



Martin Ridge
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FRONTIER AND REGION

Essays in Honor of Martin Ridge



Edited by

ROBERT C. RITCHIE AND
PAUL ANDREW HUTTON

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palities, with one possible exception, unanimously endorsed the bill. See *ibid.*, 6 December 1913, 368.

9. CR, 3 December 1913, 115.

10. See CR, 3 December 1913 for Thomas's remarks, beginning on p. 115. He spoke following John D. Works. His comments on the Owens Valley are on p. 125.

11. CR, 3 December 1913, 125-26; 4 December 1913, 197. Initially, the Board of Army Engineers cited thirteen possible sources of additional supply (see p. 83).

12. See CR, 3 December 1913, 138-39 for story about support in Southern California. See also CR, 5 December 1913, 236-40.

13. CR, 4 December 1913, 183; 5 December 1913, 273-74.

14. CR, 5 December 1913, 272-73.

15. CR, 5 December 1913, 286-87.

16. See CR, 6 December 1913, 343, where Norris cites the senator from Utah as the member leading and guiding the opposition in the Senate.

17. CR, 6 December 1913, 339-52. Norris held the floor longer than any other senator on this final day of debate.

18. See CR, 6 December 1913, 378 for Poindexter's remarks.

19. CR, 6 December 1913, 385-86.

20. CR, 19 December 1913, 1189.

21. King, *The Conservation Fight*; Chapter 5 is entitled "Hetch Hetchy and Municipal Power." See also Norris, *Fighting Liberal*; Chapter 18 is entitled "Hetch Hetchy."

22. Harold L. Ickes, *The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes: The First Thousand Days 1933-1936* (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1953), 214.

23. *United States v. City and County of San Francisco*, 310 U.S. 587.

PARKS FOR PEOPLE

Lyndon Johnson and the National Park System



MELODY WEBB

The horrors of the Vietnam War have shaped people's perception of Lyndon Johnson. Few remember the contributions of his Great Society. Many African-Americans worship John F. Kennedy for giving them their civil rights, and the elderly venerate Franklin D. Roosevelt for Medicare.¹ So it is with Johnson's conservation record. Those who do acknowledge the Sixties for the growth of the modern environmental movement acclaim Stewart Udall as the greatest Secretary of the Interior. Some may give grudging recognition to Lady Bird Johnson for her work towards "beautification." Only a few appreciate Lyndon Johnson's commitment to expanding the opportunities for more Americans to enjoy their national parks.²

Nonetheless, Johnson made national parks a pivotal part of his Great Society. Between 1963 and 1968 he established more new park areas than any president in history. In addition, he pioneered resourceful concepts in cooperative management, devised an imaginative means for purchasing park land, recognized the significance of ecosystem management, exported the national park idea abroad, expanded historic preservation into America's urban landscape, and provided recreational areas for the nation's largest cities.

Ironically, one of the most controversial presidents in the twentieth century wanted to be "most of all a peace President and to be a conservation President."³ He took great pride in his conservation record and, at least thirteen times, cited his administration's achievements in his speeches.⁴ He also reveled in news articles and letters praising his conservation record.⁵ Although known



*President Lyndon B. Johnson with Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall, January 30, 1967.
(Photograph courtesy LBJ Library, Austin, Texas.)*

as an egotist, Johnson was unusually careful to share with Congress the credit for his conservation accomplishments.⁶

Because of his success with Congress, many environmental writers perceived Johnson as a pragmatic schemer, reaping political capital from a popular cause. They doubted his sincerity and commitment to conservation.⁷

But Johnson's genuine commitment sprang from an intimate, almost mystical, tie to the land. "When I come here [to the LBJ Ranch in Texas] and stay two or three days it's a breath of fresh air," he told journalist Stewart Alsop. "I go away ready to challenge the world. . . . [No other place] can do for me what this soil, this land, this water, this people, and what these hills, these surroundings can do. They represent memories of half a century and they provide the stimulation and inspiration that nothing else can provide."⁸

Johnson used those memories in his speeches and expressed his concern that future generations would not have the same opportunities unless land was set aside and preserved. He described how, as a child of five or six, he would cross the dusty field and walk along the banks of the Pedernales River to visit his grandfather. "And those hills, and those fields, and that river were the only world that I really had in those years," he told the delegates to the White House Conference on Natural Beauty in 1965. "So I did not know how much more beautiful it was than that of many other boys'."

"All my life I have drawn strength, and something more, from those Texas hills," he continued. "Sometimes, in the highest councils of the Nation, in this house, I sit back and I can almost feel that rough, unyielding, sticky clay soil between my toes, and it stirs memories that often give me comfort and sometimes give me a pretty firm purpose."

Then he lamented that not all the boys in America had the privilege to grow up in a wide and open country. "We can give them something," he insisted, "and we are going to. We can let each of them feel a little of what the first settlers must have felt, as they stood unbelieving before the endless majesty of our great land. Thus, they, too, will reach for the wonders of our future, reinforced by the treasured values of our past."⁹

When Johnson became president in November 1963, he inherited a number of pending conservation bills. Some had been stymied for years. President Kennedy had requested the Wilderness Bill and the Land and Water Conservation Bill as well as congressional authorization for four recreation areas—Sleeping Bear Dunes in Michigan, Indiana Dunes in Indiana, Fire Island in New York, Assateague Island in Maryland, and Ozark Riverways in Missouri. Stewart Udall, Secretary of the Interior under Kennedy and Johnson, gave the bills only a 50–50 chance of passing.¹⁰ Despite all the other issues Johnson was juggling, he still wrote a letter to Congressman Wayne Aspinall, Chairman of

the House Interior Committee, affirming his support for the Land and Water Conservation Fund Bill.¹¹

During the next five months, leading up to his Great Society speech, Johnson and his staff worked with Congress on these seven priority bills. At the department and bureau level, capable and hard-working men—Stewart Udall and George Hartzog, Director of the National Park Service—delivered the operational requirements to make Johnson's wishes reality. Then his White House aides forwarded the bureau and department paperwork to him with their own summary, a recommendation for action, and a check-off box. Johnson provided direct guidance on all of these bills through these check-off boxes and additional scribbled instructions, such as telling them who to call, when to seek compromises, and other politically savvy advice. As a result of his personal attention and interest, he eventually signed six of the seven Kennedy initiatives into law.¹²

Only six months into his new administration, on May 22, 1964, President Johnson delivered his Great Society speech. The Great Society focused not only on cities and classrooms but on the countryside too. He believed the Great Society was a "place where man can renew contact with nature." But parks were overcrowded, seashores overburdened, and green fields and forests were disappearing. Thus, he urged Americans to act immediately to prevent an ugly America. "For once the battle is lost, once our natural splendor is destroyed, it can never be recaptured."¹³

Johnson did act with dispatch. In the next four years he established twelve task forces on the environment and called White House conferences on natural beauty. He also directed his attention to establishing Redwood National Park—the nation's most significant unprotected natural resource. "I have expressed my concern and determination to save our countrysides," he reminded Americans. "I know of no better place to begin than in this work of saving the majestic redwood forests of the American West."¹⁴

By September 17, 1964, President Johnson's energies had paid off. He had signed five major conservation bills. The Land and Water Conservation Fund Bill allocated money for land acquisition for the National Park System. The Wilderness Bill established a National Wilderness Preservation System of federal lands that would be maintained in a wilderness state—an "area where the earth and its community of life are untrammelled by man, where man himself is a visitor who does not remain." Canyonlands National Park was the first new national park to be established since 1956. Fire Island National Seashore promised recreational opportunities for the millions of people in New York City. Ozark Scenic Riverways gave Missouri its first national park area and was the stimulus for a new system of wild and scenic rivers. Moreover, to protect

America's cultural heritage, he had established eight national historic sites, including one international park.¹⁵

On September 17, 1964, at an inauspicious breakfast in Portland, Oregon, President Johnson launched his New Conservation program. He voiced concern for three changing forces—the growing population and its pressures on the nation's recreational resources, technology and its waste products as threats to the destruction of nature, and urbanization and its effect of cutting off people from nature. "Conservation must move from nature's wilderness to the manmade wilderness of our cities," he expounded. "This requires a new conservation. . . . Its concern is not with nature alone, but with the total relation between man and the world around him. Its object is not just man's welfare, but the dignity of his spirit." He vowed to press ahead—to develop new recreation areas near large population centers and inaugurate a national system of scenic riverways. "And I tell you now that this hope will always be among the closest to my heart," he concluded. "So let us not leave our task with the reproach of our children already ringing in our ears. Far, far too much is at stake. These are the resources on which our future rests."¹⁶

After his landslide election in 1964, Johnson believed that he had a mandate for his Great Society. Ironically, in 1965, for the first time, he attempted to use national park areas to further political rather than conservation goals. When the new Democratic congressman from Iowa introduced a bill to commemorate former President Herbert Hoover to the embarrassment of Iowa's Republican delegation, Johnson threw his support behind the legislation. Then, by planning a bipartisan signing ceremony at the White House, Johnson hoped to pull off a political victory. When former President Dwight Eisenhower preferred to attend a golf tournament and aides neglected to invite Richard Nixon and Barry Goldwater, Johnson's plan backfired.¹⁷

Despite Johnson's interest in national parks, he visited only one while president. On October 3, 1965, he signed an immigration bill at Liberty Island in New York Harbor. Although Secretary Udall repeatedly invited Johnson to national park areas, he preferred to gain political mileage through White House signing ceremonies and sought solace from nature at his Texas ranch. Instead, Mrs. Johnson went. She visited Big Bend, Grand Teton, Padre Island, and Redwoods and became a staunch supporter of national parks.¹⁸

As the summer of 1965 heated up, Johnson signed the Voting Rights legislation, sent American troops into combat in Vietnam, and approved Medicare. Then in August, Watts blew up. Once again his attention turned to the cities and their need for recreation. The passage of the enabling legislation for Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area established a 72,000-acre national park halfway between New York and Philadelphia. Now, an additional 15

percent of the nation's population would live within 100 miles of a recreational area. These were city people surrounded by noise, decaying buildings, and despoiled landscapes. Johnson sincerely believed they yearned for beauty and hungered for the opportunity to find refreshment in nature. "I hope that I might find some small place in history," he said, "as a President who cared and a President who tried and a President who, in small measure, succeeded in preserving and in enriching the natural beauty of our land and thus making more beautiful the lives of all our people."¹⁹ Three weeks later he signed Assateague Island National Seashore into law—the last undeveloped seashore between Massachusetts and North Carolina—preserving more "Eastern wilderness."

As the Vietnam War escalated and race riots erupted throughout the nation, Johnson focused more and more on parks for people. "The real challenge of conservation is just beginning," he pronounced. "Great national parks and great national seashores located in faraway, distant places do not satisfy the needs of the people who are a part of our urban civilization. The serenity of nature must be more than a once-a-year experience." He urged the preservation of more land around and in cities.²⁰

By late summer, he was able to boast that "for the first time, America is winning the battle of conservation. Every year now, we are saving more land than we are losing." While urban development consumed a million acres, nearly two million acres had been set aside for conservation—land where it was the most accessible to the greatest number of people.²¹

Yet in addition to his emphasis on parks near population centers, Johnson put personal energy into the preservation of two large western parks—North Cascades in Washington and Redwoods in California. For the redwoods, he enlisted the support of Walter Reuther of the United Automobile Workers Union, philanthropist-conservationist Laurance Rockefeller, and environmental organizations. When lumber companies deliberately moved into the proposed park area and began cutting the giant trees, Johnson swung into action. He dictated to his aides, "Let's go full steam ahead—get Carl [Albert] & the speaker to help." Rather than follow Udall's advice and seek emergency legislation to suspend all tree cutting, Johnson made a personal appeal to the lumber companies, which agreed to restrict harvesting. Still, 1966 ended without a Redwood National Park.²²

Meanwhile bureaucratic infighting stalled North Cascades National Park. The area proposed lay within a national forest, and Agricultural Secretary Orville Freeman resisted its transfer to the National Park Service. Disgusted with the squabbling, Johnson sent identical letters to Secretaries Udall and Freeman: "I believe it essential that you personally and jointly inspect the area as quickly as possible. . . . I wish this matter to be resolved promptly." To ensure

resolution he sent along his personal representative from the Bureau of the Budget. Although Freeman continued to object, the Bureau of the Budget recommended the area as outstanding and fully warranting park designation.²³

In addition to establishing national parks, on October 15, 1966, Johnson signed two major laws that affected their operation—the Endangered Species Act and the National Historic Preservation Act. One recognized the loss of particular species of wildlife, the other the loss of historic places, especially in cities. "Both of these [laws]," Johnson said at the signing ceremony, "will help us to preserve for our children the heritage of this great land we call America."²⁴

Innovative management of national parks also became a hallmark of the Johnson years. The concept of natural resources management shifted from simple protection of individual features or species to the preservation of total environments and the interrelationships of resources, known as ecosystem management. Managers began to recognize the value of natural fire, endemic insects and diseases, predation, and the overall competition of plants and animals. Park rangers taught these rudiments to children in environmental education classes held in national parks. Recognizing that the federal government could not provide all the necessary parks and recreation areas for the people, Johnson encouraged cooperative ties with the states, other federal agencies, and even other countries. Third World countries especially sought assistance from the National Park Service in developing their own national parks.²⁵

Johnson opened 1967 with a special message to Congress on protecting the nation's natural heritage. For the first time, he called for "Parks for America." He asked for four specific park areas—Redwoods, North Cascades, Potomac Valley Park, and Apostle Islands—and a system of scenic rivers and trails. Redwoods remained his number one priority, and he called it a "last chance" opportunity.²⁶ Unable to confront effectively the increasing protest against the bombing of North Vietnam, Johnson seemed to turn his extensive political talents to something he could affect—the Redwoods park proposal. Recognizing that the donation of California's two state parks were critical to the proposal, he asked Laurance Rockefeller to persuade the new Republican governor of California, Ronald Reagan, "to go along with this very urgent and meritorious proposal." Rockefeller accepted the challenge and kept the President informed of his progress during the year.²⁷

As race riots raged in Newark and Johnson prepared to meet Soviet Premier Aleksei Kosygin in New Jersey, he took time to write Wayne Aspinall, Chairman of the House Interior Committee, on Redwood National Park. He told him that of all the park bills before the committee, "I consider favorable action on a Redwood National Park bill to be of first and highest priority." Aspinall

responded that he would work as quickly as possible.²⁸ President Johnson did not get any of his priority parks in 1967—only two presidential sites, commemorating John Kennedy and Dwight Eisenhower.

Once again, on March 8, 1968, Johnson went before Congress to request a program almost identical to that he had requested in 1967. This time he did not stop with Congress. He addressed radio and television audiences with a similar message. He reminded them that he had built his New Conservation on the promise to bring parks closer to the people and urged all Americans to join in the crucial task of conserving America the beautiful.²⁹

By June 1968, Johnson had stunned the nation with his declaration that he would not run again. Although he spent much of his considerable energy negotiating peace with North Vietnam, he pushed harder than ever to accomplish the goals of his New Conservation. "There is no legacy that I would rather leave, than a permanent program of real conservation for this Nation," he told an audience in Nashville, Tennessee, on June 25. He reminded them that he had already passed 138 conservation bills, or 2½ bills for every month of his presidency, but that he had 42 more awaiting congressional action.³⁰ To aid in conserving more land closer to the people, Congress enlarged the Land and Water Conservation Fund by adding revenue from outer continental shelf mineral leases. Now, land acquisition costs for parks and recreation areas were no longer stumbling blocks.³¹

Johnson's last summer in office reverberated with race riots, anti-war protests, and the assassinations of Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy. Nonetheless, he consoled himself with a major conservation triumph—the passage of the Redwood National Park bill. He called it his greatest conservation achievement. "It is a great victory for every American in every State, because we have rescued a magnificent and a meaningful treasure from the chain saw," he rejoiced. "For once we have spared what is enduring and ennobling from a hungry and hasty and selfish act of destruction."³² At the same time, he signed bills establishing North Cascade National Park, a Wild and Scenic Rivers System, and a National Trails System. Gratefully, he basked in the praise of his conservation record.³³

After Richard Nixon's election in November 1968, Johnson began to wind down. In mid-December, Secretary Udall disrupted his melancholy with a startling suggestion—why not give the nation and future generations a Christmas present of 7.5 million acres of new national park land?³⁴ The Antiquities Act of 1906 gave presidents the power to establish national monuments through presidential proclamations without seeking legislation from Congress. Previous presidents had used the law freely to preserve areas of historical or scientific interest.³⁵ Udall suggested creation of three new national monuments—Gates

of the Arctic in Alaska and Marble Canyon and Sonoran Desert in Arizona—and enlargement of four existing parks or monuments—Arches and Capitol Reef in Utah, and Katmai and Mount McKinley in Alaska. Intrigued, Johnson asked the Department of Justice to weigh the legality of the proposal. He also asked Udall and his presidential aides to clear the idea with congressional leaders.

Historically, Congress had opposed national monuments established by presidential proclamations. The process failed to address congressional concerns and constituency requirements. On more than one occasion, Congress had refused to recognize the monuments and balked at funding them. When Johnson received Udall's report on congressional "checks," he was not satisfied and wanted more thorough coverage.³⁶ Then he fell ill and was hospitalized for several days. He decided not to make a decision on the monuments until January, when Congress reconvened and he could confirm Udall's checks.

By January 9, Johnson was receiving several summary memos a day from his aide, De Vier Pierson. Although the Justice Department advised him that there was no legal objection to the action and the Bureau of the Budget supported the proposal, Pierson recommended against it. He believed the action contradicted Johnson's transition policy not to bind the next administration with last-minute actions. Nonetheless, Johnson himself met with the new Interior Secretary-designate, Walter Hickel of Alaska, and received his muted concurrence.³⁷

On January 14 Pierson sent Johnson a detailed description of the monument proposal. Johnson marked "ok" by Marble Canyon in Arizona, Capitol Reef in Utah, and Arches in Utah. He scribbled "maybe" by the land extensions to Katmai and Mount McKinley in Alaska, and left untouched Alaska's Gates of the Arctic, with 3.5 million acres, and Arizona's Sonoran Desert, with 1 million acres. He also instructed his White House staff to make congressional checks "at once in depth."³⁸

On January 17, with only three days left in the Johnson Administration, Udall summarized his contacts with Congress. He claimed that the Interior Committee chairman, Wayne Aspinall, respected the President's prerogatives but favored congressional authorization.³⁹ He also attached a draft press release that boasted of the Johnson Administration's tremendous contribution to the National Park System and provided historical perspective—other presidents had established Grand Canyon, Death Valley, and Petrified Forest through executive proclamation.⁴⁰

Although Johnson remained interested, he was not comfortable with Udall's assessment of Congress. He asked Pierson to call Aspinall. When he did, Aspinall blew up: "I told the people from the Department of the Interior that if the President took this action that I would see that it never got a penny for the

maintenance of these lands and that I'll introduce legislation to repeal the Antiquities Act."⁴¹ When Pierson reported this to the President, he felt betrayed and terribly distressed. According to Aspinall, Johnson called him personally to sound him out, not once but twice.⁴² Finally, Johnson postponed making a decision until he could study the case-by-case report.

Meanwhile, Udall believed time had run out. When told that the decision had been postponed again, he exploded: "I've just had it. He has everything that he needs to know from me on it. He can just do whatever he wants to do."⁴³ Still emotionally upset, he released the story that Johnson had signed the proclamations, creating 7.5 million acres of parkland.⁴⁴ Within minutes, Johnson caught the story from the Associated Press teletype. He called Udall and "raised hell" with him. As further punishment, he told him personally to retract the story.⁴⁵ Even though Udall had an appointment to meet with the President on Sunday, January 19, he refused to go and could not be reached by the White House.

Johnson, however, remained fascinated by the idea of a last-minute conservation pronouncement. "Believe it or not," Pierson related, "I spent about an hour in the President's bedroom Monday morning, the 20th of January, while the President was putting on his morning suit for the inaugural ceremonies, going over these cases one last time while he was deciding whether or not he would sign any or all of them."⁴⁶ After weeks of indecision, Johnson's last official act established Marble Canyon in Arizona and enlarged Arches, Capitol Reef, and Katmai, adding approximately 300,000 acres to the national park system. The White House press release on the new monuments acknowledged that he had reviewed proposals that would have added millions of more acres of national parkland, but he believed it would strain the Antiquities Act far beyond its intent, would be poor public policy, and would be opposed by members of Congress.⁴⁷

Even without those millions of acres of parkland, Johnson's conservation record was outstanding. In five years he established or designated forty-seven new areas encompassing 15 million acres. Only two other presidents compare—Theodore Roosevelt had nineteen in eight years, Franklin Roosevelt had thirty-six in twelve years. In several ways, Johnson's contributions were more difficult to achieve. Most of his park areas were near population centers. Thus, land prices were high and opposing forces even more virulent.

Many of the areas required his personal intervention—to cajole Congress, to enlist powerful supporters, to force compromise. Despite the pressures of the war in Vietnam, anti-war protests, and race riots, Johnson still found time and energy to direct his staff in conservation matters and to promote an environmental consciousness to the nation at large. In addition, several of his national

parks offered new dimensions to conservation, such as wild and scenic rivers, national trails, a cultural park devoted to the performing arts, an international park in Canada, and cooperative park ventures with states and other federal agencies. To purchase these expensive new parks, he developed the Land and Water Conservation Fund, whose funds came from the profits of oil reserves from the outer continental shelf. His administration also introduced new concepts in management, such as ecosystem management, wilderness preservation, environmental education, and historic preservation.

Fundamental to Johnson's conservation efforts was his belief that every person—even the poor and working class—should have the opportunity to enjoy national parks. To ensure that opportunity, he saved 4 million acres within a day's drive of the major cities of the United States. While he believed in the preservation of western parkland and wrestled with designating great national monuments in Alaska and Arizona, his primary goal was parks for people.

NOTES

1. As Superintendent, Lyndon B. Johnson National Historical Park (1989–1992), I personally witnessed visitors reacting with surprise to President's Johnson's accomplishments with such statements as, "I always thought it was Kennedy [or FDR]."

2. Martin V. Melosi, "Lyndon Johnson and Environmental Policy," in *The Johnson Years*, Volume 2: *Vietnam, the Environment, and Science*, ed. Robert A. Divine (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1987); Lewis L. Gould, *Lady Bird and the Environment* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1988); Paul K. Conkin, *Big Daddy from the Pedernales: Lyndon Baines Johnson* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1986); Vaughn Davis Bornet, *The Presidency of Lyndon B. Johnson* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1983); James L. Sundquist, *Politics and Policy: The Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson Years* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution, 1968); and Barbara Laverne Leunes, "The Conservation Philosophy of Stewart L. Udall, 1961–1968," (Ph.D. diss., Texas A & M University, 1977). On the other hand, John P. Crevelli, "The Final Act of the Greatest Conservation President," *Prologue* (Winter 1980): 173–91, recognizes Johnson's sincerity but still believes that Udall "was the educator of both the president . . . and the nation."

3. Lyndon B. Johnson, "Remarks at Battery Park, Burlington, Vermont, August 20, 1966," *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Lyndon B. Johnson, 1966*, [hereafter cited as *Public Papers*], Book II (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1967), 866. Similar sentiment is expressed in his presidential memoirs, *The Vantage Point: Perspectives of the Presidency, 1963–1969* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), 336; and Johnson's "Remarks at the Signing of a Bill Establishing the Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area, September 1, 1965," *Public Papers, 1965*, Book II (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1966), 958–59.

4. Lyndon Johnson's "Remarks on Conservation at a Breakfast in Portland Saluting the Northwest-Southwest Power Transmission Intertie," 17 September 1964, *Public Papers*,

1963–64, Book II (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1965), 1081–86; “Statement by the President Reviewing the Work of the 88th Congress,” 3 October 1964, *ibid.*, 1201–3; Johnson’s “Remarks to the Delegates to the White House Conference on Natural Beauty,” 25 May 1965, *Public Papers, 1965*, *ibid.*, 576–81; Johnson’s Speech at Battery Park, *Public Papers, 1966*, *ibid.*, 864–69; Johnson’s “Remarks to Members of the National Recreation and Park Association,” 13 October 1966, *ibid.*, 1173–78; Johnson’s “Remarks at the Signing Ceremony for Seven Conservation Bills,” 15 October 1966, *ibid.*, 1186–87; Johnson’s “Remarks on the Accomplishments of the 89th Congress,” 15 October 1966, *ibid.*, 1190–99; “Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Establishing the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore,” 5 November 1966, *ibid.*, 1331–32; Johnson’s “Special Message to the Congress on Conservation: ‘To Renew a Nation,’” 8 March 1968, *Public Papers, 1968–69*, Book I (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1970), 355–70; Johnson’s “Remarks at a Reception for the Members of the Citizens’ Advisory Committee on Recreation and Natural Beauty,” 29 March 1968, *ibid.*, 458–61; Johnson’s “Remarks at the Dedication of the J. Percy Priest Project, Nashville, Tennessee,” 29 June 1968, *ibid.*, 757–61; Johnson’s “Remarks Upon Signing Four Bills Relating to Conservation and Outdoor Recreation,” 2 October 1968, *ibid.*, 1000–03; Johnson’s “Remarks Upon Signing Bill To Establish the Biscayne National Monument,” 18 October 1968, *ibid.*, 1052–54; and Johnson’s “Remarks at a White House Reception for the Members of the National Council on the Arts,” 21 November 1968, *ibid.*, 1149–50.

5. See the multitude of letters and news clippings in the LBJ Library; in particular letter, Walter Reuther [union leader] to President, 2 February 1966, GEN LE/NR 7, White House Central Files [hereafter cited WHCF], Box 145, LBJ Library, Austin, Texas; letter, Michael Frome [environmentalist] to President, 15 March 1966, EX LE/PA 3, Box 146, *ibid.*; letter, Melville Bell Grosvenor [National Geographic Chairman] to President, 16 October 1968, *ibid.*; and memo, De Vier Pierson [presidential aide] to President, 21 October 1968, GEN PA 2, Box 16, *ibid.*, enclosing clippings from *New York Times* with headline, “Johnson is Praised as Conservationist.” Pierson in this memo reports that the CBS special on parks “was locked up some time ago and we can’t get the recent figures into it.” Apparently, Johnson was not content with reporters citing his already outstanding conservation record; he wanted his latest achievement to be included.

6. Johnson’s Conservation Speech at a Breakfast in Portland, *Public Papers, 1964*, 1083; Johnson’s Review of the 88th Congress, *ibid.*, 1201; Johnson’s “Special Message to the Congress Proposing Measures To Preserve America’s Natural Heritage,” 23 February 1966, *Public Papers, 1966*, 196; Johnson’s “Remarks at the Signing of the Cape Lookout National Seashore Bill,” 10 March 1966, *ibid.*, 300; Johnson’s Speech at Battery Park, *ibid.*, 866–67; Johnson’s Speech to the National Recreation and Park Association, *ibid.*, 1175; Johnson’s Remarks at the Signing Ceremony for Seven Conservation Bills, *ibid.*, 1187; Johnson’s Review of the 89th Congress, *ibid.*, 1190–93; Speech on Signing the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore Bill, *ibid.*, 1332; Johnson’s “Special Message to the Congress: Protecting Our Natural Heritage, January 30, 1967,” *Public Papers, 1967*, 93–101; “Statement by the President Upon Signing Bill Establishing the National Park Foundation, December 19, 1967,” *ibid.*, 1157; Johnson’s Speech at the Dedication of the J. Percy Priest Project, *Public*

Papers, 1968, 759; Johnson’s “Remarks Upon Signing Bill To Enlarge the Land and Water Conservation Fund, July 15, 1968,” *ibid.*, 808–9; Johnson’s Speech Upon Signing Four Conservation Bills, *ibid.*, 1000–2; and Johnson’s Speech Upon Signing the Biscayne National Monument Bill, *ibid.*, 1054.

7. Lynton K. Caldwell, *Environment: A Challenge for Modern Society* (Garden City, NY: Natural History Press, 1970), 54; Richard A. Cooley and Geoffrey Wandersforde-Smith eds., *Congress and the Environment* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1970), xiv; and Melosi, “Johnson and Environmental Policy,” *ibid.*

8. Stewart Alsop, “Lyndon Johnson: How Does He Do It?” *The Saturday Evening Post*, 24 January 1959, 13–14; also quoted in Merle Miller, *Lyndon: An Oral Biography* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1980), 406.

9. Johnson’s Speech to the White House Conference on Natural Beauty, *Public Papers, 1965*, 580. His Conservation Speech in Portland, *Public Papers, 1964*, 1083, expressed a similar sentiment: “I grew upon the land. The life of my parents depended entirely upon the bounty of the soil. I devoted much of my public life to protecting for our children the great legacy of our natural abundance.”

10. Letter, Stewart Udall to The President, 27 November 1963, EX LE/NR, WHCF, Box 142, LBJ Library.

11. Letter, President Johnson to Wayne Aspinall, 17 December 1963, EX LE/NR, WHCF, Box 142, LBJ Library. Interestingly enough, the Bureau of the Budget, not the Interior Department, drafted the letter for Johnson’s signature.

12. Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore was the only Kennedy national park initiative that LBJ failed to pass. Memo, Mike Manatos to Bill Moyers, 3 March 1964, on the Wilderness Bill, congressional personalities, and presidential involvement, EX FG 145, WHCF, Box 203, LBJ Library; Memo, Lee C. White and Lawrence O’Brien to the President, 22 April 1964, on Sleeping Bear Dunes National Lakeshore, GEN LE/NR 7, Box 145, *ibid.* On this memo LBJ scribbled “Talk to Gordon.” Follow-up memos show his staff did exactly that. Memo, Lee White to Udall, 16 June 1964, *ibid.*, reporting that the President had spoken with Senator Hart of Michigan on accelerating action on Sleeping Bear Dunes. Memo, Larry O’Brien to the President, 18 June 1964, EX LE/NR, Box 142, LBJ Library, indicates that when the Wilderness Bill was reported out of the House Interior Committee, Johnson asked his staff to remind him to call and thank Aspinall. On June 29, the staff recorded that the President had made the call. In memo, Lee White to the President, 30 July 1964, GEN LE/NR 7, Box 145, *ibid.*, White asked the President if he should call two key senators on the Indiana Dunes bill as requested by Senator Douglas; LBJ scrawled “OK” with his characteristic “L” below it.

13. Johnson’s “Remarks at the University of Michigan, May 22, 1964,” *Public Papers, 1964*, *ibid.*, 705.

14. Johnson’s “Remarks on the Proposed Redwoods National Park in Northern California, June 25, 1964,” *Public Papers, 1964*, *ibid.*, 817.

15. The eight historic sites included: Roosevelt Campobello International Park; Fort Bowie National Historic Site, Arizona; Saint Gaudens National Historic Site, New Hampshire; Allegheny Portage Railroad National Historic Site, Pennsylvania; Johnstown Flood

National Memorial, Pennsylvania; John Muir National Historic Site, California; Fort Scott Historic Area, Kansas; and Fort Larned National Historic Site, Kansas.

16. Johnson's Conservation Speech in Portland, *Public Papers, 1964*, *ibid.*, 1084–85. Later, this speech was developed into "Presidential Policy Paper No. 3: Conservation of Natural Resources," 1 November 1964, *ibid.*, 1565–68. He also included the New Conservation concepts in his "Special Message to the Congress on Conservation and Restoration of Natural Beauty," 8 February 1965, *Public Papers, 1965*, 155–65, and his Speech to the White House Conference on Natural Beauty, *ibid.*, 576–81. On 11 November 1964 the Outside Task Force on Natural Resources, and on 18 November 1964, the Outside Task Force on the Preservation of Natural Beauty concurred with Johnson's concerns and recommended several of his remedies. See 1964 Outside Task Force on Natural Resources and 1964 Outside Task Force on the Preservation of Natural Beauty, Task Force Collection, Box 2, LBJ Library.

17. See White House Aides correspondence in GEN LE/NR 7, WHCF, Box 145, LBJ Library from 4 August to 24 August 1965. White House Aide Horace Busby's note to Bill Moyers on August 10, states that "the President cut Nixon off the list." Yet, on the same day Busby sent a note to Claude Desautels [another White House Aide] stating that the President wanted to invite Richard Nixon, but "I am certain he will not want to invite Barry Goldwater, but you might check directly with Bill Moyers." LBJ did send a personal telegram to Eisenhower on August 11, offering to send a helicopter to Gettysburg for him. Telegrams also went to Nixon and Goldwater on August 11, inviting them. The ceremony was held on August 12—short notice for any to attend. Nixon complained in a letter, which upon reading LBJ scribbled on the bottom, "Check this, Sorry—" Meanwhile, the *New York Herald Tribune* and the *New York Times* (13 August 1965) reported that "not a single one of the five living Republicans who have run for president showed up." Thus, it is uncertain whether LBJ or well-meaning aides miscalculated the political ramifications.

18. Transcript, Charles Boatner Oral History Interview, 17 December 1968, Tape 1, by Joe B. Frantz, p. 24, LBJ Library. Johnson's "Remarks at the Signing of the Immigration Bill, Liberty Island, New York," 3 October 1965, *Public Papers, 1965*, 1037. Mrs. Johnson later served six years on the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments (see transcript, Wayne Aspinall Oral History Interview, 14 June 1974, by Joe B. Frantz, p. 15, LBJ Library).

19. Johnson's Speech at the Signing of the Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area Bill, *Public Papers, 1965*, *ibid.*, 958–59.

20. Johnson's Speech at the Signing of the Cape Lookout National Seashore Bill, *Public Papers, 1966*, *ibid.*, 300–1. See also similar refrains in his "Annual Budget Message to Congress, Fiscal Year 1967," 24 January 1966, *ibid.*, 59–60; his Speech to Congress on Preserving America's Natural Heritage, *ibid.*, 195–203; his "Remarks Upon Signing Order Establishing the President's Council and the Citizens' Advisory Committee on Recreation and Natural Beauty," 4 May 1966, *ibid.*, 480–81.

21. Johnson's Speech at Battery Park, *ibid.*, 867. See also his Speech to the National Recreation and Park Association, *ibid.*, 1175; his Speech at the Signing of Seven Conserva-

tion Bills, *ibid.*, 1186–87; his Review of the 89th Congress, *ibid.*, 1192; Johnson's Statement Upon Signing the Indiana Dunes National Lakeshore Bill, *ibid.*, 1332.

22. Letter, Walter Reuther to President, 11 February 1966, GEN LE/NR 7, WHCF, Box 145, LBJ Library. Reuther's letter has LBJ's scribble: "To Udall to prepare reply." Letter, President Johnson to Walter Reuther, 17 February 1966, *ibid.*; memo, Udall to The President, 31 August 1966, EX LE/PA 3, *ibid.*, has LBJ's scribble at the bottom: "Marvin get Henry and Mike to at once check out with appropriate Com Chr & Leadership"; memo, Wilson to The President, 1 September 1966, *ibid.* (LBJ's scribble is quoted in text); and "Administrative History of the National Park Service," one of the four volumes of the Department of the Interior, prepared in late 1968, LBJ Library.

23. 1966 Task Force on Resources and Recreation, Task Force Collection, Box 19, LBJ Library discusses the stalemate; memo, President Johnson to Freeman and Udall, 12 August 1966, GEN PA 2, WHCF, Box 16, LBJ Library. Memo, Freeman to The President, 15 August 1966, *ibid.* Memo, Freeman to the President 28 December 1966, *ibid.* Memo, Udall to the President, 28 December 1966, *ibid.* Memo, Philip Hughes [Bureau of Budget] to The President, 5 January 1967, *ibid.*

24. Johnson's "Remarks at the Signing of Seven Conservation Bills," 15 October 1966, *ibid.*, 1187. For more on Endangered Species Act, see also Melosi, "Johnson and Environmental Policy," 133; and Lewis Regenstein, *The Politics of Extinction* (New York: Macmillan, 1975). For background on the National Historic Preservation Act, see 1964 Task Force on Natural Beauty, Task Force Collection, Box 2, LBJ Library, and Special Committee on Historic Preservation, *With Heritage So Rich* (New York: Random House, 1966), which has a foreword by Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson. Johnson first called for a law protecting private historic properties in his "Special Message to Congress on Conservation and Restoration of Natural Beauty," 8 February 1965, *ibid.*, 54.

25. For description of these programs see "Administrative History of the National Park Service," LBJ Library.

26. Johnson's Message to Congress on Protecting Our Natural Heritage, *Public Papers, 1967*, *ibid.*, 101–2. Later that year his 1967 Task Force on Quality of the Environment pushed an identical program (not surprising, since Udall wrote the report without Task Force meetings or even Task Force review of the final report), pp. 35–37, Task Force Collection, Box 24, LBJ Library.

27. Memo, Hughes to the President, 17 February 1967, EX LE/PA 3, WHCF, LBJ Library; letter, Johnson to Rockefeller, 24 February 24, 1967, *ibid.*; letter, Rockefeller to Johnson, 7 March 1967, *ibid.*; letter, Rockefeller to Johnson, 16 April 1967, *ibid.*

28. Memo, Hughes to The President, 30 June 1967, EX LE/PA 3, WHCF, Box 146, LBJ Library; letter, Johnson to Aspinall, 10 July 1967, *ibid.*; and letter, Aspinall to the President, 12 July 1967, *ibid.* See also, transcript, Wayne Aspinall Oral History Interview, 14 June 1967, by Joe B. Frantz, pp. 10–12.

29. "To Renew a Nation," 8 March 1968, *ibid.*, 355–70; and President's "Conservation Message," 9 March 1968. He gave a similar speech to the "Citizens' Advisory Committee on Recreation and Natural Beauty" on 29 March 1968, *ibid.*, 458–61; and sent a "Letter to the

President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House Urging the Addition of New Areas to the Nation's Wilderness System," 29 March 1968, *Public Papers, 1968*, 461–62.

30. "Dedication of the J. Percy Priest Project," 29 June 1968, *Public Papers, 1968*, 759.

31. "Remarks on Signing Bill to Enlarge the Land and Water Conservation Fund," 15 July 1968, *ibid.*, 808.

32. "Remarks Upon Signing Four Conservation Bills," 2 October 1968, *ibid.*, 1001.

33. See news clippings in EX LE/NR, Box 142, and GEN PA 2, Box 16, WHCF, LBJ Library. See also congratulatory letters in EX LE/PA 3, Box 146, *ibid.*, especially Melville Bell Grosvenor of National Geographic Society, 16 October 1968: "Your patience, understanding with lack of rancor, and your firm leadership in these trying times are indeed in a class with President Lincoln."

34. Udall initially suggested (on 26 July 1968) using the Antiquities Act of 1906. He was allowed to work up specific proposals, which he presented to the President on 5 December 1968. See "Udall: National Monuments," Office of the President File, Box 12, LBJ Library for complete file.

35. Under the authority of the Antiquities Act, Theodore Roosevelt established one national monument. Woodrow Wilson issued seven proclamations that established new national monuments or enlarged existing ones. Herbert Hoover created six new monuments totaling more than two million acres in the last weeks of his term. Franklin Roosevelt added twenty-seven national monuments. Harry Truman signed eight proclamations and Dwight Eisenhower two. Although the law stipulates that the monument should be as small as needed to protect the values, previous presidents established such large areas as Grand Canyon, Petrified Forest, Glacier Bay, Death Valley, and Grand Teton.

36. On De Vier Pierson's memo of 17 December 1968, Johnson scribbled "Call me." See Office of the President File, Box 12, LBJ Library. This was followed on 19 December 1968 by another, more detailed report from Udall. See "Udall: National Monuments," *ibid.*

37. Transcript, De Vier Pierson Oral History Interview, 19 March 1969, by Dorothy Pierce McSweeney, pp. 17–18.

38. Johnson's scribbled instructions are on Pierson's memo to him of 14 January 1969, 6:35 pm, in "Udall: National Monuments."

39. Memo, Udall to the President, 17 January 1969, *ibid.*

40. Memo, Pierson to the President, 17 January 1969, *ibid.* See also, press release in EX FG 145, WHCF, Box 206, LBJ Library.

41. Transcript, Pierson Oral History, 19 March 1969, pp. 17–18.

42. Transcript, Wayne Aspinall Oral History Interview, 14 June 1974, by Joe Frantz, pp. 27–28.

43. Quotation comes from Pierson Transcript, p. 20; but Udall's transcript, p. 16, is similar: "I've made my last arguments on the parks. You can do what you damned please I'm through."

44. It is unclear why Udall released an erroneous press release. Udall's transcript, 13, implies that he released the press release to newspapers with Monday deadlines with instructions for them to hold the story. He blames one of them for leaking the story. Boatner transcript, 12–13, states that Udall gave him precise orders to release the story. He believed

that Udall was trying to force Johnson into signing the proclamations. Aspinall's transcript, 29, speculates that Udall wanted to "leave a little more record of some kind," but suddenly the governmental process was just too slow.

45. See Transcript, Stewart Udall Oral History Interview, 31 October 1969, by Joe Frantz, p. 13, LBJ Library; Pierson transcript, 20; transcript, Charles Boatner, 2 June 1976, by Michael L. Gillette, 11–15, LBJ Library.

46. Pierson transcript, 20–21.

47. "Statement by the President Upon Signing Five Proclamations Adding Lands to the National Park System," 20 January 1969, *Public Papers, 1968–69*, 1369.