, box 1,340. The alphabetical file in WHSF has several thousand boxes of correspondence that are now being reviewed and opened in response to requests from researchers.

34. The Nash Castro Papers at the LBJ Library contain abundant materials on his work with Mrs. Johnson. The quotation is from Nash Castro to Sutton Jett, Jan. 12, 1966, Mrs. Johnson's file no. 2, Nash Castro Papers, box 3; Lady Bird Johnson, *White House Diary*, p. 318; see also Nash Castro oral history, Feb. 25, 1969.

35. Mary Lasker to Liz Carpenter, Sept. 24, 1965, Formation of Committee, BF/WHSF, box 1 (quotation); see also Lasker to Louchheim, July 26, 1965, box C29, Louchheim Papers; Lasker to Mrs. Johnson, June 25, 1965, Fund Raising for Washington, BF/WHSF, box 6.

36. Lasker to Louchheim, Oct. 12, 1965, box C29, Louchheim Papers (quotation); Carolyn Agger Fortas to Mary Lasker, Apr. 3, 1967, Society for a More Beautiful National Capital, BF/WHSF, box 7; Mrs. Johnson to Mrs. Vincent Astor, May 24, 1965, Liz Carpenter alphabetical file (hereafter cited as LCAF), beautification, special, WHSF, box 15. Liz Carpenter's alphabetical file contains in its beautification series much correspondence from the First Lady's program; it is second in importance only to the Beautification files themselves. It is, however, a separate file from the larger alphabetical files within the WHSF.

37. T. Sutton Jett to Mrs. Johnson, Apr. 13, 1966, Beautification Meeting, Apr. 13, 1966, BF/WHSF, box 2; Mary Lasker to Douglass Cater, Jr., Jan. 30, 1967, Highway Beautification folder 1, box 96, office files of Douglass Cater; Lady Bird Johnson, *White House Diary*, p. 352.

38. Sharon Francis oral history, May 20, 1969, p. 90; Mary Lasker to Mrs. Johnson, July 22, 1965, Suggestions of D.C. Projects, BF/WHSF, box 8; Gould telephone conversation with Sharon Francis, July 17, 1984; Gould interview with Lawrence Halprin, Apr. 5, 1984; *Washington Star*, Jan. 12, 1967; *Washington Post*, Jan. 13, 1967.

39. Walter Washington to Mrs. Johnson, Sept. 24, 1965, Suggestions of D.C. Projects, BF/WHSF, box 8; Walter Washington to Liz Carpenter, Oct. 20, 1965, "Give Till It's Beautiful," BF/WHSF, box 6; Gould interview with Walter Washington, Aug. 9, 1984.

40. Washington to Mrs. Johnson, Sept. 24, 1965, Suggestions of D.C. Projects, BF/WHSF, box 8.

41. Shackleton discussed Project Pride at the meeting of the First Lady's Committee, Oct. 5, 1966, box 2, pp. 22-40, quotation on p. 23. Press release on Project Pride, July 19, 1966, box C30, Louchheim Papers; Liz Carpenter to Mrs. Johnson, Aug. 23, 1966, Sharon Francis to Liz Carpenter, Aug. 25, 1966, Beautification Meeting, Oct. 5, 1966, BF/WHSE, box 2.

42. Polly Shackleton to Laurance Rockefeller, July 18, 1967 (1st and 2d quotations), Shackleton to Rockefeller, Sept. 1, 1967 (3d quotation), Trail Blazers, BF/WHSE, box 8.

43. The first quotation is from Mrs. Johnson's remarks at the dedication of the Buchanan School Plaza [U.S., House, *Congressional Record*, 90th Cong., 2d sess. [May 15, 1968], p. 13554]; Sharon Francis to Mrs. Johnson, June 11, 1968, Buchanan School, BF/WHSE, box 5 (2d quotation); Mrs. Johnson to Brooke Astor, Apr. 3, 1967, Mrs. Vincent Astor file, alphabetical file, WHSE, box 45; Brooke Astor, *Footprints* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1980), pp. 338-40.

44. Joseph Judge, "New Grandeur for Flowering Washington," *National Geographic*, Apr., 1967, p. 520.

45. Beautification Summary, p. 35, quotes Mrs. Johnson's comments at the Urban American Conference; Sharon Francis oral history, May 20, 1969, p. 25, describes Stephen Currier's philanthropic work. Sharon Francis to Liz Carpenter, July 6, 1966 (final quotation), and Sept. 27, 1966, with cover note from Mrs. Johnson to Liz Carpenter, Currier offer, BF/WHSE, box 6. For biographical data on the Curriers see *New York Times*, Feb. 16, 1967.

46. Sharon Francis oral history, May 20, 1969, pp. 25-32, describes Mrs. Johnson's San Francisco trip, and quotes her on p. 32. Lady Bird Johnson, *White House Diary*, p. 423; Gould interview with Lawrence Halprin, Apr. 5, 1984.

47. Mrs. Johnson is quoted by Roberta Hornig in "Beauty Planned For Capital East," *Washington Star*, Jan. 13, 1967; A report from Lawrence Halprin Associates to Mrs. Johnson's Committee for a More Beautiful Capital, Jan., 1967, BF/WHSE, box 18, gives Halprin's proposals in detail. Taconic Foundation, Dec. 7, 1966, Lawrence Halprin Papers, San Francisco, outlines his preparations for the January, 1967, meeting. I am indebted to Mr. Halprin, for his kindness in making his papers available to me, and to Ms. Dee Mullen for her assistance as well.

48. Mrs. Johnson to Mrs. David Bruce, Jan. 17, 1967, Halprin Report, BF/WHSE, box 6; Sharon Francis oral history, May 20, 1969, p. 34.

49. For a sample of the rich Halprin material see Progress Report—Halprin Proposals—Apr. 1, 1967. Sharon Francis to Mrs. Johnson, May 12, 1967, Halprin Report, BF/WHSE, box 6; Francis to Liz Carpenter, May 23, 1967; Francis to John Simon, June 23, 1967; Francis to Mrs. Johnson, June 30, 1967, Capital East—Inner Blocks, BF/WHSE, box 5; Alan Boyd to Francis, Nov. 28, 1967, Lawrence Halprin to George B. Hartzog, Jr., Dec. 1, 1967, Francis to Halprin, May 13, 1969, Halprin Papers.

50. Remarks of Walter Washington at the First Lady's Beautification Luncheon in the East Room, Apr. 17, 1968, Mayor's Remarks, BF/WHSE, box 6; Sharon Francis oral history, June 27, 1969, p. 10; Lady Bird Johnson, *White House Diary*, pp. 665-67; Gould interview with Walter Washington, Aug. 9, 1984.

51. Colman McCarthy, in "Tiptoeing through NW Tulips," *Washington Post*, May 12, 1970, describes how beautification had faltered in the black

areas of Washington. Carolyn Agger Fortas to the trustees, Mar. 8, 1973, box C31; Wayne H. Dickston, memorandum to all trustees, Feb. 21, 1974, box C33, Louchheim Papers; statement of Elizabeth H. Rowe, Mar. 19, 1984, in "Gold Medals to the Daughter of Harry S. Truman: Lady Bird Johnson; and the Widow of Roy Wilkins," *Hearings before the Subcommittee on Consumer Affairs and Coinage of the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs, House of Representatives, Ninety-eighth Congress Second Session, on H.R. 3614, H.J. Res. 394, H.R. 3240, ser. no. 98-74* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1984), p. 58.

52. For the work of the Speakers Bureau see Speakers Bureau, 1965-67; BF/WHSE, box 13; Mrs. Johnson's travels are recorded in Beautification Summary, passim, and in Liz Carpenter's subject file, WHSE, under the date and location of each trip.

53. Lady Bird Johnson, *White House Diary*, pp. 376-83, 381 (3d quotation), 382 (1st quotation); Carpenter, *Ruffles and Flourishes*, p. 88 (2d quotation); Shana Alexander, "Lady Bird's Boat Ride," *Life*, Apr. 15, 1966, p. 34.

54. Beautification Summary, pp. 17 (on Jackson Hole), 75 (on Stamford, Conn.); "Conservation's One-Two," *American Forests* 72 (Apr., 1966): 61, road-builders speech.

55. Lady Bird Johnson, *White House Diary*, pp. 575-78, 579, 580, 581 (1st and 2d quotations), 582 (last quotation); Sharon Francis oral history, June 4, 1969, p. 24.

56. Mrs. Lyndon Johnson to Sylvia Porter, Dec. 28, 1965, "P" Folder, LCAF/WHSE, box 14; Paul S. Forbes to Sharon Francis, Oct. 15, 1968, Report to the President, BF/WHSE, box 12, for Giant Food; Francis to Liz Carpenter, Feb. 23, 1967, Reliance Insurance Event, BF/WHSE, box 12; Rumoshosky report, June 6, 1967, service stations, BF/WHSE, box 12; Reader's Digest Event, BF/WHSE, box 12, outlines that magazine's support for Mrs. Johnson in 1965 and later. Lady Bird Johnson, "America Can Be More Beautiful with Your Help," *Reader's Digest*, Sept., 1968, pp. 142-49.

57. John W. Macy to Mrs. Johnson, Mar. 22, 1968 (1st quotation), Oct. 23, 1968; Matthew Coffey to Macy, May 4, 1968; Coffey to Mrs. Johnson, June 28 and July 2, 1968, Citizens Advisory Commission on Recreation and Natural Beauty, John W. Macy files, WHCF, box 815; Macy to Lyndon B. Johnson, May 11, 1968, President's Council on Recreation and Natural Beauty, Jan. 1-June 30, 1968, FG 738, WHCF, box 404 (2d quotation).

58. For Mrs. Johnson's remarks at the 1965 White House Conference see *Beauty for America: Proceedings of the White House Conference on Natural Beauty, Washington, D.C., May 24-25, 1965* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1965), p. 17; Beautification Summary, p. 35; Stewart Udall oral history, May 19, 1969, p. 13. For White House dissemination of the recommendations and proceedings of the 1965 conference see Lyndon Johnson to George C. Wallace, Jan. 17, 1966, Sept. 1, 1965-Jan. 16, 1966, Natural Resources, WHCF, box 5.

59. Jack Valenti to B. W. Bordages, Jan. 23, 1965, responding to Bordages to Valenti, Dec. 21, 1964, Nov. 22, 1963-Feb. 17, 1965, Highways 3, WHCF, box 6; Gould interview with Phillip Tocker, Feb. 7, 1984; James L. Sundquist, *Politics and Policy: The Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson Years* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1968), pp. 340-45, 373-74; Thomas E. Redard, "The Politics of Beautification in the Johnson Administration" (Master's

thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1976); Lewis L. Gould, "First Lady as Catalyst: Lady Bird Johnson and Highway Beautification in the 1960s," *Environmental Review* 10 (Summer, 1986): 77-92.

60. Mrs. Johnson is quoted in Maxine Cheshire, "Mrs. Johnson Digs New Landscape Role on Capitol Hill," *Washington Post*, Jan. 5, 1965; Luther Hodges to Lyndon Johnson, Nov. 19, 1964, Nov. 22, 1963-Sept. 10, 1965, HI3, WHCF, box 5. Evidence of Johnson's personal interest is apparent in his handwritten comments on the letter of Lyndon B. Johnson to the secretary of commerce, John T. Connor, Jan. 19, 1965, Bill Moyers office files, Highway Beautification, box 79; the letter, without the comments, is available in *Public Papers*, 1965, 1:81-82, where it is dated Jan. 21, 1965. For the negotiations with the Outdoor Advertising Association see Donald S. Thomas to Lyndon Johnson, Mar. 28, Apr. 30, and May 7, 1965, Phillip Tocker to Moyers, Apr. 22, 1965, Thomas to Moyers, Apr. 23, 1965, Moyers to Thomas, Apr. 26, 1965, Bill Moyers office files, Highway Beautification, box 79.

61. For the president's recommendations see *Beauty for America*, p. 681; and for the events at the White House Conference see Elizabeth Brenner Drew, "Lady Bird's Beauty Bill," *Atlantic Monthly*, Dec., 1965, pp. 68-72. The reaction of proponents of billboard regulation is evident in Fred Farr to Lyndon B. Johnson, May 27, 1965, with cover memorandum of Lawrence McQuade to Richard Goodwin, July 16, 1965, chronological correspondence, box 15, Papers of Alan Boyd; and Maurine Neuberger to Mrs. Cyril G. Fox, July 12, 1965, box 7, Maurine Neuberger Papers, University of Oregon. I am indebted to John Simpson of the University of Oregon for locating and copying materials in the Neuberger Papers relating to highway beautification.

62. Charles Schultze, Memorandum for the President, Aug. 17, 1965, Bill Moyers office files, Highway Beautification, box 79; Mrs. Johnson to Walter Reuther, Aug. 26, 1965, Beautification Special, BF/WHSE, box 15; Drew, "Lady Bird's Beauty Bill," p. 71.

63. Joseph Califano to Lyndon Johnson, Mrs. Johnson, et al., Sept. 11, 1965, Nov. 22, 1963-Oct. 20, 1964, Legislation/Natural Resources, WHCF, box 142, summarizes the results of the conference and lists the First Lady's telephone assignments. Jake Jacobsen to Lyndon Johnson, Sept. 11, 1965, Sept. 11, 1965-Mar. 30, 1966, HI3, WHCF, box 5, reports on Kluczynski's reaction.

64. Liz Carpenter to Mrs. Johnson, Oct. 4, 1965, Highway Beautification, BF/WHSE, box 14, for both quotations; see also Activities on Behalf of Highway Improvement Bill, Oct. 5, 1965, Esther Peterson to Hayes Redmon, Oct. 15, 1965, Highway Beautification, BF/WHSE, box 14.

65. For the Dole amendment see U.S., House, *Congressional Record*, 89th Cong., 1st sess. (Oct. 7, 1965), p. 26306; Jack Anderson, "Sharp Battle on Beautification Bill," *Washington Post*, Oct. 15, 1965.

66. Lee Ray Page to Lyndon Johnson, Sept. 10, 1965, Oct. 1, 1965-Dec. 8, 1965, NR, WHCF, box 7; "Apology to Lady Bird Johnson," U.S., Senate, *Congressional Record*, 89th Cong., 1st sess. (Oct. 13, 1965), p. 26860, remarks of Senator Mike Mansfield (Dem., Mont.); for the Mauldin cartoon, "Signs along the Road," *New Republic*, Oct. 2, 1965, p. 7; Mrs. Cyril G. Fox to Maurine Neuberger, Nov. 3, 1965, box 7, Neuberger Papers; Mrs. Lyndon Johnson to W. Robert Amick, Nov. 19, 1965, Four H. Clubs, Beautification, alphabetical file, WHSE, box 113.

67. John H. Steadman to Bess Abell, Oct. 14, 1966, "Implementation of Highway Beauty," BF/WHSE, box 16, deals with the Department of Defense and its use of billboards; Leon Janos to Jim Keefe, Mar. 26, 1968, Beautification, Robert Hardesty office files, box 18, conveying a statement for Senator Thomas McIntyre (Dem., Vt.) to put in the *Congressional Record*; Sharon Francis to Mrs. Johnson, Jan. 9, 1967, Highway Beautification Act, BF/WHSE, box 14, and Alan Boyd to Mrs. Johnson, Jan. 4, 1967, Status Report on Highway Beautification Program, in Highway Beautification, BF/WHSE, box 15, discusses Farr's candidacy. Gould interview with Phillip Tocker, Feb. 7, 1984, provided the position of the billboard industry; Gould interview with Ruth R. Johnson, Aug. 9, 1984, supplied the perspective of a billboard regulator in the Department of Transportation.

68. The legislative struggles of 1966–68 are too complex to be dealt with here. Evidence of Mrs. Johnson's involvement in the details of the process includes Sharon Francis to Mrs. Johnson, June 30 and July 3, 1968, Barefoot Sanders to Mrs. Johnson, June 29 and July 16, 1968, Liz Carpenter and Francis to Mrs. Johnson, July 10, 1968, Highway Beautification—1968, BF/WHSE, box 15. Charles F. Floyd and Peter J. Shedd, in *Highway Beautification: The Environmental Movement's Greatest Failure* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1979), pp. 91–106, offer a critical look at the early years of the act. A recent evaluation of the whole billboard control program is *The Outdoor Advertising Control Program Needs to Be Reassessed* (Washington, D.C.: General Accounting Office, Jan. 3, 1985), a report made to Senator Robert Stafford (Rep., Vt.).

69. Matthew Nimetz to Joseph Califano, July 31, 1968, with attached statement on First Lady's Committee for a More Beautiful Capital, Beautification, James Gaither office files, box 257; Sharon Francis oral history, June 27, 1969, p. 67, quotes Mrs. Johnson; Lady Bird Johnson, *White House Diary*, pp. 736–37.

70. Eric Sevareid's remarks, Conservation Luncheon, Nov., 1968, in Conservation Luncheon, Nov. 13, 1968, BF/WHSE, box 5; "Lady Beautiful," *Christian Century*, Nov. 27, 1968, p. 1523; Lady Bird Johnson, *White House Diary*, pp. 736–37; Sharon Francis oral history, June 27, 1969, p. 80.

71. Gould interviews with Liz Carpenter, Aug. 13, 1984, and with Mrs. Lyndon Johnson, Sept. 16, 1984; Klaw, "Lady Bird Johnson Remembers," p. 6 (1st quotation); Mary Barrineau, "Last Hurrah for Lady Bird," *Westward: Dallas Times Herald*, pp. 5, 7–10, 18–20; Liz Carpenter, "The Incomparable Lady Bird," *Ultra*, Nov., 1983, pp. 86–87; I attended the Highway Beautification award ceremony at the LBJ Park on Oct. 3, 1984.

72. Gould interviews with Lawrence Halprin, Apr. 5, 1984, with Stewart Udall, Apr. 11, 1984, and with Walter Washington, Aug. 9, 1984. Cynthia Wilson kindly put at my disposal a set of sample letters that Mrs. Johnson's staff sent out about particular issues, which is now part of the Beautification files.

73. Lady Bird Johnson, *White House Diary*, p. 752; Gould interview with Spencer Smith, Aug. 6, 1984; Lady Bird Johnson, "Foreword," *Texas in Bloom: Photographs from Texas Highways Magazine* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1984), p. 10.