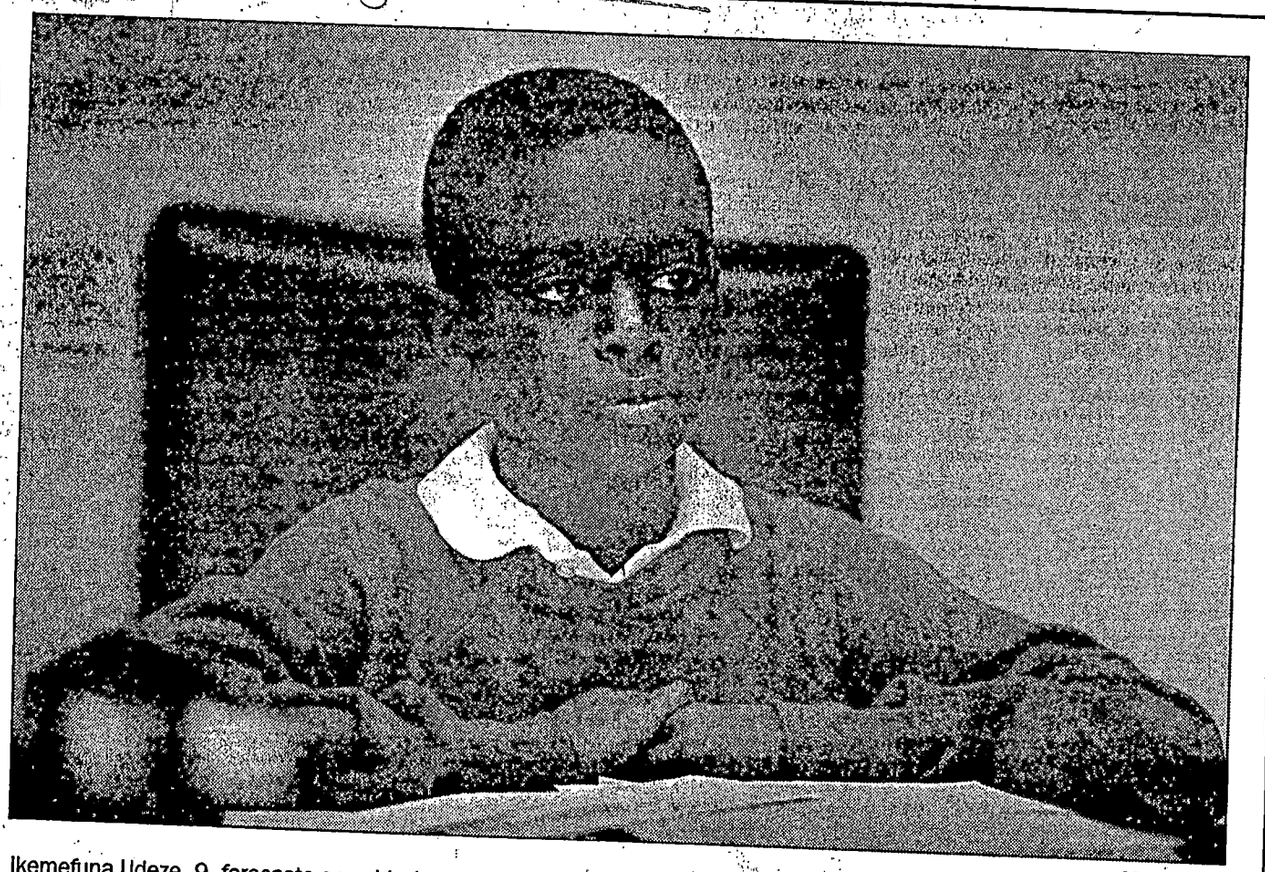
Los Angeles Times 12/21/89



Ikemefuna Udeze, 9, forecasts a world where diseases will be cured and he will be a mayor or a governor or the President.

LEO JARZOMB

9 for the '90s

Be They 9 or 89, Individuals Harbor Strong Ideas About What the Future Holds

Will the next decade bring urban strife, economic decline and environmental catastrophes? Or will it produce peace, prosperity and big advances in diverse areas such as science and technology, and ordinary Americans' personal lives?

Any attempt at prescience, of course, demands scrutiny, for every forecast reflects matters of experience, expertise, perspective and time.

In fact, there are generations of differences in how some Californians of varying ages—not necessarily forecasting professionals, many of whom already have provided plenty of reasons for us to be chary of them—predict the 1990s will shape up:

■ 9-year-old Ikemefuna Udeze sees a grander, more hopeful world with the promise of cures of deadly disease and lessened crime and drug use.

■ 19-year-old Steve Lerner envisions the decline of America as an international economic power.

■ 29-year-old Bridgette Burton projects dangerous rifts between the haves and have-nots, although she has big dreams for her own South-Central Los Angeles family.

■ 39-year-old Steve Grant wonders whether professional accomplishments can be matched with personal fulfillment.

■ 49-year-old Carmen Perez forecasts ripe political times for Latinos.

■ 59-year-old Rosalind Wyman worries about society's unresolved problems in education and the environment.

■ 69-year-old Stanley Sheinbaum offers a dark, comic vision of the price of what he calls present political cowardice.

■ 79-year-old Artie Shaw takes an upbeat swing at the future, despite his accounting for some downbeat concerns.

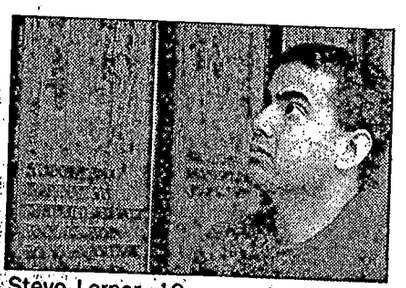
■ 89-year-old Kourken Alexander forecasts breakthroughs in space travel and personal health care.

Alive With Hope

Ikemefuna Udeze shines with young faith, fresh idealism and a sense of personal opportunity that is very much the heritage of America. He certainly is its future.

Ikemefuna ("Call me KK because nobody in school can pronounce my name") is from a large family and a son of parents who came to Los Angeles from Nigeria to live better and achieve

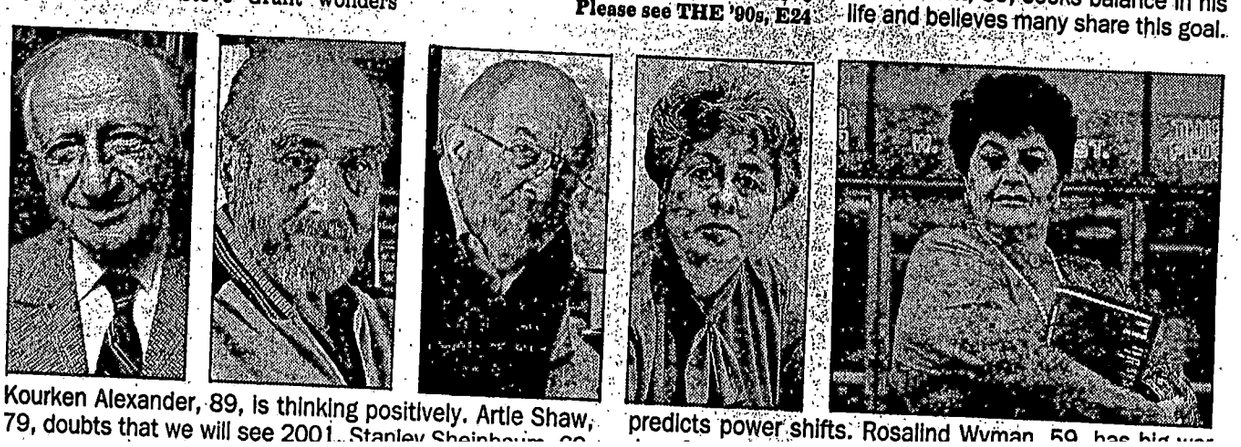
Please see THE '90s, E24



Steve Lerner, 19, sees decline then rebirth for a U.S. closely tied to Japan.

Bridgette Burton, 29, is working on an MBA; she foresees war in the cities.

Steve Grant, 39, seeks balance in his life and believes many share this goal.



Kourken Alexander, 89, is thinking positively. Artie Shaw, 79, doubts that we will see 2001. Stanley Sheinbaum, 69, predicts power shifts. Rosalind Wyman, 59, has big wor

THE '90s

Continued from E1

more.

Carol Udeze, his mother, is a nutritionist with Kaiser Permanente. Clement Udeze, his father, is an assistant professor at Cal State Dominguez Hills.

And at 9, their poised youngster is quite clear about his path through the next decade.

"When I'm 19, I'm going to be in college," he says. "If you get a good education, you know what you're doing and how to plan your life. If you drop out, you won't be ready for anything."

KK, a fourth-grader at 3rd Street Elementary School in Los Angeles, doesn't know if he will become a teacher or a lawyer.

But he is certain where either career must take him.

He wants to be a governor or a mayor.

Or President of the United States.

The country could do worse than follow the platform of social reform and technological progress represented by KK's vision of events of the decade ahead.

The 1990s, he says, should see a reduction in gang violence ("I think it is stupid that young people are killing young people") and drug abuse ("When you take drugs, you make all kinds of other dumb decisions") by the hiring of more police officers and heavier court penalties.

LEO LARZOMB

'Then there's this thing called the Ku Klux Klan. But it can't work if we realize that we are all the same.'

IKEMEFUNA UDEZE, 9

Smoking and drinking will dwindle to a minimum with broader public acceptance of their health dangers. More government and private money spent on research, KK says, will produce new medicines "to cure diseases like AIDS and cancer . . . so people won't be dying right and left."

"In the year 2000, we will have telephones where you see who you are talking to, and that will stop a lot of crank and threatening calls.

"There will be the big earthquake so we might be repairing our city 10 years from now. If it hasn't occurred, we should be fully prepared for it by then.

"Airplanes will be traveling farther, faster and safer. I think people will be on Jupiter by the year 2000. Terrorism will end as soon as people open up to each other.

"Then there's this thing called the Ku Klux Klan.

"But it can't work if we realize that we are all the same . . . that blacks, Hispanics, Asians and whites are all human beings. I don't mind [other races]. I accept them for who they are, not what they are."

KK isn't, however, all smoldering humanitarianism and gifted-student grades. He likes Nintendo games, designer sweat shirts over polo shirts and writing good-knight-evil-knight fairy tales on a classroom Apple computer. His heroes are his parents, Bill Cosby and Benjamin Franklin in precisely that order.

KK is boy enough to have busted his chin in a fall, but courtly enough to mention that his sisters are Ifeyinwa, Ije-Enu and Omelogo, and his brother is Arinze, and that their names should be included in any story involving him and the family Udeze.

Please see THE '90s, E25

THE '90s

Continued from E24

KK also likes baseball and basketball. His final projection for the next decade: The Lakers will continue to monopolize the NBA championships.

—PAUL DEAN

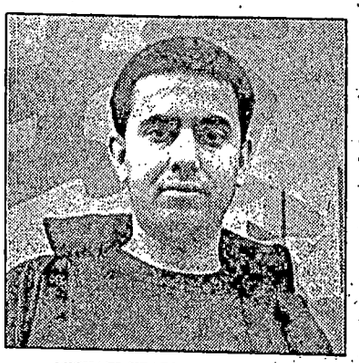
A Darker Outlook

He's 19. He spends his summers studying economics in Japan. And he's convinced the '90s will bring the "rapid decline of the U.S. economy" and the sale of much more of the country to the Japanese, Western Europe or whatever part of the world can afford it.

And, get this: Steve Lerner, a UC Santa Cruz sophomore from Long Beach, thinks the United States will eventually wind up profiting from all this.

But first the downside.

"Our debtors are going to call for their money, and we're not increasing any kind of income for our government and industry," says Lerner, an economics major with a minor in Japanese studies. "Despite the increases in technology, currently our factory workers are becoming less and less skilled. . . . We should plan to sell what's left of this country to the Japanese, or Western Europe, whoever. Because our current government is incapable of running our economy, somebody else will have to—whichever governments or industries are most capable will have to do it. If our government were a business, it would be bankrupt."



MICHAEL YBARRA / Los Angeles Times

'We should plan to sell what's left of this country to the Japanese, or Western Europe, whoever.'

STEVE LERNER, 19

In Lerner's view, there's no need to assess blame for any of this: "Sixty percent of businesses fail when they first start out," he explains. "Our country is new, and it failed. No one in particular is to blame. It's just that we need to be replaced by somebody who's more efficient and capable of running a society in today's world of scarce resources."

Not that the Japanese are perfect. Lerner isn't happy that many Japanese "drink excessively on a nightly basis." And he points out that the Japanese will gain much from the United States, particularly in the realm of leisure: "They're going to learn how to build leisure parks, water slide parks. They may even learn how to play football. Employees at Japanese corporations are demanding more leisure."

Now for the good news. Lerner is convinced turning over more of the country to the Japanese will eventually lead to better conditions for Americans.

The Japanese "can live with 20 million people in one city [Tokyo] and have almost no incidences of domestic violence or rape," he points out. "In business, they value their employees most—above everything except the customer. Here, management cares only about short-term profits. We have terrible health care, terrible insurance policies, not enough education scholarships and inadequate maternal leave. We treat our employees like pack animals, but that attitude is going to end our economic power in the world. As a result, business will have to be-

Please see THE '90s, E26

retary of State would pass away and that friendly relations would be resumed. Mr. Bryan's spirit about the matter all along has been most excellent and he has gone on his way ever since the Baltimore Convention without any criticism or even feeling any criticism against the Speaker who seems to be harboring resentment towards Mr. Bryan and holding him responsible for his defeat for the nomination at Baltimore. This is the only cloud that is as big as a man's hand on the political horizon in the Democratic Administration, but it will pass away.

Secretary Redfield stated he had some engagements which make it impracticable for him to be at the Capitol. All the other Members of the Cabinet stated arrangements had been made to go, so when the President entered, in a dignified way, to read his message, Members of the Cabinet were in the House Chamber scattered, some in the galleries, others on the floor, as citizens. It was an historical occasion with all the setting suited for the memorable message which the President was about to read. He was in fine form, and there was one spontaneous applause in his few opening sentences, and he read the message with a clearness and distinctness to all parts of the chamber. When he finished, he quietly withdrew amid applause. The precedent of a century had been shattered. Nobody was hurt and Congress heard the message that sounds the key-note of the government's fiscal policy—a key-note not burdened with a detail, but clear, ringing and direct. It was not only heard by members of Congress, but the diplomatic gallery was crowded and an audience representative of men political and governmental with such dignity as had never assembled in the House of Representatives.

T MS (J. Daniels Papers, DLC).

[1] Edward Thomas Williams.

[2] The United States extended recognition on May 2, 1913.

[3] Robert Bingham, headmaster of the Bingham School, at that time located in Mebaneville, N. C. See WW to ELA, June 29, 1884, n. 4. Vol. 3.

[4] Among them, John Sharp Williams, who said: "I for one very much regret the President's course. . . . I am sorry to see revived the old Federalistic custom of speeches from the throne. . . . The practice instituted by Jefferson was more American than the old pomposities and cavalcadings between the White House and the Capitol. . . . I regret all this cheap and tawdry imitation of English royalty." *New York Times*, April 8, 1913.

An Address on Tariff Reform to a Joint Session of Congress

[April 8, 1913]

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, Gentlemen of the Congress:

I am very glad indeed to have this opportunity to address the two Houses directly and to verify for myself the impression that

the President of the United States is a person, not a mere department of the Government hailing Congress from some isolated island of jealous power, sending messages, not speaking naturally and with his own voice—that he is a human being trying to cooperate with other human beings in a common service. After this pleasant experience I shall feel quite normal in all our dealings with one another.

I have called the Congress together in extraordinary session because a duty was laid upon the party now in power at the recent elections which it ought to perform promptly, in order that the burden carried by the people under existing law may be lightened as soon as possible and in order, also, that the business interests of the country may not be kept too long in suspense as to what the fiscal changes are to be to which they will be required to adjust themselves. It is clear to the whole country that the tariff duties must be altered. They must be changed to meet the radical alteration in the conditions of our economic life which the country has witnessed within the last generation. While the whole face and method of our industrial and commercial life were being changed beyond recognition the tariff schedules have remained what they were before the change began, or have moved in the direction they were given when no large circumstance of our industrial development was what it is to-day. Our task is to square them with the actual facts. The sooner that is done the sooner we shall escape from suffering from the facts and the sooner our men of business will be free to thrive by the law of nature (the nature of free business) instead of by the law of legislation and artificial arrangement.

We have seen tariff legislation wander very far afield in our day—very far indeed from the field in which our prosperity might have had a normal growth and stimulation. No one who looks the facts squarely in the face or knows anything that lies beneath the surface of action can fail to perceive the principles upon which recent tariff legislation has been based. We long ago passed beyond the modest notion of "protecting" the industries of the country and moved boldly forward to the idea that they were entitled to the direct patronage of the Government. For a long time—a time so long that the men now active in public policy hardly remember the conditions that preceded it—we have sought in our tariff schedules to give each group of manufacturers or producers what they themselves thought that they needed in order to maintain a practically exclusive market as against the rest of the world. Consciously or unconsciously, we have built up a set of privileges and exemptions from competition behind which it

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was easy by any, even the crudest, forms of combination to organize monopoly; until at last nothing is normal, nothing is obliged to stand the tests of efficiency and economy, in our world of big business, but everything thrives by concerted arrangement. Only new principles of action will save us from a final hard crystallization of monopoly and a complete loss of the influences that quicken enterprise and keep independent energy alive.

It is plain what those principles must be. We must abolish everything that bears even the semblance of privilege or of any kind of artificial advantage, and put our business men and producers under the stimulation of a constant necessity to be efficient, economical, and enterprising, masters of competitive supremacy, better workers and merchants than any in the world. Aside from the duties laid upon articles which we do not, and probably can not, produce, therefore, and the duties laid upon luxuries and merely for the sake of the revenues they yield, the object of the tariff duties henceforth laid must be effective competition, the whetting of American wits by contest with the wits of the rest of the world.

It would be unwise to move toward this end headlong, with reckless haste, or with strokes that cut at the very roots of what has grown up amongst us by long process and at our own invitation. It does not alter a thing to upset it and break it and deprive it of a chance to change. It destroys it. We must make changes in our fiscal laws, in our fiscal system, whose object is development, a more free and wholesome development, not revolution or upset or confusion. We must build up trade, especially foreign trade. We need the outlet and the enlarged field of energy more than we ever did before. We must build up industry as well, and must adopt freedom in the place of artificial stimulation only so far as it will build, not pull down. In dealing with the tariff the method by which this may be done will be a matter of judgment, exercised item by item. To some not accustomed to the excitements and responsibilities of greater freedom our methods may in some respects and at some points seem heroic, but remedies may be heroic and yet be remedies. It is our business to make sure that they are genuine remedies. Our object is clear. If our motive is above just challenge and only an occasional error of judgment is chargeable against us, we shall be fortunate.

We are called upon to render the country a great service in more matters than one. Our responsibility should be met and our methods should be thorough, as thorough as moderate and well considered, based upon the facts as they are, and not worked out as if we were beginners. We are to deal with the facts of our

own day, with the facts of no other, and to make laws which square with those facts. It is best, indeed it is necessary, to begin with the tariff. I will urge nothing upon you now at the opening of your session which can obscure that first object or divert our energies from that clearly defined duty. At a later time I may take the liberty of calling your attention to reforms which should press close upon the heels of the tariff changes, if not accompany them, of which the chief is the reform of our banking and currency laws; but just now I refrain. For the present, I put these matters on one side and think only of this one thing—of the changes in our fiscal system which may best serve to open once more the free channels of prosperity to a great people whom we would serve to the utmost and throughout both rank and file.

I thank you for your courtesy.[1]

Printed in *Address of the President of the United States. . . April 8, 1913* (Washington, 1913).

[1] There is a WWsh outline of this address, with the composition date of March 26, 1913; a WWsh draft of the address, with the composition date of March 26, 1913; a typed draft, with WWhw emendations, dated April 7, 1913; a WWsh draft of the first paragraph; and typed and printed reading copies in WP, DLC.

To Jacob Harry Hollander

My dear Dr. Hollander: [The White House] April 8, 1913.

Thank you sincerely for the memorandum on Dominican affairs which you were good enough to send me, and which I am glad to have. I was much interested in reading it.

Sincerely yours, Woodrow Wilson

TLS (Letterpress Books, WP, DLC).

To William Jennings Bryan

My dear Mr. Secretary: [The White House] April 8, 1913.

I enclose a very interesting memorandum prepared by Dr. Hollander of Johns Hopkins in regard to the Dominican problem.[1] Sincerely yours, Woodrow Wilson

TLS (Letterpress Books, WP, DLC).

[1] The memorandum (SDR, RG 59, 839.51/1000, DNA) was a review of the Roosevelt-Taft policy toward the Dominican Republic. It stressed the beneficial effects of the United States customs receivership, 1905-1907, and of the American-Dominican Convention of 1907, which, Hollander said, had helped to restore financial and political stability to the country. He severely criticized Taft's recognition of revolutionaries who had won power in 1911 and 1912, because such recognition countenanced political violence and encouraged the idea that "if a patriot be dissatisfied with the constitutional government, he may take to the brush and eventually secure honor and emolument for his 'revolution.'" Hollander concluded by warning that the United States now faced a critical situation in Dominican politics and finance.

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For the Record

From an article by Misha Glenn Central Europe correspondent for t British Broadcasting Corp., in Th Listener magazine (Nov. 30):

Many factors have contributed to th change in Czechoslovakia. The rise t power of Mikhail Gorbachev was course a pre-condition. The tireless an often thankless work of Czechoslovakia' dissident community has played an enor mous part. . . . But according to Jirin Siklova, a founder signatory of Charte 77, 21 August 1988, the 20th anniversa ry of the invasion, opened the last chap ter of Stalinism in Czechoslovakia. "None of us, opposition or officials, believed that 10,000 young people would demonstrate on that day. And when Naegele broad cast his piece that night on Voice of America people throughout the republic realized that something fundamental had changed."

For the past four years, the impact of Jolyon Naegele, the VOA's Eastern Europe correspondent, on Czechoslovak politics has been greater than most journalists can dream of in a lifetime. . . . Naegele has communicated the ironic nuances of Czechoslovak reality to people inside the country more effectively than anyone else before him.

Naegele's success was due partly to one of the cardinal sins committed by [Gustav] Husak and [Milos] Jakes. While publicly embracing glasnost, they insisted on feeding one of Europe's most educated populations with huge doses of indigestible verbal hogwash. It was this which ensured that the overwhelming majority of the population listened regularly to the VOA, the BBC and Radio Free Europe. The role of these radio stations will now change as the Czechoslovak journalists rediscover the heritage of Capek, Peroutka and Vaculik.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

1916

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An Annual Message

[Dec. 5, 1916]

Gentlemen of the Congress: In fulfilling at this time the duty laid upon me by the Constitution of communicating to you from time to time information of the state of the Union and recommending to your consideration such legislative measures as may be judged necessary and expedient I shall continue the practice, which I hope has been acceptable to you, of leaving to the reports of the several heads of the executive departments the elaboration of the detailed needs of the public service and confine myself to those matters of more general public policy with which it seems necessary and feasible to deal at the present session of the Congress.

I realize the limitations of time under which you will necessarily act at this session and shall make my suggestions as few as possible; but there were some things left undone at the last session which there will now be time to complete and which it seems necessary in the interest of the public to do at once.

In the first place, it seems to me imperatively necessary that the earliest possible consideration and action should be accorded the remaining measures of the programme of settlement and regulation which I had occasion to recommend to you at the close of your last session in view of the public dangers disclosed by the unaccommodated difficulties which then existed, and which still unhappily continue to exist, between the railroads of the country and their locomotive engineers, conductors, and trainmen.

I then recommended:

First, immediate provision for the enlargement and administrative reorganization of the Interstate Commerce Commission along the lines embodied in the bill recently passed by the House of Representatives and now awaiting action by the Senate; in order that the Commission may be enabled to deal with the many great and various duties now devolving upon it with a promptness and thoroughness which are, with its present constitution and means of action, practically impossible.

Second, the establishment of an eight-hour day as the legal basis alike of work and of wages in the employment of all railway employees who are actually engaged in the work of operating trains in interstate transportation.

Third, the authorization of the appointment by the President of a small body of men to observe the actual results in experience of the adoption of the eight-hour day in railway transportation alike for the men and for the railroads.

Fourth, explicit approval by the Congress of the consideration by the Interstate Commerce Commission of an increase of freight rates to meet such additional expenditures by the railroads as may have been rendered necessary by the adoption of the eight-hour day and which have not been offset by administrative readjustments and economies, should the facts disclosed justify the increase.

Fifth, an amendment of the existing federal statute which provides for the mediation, conciliation, and arbitration of such controversies as the present by adding to it a provision that, in case the methods of accommodation now provided for should fail, a full public investigation of the merits of every such dispute shall be instituted and completed before a strike or lockout may lawfully be attempted.

And, sixth, the lodgement in the hands of the Executive of the power, in case of military necessity, to take control of such portions and such rolling stock of the railways of the country as may be required for military use and to operate them for military purposes, with authority to draft into the military service of the United States such train crews and administrative officials as the circumstances require for their safe and efficient use.

The second and third of these recommendations the Congress immediately acted on: it established the eight-hour day as the legal basis of work and wages in train service and it authorized the appointment of a commission to observe and report upon the practical results, deeming these the measures most immediately needed; but it postponed action upon the other suggestions until an opportunity should be offered for a more deliberate consideration of them. The fourth recommendation I do not deem it necessary to renew. The power of the Interstate Commerce Commission to grant an increase of rates on the ground referred to is indisputably clear and a recommendation by the Congress with regard to such a matter might seem to draw in question the scope of the Commission's authority or its inclination to do justice when there is no reason to doubt either.

The other suggestions,—the increase in the Interstate Commerce Commission's membership and in its facilities for performing its manifold duties, the provision for full public investigation and assessment of industrial disputes, and the grant to the Executive of the power to control and operate the railways when necessary in time of war or other like public necessity,—I now very earnestly renew.

The necessity for such legislation is manifest and pressing. Those who have entrusted us with the responsibility and duty of

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serving and safeguarding them in such matters would find it hard, I believe, to excuse a failure to act upon these grave matters or any unnecessary postponement of action upon them.

Not only does the Interstate Commerce Commission now find it practically impossible, with its present membership and organization, to perform its great functions promptly and thoroughly but it is not unlikely that it may presently be found advisable to add to its duties still others equally heavy and exacting. It must first be perfected as an administrative instrument.

The country cannot and should not consent to remain any longer exposed to profound industrial disturbances for lack of additional means of arbitration and conciliation which the Congress can easily and promptly supply. And all will agree that there must be no doubt as to the power of the Executive to make immediate and uninterrupted use of the railroads for the concentration of the military forces of the nation wherever they are needed and whenever they are needed.

This is a programme of regulation, prevention, and administrative efficiency which argues its own case in the mere statement of it. With regard to one of its items, the increase in the efficiency of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the House of Representatives has already acted; its action needs only the concurrence of the Senate.

I would hesitate to recommend, and I dare say the Congress would hesitate to act upon the suggestion should I make it, that any man in any occupation should be obliged by law to continue in an employment which he desired to leave. To pass a law which forbade or prevented the individual workman to leave his work before receiving the approval of society in doing so would be to adopt a new principle into our jurisprudence which I take it for granted we are not prepared to introduce. But the proposal that the operation of the railways of the country shall not be stopped or interrupted by the concerted action of organized bodies of men until a public investigation shall have been instituted which shall make the whole question at issue plain for the judgment of the opinion of the nation is not to propose any such principle. It is based upon the very different principle that the concerted action of powerful bodies of men shall not be permitted to stop the industrial processes of the nation, at any rate before the nation shall have had an opportunity to acquaint itself with the merits of the case as between employee and employer, time to form its opinion upon an impartial statement of the merits, and opportunity to consider all practicable means of conciliation or arbitration. I can see nothing in that proposition but the justifi-

able safeguarding by society of the necessary processes of its very life. There is nothing arbitrary or unjust in it unless it be arbitrarily and unjustly done. It can and should be done with a full and scrupulous regard for the interests and liberties of all concerned as well as for the permanent interests of society itself.

Three matters of capital importance await the action of the Senate which have already been acted upon by the House of Representatives: the bill which seeks to extend greater freedom of combination to those engaged in promoting the foreign commerce of the country than is now thought by some to be legal under the terms of the laws against monopoly; the bill amending the present organic law of Porto Rico; and the bill proposing a more thorough and systematic regulation of the expenditure of money in elections, commonly called the Corrupt Practices Act. I need not labor my advice that these measures be enacted into law. Their urgency lies in the manifest circumstances which render their adoption at this time not only opportune but necessary. Even delay would seriously jeopard the interests of the country and of the government.

Immediate passage of the bill to regulate the expenditure of money in elections may seem to be less necessary than the immediate enactment of the other measures to which I refer; because at least two years will elapse before another election in which federal offices are to be filled; but it would greatly relieve the public mind if this important matter were dealt with while the circumstances and the dangers to the public morals of the present method of obtaining and spending campaign funds stand clear under recent observation and the methods of expenditure can be frankly studied in the light of present experience; and a delay would have the further very serious disadvantage of postponing action until another election was at hand and some special object connected with it might be thought to be in the mind of those who urged it. Action can be taken now with facts for guidance and without suspicion of partisan purpose.

I shall not argue at length the desirability of giving a freer hand in the matter of combined and concerted effort to those who shall undertake the essential enterprise of building up our export trade. That enterprise will presently, will immediately assume, has indeed already assumed, a magnitude unprecedented in our experience. We have not the necessary instrumentalities for its prosecution; it is deemed to be doubtful whether they could be created upon an adequate scale under our present laws. We should clear away all legal obstacles and create a basis of un-

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doubted law for it which will give freedom without permitting unregulated license. The thing must be done now, because the opportunity is here and may escape us if we hesitate or delay.

The argument for the proposed amendments of the organic law of Porto Rico is brief and conclusive. The present laws governing the Island and regulating the rights and privileges of its people are not just. We have created expectations of extended privilege which we have not satisfied. There is uneasiness among the people of the Island and even a suspicious doubt with regard to our intentions concerning them which the adoption of the pending measure would happily remove. We do not doubt what we wish to do in any essential particular. We ought to do it at once.

At the last session of the Congress a bill was passed by the Senate which provides for the promotion of vocational and industrial education[1] which is of vital importance to the whole country because it concerns a matter, too long neglected, upon which the thorough industrial preparation of the country for the critical years of economic development immediately ahead of us in very large measure depends. May I not urge its early and favourable consideration by the House of Representatives and its early enactment into law? It contains plans which affect all interests and all parts of the country and I am sure that there is no legislation now pending before the Congress whose passage the country awaits with more thoughtful approval or greater impatience to see a great and admirable thing set in the way of being done.

There are other matters already advanced to the stage of conference between the two Houses of which it is not necessary that I should speak. Some practicable basis of agreement concerning them will no doubt be found and action taken upon them.

Inasmuch as this is, Gentlemen, probably the last occasion I shall have to address the Sixty-fourth Congress, I hope that you will permit me to say with what genuine pleasure and satisfaction I have cooperated with you in the many measures of constructive policy with which you have enriched the legislative annals of the country. It has been a privilege to labour in such company. I take the liberty of congratulating you upon the completion of a record of rare serviceableness and distinction.[2]

Printed reading copy (WP, DLC).

[1] That is, the Smith-Hughes bill, about which see W. C. Redfield to WW, March 23, 1916, n. 1, and WW to W. C. Redfield, March 27, 1916, n. 1, both in Vol. 36.

[2] There is a WWsh draft of the paragraph relating to the Smith-Hughes bill in WP, DLC. There is a WWT draft of this message from the first sentence through the paragraph beginning "This is a programme of regulation, prevention, and administrative efficiency. . . ." in the C. L. Swem Coll., WC, NjP. Wilson then dictated the balance of the message to Swem on November 20, and there is a CLST transcript of this latter portion in *ibid.*

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Crime + drugs } UNEASE

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1. Drugs
2. Deficit

Education (indiv states i.e.s)

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Frang — reminding people why they voted
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"Snapshots"

The New York Times

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1983

WASHINGTON TALK

Required Reading

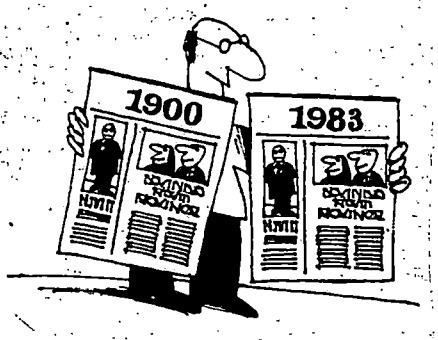
Headlines From 1900

Edward E. McNally, a Justice Department lawyer, speaking in Chicago at ceremonies marking the incorporation of the Millennium Society, established to bring together the world's young leaders for talks about international peace, Nov. 15, 1983:

In thinking about why we are here today, I stopped by the Library of Congress last week to see what The New York Times had to say about the turn of the century in 1900. The headlines were strikingly familiar, so much so that many of them could have come out of the paper today.

"Harlem Desperado Shoots Four Men." "Basketball Mob Nearly Kills Referee." "Secret Arsenal Found in Manila." "Uprising Feared in Korea." "Drifter Found Dead With 70,000 Dollars."

But I don't mean to make it sound like nothing has changed. Other headlines talked about "Statehood for Arizona" and "Smallpox in Brooklyn." On New Year's Eve, 1899, crusading saloon-wrecker Cary Nation was being held in a Wichita jail, restricted under quarantine. The mayor of Bowling Green, Ky. was completely encased in ice when a water hose burst while fighting a City Hall fire.



And I was especially relieved to read one New York headline declaring: "Kidnappers' Pony Identified."

On New Year's Eve, 1899, President McKinley was in the White House and accused of interfering in Nicaragua. Teddy Roosevelt, Governor of New York, was holding court in Albany. In Peking, the discharge of mighty guns to mark the midnight hour created a scare, and Chinese troops were sent to discover whether the city had been attacked or whether it was a Boxer uprising.

In Berlin, the German emperor attended a New Year's Eve service and gave thanks for the blessings promised by the century about to begin. The world had yet to hear of young Adolf Hitler, who on that night seemed no different than any other 11-year-old Austrian boy.

No. 161—Part II

Congressional Record

United States of America

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 98th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 129 WASHINGTON, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1983 No. 161—Part II

Senate

THE MILLENNIUM SOCIETY

Mr. PERCY. Mr. President, 3 days ago in Chicago a new organization dedicated to fostering international peace, tolerance, and understanding was announced. The Millennium Society intends to dedicate itself to examining some of the great issues facing mankind in the balance of this century and into the next century.

A millennium, of course, is a period of 1,000 years. In less than two decades we will be at the year 2000. It seems fitting and proper that interested citizens from around the world undertake efforts to foster an international effort to celebrate the millennium in a manner which encourages international understanding and peace.

I ask unanimous consent that the statement by the chairman of the board of the Millennium Society, Mr. Edward McNally, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY EDWARD E. MCNALLY, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, THE MILLENNIUM SOCIETY

In thinking about why we are here today I stopped by the Library of Congress last week to see what the New York Times had to say about the Turn of the Century in 1900. The headlines were strikingly familiar, so much so that many of them could have come out of the paper today. "Harlem Desparado Shoots Four Men." "Basketball Mob Nearly Kills Referee." "Secret Arsenal Found in Manila." "Uprising Feared in Korea." "Drifter Found Dead with 70,000 Dollars."

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The news accounts of the day focused on the Turn of the Century, examining the hundred years gone by and looking ahead to the wonders that another hundred years would bring. The landmark anniversary we approach—New Year's Eve 1999—marks not only the Turn of the Century, but the Turn of the Millennium. It is fitting that we look not only on the past hundred years, but on the progress of humankind since the First Millennium ended some thousand years ago.

As the year 1000 C.E. approached, there was widespread fear among the people of the Old World that the twilight of the Millennium would mark the end of the world by some unseen force of heaven or nature. Christians believed that the Biblical revelations of St. John the Devine prophesied a fiery doom for the Millennium milepost.

After beginning with such gloomy forebodings, the Second Millennium has witnessed great strides for humankind. Agriculture, nutrition, and medicine made quantum leaps. Great institutions of learning, science, and public welfare were founded. Literacy and basic primary education became commonplace as the invention of movable type in the 1400's gave birth to the expanded sharing of ideas through newspapers, journals, and books of every description. It was Columbus' epic voyage that linked the hemispheres and, in the words of historian John Fiske, "mingled the two streams of human life which had flowed for countless ages apart." Thus the peoples of the Old and New Worlds discovered each other and became united in commerce and trade. There was a Renaissance, and at various times in various hands classic art forms flourished. New and sometimes timeless expression was found in music, architecture, theatre, dance, poetry, and later film. It was an age of discovery and exploration. Deserts were crossed, oceans probed, mountains temporarily conquered. Men walked on the moon. And in ever-increasing ways, science and technology were developed and harnessed to serve the needs of humankind.

But the unfinished history of the Second Millennium is also a history of famine and disease, of fear and abuse, of technology harnessed to build empires and subjugate—even exterminate—whole peoples. Man's inhumanity to man revealed its awful face in the endless conduct of wars waged at an ever-accelerating pace. Where in the Dark Ages wars were fought ponderously—by hand and on foot—by small numbers of men far removed from the scattered cities, war in the Twentieth Century grew to engulf the energies and populations of entire continents.

Nearly seventy years ago, a war broke out that was to cost the world the "flower of a generation." Named before we knew to number such global nightmares, the Great War—the War to End All Wars—was followed in twenty years time by an even larger conflagration. And World War II gave birth to atomic weaponry.

Now as the year 2000 C.E. approaches, there is again widespread fear that the twilight of the Millennium will mark the end of the world. Today that unseen force is spawned not by heaven or nature but by humankind itself. The scorching of the Earth by nuclear war would be the ultimate catastrophe, meaning not only the loss of a generation, but the destruction of all humankind. Without judging the mistakes of our forefathers, we realize we can never again afford their risk.

As one great leader, President Dwight D. Eisenhower, wrote:

"When we get to point, as we one day will, that both sides know that in any outbreak of general hostilities, regardless of the element of surprise, destruction will be both reciprocal and complete, possibly we will have sense enough to meet at the conference table with the understanding that the era of armaments has ended and the human race must conform its actions to this truth or die."

Eisenhower's successor, John F. Kennedy, summed it up this way: "Total war makes no sense • • • in an age when the deadly poisons produced by a nuclear exchange would be carried by wind and water and soil and seed to the far corners of the globe and to generations yet unborn." This scenario was confirmed just last month by the release of an extraordinary study developed by over a hundred Soviet and American biologists, which described the pitch-dark, bone-chilling "nuclear winter" that would be brought on by the detonation of even less than half the megatonnage in the superpower arsenals.

We are told that many young people share a feeling of hopelessness about the future and don't believe they can have an influence on national and global issues. Dr.

John Mack, a Harvard University psychiatrist, concluded on the basis of an extensive study that young people today "are deeply disturbed by the threat of nuclear war, have doubts about the future and their own survival." He concludes, "We may be raising a generation without hope."

We are here today to tell you that we reject this epithet. Not only do we have a vision of hope, but a commitment to share this vision with others, and a determination to make this vision a reality.

As we undertake our small part in the quest for enduring peace, we recognize that war has become obsolete as a means of deciding national differences. People everywhere in the world are beginning to know it, but governments don't know it yet. While we respect the sovereign equality of all countries and support their efforts to promote peace, it is also clear that government representatives are often inhibited by provincial mandates and intolerant national bias. Watching the U.N. proceedings earlier this fall, I thought of how fluently and ardently the representatives of each nation spoke up for their sides. But nobody spoke up for everybody, for that faceless, stateless body we are all part of called "humanity." If nations are not to wage war against fellow nations, they must come to better understand one another. We believe it is essential to promote informal friendly relations between nations and those young individuals who may one day be destined to lead nations.

While the young suffer a disproportionate share of the evil burden of war, only too rarely do we share in any role in the conduct or prevention of war. Yet we believe firmly in the energy, promise, and idealism of youth, and that—at least in part—the future will be what we endeavor to make of it. Acknowledging by our very name—the Millennium Society—that we are custodians of the Earth for but a fleeting moment in the vast reaches of Time, we believe that preventing war and its threat to the survival of humankind is the greatest challenge facing our generation today.

According, our founders, through incorporators assembled here today at the City of Chicago, have agreed to the present Articles of Incorporation, and do hereby establish an international charitable organization dedicated to peace to be known as the Millennium Society.

By bringing together young women and men of excellence from throughout the world—without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion—we hope to help foster international fellowship and free and open discourse between all peoples on an unofficial and non-governmental basis.

In the war-torn and divided world of today, it's ironic to note that some 200 million years ago the entire world was united in the single great continent called Pangaea. Long before humankind evolved, Pangaea began to break apart. By 150 million years B.C.E., the land had divided into two great continents, Laurasia, comprised of what is now North America, Europe, and northern Asia, and Gondwanaland, consisting of South America, Africa, Australia, and the Indian sub-continent.

The ancient division between Laurasia and Gondwanaland is evident today not so much in the separated land masses as in the tremendous economic and social disparity between the Northern and Southern hemispheres. We have seen that many of the people of the world live today much as their ancestors did when the First Millennium began. And we are determined to do our part to help develop a more equitable sharing of the world's resources.

THE MILLENNIUM SCHOLARSHIPS

In particular, the Millennium Society has been established to help pass the torch of peace on to ensuing generations. December 31, 1999 C.E., will mark the advent of the Millennium Scholarships. The Corporation will sponsor select Millennium Scholars—versatile and exceptional young women and men from all regions and pursuits showing great promise for leadership and with a demonstrated commitment to peace—to participate in a worldwide program of university-level educational exchange.

THE WORLD MILLENNIUM CHARITY BALL

The Society will also sponsor educational conferences, charitable fundraisers and other activities. You have already heard of our plans for an international gathering of diverse young leaders from all the continents of the world on New Year's Eve, 1999 C.E. We will gather at the Great Pyramid of Cheops at Giza, Egypt, to hail the dawn of the Third Millennium with a united demonstration for peace and celebration of the brotherhood of humankind.

By way of background, the idea that grew to become the Millennium Society began with a group of graduating Yale seniors in the spring of 1979. It was at Mory's, the traditional, 134 year old New Haven drinking club, that we made a pact to take up the pledge of friendship from O. Henry's classic short story, "After Twenty Years," and arrange a rendezvous in 20 years time. When we realized that meant the landmark year of 1999, it was clear a larger gesture was demanded.

The idea for a seminal Millennium gathering quickly outgrew the original group of college friends, and today the Society is led by an international Board of Directors comprised of select young leaders from Africa, Asia, Australia, Europe, and the Americas. Earlier this year the Millennium Society was incorporated as a nonprofit corporation with representatives in some 31 nations.

In 1989 we began the search for the quintessential location to hold the epochal event. After considering Stonehenge, the mysterious circle of stones in England, and Machu Picchu, the lost city of the Incas in the Andes, the Society declared a unanimous choice: The Great Pyramid of Cheops at Giza, Egypt.

Caesar stood there, so did Napoleon. It is the sole survivor of what the Roman knew as "De Septum Orbis Spectaculis"—the Seven Wonders of the World. Standing in the desert at the crossroads of the three great continents of the Old World, it is the most timeless location on Earth, a symbol of civilized man's earliest dreams.

We have also arranged with the Cunard Line to charter the renowned ocean liner RMS Queen Elizabeth 2 beginning December 21, 1999. Some 1,750 young world leaders will embark from New York City aboard the QE2 for a "floating United Nations"—a conference on international peace—during the ten day voyage to Alexandria, Egypt.

In sixteen years you will find us with our hair a bit grayer, perhaps a bit less spring in our walk. Some of us here today will no doubt be missing from that gathering. But you will not find us with any less hope or idealism, or confidence in the ultimate triumph of humankind. For there are thousands of young minds in all the lands of the world who yearn for the spirit of cooperation and peace, and who are willing to work for it. These are the young friends we seek.

And so let us lend our voices to the words of William Faulkner, who declared in his acceptance speech before the Nobel Prize Committee:

"I believe that mankind will not merely endure: He will prevail."

General Joe Bartlett To Come Home To Marshal Parade

The son of a former Lost Creek B&O station agent, and a young man who left his Lost Creek farm home to carve out a distinguished career in government and military service, retired Marine Brigadier General D. Joe Bartlett, has accepted an invitation to serve as Parade Marshal of the 1989 County Fall Festival, in Lost Creek, this September 16.

Born in Clarksburg, Bartlett spent his boyhood years on the family farm on Lost Creek RFD 2 (Romines Mill), from which he was summoned to become a Page in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1941.

Joe is the sixth of ten children of the late F. Dorsey Bartlett and Blanche Hacker Bartlett. Their first child was born while Dorsey Bartlett was the agent at the then-bustling Lost Creek railroad station. Later he switched occupations to the Hazel-Atlas Glass Company where he was employed for over 40 years. Born at Lost Creek in the year 1890, the senior Bartlett died in 1965. Blanche Bartlett, also from a West Virginia pioneer family, survived until 1985.

Joe Bartlett was enlisted in the Marine Corps at Charleston in July of 1944, as a 17-year-old graduate of the Capitol Page School. Later commissioned from the ranks as a "meritorious NCO", he was recalled to active duty during the Korean War, and served with the Second Marine Division at Camp Lejeune. In the years that followed Bartlett had extensive world-wide reserve experience, and he was commanding a training unit in Washington, D.C., when he was selected for flag rank in 1975. At retirement ceremonies in 1978 he was awarded the Legion of Merit medal "for exceptionally meritorious conduct in the performance of outstanding services."

In his congressional career, Bartlett served 17 years as Reading Clerk of the House. In 1970 he won election to the senior post of Clerk to the Minority. Six times elected to that position by secret ballot, he had just been unanimously re-elected when he announced his retirement in 1979. The following year he was persuaded to run for a seat in Congress. In the home precincts, 103 and 104, Elk District, his neighbors gave him a gratifying 30-to-1 vote of confidence in the primary, but in the general election he could not prevail over the odds. Bartlett is presently engaged in Washington as a counselor in government relations.

An official of each Republican National Convention from 1948 to 1980, Bartlett served six conventions as Chief Reading Clerk. He became a familiar personality to television audiences across the country as he called the roll for the nomination of candidates for president of the United States.

As a lieutenant stationed at Quantico, Bartlett was ordered to a week's "hazardous duty" as an official escort in the 1951 National Cherry Blossom Festival in Washington. He escorted the Ohio Princess, Virginia ("Jinny") Bender of Chagrin Falls, Ohio, daughter of the late Senator and Mrs. George H. Bender. A year later the Marine married his princess.

Jinny and Joe are the parents of two daughters, Linda and Laura, both of whom have followed their mother as Cherry Blossom Festival "royalty" . Linda is married to former University of Virginia basketball star, Jim Hobgood. They have a young son and daughter and live in Fredericksburg, VA. Laura, and her husband, R. Wade Perkins, make their home in Salisbury, MD, and they have two daughters.

Bartlett was the first congressional nominee to the Federal Executive Institute in Charlottesville, VA. He was subsequently elected to the Alumni Board of Directors, and was invited to serve as the 1982 Distinguished Scholar in Residence at the institute. He attended the Defense Strategy Seminar '75 of the National War College.

In 1971 Salem College bestowed on Bartlett the degree of Doctor of Laws. A year earlier he was awarded a similar honor by the Atlanta Law School. He was the 1977 class president-valedictorian of Jim Comstock's famed University of Hard Knocks, matriculating at the Greenbrier Hotel.

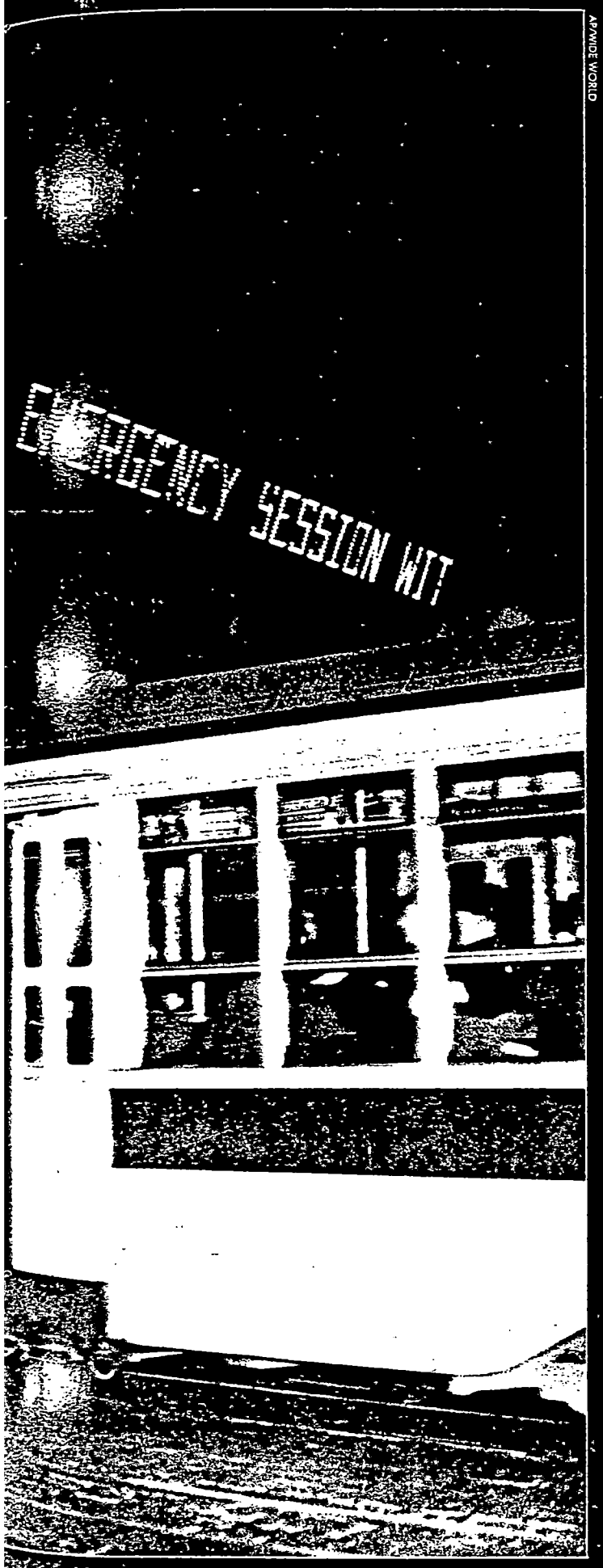
Among his many public appearances, Bartlett was particularly honored to have been asked to make the address at the 102nd Memorial Day services at Gettysburg National Cemetery. He has received the Distinguished Service Award of U.S. Jaycees, the George Washington Honor Medal of the Freedoms Foundation of Valley Forge, and the Non Sibi Sed Patriae citation of the Marine Corps Reserve Officers Association.

Bartlett was a founding member, and an officer, of the Capitol Hill Club. He won national recognition as the first president of the Civitan Club of Tysons (Virginia). He is the immediate past president of United Methodist Men of Arlington District.

Bartlett first went to Washington in 1938 as the pioneer lone representative of the school safety patrols of Central West Virginia. Invariably referred to as "Dorsey Joseph ('Call me Joe') Bartlett", the Morgan Grade School student marched down Constitution Avenue carrying a big sign identifying him as an "Official Observer", and promising to "come back next year with 819 more". The picture caught the fancy of the assembled press, and CLARKSBURG TELEGRAM reporter, the late W. Herb Welch, parlayed the attention into a title of "America's Typical Schoolboy Patrolman". The resulting publicity put Clarksburg in the news around the world.

In his reply to Lost Creek Mayor Gayle Ashbaker, General Bartlett declared it would be a great honor to serve as 1989 Country Fall Festival parade marshal. He said he would be looking forward to the event.

The Festival Committee, noting that rain the past three years had failed to dampen the spirit of the festivities, promised fair skies and gentle breezes for the general's parade this September.



AP/WIDE WORLD

The bombs that fell that Sunday didn't just knock out some battleships; they roused America into a new age. Here is how the long, unforgettable day unfolded.

"YESTERDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1941 ..."

by Richard Ketchum

For most Americans Sunday began quietly, with nothing to suggest that this was the last morning for almost four years when the nation would be at peace. It was cold and crisp, a glorious day across the eastern half of the country. The Roosevelts had company for the weekend—all old friends. The President's cousin Ellen Delano Adams and her husband, with their son and daughter-in-law, were there, as was Mrs. Charles Hamlin, known as Bertie, whom Franklin had met years before in Albany, New York, at his uncle Ted's inauguration as governor. The White House was silent when Bertie Hamlin awoke, and she dressed quietly, walked down the long hallway past the closed doors leading to the President's bedroom and study, went downstairs, and crossed Pennsylvania Avenue to St. John's Church on Lafayette Square, where the bells were pealing for morning worship. By the time she returned, a number of people were climbing the stairs from the East Entrance. The luncheon guests had

News of the calamity at Pearl Harbor races across the *New York Times* building in Manhattan on the evening of December 7.

arrived—some thirty-one of them, and a mixed bag they were, friends, relatives, minor officials, Army Medical Corps officers—prompting someone to observe that the First Lady's secretary was cleaning up around the edges of the invitation list.

Although they may have hoped to see the President, none of the guests much expected him to put in an appearance; he said, talking peace in the Pacific while plotting to overthrow it.

That morning the corridors of the old State, War and Navy Building had been deserted when Secretary of State Cordell Hull arrived at ten-fifteen for a meeting with Knox and Secretary of War Henry Stimson. By two o'clock they were ready to call it quits and go to the Mayflower Hotel for

As Stimson started for the White House, he thought the Americans might have won a major victory at Pearl.

Soldiers at the San Francisco Presidio study an extra edition of the *Chronicle* on Sunday, and, at far right, a sailor kisses his girl good-bye the next day at Penn Station in New York City.

he was understandably preoccupied with the tense situation in the Far East, and on top of that, Mrs. Roosevelt explained, his sinuses were acting up. He was having a relaxed lunch in his upstairs study with his friend and adviser Harry Hopkins, who recalled that they were talking about "things far removed from war." Saturday, while the White House staff took half a day off for Christmas shopping, the President had worked late, and now, after finishing the lunch on his tray, he was enjoying the undemanding company of his old friend and his Scottie dog, Fala, while he paid a little overdue attention to his stamp collection.

At the Navy's communication station the clocks read 1348 when Chief Frank Ackerson was called to the Washington–Honolulu operator's message AIR RAID ON PEARL HARBOR THIS IS NOT DRILL.

While the President and Hopkins talked, the telephone rang, and it was Frank Knox calling Roosevelt—a stunned, stricken Secretary of the Navy, reporting the staggering news from Pearl Harbor. Hopkins, hearing that Japanese planes were still attacking, thought there must be some mistake—surely Japan would not attack Hawaii—but the President thought the report was probably true. It was just the sort of surprise the Japanese *would* spring on us, lunch, and they were just leaving when the Japanese envoys Kichisaburo Nomura and Saburo Kurusu arrived outside Hull's office. They had a cable for the Secretary of State, a long and insulting reply to the imperious "Ten Point Plan" that Hull had submitted to them on November 27, which demanded that the Japanese withdraw from China and Indochina.

Hull already knew the contents of the document; American cryptanalysts had broken the Japanese code in 1940, and in this particular case they had translated Japan's reply before the Japanese embassy could. In fact, the ambassadors had been so hard pressed that they were an hour late getting their translation to Hull.

When they arrived at his office, the Secretary of State was busy on the telephone. His visitors could not know it, but the President was calling to inform him of the report from Pearl Harbor, advising him to receive the ambassadors formally but under no circumstances to inform them of the attack. He was to accept the reply to his note "coolly and bow them out."

Hull let the agitated Japanese sit outside for fifteen minutes—a tense quarter of an hour that marked an end to innocence and the beginning of a new and different era in

American history. When the two men were finally admitted to his office, he greeted them coldly and kept them standing, and when Nomura handed him the note, explaining that he had been instructed to deliver it at one o'clock, Hull asked why. Nomura said he did not know, but those were his instructions; the Secretary retorted sharply that he was receiving the message at two o'clock. Hull glanced perfunctorily

UPI/BETTMANN

through the document and then, according to the subsequent State Department press release, said indignantly, "In all my conversations with you during the last nine months, I have never uttered one word of untruth. This is borne out absolutely by the record.

"In all my fifty years of public service I have never seen a document that was more crowded with infamous falsehoods and distortions—infamous falsehoods and distortions on a scale so huge that I never imagined until today that any government on this planet was capable of uttering them."

If the Japanese wondered how a man could know so much about a document he had barely skimmed, they did not say, but Nomura was about to speak when Hull cut him short with a motion of his hand and gestured toward the door. The two ambassadors left without a word.

Thus the authorized version. But when Dean Acheson arrived at the department several hours later—having rushed in from his Maryland farm as soon as he heard the news on the radio—little groups of people stood in the corridor, talking in whispers, while the Secretary, still in a towering rage, remained closeted with several intimates, and the word Acheson got from those who had overheard Mr. Hull ridding himself of the two Japanese was that he had done so in "native Tennesseean," calling them "scoundrels" and "pissants" in his fury.

Secretary of War Henry Stimson was weary, and he was feeling his seventy-four years. He had hoped to get away to his Long Island place for a rest, but the news that morning got progressively worse, convincing him that something bad was going to happen, so he stayed in Washington. He was eating lunch at Woodley, his handsome Southern colonial home overlooking Rock Creek Park, when the President called and asked, in an excited voice, "Have you heard the news?"

"Well," Stimson replied, "I have heard the telegrams which have been coming in about the Japanese advances in the Gulf of Siam."

"Oh, no," Roosevelt said, "I don't mean that. They have attacked Hawaii. They are now bombing Hawaii."

That was an excitement indeed, Stimson thought, and as he prepared to leave for the White House it occurred to him that American forces in Hawaii might have won a major victory; the defense forces in the islands had been alerted and were capable of inflicting severe damage on the attackers.

At 2:28 P.M. Adm. Harold Stark, Roosevelt's chief of naval operations, phoned the White House and informed the President that the first report was true, that the attack had caused some damage to the fleet and some loss of life—no one could yet say how much. Throughout the afternoon and evening the phone at the President's side continued to ring, each time bringing an even more distressing bulletin about the extent of the devastation. Roosevelt listened calmly to each report, usually without comment, and then returned to the business at hand.

About the time of Stark's first call, Mrs. Roosevelt was bidding good-bye to her departing luncheon guests when one of the ushers told her the news. The report was so stunning, she said, that there was complete quiet, and after she had seen her guests to the door she waited until Franklin was alone, hoping to slip into his study. It took only a quick glance to make her realize that he was concentrating on what had to be done and wouldn't talk of what had happened until the first strain was over, so she went back to work—work, at that moment, consisting of going through her mail and writing letters, with one ear cocked to the voices of people going in and out of the President's study, and finding the time and strength of character to concentrate on what she would say in her weekly radio broadcast that afternoon.

Roosevelt's first move, after Stark confirmed the report, was to summon his press secretary, Stephen T. Early, and dictate a statement for immediate release, and at two-thirty Louise Hachmeister, who supervised the White House switchboard, called the three wire services, put them on a conference hookup, and asked, "All on? AP? UP? INS? Here's Mr. Early."

"This is Steve Early at the White House," the press secretary said. "At 7:55 A.M., Hawaiian time, the Japanese bombed

Pearl Harbor. The attacks are continuing and . . . no I don't know how many are dead." Almost instantaneously alarm bells on teletype machines in every city across the country began to ring.

"Give us the reaction from London"

In London the CBS correspondent Robert Trout was sitting in the BBC's Studio B-2, two stories underground. He had been stationed there since early November, temporarily replacing Edward R. Murrow, who had returned to the United States with his wife, Janet, for some rest and recreation, and as Trout looked at the wall of the studio, he found himself thinking that there was a huge bomb crater on the other side and that all that stood between him and the hole was a single course of bricks.

FDR dug in his heels when Hull urged him to make his message to Congress long and elaborate.

Manhattan office workers listen to Roosevelt on December 8.

For these nightly broadcasts, CBS leased a transatlantic telephone line for ten minutes. Even though the transmission might last for only a fraction of that, ten minutes was the minimum rental, with the result that some of the time was used in preparing for the broadcast and testing voice levels, with engineers, announcers, and others in studios on opposite sides of the ocean conversing. Trout was waiting for his cue from the CBS news department chief, Paul White, to go on the air, while next to him, as always, sat a British censor.

The procedure called for the censor to read the script that the reporter had prepared in advance, approving it or asking him to delete or alter something, but both parties knew that the censor had his hand on the control by which he could cut off Trout if he extemporized and said something that was not permitted. The regulars like Murrow and Trout had a good working relationship with the censors. It was all very informal and friendly, and in addition to his official duties the censor actually served as a technician, by cutting Trout in and out.

Trout was wearing earphones, listening to a British engineer and an American in Riverhead, Long Island, discuss the transmission. He recognized other voices from the CBS studio in New York—none of them on the air, of course, just desultory conversation between people waiting for the broadcast to begin. Paul White loved to sit in front of the complex instrument panel, surrounded by gadgets, and he would either push a lever and tell Trout to start talking or simply let his man in London listen to the broadcast and wait for the announcer to say, "And now we bring you Robert Trout in London—come in, Bob Trout."

But tonight Trout realized that his cue was being delayed for some reason, and he didn't hear White's voice. He was also aware that the door to the studio in New York had opened because he could hear the clatter of teletype machines in the hall outside, then a babble of voices, and someone saying, "Of course it means war . . . but why Pearl Harbor?," which is how he became aware of what had occurred.

Then White came on, to say he would have to tell Trout what they had just seen on the wire. "I already know," Trout told him. White didn't ask how he knew (he died before Trout ever had a chance to tell him); instead he said, "Okay then, I'm cutting you in. Give us the reaction from London."

For a horrified moment Trout couldn't believe his ears. He turned to the censor, who realized immediately the spot he was in, thought for a moment, and then nodded his approval—meaning that Trout could go ahead with the "reaction" as best he could.

"I have no idea what I said," Bob Trout recalled, "but somehow I put some words together and delivered a two-minute talk. Then I was off the air—though only for a while. I was on again any number of times that night."

A few minutes later Trout had a telephone call from Ambassador John G. Winant, who was visiting the British prime minister at Chequers and was furious. Why hadn't Trout called the embassy and told them we were at war before he began his broadcast? What did he think I should do, Trout wondered, call the American embassy and announce, "We are at war"? Until Winant asked the question, Trout hadn't realized that he had been the first person in Great Britain to learn that hostilities had begun between the United States and Japan.

Ambassador Winant had had a busy weekend. He was supposed to have gone to Anthony Eden's country house on Friday evening, to discuss the foreign secretary's forthcoming conversations with Joseph Stalin in Moscow (Eden was leaving for Russia on Sunday), but the news from the Far East intruded on the U.S. ambassador's plans. What with one thing

and another, he didn't arrive at Eden's place until after midnight on Saturday, but his obliging host "found me some supper and we stayed up until the early hours of the morning discussing his mission." When Eden departed at ten o'clock, Winant left for Chequers, a hundred miles away, to see the prime minister, whom he found pacing back and forth outside the front door, the other guests having gone inside to lunch.

Churchill at once asked Winant if he thought war with Japan was imminent. When the ambassador replied yes, Churchill stated with some vehemence, "If they declare war on you, we shall declare war on them within the hour."

After lunch most of the guests departed, leaving the prime minister to work and to rest, since he had been up most of the previous night, while Winant spent a quiet afternoon with Averell Harriman, who was in England coordinating the Lend-Lease program, and his daughter. A few minutes before nine o'clock they assembled in the dining room and found Churchill sitting alone, grim and silent; as soon as they took their places, he called out to Sawyers, the butler, asking him to put a portable radio on the table so he could hear the news. Churchill switched it on, and as the sound of music faded away, it was replaced by a voice announcing that the Japanese had attacked the U.S. fleet at Pearl Harbor. As the diners looked at each other incredulously, Sawyers came back into the room to assure them, "It's quite true. We heard it ourselves outside. The Japanese have attacked the Americans."

Churchill bounded to his feet and headed for the door, exclaiming, "We shall declare war on Japan."

Winant got up and hurried after him, saying, "Good God! You can't declare war on a radio announcement! Don't you think you'd better get confirmation first?"

Churchill walked through the hall to the office, which was manned twenty-four hours a day, and told his staff to put through a call to the White House.

"Mr. President, what's this about Japan?" Churchill asked when the connection was made.

"It's quite true. They have attacked us at Pearl Harbor," Roosevelt replied. "We are all in the same boat now."

Hull let the agitated Japanese ambassadors sit outside his office for fifteen minutes.

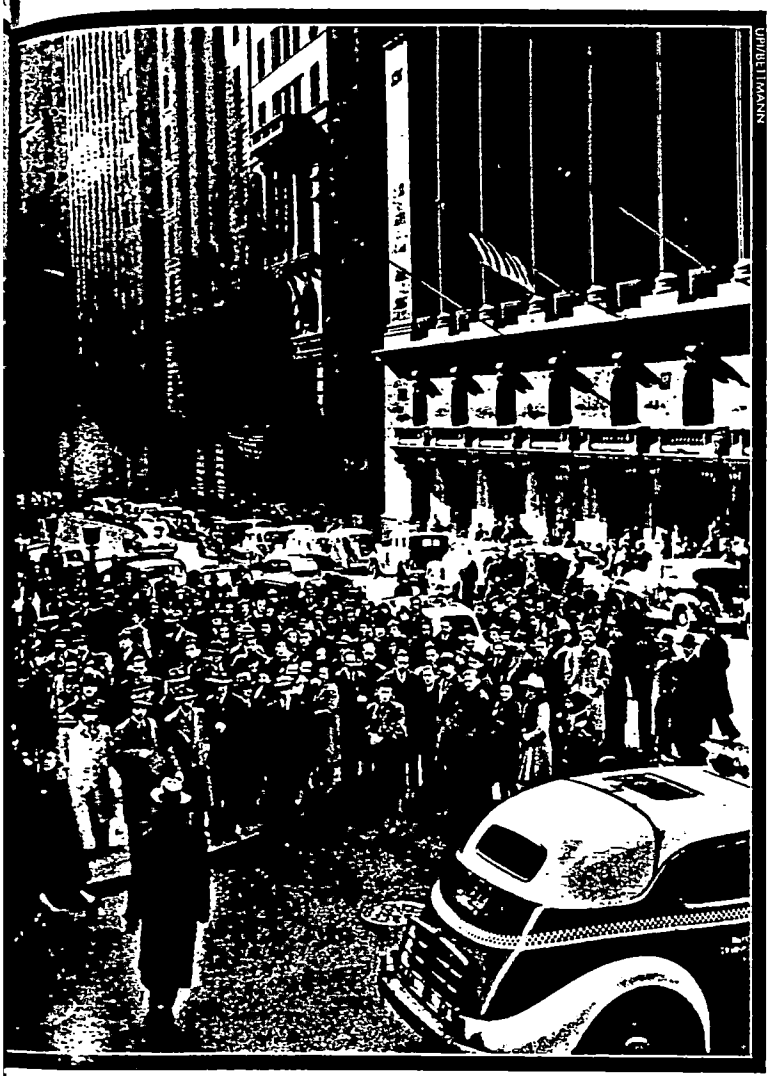
AP/WIDE WORLD

The Japanese ambassadors Nomura (seated) and Kurusu wait at the State Department for their meeting with Cordell Hull; at far right, Wall Street crowds listen to FDR call for war.

After the two leaders talked briefly (no mention was made of the serious losses that had been suffered), the prime minister and his guests returned to the table and, as Churchill said, "tried to adjust our thoughts to the supreme world event which had occurred." To the man who represented Britain's last chance, the indomitable leader whose courage and conviction had rallied his countrymen when the nation seemed doomed, the news that America would be in the war—"up to the neck and in to the death"—was a gift from the gods. "So we had won after all!" he exulted, confident now that "England would live; Britain would live; the Commonwealth of Nations and the Empire would live." After the long succession of defeats, the trials that were enough to scar men's souls—Dunkirk, the fall of France, the threat of invasion, the blitz, the U-boat war—he knew at last that there was "no more doubt about the end."

"It is the worst day in American history"

From New York, Ed and Janet Murrow had come to Washington, where they were to have dinner at the White House on Sunday, December 7. That afternoon Murrow was playing golf at the Burning Tree club when a man rushed out of the



clubhouse shouting that Pearl Harbor had just been bombed. Murrow went at once to the CBS office to confirm the report and phoned Paul White in New York. Earlier in the day a friend had driven Janet Murrow to an Army airfield near Washington so that she could see the planes awaiting shipment to England. She was amazed. The field was jammed with aircraft, and until then she had had no idea that Lend-Lease was producing aid on such a scale for Britain. In the afternoon she was with their hosts, listening to the New York Philharmonic, and when the program was interrupted with a bulletin about the attack, she assumed at once that their dinner engagement would be canceled. To her surprise, when she phoned the White House, Mrs. Roosevelt told her that they were still expected.

At three o'clock the President met with the War Council—Hull, Stimson, Knox—plus the two military chiefs, Gen. George Marshall and Adm. Harold Stark, and despite the gravity of the circumstances, Harry Hopkins remarked the absence of tension. These men, for whom the imminence of war had been a constant presence, reacted as Churchill did when he heard of the attack. They had concluded long since that the ultimate enemy was Hitler; they knew the Germans could never be defeated without the force of arms; sooner or later, moreover, the United States was bound to be in the war, so it was an unexpected boon that "the crisis had come in a way which would unite all our people," as Stimson remarked.

Harry Hopkins saw things in an even more positive light. "Japan had given us an opportunity," he felt. Others looked on the day's bloody events not as opportunity but as unmitigated disaster, and Assistant Secretary of State Breckinridge Long expressed that point of view in the diary he kept for most of his life. "Sick at heart," he wrote. "I am so damned mad at the Navy for being asleep at the switch at Honolulu. It is the worst day in American history. They spent their lives in preparation for a supreme moment—and then were asleep when it came."

That state of mind was hardly unique to Long. It was the kind of reaction that was bound to surface publicly after the first shock wore off, and with the idea of controlling the damage promptly, Hopkins suggested to the President that he schedule two conferences that evening—one with the full cabinet, the other with legislative leaders. Roosevelt agreed on both counts; the cabinet would meet at eight-thirty, the congressional delegation an hour later.

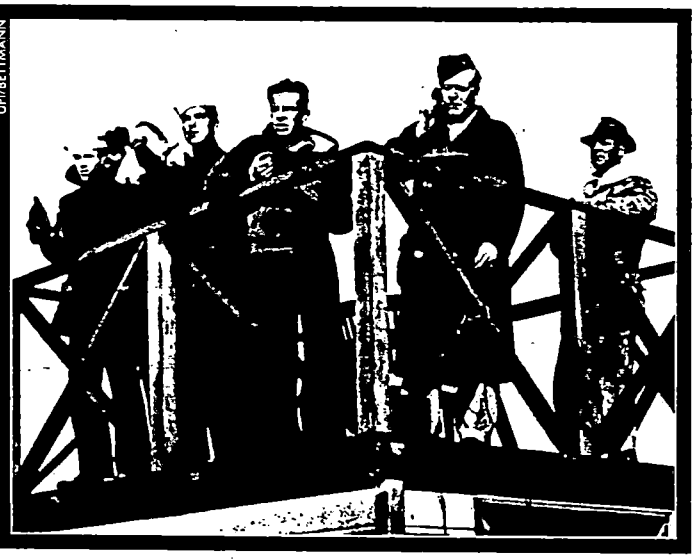
Grace Tully, one of the President's private secretaries, had been resting at home that afternoon, after the grueling demands of the past few weeks, when the telephone rang. It was Louise Hachmeister, and, with a long list of people to call, she wasted no words: "The President wants you right away. There's a car on the way to pick you up. The Japs just bombed Pearl Harbor!" Twenty minutes later Tully pulled into the White House driveway, which was swarming with extra police and Secret Service men, reporters, and military brass.

In the second-floor study she found Knox, Stimson, and Hopkins, who were joined a few moments later by Marshall and Hull, whose face looked as white as his hair. Since most of the news from Pearl Harbor was coming in to Admiral Stark at the Navy Department, it was her job to answer calls from him, take down the "fragmentary and shocking reports . . . by shorthand, type them up and relay them to the Boss." At first she used a telephone in the second-floor hall, but the noise and confusion were such that she moved into the President's bedroom. Each time she put down the phone and rushed to the typewriter to transcribe her notes, a quartet of White House aides—Gen. Edwin M. Watson, Adm. Ross T. McIntire, Capt. John R. Beardall, and Marvin H. McIntyre—followed and crowded in behind her to peer over her shoulder as she typed. To all of them the news was shattering. Each time Stark called she heard the shocked disbelief in his voice; the men around the President were first incredulous, then angry; and while "the Boss maintained greater outward calm than anybody else . . . there was rage in his very calmness. With each new message he shook his head grimly and he tightened the expression of his mouth."

After talking to Churchill, the President had a long conversation with General Marshall about the disposition of troops and the Air Force, and it was evident that Marshall was in-

creasingly edgy, impatient to get back to the War Department, where he could be in touch with commanders in the field (he had already warned Lt. Gen. Douglas MacArthur, commander of U.S. Army forces in the Far East, to take every precaution). Roosevelt impressed on Hull the necessity of keeping all the South American republics informed; he ordered protection for the Japanese embassy and consulates and had the Justice Department put Japanese citizens under surveillance; Stimson and Knox were to see to the protection of U.S. arsenals, private munitions factories, and bridges (though under no circumstances was there to be a military guard at the White House). Then the discussion turned to Roosevelt's message to Congress, which he had already decided to deliver the following day. The President dug in his heels when Hull recommended a review of the entire history of relations with Japan; no, he said, it would be a short, precise message.

New Yorkers heard a siren and turned out their lights. What now? Was this real?



UPI/BETTMANN

Air-raid wardens take their posts atop the Nassau County courthouse in Mineola, Long Island, the day after the raid.

For an immensely energetic man whose infirmity bound him to a chair, all this activity was a relief and a release, a means of channeling that inner rage and putting it to work, and Eleanor Roosevelt could see that at that moment "in spite of his anxiety Franklin was in a way more serene than he had appeared in a long time." Despite the confusion whirling around him, it occurred to some witnesses that the White House was the calmest place in town, with the President in his study the center of the hurricane's eye. The Under Secretary of State Sumner Welles was close by during those hectic hours and thought that of all the times he had seen the President in action he had never had such reason to admire him. Sitting calmly at his desk, receiving a continuous flow of reports on a national disaster, "he demonstrated that ultimate capacity to dominate and to control a supreme emergency which is perhaps the rarest and most valuable characteristic of any statesman." With his talent for grasping the significance of each development, by the end of the evening Roosevelt had personally handled every detail of the situation laid before him by his military advisers, had written the text of a message to Congress, and had overseen the text of the declaration of war to be submitted to that body. All the uncertainty of the recent past was over, and however daunting the future might be, it was calming to know what must be done.

The White House switchboard had an open circuit now to Gov. Joseph Poindexter in Hawaii, who confirmed the news, or as much of it as he knew. As he and the President spoke, the governor suddenly shouted into the phone, and Roosevelt turned to the group in the room to say, "My God, there's another wave of Jap planes over Hawaii right this minute!"

Reports continued to come in to what was now the nation's command headquarters, and in the meantime those present were passing on to the others their fragmentary knowledge of events. Hull, still bitterly angry, repeated "in a tone as cold as ice" his remarks to the Japanese envoys, but as Grace Tully noted, "there was nothing cold or diplomatic in the words he used." Knox and Stimson were interrogated by the President on the situation in Hawaii, on why they believed this could have happened, on what might happen next, on what could be done to repair the damage, but as the bad news continued to pour in, it became evident that the Pacific fleet had been severely crippled, that the Army and air units there were in no condition to fight off an invasion of Hawaii, and that the West Coast of the United States might even be an invasion target.

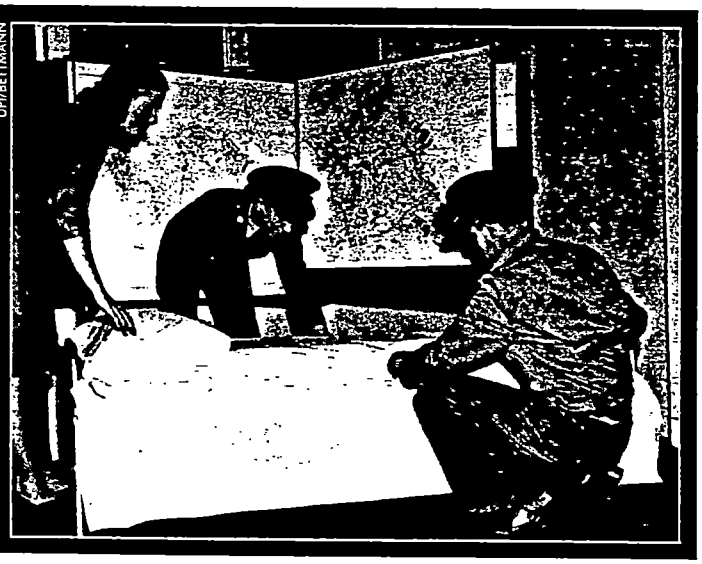
"Every American is willing to serve"

Meantime, bulletin by bulletin, a smattering of information at a time, the public at large was learning the news, struggling to comprehend and digest it and figure out how to react. Sunday afternoon still had a particular niche in the average American home; with morning church attendance behind them and the big midday dinner cooked, consumed, and cleaned up, members of the family could settle down to a few hours of quiet and rest—napping, listening to the radio, reading the Sunday paper, going for a leisurely walk. Professional football was beginning to make inroads into this domestic tranquillity, and at Washington's dingy Griffith Stadium the crowd was watching the Redskins play their last game of the season against the Philadelphia Eagles when the first bulletin hit the press box. Nearby spectators heard the news from sportswriters, the word spread from seat to seat and section to section, and soon the loudspeaker announcer began paging high-ranking Army and Navy officers, telling them to get in touch with their offices immediately; this was interspersed with summonses to editors and reporters, for-

eign ambassadors, and others, until individuals in every section of the grandstand seats were hurriedly leaving and running for their cars.

At the Polo Grounds in New York City, no one expected the Brooklyn Dodgers football team to be leading the Eastern champion Giants, but that was exactly what was happening, and the radio audience was as intent on the play-by-play account as those in the stands were on the game they were watching. "It's a long one down to the three-yard line," the announcer shouted; the ball was intercepted by Ward Cuff, who picked up a nice block by Alphonse Leemans before he was hit hard around the twenty-seven-yard line—at which moment another voice broke in to say, "We interrupt this broadcast to bring this important bulletin from United Press: Flash! The White House announces Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor!" Predictably, the Mutual Broadcasting System was suddenly deluged with calls from furious fans, wanting to know what was happening in the game. Mutual put the Pearl Harbor story on the air immediately; astonishingly, NBC and CBS decided not to interrupt scheduled music programs but waited until their two-thirty news broadcasts to announce the news.

It struck some witnesses that the White House was the calmest place in town.



UPI/BETTMANN

Officials planned to sleep in the War Department during the crisis; this bed is Assistant Secretary of War Robert Lovitt's.

At Fort Sam Houston in San Antonio, Texas, an Army officer whose exceptional performance in the Louisiana maneuvers a few months before had won him a brigadier general's star was taking a nap after lunch, having told his aide that he was tired and didn't want to be awakened under any circumstances. Under these particular circumstances, however, the aide decided that disobedience was warranted, and he called General Eisenhower. From another room, Mamie Eisenhower heard her husband saying, "Yes? When? I'll be right down," and as he ran for the door, pulling on his uniform jacket, he told her he would be at headquarters and didn't know when he would be back.

Paul Tibbets was flying a Douglas A-20 bomber from Fort Bragg, North Carolina, to Savannah, Georgia, navigating by tuning in to a Savannah station and steering by radio compass. He was listening to a Glenn Miller recording and was about twenty miles from his destination when someone interrupted the music to announce the bombing of Pearl Harbor. For Tibbets, that was the first news of the war whose end he would help bring about less than four years later, piloting a B-29 Superfortress called the *Enola Gay* over Hiroshima, Japan. (By some extraordinary turn of fate and timing, a few minutes after the atomic bomb dropped from the *Enola Gay*, Mitsuo Fuchida flew into the area. This was the same Mitsuo Fuchida who led the Japanese planes from their carriers to Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, bringing war to America, and as he flew past Hiroshima, he wondered what had caused the curious mushroom-shaped cloud he saw rising above the city. So the man who was present at the beginning was there at the end as well.)

In Manhattan the author Marcia Davenport was at one end of the apartment when she heard her husband, Russell, shout for her in a high, tense voice. He was listening to the New York Philharmonic broadcast, and when she ran into the room an announcer was talking about the attack on the U.S. fleet. Neither of them quite believed what they were hearing and they stared at each other, wondering if it might be a hoax of some kind, while repeating, "Japan? *Japan?*" A few hours later they sat talking with friends they had invited for a pickup supper, stupefied by the news, not knowing what to do, half-expecting that Hitler might have planned an attack on the East Coast to coincide with Pearl Harbor, when suddenly they heard the wail of an air-raid siren. Everyone stopped talking and looked around the table at the others. What now? Was this real? Marcia Davenport turned on the radio and switched off the lights, and they waited in the dark until a voice finally informed them that the sirens were being tested on account of the day's events.

The man the Davenports had tried so hard to get elected in 1940 was contemplating a trip to Australia on Sunday, December 7. That autumn the Australian government had invited Wendell Willkie to visit the commonwealth. As chance would have it, President Roosevelt had written him on December 5, saying he hoped Willkie would accept the invitation in the interest of Australian-American relations and the Allied cause. The letter reached Willkie after Pearl Harbor, and it was several days before he replied to the President, saying he would think further about the wisdom of making the trip.

Apart from that, however, he wanted to add something that was very much on his mind. Friends of Mr. Roosevelt were suggesting that he could be extremely useful to the

President in the national emergency, and Willkie hoped they had not troubled the Chief Executive on that score. Noting the incredibly anxious and burdensome days that lay ahead for the President, he wrote: "What I am trying to say—honestly, but awkwardly I am afraid, because it is not easy—is this: If any such well-meant suggestions about me are brought to you, I beg you to disregard them. There is on your shoulders the heaviest responsibility any man can carry and I would not add to it in the slightest way. Even to volunteer a willingness to serve seems to me now only an imposition on your attention. Every American is willing to serve."

On Sunday afternoon, December 7, that letter had not yet been written, but Wendell Willkie knew precisely what the mood of the country was: Everyone was willing to serve. The question for most of them would be how—and how soon.

Hitler was jubilant; without any preparation he vowed to declare war on America.

Now it's a world war: a barber and his customer read of Germany and Italy's coming in against the U.S., December 12.

"Yesterday comma December seventh comma . . ."

The first news bulletin had attracted a crowd to the Japanese embassy on Massachusetts Avenue, and as people stood watching, smoke began to rise from the rear of the building, where the staff was burning diplomatic papers. Onlookers were tight-lipped and silent, and a woman who was there said their faces reminded her of a lynch mob she once saw in Georgia.

In front of the President's house at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, another silent crowd had been collecting since the first announcement of the attack, and several hundred were on hand—some women and children, but mostly men with anger etched into their faces. These people were eager to do something and had no idea what shape action might take; mostly they had come here because they needed the reassurance of the White House, as if proximity to the embodiment of America's roots and its might would relieve their anxiety, their shock, and their horror, and even in the random comings and goings of high-level civilians and military men they found security of a sort, as if the very activity of important people could somehow set matters right.

A few minutes before five o'clock, President Roosevelt asked Grace Tully to come to his study, and she found him alone, with two or three neat piles of notes before him on his desk containing the information he had received in the last two hours. As she came in with her notebook, he lit a cigarette, took a deep drag, and said, "Sit down, Grace. I'm going before Congress tomorrow. I'd like to dictate my message. It will be short."

With that he took another long pull on the cigarette and began to speak in a calm tone as if he were dictating a letter, but she noticed that his diction was unusually incisive and slow and that he specified each punctuation mark.

"Yesterday comma December seventh comma 1941 dash a day which will live in infamy dash the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan period paragraph."

In fewer than five hundred words, spoken without hesitation or second thought, Roosevelt dictated the speech intended to lay America's case before Congress and the world. The message had none of Churchill's soaring prose, no patriotic summons, no bugle calls to action—only a simple, direct recitation of the facts, as in the conclusion: "I ask that the Congress declare that since the unprovoked and dastardly attack by Japan on Sunday comma December seventh comma a state of war has existed between the United States and the Japanese Empire period end."

When Grace Tully had transcribed her notes, the President called Hull back to the White House to go over the draft. As he anticipated, the Secretary of State had in hand a much longer message relating in explicit detail the long train of circumstances leading to war; again, Roosevelt was ready for him and would have none of it. He must have known that his wish in this grave instance was the wish of the whole American people, for he sensed that they wanted no oratory, no lawyer's brief, only the briefest summary of the facts, set forth by him in what might be described as controlled rage, so that the nation could get on with what needed to be done as quickly as possible. Except for a few minor changes of words, the only real addition he permitted was volunteered by Harry Hopkins, who suggested what appeared as the next-to-last sentence of the message: "With confidence in our armed forces—with the unbounded determination of our people—we will gain the inevitable triumph—so help us God."

Eleanor Roosevelt was carrying on gallantly downstairs, on the theory that her dinner guests had to eat somewhere

and it might as well be there, but it was not a relaxed occasion for the visitors, who were acutely aware of the empty chair at the head of the table and the stream of worried-looking men scurrying through the hall to or from the study that was the focus of the nation's attention. Ed and Janet Murrow were with Mrs. Roosevelt, as were her young friends Joe Lash and Trude Pratt, and during dinner the President sent word that Murrow was to wait, that he wanted to see him.

After the meal Janet departed to attend another party, at which the Murrows were to have been the guests of honor, while Ed went upstairs to sit on a bench outside the President's study. As he waited to be summoned, he observed the continuing procession of VIPs and overheard snatches of conversation as they passed, including a snarled rebuke to Frank Knox—"Goddamnit, sir, you ought not to be in charge of a rowboat, let alone the United States Navy!" Some years later, commenting on the charges that Roosevelt and his top advisers possessed advance knowledge of the attack on Pearl Harbor, Murrow recalled the opportunity he had had that night to observe these men off guard and said, "If they were *not* surprised by the news from Pearl Harbor, then that group of elderly men were putting on a performance which would have excited the admiration of any experienced actor."

FDR seemed relieved; the men in Tokyo, after all, had taken the decision for war or peace from his hands.

BOTH: UPI/BETTMANN

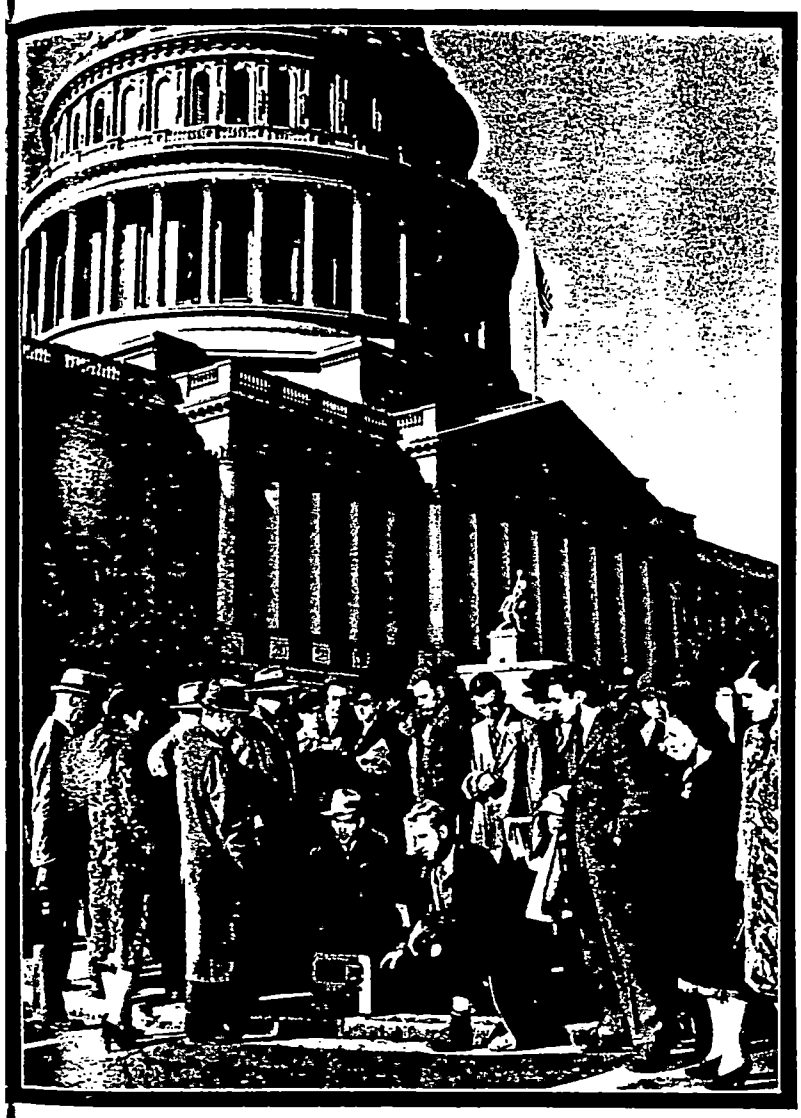
FDR signs the joint congressional resolution declaring war on Japan; at far right, a crowd in front of the Capitol follows developments on a portable radio.

"It sounds terribly fishy to me"

The affair in Pittsburgh that afternoon was billed in advance as "one of the biggest mass meetings ever staged here by the America First Committee," and the faithful began arriving early at Soldiers' and Sailors' Memorial Hall, on Sunday, December 7, to hear Sen. Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota and Irene Castle McLaughlin, the widow and former dancing partner of Vernon Castle, who was killed in World War I. Given the rapid pace of events and the polarization of opinion in the country, something like what happened here was almost bound to take place, but it proved to be a demonstration of America First at its most inept, a sorry end to a protest movement that had begun with such high hopes and ideals.

As luck would have it, the audience was seated by three o'clock, when the program was scheduled to begin, so these twenty-five hundred Pittsburghers were innocently unaware of the catastrophe in Hawaii. In an anteroom offstage a reporter informed Nye that Pearl Harbor and Manila had supposedly been bombed, but, lacking confirmation, and feeling that they should not hold up the meeting, the America First group decided that the show must go on.

It was almost five o'clock by the time Senator Nye got his chance to talk. Gerald the Giant Killer was feisty and proud of his reputation as a stump speaker against Roosevelt and the policies that were taking the country into war. He was not about to pass up an opportunity to harangue a crowd because of an unconfirmed report (though he had not troubled to check it out during the two hours he waited to speak). The unhappy result was that while hundreds of Americans were dying in Hawaii, the senator from North Dakota set some sort of record for insensitivity by striking out at the administration for fighting Britain's war and at Britain for suffering fewer casualties than any of its allies, lampooning the national debt and the destroyers-for-bases deal. He had been talking for half an hour when a local reporter walked



onto the stage and handed him a note stating that the Japanese had declared war on the United States.

Nye glanced at the piece of paper and with barely a pause completed his sentence. For another fifteen minutes he continued, interrupted only by cheers and shouts of "Impeach Roosevelt!," and at last he turned to the subject of the Far East and the administration's "studied effort to pick a war with Japan." At that point he stopped long enough to read what was written on the slip of paper before him. He seemed confused, one reporter noted, as if he had difficulty digesting it before he spoke again. "I have the worst news that I have had in twenty years to report," he declared. "The Japanese Imperial Government at four P.M. announced a state of war between it and the United States and Britain." Then, incredibly, he proceeded to deliver the rest of his prepared speech, and when it was done and reporters gathered around to ask for comments on the Pearl Harbor disaster, he told them, "It sounds terribly fishy to me."

Then and later it was customary to sneer at the isolationists and pass them off as an aberration of the thirties, myopes who had failed to perceive reality. And certainly there was some truth in the accusation. Yet the charge fails to take into account that the isolationists' illusion was all of a piece with the ancient European dream of America as an innocent, uncorrupted land, untroubled by the Old World's wars, a new Eden where man might make a fresh start. "Liberty has still a continent to live on," Horace Walpole had promised, and in what people had called the Great War—the one to make the world safe for democracy, which my father and his generation fought—Americans went off to Europe resolved to set matters right, singing ". . . we won't come back till it's over, over there." But there was no coming back to a sanctuary set apart by oceans, no holding off the world. One of the lessons of 1941, as of 1914, was that America, like it or not, was part of the whole. In the twentieth century no nation was an island.

"On the ground, by God, on the ground!"

By evening people were standing five and six deep on the sidewalk beyond the tall iron fence around the White House grounds, peering at the lighted windows in hopes of spotting movement inside, watching intently the arrival of each automobile to see if they could identify passengers, and by the time Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes appeared for the cabinet meeting the moon was up, misty and indistinct. He noticed especially how quiet and serious the crowds were, and he decided their presence was an example of the human instinct to get close to the scene of action even if one could see or hear nothing. Some cabinet officers had been trying all afternoon to get back to Washington, and Ickes was pleased to see that everyone had made it. Postmaster General Frank Walker and Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, had flown from New York in a special plane; so had the Treasury Secretary, Henry Morgenthau.

Promptly at eight-thirty the full cabinet met, with the members forming a ring completely around the President's desk. Ickes noticed at once how solemn Roosevelt was: no wisecracks or jokes this evening, not even a smile, and the calmness he had displayed earlier in the afternoon was largely gone, replaced by tension and signs of enormous fatigue. The President began by telling them that this was probably the gravest crisis to confront a cabinet since 1861; then he filled them in on everything he had heard from Hawaii, making clear that what they had on their hands was the worst naval defeat in American history. Not only that: Guam had probably been captured, and it was likely that Wake was gone, while the Japanese were advancing on Manila, Singapore, Hong Kong, and other locations in the Malay States. For all anyone knew, an attack might be taking place in Hawaii at that very moment.

Even though they had heard some of this news before they arrived, the detailed catalogue of catastrophe shocked the cabinet members—that and the manner in which Roosevelt described the disaster. Frances Perkins said he actually had "physical difficulty in getting out the words that put him on record as knowing that the navy was caught unawares." It was obvious to her that he was "having a dreadful time just accepting the idea." Yet she knew him well, and she de-

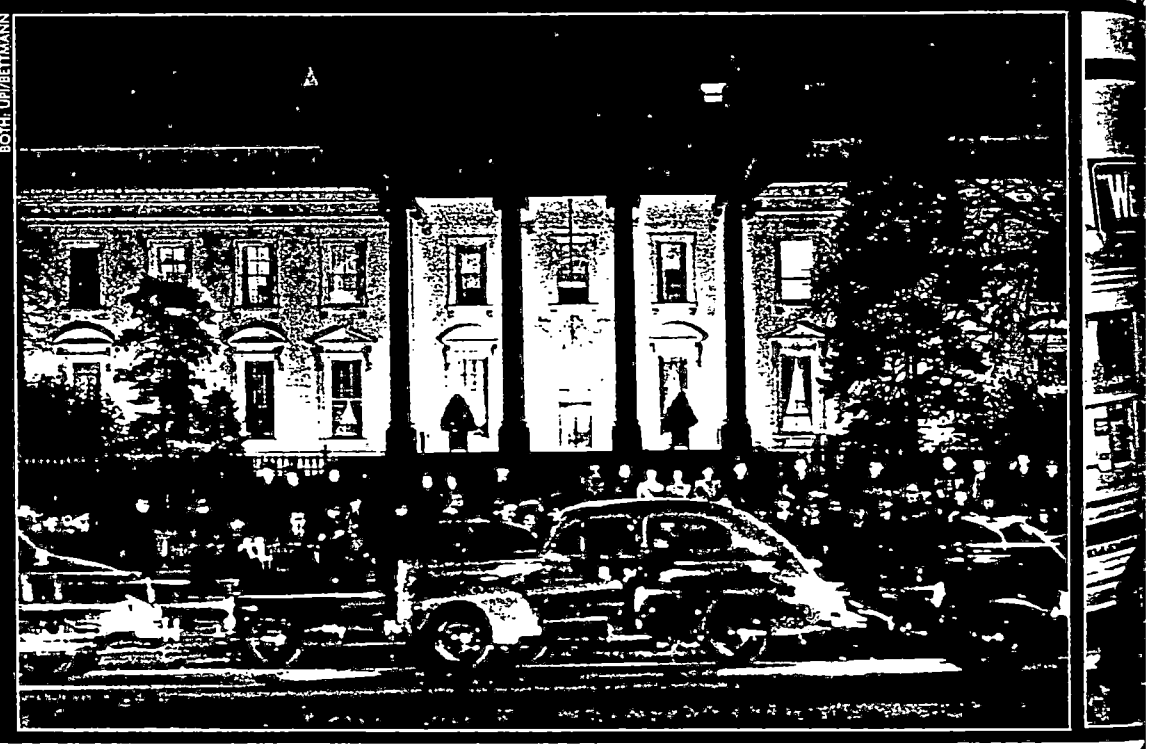
tected an evasive look, revealing the wave of relief he was reluctant to acknowledge—relief that the long period of tension, of not knowing what the Japanese would do and when they would do it, was over. The men in Tokyo, after all, had taken the decision for war or peace from the President's hands.

Throughout the meeting, according to Ickes, Hull behaved more than ever like a Christian martyr—indignant that he was the one to have been duped by the Japanese diplomats They knew these negotiations were going on." Knox was obviously deeply embarrassed by these and other questions but made no attempt to reply.

Finally, at twelve-thirty, it was Ed Murrow's turn in the study, and the President ordered beer and sandwiches. Joining them was Col. William Donovan, who was then engaged in setting up an intelligence organization that would be known as the Office of Strategic Services (OSS). Mr. Roosevelt, dead tired, his face ashen, asked Murrow a few ques-

There were some women and children in front of the White House, but mostly men with anger etched into their faces.

BOTH: UPI/BETTMANN



The lights in the White House burned all night, and crowds waited quietly outside; at far right, FDR's press secretary Steve Early briefs reporters.

while their army and navy were plotting against us, since it was obvious that the expedition against Pearl Harbor had been in the works for months. Despite FDR's annoyance, moreover, Hull was still plumping for a long presidential message to Congress, but when Roosevelt read his own draft aloud, all but the Secretary of State agreed that he had struck exactly the right note.

Shortly after nine-thirty the congressional leaders were ushered into the study, and the cabinet members moved back to let them have the chairs surrounding the President's desk. The President reviewed the situation with them in much the same words he had used with the cabinet, informing them that "the casualties, I am sorry to say, were extremely heavy" and that "we have lost the majority of the battleships there."

Following his summary of the attack, there was dead silence until the man most visibly outraged said what most of the others were thinking. Tom Connolly of Texas, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, asked, "How did it happen that our warships were caught like tame ducks in Pearl Harbor? I am amazed at the attack by Japan, but I am still more astounded at what happened to our navy. They were all asleep!" he exploded. "Where were our patrols?

tions about the bombing of London and the morale of the British and then informed his visitors in detail about the losses at Pearl Harbor—the loss of life, how ships had been sunk at their moorings and planes destroyed on the airstrips—and he pounded his fist on the table and groaned, "On the ground, by God, on the ground!"

For a reporter on this night of nights, it was the chance of a lifetime, since the details that Roosevelt gave them—with no indication that what he said should be off the record—would not be made public for hours—in some cases, for months. The President mentioned that he had talked with Churchill, who told him of attacks on British bases, and he asked Donovan if he thought this might be part of an overall Axis plan. The latter had no evidence to offer but said it was certainly a reasonable assumption. Then Roosevelt asked a rather curious question, hinting at the isolationists' powerful influence on his thinking and his intense concern about public unity: Did they believe the nation would now support a declaration of war? Both men assured him that it would.

As Murrow was taking his leave after more than half an hour's conversation, the President inquired, "Did this surprise you?"

"Yes, Mr. President," he replied.

"Maybe you think it didn't surprise us!" Roosevelt responded.

In the early hours of the morning Murrow returned to the hotel and for hours paced the floor, smoking continuously, debating whether or not he could reveal the information he had heard from the President. "The biggest story of my life," he kept telling his wife, "and I can't make up my mind whether it's my duty to tell it or forget it." In the end he decided it had been told him in confidence and he should not report what Roosevelt had said.

"We have never even considered a war against the United States"

The telephone awakened Ambassador Joseph Grew in Tokyo at 7:00 A.M. on December 8. The call was urgent, requesting that he come as quickly as possible to see Foreign Minister Shigenori Togo, and, without taking time even to shave, he threw on some clothes. When he arrived at 7:30, he found Togo grim, formal, and—as always—imperturbable. The Japanese official made a brief statement and slapped down on the table the thirteen-page memorandum that Nomura had delivered to Hull. Then he made a pretty little speech thanking Grew for his cooperation during the long negotiations and walked downstairs to see him to the door. Not a word was spoken about Pearl Harbor. Indeed, not until after he had shaved and breakfasted did Grew learn that the two countries were at war, and this was not confirmed until late morning, when a functionary appeared at the embassy and, hands trembling, read the official announcement.

Shortly thereafter the embassy gates were closed and the ambassador was told that no one could enter or leave, that no cipher messages could be sent, and that all telegrams must be submitted to the Foreign Office for approval. The British ambassador and several others from the diplomatic colony managed to get past the police outside the gates and bid farewell to the Americans, and they were followed by a group of extremely polite Japanese, who apologized profusely before confiscating all the short-wave radios in the embassy. None of the Americans knew, of course, how long it would be before they might be exchanged for Japan's diplomats in Washington, and about sixty members of the staff assembled for cocktails that evening, livened by a few brave speeches. Arrangements were made for those who lived outside the compound to move into the embassy, sharing apartments, bunking down on mattresses on the floor.

Reflecting on the way Tokyo had borrowed blitzkrieg tactics from its allies in Berlin, Grew concluded that "if the Japanese had confined themselves to the Far East and had attacked only the Philippines, there would have been pacifists and isolationists at home who would have said that we have no business in the Far East anyway, but once they attacked Hawaii it was certain that the American people would rise up in a solid unit of fury." The task ahead would not be easy, he knew, but Japan's defeat was absolutely certain, and he permitted himself a smile of satisfaction as he recalled how he had warned Washington to be ready for a step of "dangerous and dramatic suddenness"—exactly what had occurred.

Grew might be right that victory over Japan was certain, but what good was that if Britain and Russia should fall, if Hitler should triumph in Europe? Despite pressure from Stimson, in particular, who argued that Germany had pushed Japan to attack, President Roosevelt resisted the temptation to declare war on Germany and Italy, hoping that Hitler would relieve him of the necessity to act. He detected "a lingering distinction in some quarters of the public between war with Japan and war with Germany," he told the British ambassador, and although Berlin was ominously silent, he decided to wait it out to see if the Führer would resolve his dilemma.

Hitler had his hands full. Winter had closed in on Russia, and his dream of conquering that nation in a single summer campaign ended as the days grew shorter and brutal cold and blizzards descended on the land. On December 6, to the utter surprise of the German high command, the Russians seized the initiative when the temperature was thirty-five degrees below zero, launched a major assault with one hundred fresh divisions, and threw back the Wehrmacht within twelve miles of the center of Moscow. Simultaneously, Gen. Erwin Rommel's Afrika Corps began to retreat in the desert, and Hitler assumed control of all military operations. Curiously, despite the many warning signs from the Far East, the Japanese attack took him by surprise. In the spring he had urged his allies in Tokyo to move against Singapore, saying that one of the benefits would be to deter the United States from entering the war, but he had not contemplated hostilities between Japan and America. As the German foreign minister Joachim von Ribbentrop perceived, the Japanese attack "brought about what we had wanted to avoid at all costs,

war between Germany and America," but Hitler himself was jubilant. Rejoicing in the news—"The turning point!" he proclaimed when he heard it—he dismissed the advice of those around him and made another monumental miscalculation: He would declare war on the United States.

Knowing virtually nothing about the United States, viewing it merely as a decadent bourgeois democracy incapable of waging or sustaining a prolonged war, he disastrously underestimated its strength (an opinion bolstered by the apparent ease of the Japanese triumph), and despite the lack of the most elementary preparations (one of his headquarters officers admitted that "we have never even considered a war against the United States") and the certainty of U.S. intervention in the European war, he left his Wolf's Lair bunker on the evening of December 8, returned to Berlin, and began to prepare a speech to the Reichstag. On December 11, after denouncing Roosevelt as "the main culprit of this war" and a creature of the Jews, he announced to deafening applause that he had arranged for the American chargé d'affaires to be handed his passport. Now the fire he had ignited with the invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939, would rage around the world.

They could hardly imagine that they were seeing certain friends for the last time.

Boston men stand in line to join up; recruiting offices across the country were busy the day after the attack.

"The shortest, gladdest years of life"

Sunday, December 7, 1941, was my parents' twenty-first wedding anniversary, and I had called them that morning from New York City to wish them many more of the same. They were going to church in their hometown of Pittsburgh, as they nearly always did, confident that Rev. Hugh Thompson Kerr would reinforce their Presbyterianism in the most amiable manner imaginable. I was never sure how much they liked the idea of my spending a lot of time in New York City; after all, if you were paying someone's tuition at Yale, you probably thought he should stick to his studies there. But I was pretty well caught up on my work and had come to New York for several days, planning to stay through the weekend. Before leaving New Haven, my classmate Dick Drain and I had written one of our occasional, purportedly humorous "Brothers Grim" columns for the Yale *Daily News* and had turned in what both of us recognized as a piece of fluff for the Saturday, December 6, issue—a hasty, last-minute effort before Christmas vacation—in which, by pure coincidence, we imagined ourselves during the approaching "reading period" in Honolulu, taking in the sun and fun on Waikiki Beach.

I had been spending more time in New York that fall with my friend Bobs Bray. She was commuting to Sarah Lawrence as a day student; happily, her mother's apartment had a spare, closet-size bedroom where I was welcome to stay; and I had begun work on my senior thesis, which was to be a history of *The New Yorker*, and was doing much of the research at the magazine's office on West Forty-third Street. That Sunday morning we had a late breakfast and sat around reading the paper. After lunch Bobs and I went out for a long walk. Sometime before three o'clock we were strolling down Madison Avenue, several blocks from her mother's apartment. Suddenly it was very cold, with the sun low in the sky, sinking behind the tall building, and I turned my coat collar against the sharp wind. We passed a soda fountain and decided to have a hot chocolate, and while we sat at the counter the news came over the radio.

As in millions of other homes that night, we talked the hours away, for the first time contemplating a future in which the two of us might be separated for long periods, though we could not admit to the unspoken fear beneath the surface: the possibility that I might go off to war and not come back. Whatever else we may have thought about during that troubled evening, it never occurred to us that what lay ahead would prove to be the great divide for our generation—not only a chasm that would swallow up some of our closest friends but the demarcation line against which we would measure time and change ever afterward, as the Civil War and the First World War marked them off for our great-grandfathers' and fathers' generations.

On the Yale campus itself a carol service was in progress in Dwight Hall. A mixed group of students and faculty families raised their voices in the old Advent hymn, joyously singing out "Gloria in excelsis Deo!" at the same time the announcer at the Polo Grounds in New York interrupted the Giants-Dodgers football game with the news that Pearl Harbor had been bombed.

All over the campus students were preparing for Monday classes when the word came, and it sent them rushing from their rooms, spilling out into the streets of New Haven, until two entire blocks on Elm Street were filled with undergradu-

ates, churning about, moving without a destination, a mass of nervous energy seeking release in shouting, singing "Over There," yelling, "On to Tokyo!" Long after dark they were on the march up Hillhouse Avenue to President Seymour's house, to serenade with "The Star-Spangled Banner" the aloof, dignified man who had been a delegate to the peace conference in Versailles only twenty-two years before. Seymour was sick in bed and had to dress, and while the students milled around, waiting for him to appear, the secretary of the university led them in singing "Bright College Years," which nearly everyone regarded mistakenly as the alma mater and which almost no one realized was set to the tune of Germany's World War I anthem, "Die Wacht am Rhein." Its sentimental words were as much a product of another generation as the man to whom they were sung, but they had a particular poignancy at this moment, coming from a little band of America's youth, their hundreds of uplifted faces illuminated by the soft light from the President's house:

Bright college years, with pleasure rife,
The shortest, gladdest years of life;
How swiftly are ye gliding by!
Oh, why doth time so swiftly fly? . . .

At last the President appeared to address the "Men of Yale," recalling similar gatherings in 1898 and 1917, reminding them of the university's tradition of loyalty and service to the nation, telling them how proud he was that they were ready to serve. Seymour was not exactly a spellbinder, but the undergraduates listened politely enough, rewarded him with a chorus of "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow," and set off toward the center of town, shouting the rallying cry of so many football weekends: "On to the Taft!" The magic of the moment was gone, and Charles Seymour watched as the darkness swallowed them up.

The management of the Taft Hotel was resigned to occasional outpourings of enthusiasm by Yale students, but neither they nor their paying guests were prepared for the small army that swarmed through the lobby, past and over chairs, couches, and potted plants, a bobbing, weaving, boisterous snake dance that made its way noisily up the stairs, through the corridors to the top floor, and down and out again onto the streets. For most students and the "townies" who had joined them, it seemed like good clean fun, but windows were broken, potted plants overturned, the hotel lobby was a mess, and beneath the fun ran an undercurrent of potentially destructive force, a mix of exhilaration and anger that reflected the shock of the day's news—that, and a kind of relief that the uncertainties of the past months had been resolved at last. Fortunately for everyone, the police appeared in force, the students ran out of steam, and after a brief mass sit-down on the trolley tracks to demonstrate their independence, the students broke up into groups of two or three and slowly faded away in the night.

They could have no idea of the hardships and suffering that lay ahead or of the thin margin that would separate their country and its allies from defeat at times. As they strode through the cobbled streets of New Haven on that December evening, bursting with the force of youth and defiance, laughing, cheering, some with tears in their eyes, they could hardly imagine that they were seeing certain friends in the crowd for the last time, or know that the only future vestige of those names or faces would be the dimming memory of lost comrades forever young, glowing and strong, walking arm-in-arm through a college town on the night the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor.

All that was for the future; for now, everything was lost in joyful exuberance and a surge of patriotism, the likes of which might not be seen again on that campus or another. During those borrowed years before the unsought war came to America, these students had favored America's entry into the war, or they had opposed it, or they had not known exactly where they stood, but the differences that had seemed so important didn't really matter any longer. What needed to be done now seemed very clear. ★

Beneath the fun was a mix of exhilaration and anger that reflected the shock of the day's news.


Yale Daily News

NAVAL BLITZ OPENS WAR
1500 MEET NEWS WITH RIOT

Seymour Sees Need of Unity and Discipline

British Follow Empire in War Against Japs

Faculty, Student Comment Expresses Surprise, Optimism in Eastern Crisis

The front page of the Yale *Daily News* on December 8.

YALE UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES

Richard Ketchum was the editor of *The American Heritage Picture History of the Civil War* and cofounder of *Country Journal*. He is the author of several books on American history; the most recent is *The Borrowed Years: America on the Way to War, 1938–1941*, published this month by Random House, from which this article was adapted.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Peggy:

I like the anchor=hope symbol on the Solidarity Mnmt. I'm trying to work with it. I'd like to see a picture of the memorial to refresh my memory.

Also: please check quote ~~sources~~ books for interesting entries under "new world."

Thanks!!!

DMcG

368.3
157.2
787.12
422.12
574.4
016.1
861.7
524.13

And flashing round and round, and whirled
in an arch,
Shot like a streamer of the northern morn,
Seen where the moving isles of winter shock
By night, with noises of the northern sea,
So flashed and fell the brand Excalibur.
Morte d'Arthur [1842], l. 133

1 Lo! the level lake
And the long glories of the winter moon.
Ib. l. 184

2 Half light, half shade,
She stood, a sight to make an old man young.
The Gardener's Daughter [1842], l. 139

3 The long mechanic pacings to and fro,
The set gray life, and apathetic end.
Love and Duty [1842], l. 17

4 Meet is it changes should control
Our being, lest we rest in ease.
Love Thou Thy Land [1842], st. 11

5 Ah! when shall all men's good
Be each man's rule, and universal peace
Lie like a shaft of light across the land,
And like a lane of beams athwart the sea,
Through all the circle of the golden year?
The Golden Year [1842], l. 47

6 It little profits that an idle king,
By this still hearth, among these barren
crags,
Matched with an aged wife, I mete and dole
Unequal laws unto a savage race.
Ulysses [1842], l. 1

7 I will drink
Life to the lees. *Ib. l. 6*

8 Much have I seen and known; cities of men
And manners, climates, councils, govern-
ments,
Myself not least, but honored of them all;
And drunk delight of battle with my peers,
Far on the ringing plains of windy Troy.
I am a part of all that I have met;
Yet all experience is an arch wherethrough
Gleams that untraveled world.[1]
Ib. l. 13

9 How dull it is to pause, to make an end,
To rust unburnished, not to shine in use,
As though to breathe were life!
Ib. l. 22

10 And this gray spirit yearning in desire
To follow knowledge like a sinking star,
Beyond the utmost bound of human thought.
Ib. l. 30

11 This is my son, mine own Telemachus.
Ib. l. 33

12 Death closes all: but something ere the end,
Some work of noble note, may yet be done,
Not unbecoming men that strove with gods.
Ib. l. 51

13 The deep
Moans round with many voices.[2] Come, my
friends,
'Tis not too late to seek a newer world.
Push off, and sitting well in order smite
The sounding furrows, for my purpose holds
To sail beyond the sunset, and the baths
Of all the western stars, until I die.
It may be that the gulfs will wash us down;
It may be we shall touch the Happy Isles,
And see the great Achilles, whom we knew.
Ib. l. 55

14 To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield.[3]
Ib. l. 70

15 Comrades, leave me here a little, while as yet
'tis early morn:
Leave me here, and when you want me,
sound upon the bugle horn.
Locksley Hall [1842], l. 1

16 In the spring a young man's fancy lightly
turns to thoughts of love. *Ib. l. 19*

17 He will hold thee, when his passion shall
have spent its novel force,
Something better than his dog, a little dearer
than his horse. *Ib. l. 49*

18 The many-wintered crow that leads the
clanging rookery home. *Ib. l. 68*

19 Such a one do I remember, whom to look at
was to love.[4] *Ib. l. 72*

20 This is the truth the poet sings,
That a sorrow's crown of sorrow is remember-
ing happier things.[5] *Ib. l. 75*

21 Like a dog, he hunts in dreams.
Ib. l. 79

22 With a little hoard of maxims preaching
down a daughter's heart. *Ib. l. 94*

23 But the jingling of the guinea helps the hurt
that Honor feels. *Ib. l. 105*

24 For I dipped into the future, far as human eye
could see,
Saw the Vision of the world, and all the won-
der that would be;
Saw the heavens fill with commerce, argosies
of magic sails,

[1] See Henry Adams, 634:18.

[2] See *Revelation 14*:2, 53:22, and Eliot, 808:2.

[3] Inscribed on the cross erected to the memory of Captain Robert Falcon Scott [1868–1912] and his men at Hut Point in the Antarctic.

[4] See Burns, 410:3, and Halleck, 464:11.

[5] See Pindar, 72:1; Boethius, 129:22; Dante, 141:2; and Chaucer, 144:24.

science in the awareness of being human and of believing in a common destiny.
Toward the Splendid City, upon receiving the Nobel Prize [1971]

1 What a great language I have, it's a fine language we inherited from the fierce Conquistadors . . . They carried everything off and left us everything . . . They left us the words.
Memoirs (Confieso Que He Vivido: Memorias) [1974],[1] *ch. 2*

2 Night in Valparaiso! . . . The immense deserted night set up its formation of colossal figures that seeded light far and wide. Aldebaran trembled, throbbing far above, Cassiopeia hung her dress on heaven's doors, while the noiseless chariot of the Southern Cross rolled over the night sperm of the Milky Way. *Ib. 3*

3 Poetry is an act of peace. Peace goes into the making of a poet as flour goes into the making of bread. *Ib. 6*

4 I continue to work with the materials I have, the materials I am made of. With feelings, beings, books, events, and battles, I am omnivorous. I would like to swallow the whole earth. I would like to drink the whole sea. *Ib. 11*

5 Poetry is a deep inner calling in man; from it came liturgy, the psalms, and also the content of religions. *Ib.*

J. Robert Oppenheimer[2]
1904–1967

6 In some sort of crude sense which no vulgarity, no humor, no overstatement can quite extinguish, the physicists have known sin; and this is a knowledge which they cannot lose.[3]
Physics in the Contemporary World, lecture at Massachusetts Institute of Technology [November 25, 1947]

7 The open society, the unrestricted access to knowledge, the unplanned and uninhibited association of men for its furtherance—these are what may make a vast, complex, ever growing, ever changing, ever more specialized and expert technological world, nevertheless a world of human community.
Science and the Common Understanding [1953]

Sidney Joseph Perelman
1904–1979

8 One Touch of Venus.
Title of play [1943] (with OGDEN NASH)

9 Crazy Like a Fox.
Title of book [1944]

Isaac Bashevis Singer
1904–

10 When literature becomes overly erudite, it means that interest in the art has gone and curiosity about the artist is what's most important. It becomes a kind of idolatry.
Isaac Bashevis Singer Talks . . . About Everything, interview with Richard Burgin in the New York Times Magazine [November 26, 1978]

11 It seems that the analysis of character is the highest human entertainment. And literature does it, unlike gossip, without mentioning real names. *Ib.*

12 When the writer becomes the center of his attention, he becomes a nudnik. And a nudnik who believes he's profound is even worse than just a plain nudnik. *Ib.*

13 We know what a person thinks not when he tells us what he thinks, but by his actions. *Ib.*

14 The greatness of art is not to find what is common but what is unique. *Ib.*

15 Sometimes love is stronger than a man's convictions. *Ib.*

16 If you write about the things and the people you know best, you discover your roots. Even if they are new roots, fresh roots . . . they are better than . . . no roots. *Ib.*

17 What nature delivers to us is never stale. Because what nature creates has eternity in it. *Ib.*

18 The very essence of literature is the war between emotion and intellect, between life and death. When literature becomes too intellectual—when it begins to ignore the

[1] Translated by HARDIE ST. MARTIN.
[2] For the passage quoted by Oppenheimer at the explosion of the first atom bomb [Alamogordo, New Mexico, July 16, 1945], see *Bhagavad Gita*, 94:15. He also quoted Vishnu from the *Gita*: I am become death, the destroyer of worlds.
[3] See Adlai Stevenson, 851:15.

1 It was from America that the plain ideas that men ought to mind their business, and that the nation is responsible to Heaven for the acts of the State—ideas long locked in the breast of solitary thinkers, and hidden among Latin folios—burst forth like a conqueror upon the world they were destined to transform, under the title of the Rights of Man . . . and the principle gained ground, that a nation can never abandon its fate to an authority it cannot control. *Ib.* 2

2 The one pervading evil of democracy is the tyranny of the majority, or rather of that party, not always the majority, that succeeds, by force or fraud, in carrying elections. *Ib.* 3

3 Truth is the only merit that gives dignity and worth to history. *Ib.* 4

4 Writers the most learned, the most accurate in details, and the soundest in tendency, frequently fall into a habit which can neither be cured nor pardoned—the habit of making history into the proof of their theories. *Ib.* 8

George Arnold
1834–1865

5 Life for the living, and rest for the dead!
The Jolly Old Pedagogue, st. 2

Sabine Baring-Gould
1834–1924

6 Onward, Christian soldiers,
Marching as to war,
With the Cross of Jesus
Going on before!
Onward, Christian Soldiers [1864], st. 1

7 Now the day is over,
Night is drawing nigh;
Shadows of the evening
Steal across the sky.
Now the Day Is Over [1865], st. 1

8 Through the night of doubt and sorrow
Onward goes the pilgrim band,
Singing songs of expectation,
Marching to the promised land.
Through the Night of Doubt and Sorrow [1867], st. 1[1]

[1]Translated from the Danish of B. S. INGEMANN [1825].

Charles Farrar Browne
[Artemus Ward]
1834–1867

9 I now bid you a welcome adoo.
Artemus Ward, His Book [1862]

10 My pollertics, like my religion, being of an exceedin' accommodatin' character.
Ib. The Crisis

11 N.B. This is rote sarcastikul.
Ib. A Visit to Brigham Young

12 The female woman is one of the greatest institooshuns of which this land can boste.
Ib. Woman's Rights

13 I am not a politician, and my other habits are good, also.[2]
Fourth of July Oration

14 The prevailin' weakness of most public men is to Slop over. G. Washington never slopt over. *Ib.*

15 I can't sing. As a singist I am not a success. I am saddest when I sing.[3] So are those who hear me. They are sadder even than I am.
Artemus Ward, His Travels [1865]. Lecture

16 Did you ever have the measels, and if so, how many? *Ib. The Census*

17 The Puritans nobly fled from a land of despotism to a land of freedim, where they could not only enjoy their own religion, but could prevent everybody else from enjoyin *his.*[4]
London Punch Letters, no. 5 [1866]

18 Why is this thus? What is the reason of this thusness? *Moses, the Sassy*

19 He [Brigham Young] is dreadfully married. He's the most married man I ever saw in my life. *Ib.*

20 Let us all be happy and live within our means, even if we have to borrow the money to do it with. *Natural History*

21 The sun has a right to "set" where it wants to, and so, I may add, has a hen.
A Mormon Romance, ch. 4

22 They cherish his mem'ry, and them as sell picturs of his birthplace, etc., make it prof'tible cherishin' it.
At the Tomb of Shakespeare

[2]A favorite quotation of John F. Kennedy.
[3]I'm Saddest When I Sing.—T. H. BAYLY [1797–1839], *title of poem*
[4]The Puritan's idea of Hell is a place where everybody has to mind his own business.—*Attributed to* WENDELL PHILLIPS [1811–1884]

1 O to be self-balanced for contingencies,
To confront night, storms, hunger, ridicule, accidents, rebuffs, as the trees and animals do. *Ib.*

2 I hear America singing, the varied carols I hear. *Ib. I Hear America Singing*

3 Starting from fish-shape Paumanok where I was born,
Well-begotten, and raised by a perfect mother,
After roaming many lands, lover of populous pavements,
Dweller in Mannahatta my city, or on southern savannas.
Ib. Starting from Paumanok, 1

4 Solitary, singing in the West, I strike up for a New World. *Ib.*

5 Americanos! conquerors! marches humanitarian! *Ib. 3*

6 I will put in my poems that with you is heroism upon land and sea,
And I will report all heroism from an American point of view. *Ib. 6*

7 I say the whole earth and all the stars in the sky are for religion's sake. *Ib. 7*

8 I say that the real and permanent grandeur of these States must be their religion. *Ib.*

9 And I will show of male and female that either is but the equal of the other. *Ib. 12*

10 Nothing can happen more beautiful than death.[1] *Ib.*

11 I celebrate myself, and sing myself,
And what I assume you shall assume.
Ib. Song of Myself, 1

12 I loafe and invite my soul. *Ib.*

13 Urge and urge and urge,
Always the procreant urge of the world. *Ib. 3*

14 A kelson of the creation is love. *Ib. 5*

15 A child said *What is the grass?* fetching it to me with full hands. *Ib. 6*

16 Or I guess it is the handkerchief of the Lord. *Ib.*

17 And now it seems to me the beautiful uncut hair of graves. *Ib.*

18 Has anyone supposed it lucky to be born?
I hasten to inform him or her, it is just as lucky to die, and I know it. *Ib. 7*

19 I am he that walks with the tender and growing night,
I call to the earth and sea half-held by the night.
Press close bare-bosomed night—press close magnetic nourishing night!
Night of south winds—night of the large few stars![2]
Still nodding night—mad naked summer night. *Ib. 21*

20 Walt Whitman, a kosmos, of Manhattan the son,
Turbulent, fleshy, sensual, eating, drinking and breeding,
No sentimentalist, no stander above men and women or apart from them,
No more modest than immodest. *Ib. 24*

21 I dote on myself, there is that lot of me and all so luscious. *Ib.*

22 I hear the violoncello ('tis the young man's heart's complaint). *Ib. 26*

23 I believe a leaf of grass is no less than the journey-work of the stars. *Ib. 31*

24 I think I could turn and live with animals, they are so placid and self-contained,
I stand and look at them long and long.
They do not sweat and whine about their condition,
They do not lie awake in the dark and weep for their sins,
They do not make me sick discussing their duty to God,
Not one is dissatisfied, not one is demented with the mania of owning things,
Not one kneels to another, nor to his kind that lived thousands of years ago,
Not one is respectable or unhappy over the whole earth. *Ib. 32*

25 I am the man, I suffered, I was there. *Ib. 33*

26 Behold, I do not give lectures or a little charity,
When I give I give myself.[3] *Ib. 40*

27 I have said that the soul is not more than the body,
And I have said that the body is not more than the soul,

Whitman himself, literally from his deathbed, and hence it is sometimes called the "Deathbed Edition." Whitman wrote of it: "As there are now several editions of *Leaves of Grass*, different texts and dates, I wish to say that I prefer and recommend this present one."

[1] Why fear death? Death is only a beautiful adventure. —CHARLES FROHMAN [1860–1915], last words to a group of friends as the *Lusitania* was sinking [May 7, 1915]

[2] See Flecker, 785:17.

[3] See Emerson, 498:6; Lowell, 567:14; and Gibran, 782:16.

No—here's to the pilot that weathered the storm.
Song for the Inauguration of the Pitt Club [May 25, 1802]

1 I give thee sixpence! I will see thee damned first.
The Anti-Jacobin, no. 11 [1797]. The Friend of Humanity and the Knife-Grinder, st. 9

2 I think of those companions true
Who studied with me at the U-
niversity of Göttingen.
Ib. no. 30 [1798]. The Rovers, song, st. 1

3 A steady patriot of the world alone,
The friend of every country but his own.[1]
Ib. no 36 [1798]. New Morality, l. 113

4 And finds, with keen, discriminating sight,
Black's not so black—nor white so *very* white.
Ib. l. 199

5 Give me the avowed, erect, and manly foe,
Firm I can meet, perhaps return the blow;
But of all plagues, good Heaven, thy wrath can send,
Save, save, oh save me from the candid friend![2]
Ib. l. 207

6 In matters of commerce the fault of the Dutch
Is offering too little and asking too much.
Dispatch to Sir Charles Bagot, British minister at The Hague [January 31, 1826]

7 I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old.
The King's Message [December 12, 1826]

Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel
1770–1831

8 What is reasonable is real; that which is real is reasonable.
Philosophy of Right [1821]

9 What experience and history teach is this —that people and governments never have learned anything from history, or acted on principles deduced from it.
Philosophy of History [1832],[3] *introduction*

10 Amid the pressure of great events, a general principle gives no help. *Ib.*

11 To him who looks upon the world rationally, the world in its turn presents a rational aspect. The relation is mutual. *Ib.*

12 The history of the world is none other than the progress of the consciousness of freedom. *Ib.*

13 We may affirm absolutely that nothing great in the world has been accomplished without passion. *Ib.*

14 It is easier to discover a deficiency in individuals, in states, and in Providence, than to see their real import and value. *Ib.*

15 Life has a value only when it has something valuable as its object. *Ib.*

16 Serious occupation is labor that has reference to some want.
Ib. pt. I, sec. 2, ch. 1

17 It is a matter of perfect indifference where a thing originated; the only question is: "Is it true in and for itself?" *Ib. III, 3, 2*

18 The Few assume to be the *deputies*, but they are often only the *despoilers* of the Many. *Ib. IV, 3, 3*

James Hogg[4]
1770–1835

19 We'll o'er the water, we'll o'er the sea,
We'll o'er the water to Charlie;
Come weal, come woe, we'll gather and go,
And live and die wi' Charlie.
O'er the Water to Charlie

20 For Kilmeny had been she knew not where,
And Kilmeny had seen what she could not declare. *Kilmeny, l. 38*

Joseph Hopkinson
1770–1842

21 Hail, Columbia! happy land!
Hail, ye heroes! heaven-born band!
Who fought and bled in Freedom's cause.
Hail, Columbia [1798],[5] *st. 1*

[1] This refers to the Jacobin.
See Shakespeare, 212:20; Overbury, 262:13; and Gilbert, 629:7.

[2] Defend me from my friends; I can defend myself from my enemies.—*Attributed to* MARÉCHAL VILLARS, *when taking leave of Louis XIV*

[3] Translated by J. SIBREE.
Quoted by G. B. Shaw in *The Revolutionist's Handbook.*

[4] The Ettrick Shepherd.

[5] The music, generally attributed to Philip Phile, was Washington's inaugural march. Hopkinson supplied verses at a singer's request, and the song won instant acclaim.

Malinowski
-1942

necessity? As regards
he answer is emphati-
w of the poisonous dart
) murder a woman or a
; not pugnacity. Nor is
natching, or killing for
tural.
appa Address, Harvard
ty [September 17, 1936]

O'Casey
4–1964

s in a state of chassis.
nd the Paycock[3] *[1924]*

nim is all I ask; one min-
while you're runnin' for
:tor.
ow and the Stars [1926], act II

scrawls o' chaps with a
Rosary beads, again' a
d thrained men with
ery . . . an' he wants us
Ib. IV

anor Roosevelt[4]
84–1962

e you feel inferior without
This Is My Story [1937]

h, courage and confidence
e in which you really stop
face. You are able to say
ed through this horror. I
thing that comes along."
the thing you think you

ou Learn by Living [1960]

to be lived, and curiosity
One must never, for what-
his back on life.
Autobiography of Eleanor Roosevelt [1961]

an a friend, I have lost an inspira-
light candles than curse the dark-
warmed the world. — ADLAI E. STE-
1962]
ne candle than curse the darkness.
opher Society

Damon Runyon
1884–1946

1 Guys and Dolls.
Title of collection of stories [1931] and musical [1950]

2 My boy . . . always try to rub up against money, for if you rub up against money long enough, some of it may rub off on you.
Furthermore [1938]. A Very Honorable Guy

3 A freeloader is a confirmed guest. He is the man who is always willing to come to dinner.
Short Takes [1946]. Freeloading Ethics

George Sarton
1884–1956

4 Scientific activity is the only one which is obviously and undoubtedly cumulative and progressive.
The History of Science and the History of Civilization [1930]

Sara Teasdale
1884–1933

5 When I am dead and over me bright April
Shakes out her rain-drenched hair,
Though you should lean above me broken-hearted,
I shall not care.
I Shall Not Care, st. 1

6 Let it be forgotten, as a flower is forgotten,
Forgotten as a fire that once was singing gold,
Let it be forgotten forever and ever,
Time is a kind friend, he will make us old.
Let It Be Forgotten [1921], st. 1

7 O beauty, are you not enough?
Why am I crying after love?
Spring Night

Norman Mattoon Thomas
1884–1968

8 I'd rather see America save her soul than her face.
Speech before antiwar protest, Washington, D.C. [November 27, 1965]

Harry S. Truman
1884–1972

9 When they told me yesterday what had happened, I felt like the moon, the stars and all the planets had fallen on me.
To reporters the day after his accession to the presidency [April 13, 1945]

10 The responsibility of the great states is to serve and not to dominate the world.
First Message to Congress [April 16, 1945]

11 When Kansas and Colorado have a quarrel over the water in the Arkansas River they don't call out the National Guard in each state and go to war over it. They bring a suit in the Supreme Court of the United States and abide by the decision. There isn't a reason in the world why we cannot do that internationally.
Speech in Kansas City [April 1945]

12 We must build a new world, a far better world—one in which the eternal dignity of man is respected.
Radio address to delegates at the opening session of the United Nations conference, San Francisco [April 23, 1945]

13 Sixteen hours ago an American airplane dropped one bomb on Hiroshima. . . . The force from which the sun draws its power has been loosed against those who brought war to the Far East.
First announcement of the atomic bomb [August 6, 1945]

14 The release of atomic energy constitutes a new force too revolutionary to consider in the framework of old ideas.
Message to Congress on atomic energy [October 3, 1945]

15 Means of destruction hitherto unknown, against which there can be no adequate military defense, and in the employment of which no single nation can in fact have a monopoly.
Declaration on Atomic Energy by President Truman and Prime Ministers Clement Attlee (Britain) and W. L. Mackenzie King (Canada) [November 15, 1945]

16 Effective, reciprocal, and enforceable safeguards acceptable to all nations. *Ib.*

17 We must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for

begins to devote himself to his life with reverence in order to raise it to its true value. To affirm life is to deepen, to make more inward, and to exalt the will to live. *Ib.*

1 Truth has no special time of its own. Its hour is now—always. *Ib.*

2 You don't live in a world all alone. Your brothers are here too.
On Receiving the Nobel Prize [1952]

Sherwood Anderson
1876–1941

3 Everyone in the world is Christ and they are all crucified.
Winesburg, Ohio [1919]. The Philosopher

4 I am a lover and have not found my thing to love. *Ib. Tandy*

Sarah Norcliffe Cleghorn
1876–1959

5 The golf links lie so near the mill
That almost every day
The laboring children can look out
And watch the men at play.
Quatrain [1915]

Irvin Shrewsbury Cobb
1876–1944

6 It smells like gangrene starting in a mildewed silo, it tastes like the wrath to come, and when you absorb a deep swig of it you have all the sensations of having swallowed a lighted kerosene lamp. A sudden, violent jolt of it has been known to stop the victim's watch, snap his suspenders and crack his glass eye right across.
Definition of "corn licker" given to the Distillers' Code Authority, NRA

Max Jacob
1876–1944

7 The poet's expression of joy conceals his despair at not having found the reality of joy.
La Défense de Tartufe [1919]

8 When you get to the point where you cheat for the sake of beauty, you're an artist.[1]
Art Poétique [1922]

[1]C'est au moment où l'on triche pour le beau que l'on est artiste.

9 What is called a sincere work is one that is endowed with enough strength to give reality to an illusion. *Ib.*

Charles Franklin Kettering
1876–1958

10 We should all be concerned about the future because we will have to spend the rest of our lives there.
Seed for Thought [1949]

Maxim Maximovich Litvinov
1876–1951

11 Peace is indivisible.[2]
Speech to the League of Nations, Geneva, condemning Italian aggression in Ethiopia [July 1, 1936]

Wilson Mizner
1876–1933

12 Life's a tough proposition, and the first hundred years are the hardest.
Saying

13 Be nice to people on your way up because you'll meet 'em on your way down.
Ib. (Also attributed to Jimmy Durante)

14 When you steal from one author, it's plagiarism; if you steal from many, it's research.
Ib.

15 You sparkle with larceny. *Remark*

16 You're a mouse studying to be a rat.
Ib.

Pope Pius XII
[Eugenio Pacelli]
1876–1958

17 Private property is a natural fruit of labor, a product of intense activity of man, acquired through his energetic determination to ensure and develop with his own strength his own existence and that of his family, and to create for himself and his own an existence of just freedom, not only economic, but also political, cultural and religious.
Radio broadcast [September 1, 1944]

[2]In an earlier speech at the League [September 5, 1935] during the Italian preparations for the invasion, Litvinov used a similar phrase: "The thesis of the indivisibility of peace. . . . It has now become clear to the whole world that each war is the creation of a preceding war and the generator of new present or future wars."
See Wendell Willkie, 824:10.

William Prescott
1726–1795

1 Don't one of you fire until you see the whites of their eyes.[1]
At Bunker Hill [June 17, 1775]

Jane Elliot
1727–1805

2 I've heard them lilting, at the ewe milking,
Lasses a' lilting, before dawn of day;
But now they are moaning, on ilka green loaning;
The flowers of the forest are a' wede away.
The Flowers of the Forest[2]

Anne Robert Jacques Turgot, Baron de l'Aulne
1727–1781

3 They [the Americans] are the hope of this world. They may become its model.[3]
Letter to Dr. Richard Price [March 22, 1778]

John Wilkes
1727–1797

4 *Earl of Sandwich:* 'Pon my honor, Wilkes, I don't know whether you'll die on the gallows or of the pox.
Wilkes: That must depend, my Lord, upon whether I first embrace your Lordship's principles, or your Lordship's mistresses.
From SIR CHARLES PETRIE, *The Four Georges [1935]*

Oliver Goldsmith
1728–1774

5 One writer, for instance, excels at a plan or a title page, another works away the body of the book, and a third is a dab at an index.
The Bee [1759], no. 1

6 As writers become more numerous, it is natural for readers to become more indolent.
Ib. 175. Upon Unfortunate Merit

7 Good people all, with one accord,
Lament for Madame Blaize,
Who never wanted a good word—
From those who spoke her praise.
Ib. Elegy on Mrs. Mary Blaize [1759], st. 1

8 A nightcap decked his brows instead of bay,
A cap by night—a stocking all the day!
Description of an Author's Bedchamber [1760]

9 That strain once more; it bids remembrance rise.
The Captivity, An Oratorio [1764], act I

10 O Memory! thou fond deceiver. *Ib.*

11 To the last moment of his breath
On hope the wretch relies;
And e'en the pang preceding death
Bids expectation rise.[4] *Ib. II*

12 Hope, like the gleaming taper's light,
Adorns and cheers our way;
And still, as darker grows the night,
Emits a brighter ray. *Ib.*

13 Remote, unfriended, melancholy, slow,
Or by the lazy Scheldt, or wandering Po.
The Traveller [1764], l. 1

14 Where'er I roam, whatever realms to see,
My heart untraveled fondly turns to thee;
Still to my brother turns with ceaseless pain,
And drags at each remove a lengthening chain. *Ib. l. 7*

15 Such is the patriot's boast, where'er we roam,
His first, best country ever is, at home.
Ib. l. 73

16 Where wealth and freedom reign contentment fails,
And honor sinks where commerce long prevails. *Ib. l. 91*

17 Man seems the only growth that dwindles here.[5] *Ib. l. 126*

18 But winter lingering chills the lap of May.
Ib. l. 172

19 They please, are pleased, they give to get esteem,
Till, seeming blest, they grow to what they seem.[6] *Ib. l. 265*

20 To men of other minds my fancy flies,
Embosomed in the deep where Holland lies.

[1] Also attributed to ISRAEL PUTNAM [1718–1790].
See Frederick the Great, 358:1.
Silent till you see the whites of their eyes.—PRINCE CHARLES OF PRUSSIA, *at Jagerndorf* [May 23, 1745]

[2] Sir Walter Scott in *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* says that *The Flowers of the Forest* was written to an ancient tune and that the last line, the refrain, is indisputably ancient. The air was also used for verses by Alison Cockburn. See 359:11.

[3] This is the origin of: America the hope of the world.

[4] See Terence, 96:14, and Cicero, 98:18.

[5] Italy.

[6] The character of the French.

December 4, 1989

MEMORANDUM FOR STEPHANIE BLESSEY
PEGGY DOOLEY ✓
BOB SIMON

FROM: EMILY MEAD EM

SUBJECT: Suggestion!

I sent this memo off to Pink some days ago and I'm following up on his suggestion.

Scenario after State of the Union message:

Q. Several months ago, Mr. President, you presented an environmental award to a young man who asked you if the Executive Office was recycling its paper etc. Have you started recycling in the White House in light of your great interest in the environment?

A. I don't know.

or

Young man who asked the President about recycling is seated by Mrs. Bush during the State of the Union speech. (As Mr. Reilly said: "Often its our children who take us to task on undone projects,[or something to that effect.])"

"And I'm proud to announce that recycling has begun in the White House complex and an executive order will go out soon to all departments and agencies ordering them to do the same."

11/17 pm

Emily:
I don't know which answer I like better!!

You ought to send this to the speechwriters, Sig + Mike Reland.

JP

HISTORY IN THE HOUSE

Office for the Bicentennial U.S. House of Representatives Washington, D.C. 20515

Volume 1 January 1985 Number 2

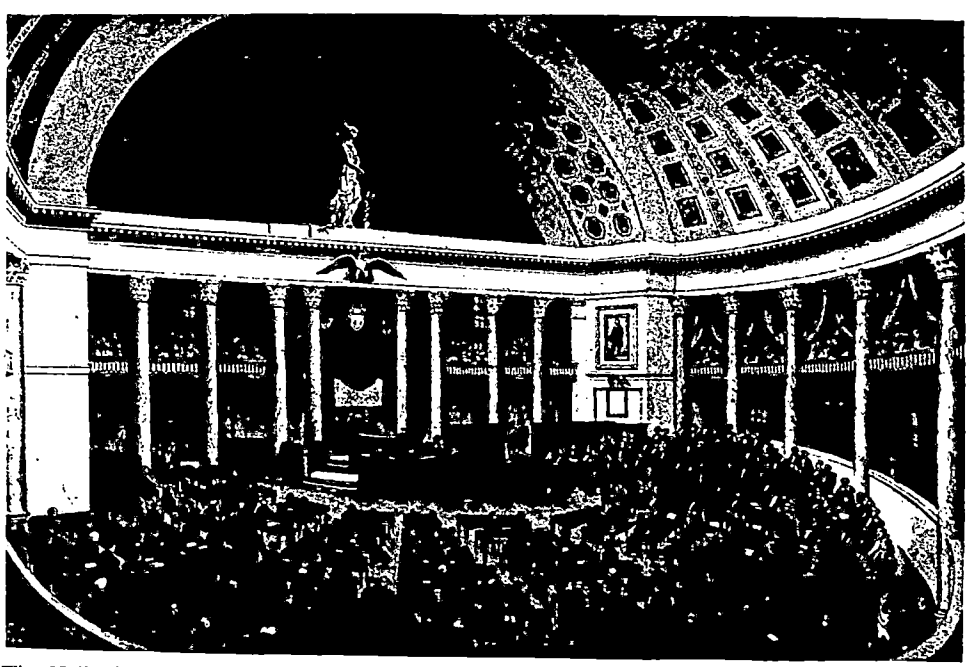
Presidential Inaugurations in the House Chamber

—JOHN ADAMS—

"Your dearest friend never had a more trying day than yesterday," wrote President John Adams to his wife Abigail after his inauguration as the second President of the United States in 1797. This was the first of seven inaugurations to be held in the Chamber of the House of Representatives. The Congress was meeting in Philadelphia at the time and was still three years away from its move to Washington, D. C. The inauguration of John Adams also marked the first time in American history that there was a transfer of executive power. The press marveled at the virtues of a Republic where a Chief Magistrate actually attended the inauguration of his successor. Adams himself was overshadowed in the outpouring of emotion accompanying the retirement of George Washington.

George Washington preceded Adams into the crowded Chamber to much applause. Adams sat in the elevated seat of the Speaker of the House. On his right sat the new Vice-President Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, and the Secretary of the Senate. The Speaker of the House, Jonathan Dayton, and the Clerk of the House, John Beckley, were to his left and four Justices of the Supreme Court were seated at a table in front of Adams. After his address, Adams descended from his chair and Chief Justice Oliver Ellsworth administered the oath of office. This was the first time that the Chief Justice administered the oath to a President-elect. At George Washington's first inaugural the oath was administered by Robert Livingstone, Chancellor of the State of New York, and at the second by William Cushing, an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court.

When the ceremony was over Adams sat down briefly, then rose and bowed and left the Chamber. At this point there was a question of precedence regarding who should



The Hall of the House of Representives in 1837. Architect of the Capitol.

leave next, Washington insisting that Jefferson go ahead of him. Adams held a modest reception after the inauguration, but the main event of the day was an elaborate farewell banquet given to George Washington by the merchants of Philadelphia.

No member of Adams's family attended the inauguration, but the new President wrote his wife the next day: "A solemn scene it was, indeed, and it was made more affecting to me by the presence of the General, whose countenance was as serene and unclouded as the day . . . . In the Chamber of the House of Representatives was a multitude as great as the space would contain, and I believe scarcely a dry eye but Washington's."

—JAMES MADISON—

Both of James Madison's inaugurations, 1809 and 1813, took place in the House Chamber. This was particularly appropriate since Madison was the first President to have been a Member of the House, having served in the first four Congresses.

The Capitol Building in Washington was still unfinished in 1809, but the imposing Hall of Representatives, considered to be the most beautiful room in America, had been in use since 1807. This room, on the site of present-day Statuary Hall, was destroyed in 1814 when the British burned the Capitol Building.

On March 4, 1809, the Hall of the Representatives was filled to capacity and 10,000 persons had gathered outside the building in the bright sunshine. John Quincy Adams, former U.S. Senator and later to be President himself, wrote in his diary: "The House was very much crowded and its appearance very magnificent."

Outgoing President Thomas Jefferson refused to share the limelight and declined an invitation to ride in the inaugural carriage with Madison and his wife Dolley. Jefferson, accompanied by his grandson, rode to the Capitol on horseback, hitched the horse to a nearby picket fence, and once inside took an inconspicuous seat below the dais, much to the chagrin of the Committee on Arrangements.

Madison had a slight vocal disability that made his inaugural address almost inaudible to those in the House Chamber. When he finished speaking, Chief Justice John Marshall administered the oath of office. Madison then reviewed the volunteer militia assembled on the Capitol grounds and returned to his home by carriage, where refreshments were served and the guests were treated to some of Dolley Madison's famous hospitality.

At Long's Hotel that night about 400 people attended the first inaugural ball to be held in Washington.

Vice-President George Clinton, who was continuing in office, did not attend the inauguration and took the oath of office on May 22, when Congress convened.

Madison's second inaugural on March 4, 1813, was almost exactly like the 1809 ceremony. Madison even wore the same suit, which the press had praised for being one of American manufacture from the wool of domestically raised merino sheep. The Vice-President, Elbridge Gerry, took the oath in Boston rather than make a special trip to Washington for that purpose.

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—JAMES MONROE—

After the British burned the Capitol in 1814, the Congress held its sessions in the Old Brick Capitol, a block away on the site where the Supreme Court Building now stands. The Capitol was still being rebuilt in 1817 when President-elect Monroe requested the use of this temporary House Chamber for his inauguration. But Speaker of the House Henry Clay, who was angry at Monroe for selecting John Quincy Adams instead of himself as Secretary of State, refused the request, and the ceremony was held outdoors in front of the Old Brick Capitol. Monroe's second inauguration in 1821 was scheduled to be held outdoors but heavy snow and rain forced the ceremony indoors to the newly reconstructed House Chamber (now Statuary Hall) in the Capitol Building. This room was the scene of all subsequent House Chamber inaugurations. There have been no inaugurations in the present Chamber, which has been in use since 1857.

In 1821, for the first time in our nation's history, Inauguration Day, March 4, fell on a Sunday. President Monroe consulted Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, who turned to Chief Justice Marshall to decide if it was proper to begin his second term on a legal holiday. The Chief Justice determined that although the President's term expired on March 3 at midnight, he favored postponing the ceremony until Monday, March 5. The Vice-President, Daniel S. Tompkins, who was ill at home in New York City, took the oath privately on March 3 and then took the oath again on March 5.

The crowds for Monroe's second inaugural were so great that several diplomats in full dress uniforms could not get into the Chamber through the crush of people in the corridors. More than 2,000 persons were in the Chamber itself. John Quincy Adams wrote in his diary:

> "The President, attired in full suit of black broadcloth of somewhat antiquated fashion, with shoe-and-knee buckles, rode in a plain carriage with four horses and a single colored footman. . . . There was no escort, nor any concourses of people on the way. But on alighting at the Capitol a great crowd of people were assembled and the avenues to the hall of the house were so choked up with persons pressing for admittance that it was with the utmost difficulty that the President made his way through them into the House."

Adams recorded that the crowd was boisterous and that "loud talking and agitation in the gallery" did not stop even when the President was reading his inaugural address. For the first time at an inauguration music accompanied the ceremony as the Marine Band played during Monroe's entrance and departure.

—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS—

In 1825 John Quincy Adams, whose diaries record details of the inaugurations of Presidents before him, became President himself. The new President's father, ninety year-old former President John Adams, was not among the members of the Adams family to attend the inauguration. He remained home in Massachusetts, although some secondary accounts of the inauguration claim that he was at the ceremony. Outgoing President James Monroe established the tradition of escorting his successor to the Capitol. Unlike the boisterous crowds in 1821, the people in the galleries during John Quincy Adams's inauguration were "remarkable for their stillness and decorum" according to one local newspaper.

Perhaps no President has been more intimately connected with the House than John Quincy Adams. This ceremony in the House Chamber had a unique and poignant aspect, since it was the House of Representatives that elected Adams President. When there is no majority in the Electoral College, the Constitution provides that the election be decided by the House of Representatives. This has happened only twice, in 1800 (when Jefferson was elected) and in 1824.

After his four year presidential term, Adams served seventeen years in the House and suffered a fatal stroke in the same Chamber in which he was inaugurated. His funeral, held in this Hall that meant so much to him, was a grand yet quietly dignified tribute to one of America's greatest public servants.

—ANDREW JACKSON—

The 1829 inauguration of Andrew Jackson was the first of many to be held outdoors on the East Portico of the Capitol. In 1833 Jackson planned to use the East Portico again, but snow, freezing temperatures and high wind drove the ceremony inside to the House Chamber.

Jackson's second inaugural was a simple one. Although there was no formal procession or military escort, many citizens braved the high winds and cold to wait at the Capitol doors. For the first time the President was received at the Capitol by the mayor of Washington and members of the city council.

Jackson, who was in poor health, returned to the White House and went to bed right after the swearing-in ceremony and did not attend any receptions or balls. The Vice-President, Martin Van Buren, also took his oath of office in the House Chamber.

—MILLARD FILLMORE—

The last time the House Chamber was used for a Presidential inauguration was in 1850 after the sudden death of President Zachary Taylor. Taylor had attended a hot Fourth of July ceremony connected with the building of the Washington Monument and overindulged in cherries and iced milk. That night he was attacked by cholera morbus and fever and died five days later. This was the first time a President had died while the Congress was in session. The House and Senate convened at 11 o'clock on July 10, 1850, to receive the message from Vice-President Millard Fillmore that the President had died the night before. Fillmore proposed to take his oath as President at noon that same day.

This swearing-in ceremony had none of the pomp of a regular inauguration and was conducted quickly and solemnly, befitting a nation mourning the loss of a President. The gallery was crowded when the House convened at noon. Four minutes later the Senate entered the House Chamber, accompanied by the Senate's Sergeant-at-Arms and the Secretary. The Speaker of the House presided and all rose when Millard Fillmore and his cabinet entered the Chamber, escorted by a joint committee of Representatives and Senators. The oath was administered by Judge William Cranch, Chief Justice of the District

and Circuit Court of the United States. The new President left the Chamber immediately without any remarks or speeches, but he quickly sent the Congress a message mourning the death of his predecessor. The *National Intelligencer,* a Washington newspaper, observed, "The profound silence of so great an assemblage of deeply concerned spectators, the ceremony, so brief and so simple, yet so important in its consequences, national, political, and personal, presented an incident and a scene altogether American."

What the *Intelligencer* saw as American was the theme that has been present in all of this nation's inaugurals — the open and orderly transfer of authority from one person to another, from one party to another, through almost 200 years of government under the Constitution of the United States.

Engravings of the Presidents from the Bureau of Engraving and Printing.

Locations of Presidential Oaths and Inaugural Ceremonies

As of 1981 the Oath of Office has been administered to 40 presidents on 62 occasions. Several presidents have taken the oath twice because Inauguration Day fell on a Sunday. Ronald Reagan was the first president to use the West Front of the Capitol for his inauguration in 1981. The West Front is also the location for the 1985 ceremony.

East Portico, U.S. Capitol	34
West Front, U.S. Capitol	1
East Front, Old Supreme Court Section, Original Senate Wing	1
House of Representatives (D.C.)	6
Senate Chamber (D.C.)	3
Vice President's Room	1
President's Room	1
Old Brick Capitol	1
The White House	5
In Washington, D.C., but not in the U.S. Capitol or the White House	2
Outside Washington, D.C.	7

Office for the Bicentennial
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

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 Screen 1 of 2
 NO HOLDINGS IN EOP - FOR HOLDINGS ENTER dh DEPRESS DISPLAY RECD SEND
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   1 010      88-10241
   2 040      DLC $c DLC
   3 020      0313243093 (lib. bds. : alk. paper)
   4 043      n-us---
   5 050 0    E661 $b .H6 1988
   6 082 0    973.91/03/21 $2 19
   7 090       $b
   8 049      EOPA
   9 245 00   Historical dictionary of the Progressive Era, 1890-1920 /
$c edited by John D. Buenker and Edward R. Kantowicz.
  10 260 0    New York : $b Greenwood Press, $c c1988.
  11 300      ix, 599 p. ; $c 25 cm.
  12 500      Includes indexes.
  13 650  0   Progressivism (United States politics) $x Dictionaries.
  14 651  0   United States $x Politics and government $y 1865-1933 $x
Dictionaries.
ns\+
 Screen 2 of 2
  15 700 10   Buenker, John D.
  16 700 10   Kantowicz, Edward R.
dhr\+
 REGIONAL LOCATIONS -  FOR OTHER HOLDINGS DISPLAYS ENTER dhs, dha, OR
dh, DISPLAY RECD, SEND;  FOR BIBLIOGRAPHIC RECORD ENTER bib, DISPLAY
RECD, SEND

STATE     LOCATIONS
 DC      DGU DGW DHU DLC NAR SMI USI
 MD      GOC LOY MDB MDS MUB UMC WTY
 VA      VA@ VGM VLW VMC VSC
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   3 020      0882955365
   4 043      n-us---
   5 050 0    Z1242.8 $b .D4
   6 082      016.9738
   7 090       $b
   8 049      EOPA
   9 100 10   De Santis, Vincent P. $w cn
  10 245 14   The Gilded Age, 1877-1896. $c Compiled by Vincent P. De
Santis.
  11 260 0    Northbrook, Ill., $b AHM Pub. Corp. $c [1973]
  12 300      xvi, 152 p. $c 23 cm.
  13 350      $2.95
  14 490 0    Goldentree bibliographies in American history
  15 651  0   United States $x History $y 1865-1898 $x Bibliography.
dhr\+
 REGIONAL LOCATIONS -  FOR OTHER HOLDINGS DISPLAYS ENTER dhs, dha, OR
dh, DISPLAY RECD, SEND;  FOR BIBLIOGRAPHIC RECORD ENTER bib, DISPLAY
RECD, SEND

STATE      LOCATIONS
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 VA       VAN VA@ VFC VGM VHS VIA VIC VLC VLR VLW VMB VMC VMW VOD VRC VRU
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 Screen 1 of 2
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   4 043      n-us---
   5 050 0    E168 $b .R93 1989
   6 082 0    973.91/092/2 $2 19
   7 090       $b
   8 049      EOPA
   9 100 10   Rusoff, Milton Allan, $d 1913-
  10 245 10   America's Gilded Age : $b intimate portraits from an era of
extravagance and change, 1850-1890 / $c Milton Rusoff.
  11 250      1st ed.
  12 260 0    New York : $b Holt, $c c1989.
  13 300      vii, 374 p. ; $c 24 cm.
  14 504      Includes bibliographical references.
  15 651  0   United States $x Social life and customs $y 1865-1918.
ns\+
 Screen 2 of 2
  16 650  0   Upper classes $z United States $x History $y 19th century.
  17 650  0   Women $z United States $x History $y 19th century.
  18 651  0   United States $x History $y 1865-1898 $x Biography.
  19 651  0   United States $x Biography.
dhr\+
REGIONAL LOCATIONS -- FOR OTHER HOLDINGS DISPLAYS ENTER dhs, dha, OR
dh, DISPLAY RECD, SEND;  FOR BIBLIOGRAPHIC RECORD ENTER bib, DISPLAY
RECD, SEND

STATE      LOCATIONS
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   6 082 0    973 $2 19
   7 090       $b
   8 049      EOPA
   9 100 10   Athearn, Robert G.
  10 245 10   American heritage illustrated history of the United States
/ $c by Robert G. Athearn.
  11 260 0    New York : $b Choice Pub., $c c1988.
  12 300      18 v. (1598, 686 p.) : $b ill. (some col.) ; $c 27 cm.
  13 500      Updated ed. of: The American heritage new illustrated
history of the United States. 1963.
ns\+
 Screen 2 of 2
  14 500      "Created in association with the editors of American
heritage and, for the updated edition, Media Projects Incorporated."
  15 500      Includes index.
  16 520      An eighteen-volume history of the United States, each
volume dealing with a particular era and having a dictionary-
encyclopedia of people, places, and events mentioned in that volume.
  17 651  0   United States $x History.
  18 651  1   United States $x History.
  19 700 11   Athearn, Robert G. $t American heritage new illustrated
history of the United States.
  20 730 01   American heritage.
dhr\+
 REGIONAL LOCATIONS -  FOR OTHER HOLDINGS DISPLAYS ENTER dhs, dha, OR
dh, DISPLAY RECD, SEND;  FOR BIBLIOGRAPHIC RECORD ENTER bib, DISPLAY
RECD, SEND

STATE      LOCATIONS
 DC       DLC DWP
 MD       UME
 VA       TWA
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vol. II: The Gilded Age

ITEMS 1-3 OF 12 SET 5: BRIEF DISPLAY FILE: PREM
(ASCENDING ORDER)

1. 02-15187:Wasner, Harr. Current history (United States history form 1899 ?] to the present time): . San Francisco, The Whitaker & Ray company (incorporated), 1902. 3 p, l., 9]-69 p. illus. (incl. ports., maps), 19 cm.
   LC CALL NUMBER: E712 .W13
2. 05-12579:Rhodes, James Ford. History of the United States from the compromise of 1850, . New York, The Macmillan company London, Macmillan & co., ltd, 1900-28. 9 v, ports., maps (part fold.), 23 cm.
   LC CALL NUMBER: E178 .R47
3. 07-41116:Latane, John Holladay. America as a world power, 1897-1907, . New York and London, Harper & brothers, 1907. p. cm.
   LC CALL NUMBER: E178 .A54 vol. 25

NEXT PAGE: press transmit or enter key
SKIP AHEAD/BACK: type any item# in set Example--> 25
FULL DISPLAY: type DISPLAY ITEM plus an item# Example--> display item 2
READY:

ITEMS 4-6 OF 12 SET 5: BRIEF DISPLAY FILE: PREM
(ASCENDING ORDER)

4. a12-285:Caldwell, Howard Walter. American history. Blair, Nebr., Danish Luth, publ. house, 1902. 31 p, ports, 22 cm.
   LC CALL NUMBER: E712 .C14
5. 18-3259:Oss, Frederic Austin. National progress, 1907-1917, . New York and London, Harper & brothers, 1918]. xxii p., 1 l, 430 p. incl. front. (port.) maps (part double), 22 cm.
   LC CALL NUMBER: E178 .A552 vol. 27
6. 40-33441:Josephson, Matthew. The president makers. New York, Harcourt, Brace and company, c1940]. viii, 584 p, 22 cm.
   LC CALL NUMBER: E712 .J68

NEXT PAGE: press transmit or enter key
SKIP AHEAD/BACK: type any item# in set Example--> 25
FULL DISPLAY: type DISPLAY ITEM plus an item# Example--> display item 2
READY:

ITEMS 7-10 OF 12 SET 5: BRIEF DISPLAY FILE: PREM
(ASCENDING ORDER)

7. a43-2756:Connaughton, Mary Stanislaus. The editorial opinion of the Catholic telegraph of Cincinnati on contemporary affairs and politics 1871-1921, . Washington, D.C, The Catholic university of America press, 1943. xxvii, 309 p, 23 cm.
   LC CALL NUMBER: E661 .C73
8. 44-8940:Muzzey, David Saville. America. Boston New York etc.], Ginn and company, 1944]. p. cm.
   LC CALL NUMBER: E712 .M8
9. 48-43240:London, Joan. Jack London (primer escritor proletario de America) . Buenos Aires, S. Rueda, 1945]. 364 p, 23 cm.
   LC CALL NUMBER: PS3523.046 Z7517
10. 52-3419:Bellot, Hugh Hale. American history and American historians. London], University of London, 1952. p. cm.
    LC CALL NUMBER: E175 .B44 1952

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SKIP AHEAD/BACK:    type any item# in set              Example--> 25
FULL DISPLAY:       type DISPLAY ITEM plus an item#    Example--> display item 2
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ITEMS 11-12 OF 12                SET 5: BRIEF DISPLAY                FILE: PREM
                                   (ASCENDING ORDER)
11. 52-12131:Bellot, Hush Hale.  American history and American historians.
     Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1952].  p. cm.
     LC CALL NUMBER: E175 .B44 1952a
12. 65-11898:Ginser, Ray.  The nationalizins of American life, 1877-1900. .
     New York, Free Press, 1965].  xii, 338 p, 21 cm.
     LC CALL NUMBER: E661 .G5

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SKIP AHEAD/BACK:    type any item# in set              Example--> 25
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ITEMS 1-3 OF 7                   SET 6: BRIEF DISPLAY                FILE: PREM
                                   (ASCENDING ORDER)
1. 01-34842:Clemens, Samuel Lanshorne.  The silded ase.  Hartford, Conn, The
     American publishins company, 1901.  1 p, l., v]-xvi, 17-574 2 p. front.
     illus. plates, 22 cm.
     LC CALL NUMBER: D23.G59 G8
2. 03-19529:Clemens, Samuel Lanshorne].  The silded ase.  Hartford, Conn,
     American publishins company, 1888.  xvi, 17-574, 2] p, front., illus.
     plates, 23 cm.
     LC CALL NUMBER: PZ3.C59 G
3. 03-19530:Clemens, Samuel Lanshorne].  The silded ase.  London New York, G.
     Routledse and sons, 1883.  xxvii, 479 p, incl. front., illus, 19 cm.
     LC CALL NUMBER: PZ3.C59 G

NEXT PAGE:          press transmit or enter key
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FULL DISPLAY:       type DISPLAY ITEM plus an item#    Example--> display item 2
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ITEMS 4-6 OF 7                   SET 6: BRIEF DISPLAY                FILE: PREM
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4. 17-6111:Clemens, Samuel Lanshorne.  The silded ase; .  Hartford, American
     publishins company, 1874.  xvi, 17-574, 2] p, front., illus., plates, 23
     cm.
     LC CALL NUMBER: PZ3.C59 G2
5. 24-22206:Clemens, Samuel Lanshorne.  The silded ase; .  Hartford, Conn, The
     American publishins company, 1902.  xvi, 17-574, 2] p, front., illus.,
     plates, 23 cm.
     LC CALL NUMBER: PZ3.C59 G10
6. 28-1683:Clemens, Samuel Lanshorne].  The silded ase; .  New York and London
     , Harper & brothers, 1915].  2 v. in 1, fronts., plates, 21 cm.
     LC CALL NUMBER: PZ3.C59 G16

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READY:
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ITEM 1 OF 1 SET 7: BRIEF DISPLAY FILE: PREM
(ASCENDING ORDER)

1. 62-4932:Morris, Richard Brandon. The shaping of modern America, 1865-1914. . St. Louis, Webster Pub. Co, 1962]. vi, 58 p, illus, 23 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: HC106 .M77

NEXT PAGE: press transmit or enter key
SKIP AHEAD/BACK: type any item# in set Example--> 25
FULL DISPLAY: type DISPLAY ITEM plus an item# Example--> display item 2
READY:

Doran & company, inc, 1939. 4 p. l., 387 p, front. (port.), 22 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: PS3523.046 Z75

2. 68-5816:London, Joan. Jack London and his times. Seattle, University of Washinston Press, 1968]. xvii, 385 p, port, 23 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: PS3523.046 Z75 1968

3. 71-499977:Higgins, Hugh. Muckrakers to New Deal. London, Faber, 1969. 139 p, illus., facsim., map, ports, 19 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: E743 .H57

4. 72-116065:Sievers, Harry Joseph. William McKinley, 1843-1901. Dobbs Ferry, N.Y, Oceana Publications, 1970. 83 p, 24 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: E711 .S55

NEXT PAGE: press transmit or enter key
SKIP AHEAD/BACK: type any item# in set Example--> 25
FULL DISPLAY: type DISPLAY ITEM plus an item# Example--> display item 2
READY:

ITEMS 5-8 OF 8 SET 1: BRIEF DISPLAY FILE: LCCC
(ASCENDING ORDER)

5. 78-83747:Wilson, Woodrow. Woodrow Wilson, 1856-1924. Dobbs Ferry, N.Y, Oceana Publications, 1969. 123 p, 24 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: E660 .W75

6. 79-54060:McClymer, John F. War and welfare. Westport, Conn, Greenwood Press, c1980. xvi, 248 p., 22 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: HV91 .M22

7. 86-81936:Growth and change. Dubuque, Iowa, Kendall/Hunt Pub. Co, c1986. iv, 188 p, ill., 23 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: E742 .G76 1986

8. 88-12673:Headlines. San Francisco, Chronicle Books, c1988. p. cm.
CIP - NOT YET IN LC

NEXT PAGE: press transmit or enter key
SKIP AHEAD/BACK: type any item# in set Example--> 25
FULL DISPLAY: type DISPLAY ITEM plus an item# Example--> display item 2
READY:

You have reached the end of the set that was being displayed.

-- To display the same set again in brief format, type: DISPLAY

-- To see a list of sets created so far in your search and the number of items in each set, type: HISTORY

ITEMS 1-4 OF 21 SET 2: BRIEF DISPLAY FILE: LCCC
(ASCENDING ORDER)

1. 39-33408:London, Joan. Jack London and his times. New York, Doubleday, Doran & company, inc, 1939. 4 p. l., 387 p, front. (port.), 22 cm.
   LC CALL NUMBER: PS3523.046 Z75
2. 68-5816:London, Joan. Jack London and his times. Seattle, University of Washinston Press, 1968]. xvii, 385 p, port, 23 cm.
   LC CALL NUMBER: PS3523.046 Z75 1968
3. 71-499977:Hissins, Hush. Muckrakers to New Deal. London, Faber, 1969. 139 p, illus., facsim., map, ports, 19 cm.
   LC CALL NUMBER: E743 .H57
4. 72-4449:DeNovo, John A. The Gilded ase and after. New York, Scribner, 1972]. 183 p, 21 cm.
   LC CALL NUMBER: E661 .D37 1972

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SKIP AHEAD/BACK: type any item# in set Example--> 25
FULL DISPLAY: type DISPLAY ITEM plus an item# Example--> display item 2
READY:

ITEMS 5-8 OF 21 SET 2: BRIEF DISPLAY FILE: LCCC
(ASCENDING ORDER)

5. 72-116065:Sievers, Harry Joseph. William McKinley, 1843-1901. Dobbs Ferry, N.Y, Oceana Publications, 1970. 83 p, 24 cm.
   LC CALL NUMBER: E711 .S55
6. 72-179744:Campbell, A. E/(Alexander Elmslie). America comes of ase. London , (49 Poland St., W.1), BPC Unit 75, 1971. 128 p, illus. (some col.), facsims., col. maps, ports, 23 cm.
   LC CALL NUMBER: E661 .C23 1971b
7. 72-196913:Thomas, Roy R. The progressive era and World War I, 1896-1920. Washinston, 1972. ix, 63 p, 22 x 28 cm.
   LC CALL NUMBER: Z1244 .T47
8. 75-35511:Morris, Richard Brandon. The United States as a New World power, 1867-1914 /. New York, Webster Division, MaGraw-Hill, c1976. 64 p, ill. , 15 x 23 cm.
   LC CALL NUMBER: E661 .M6 1976

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SKIP AHEAD/BACK: type any item# in set Example--> 25
FULL DISPLAY: type DISPLAY ITEM plus an item# Example--> display item 2
READY:

ITEMS 9-12 OF 21 SET 2: BRIEF DISPLAY FILE: LCCC
(ASCENDING ORDER)

9. 78-83747:Wilson, Woodrow. Woodrow Wilson, 1856-1924. Dobbs Ferry, N.Y, Oceana Publications, 1969. 123 p, 24 cm.
   LC CALL NUMBER: E660 .W75
10. 78-136174:Campbell, A. E/(Alexander Elmslie). America comes of ase. New York], American Heritase Press, 1971]. 127 p, illus. (part col.), col. maps, ports, 23 cm.
    LC CALL NUMBER: E661 .C23 1971
11. 78-383605:Journees Claudel. Actes /. Grenoble, Universite de Grenoble III, 1977. 89 p., 26 cm.
    LC CALL NUMBER: PQ2605.L2 Z688 1976
12. 79-54060:McClymer, John F. War and welfare. Westport, Conn, Greenwood Press, c1980. xvi, 248 p., 22 cm.
    LC CALL NUMBER: HV91 .M22

NEXT PAGE: press transmit or enter key
SKIP AHEAD/BACK: type any item# in set Example--> 25
FULL DISPLAY: type DISPLAY ITEM plus an item# Example--> display item 2

READY:

ITEMS 13-15 OF 21 SET 2: BRIEF DISPLAY FILE: LCCC
(ASCENDING ORDER)

13. 79-145131:Latane, John Holladay. America as a world power 1897-1907. St. Clair Shores, Mich, Scholarly Press, 1970 c1907]. xvi, 350 p, maps, 22 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: E713 .L37
14. 81-16510:Wasenknecht, Edward. American profile, 1900-1909 /. Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 1982. viii, 365 p, ill., 24 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: E169.1 .W17 1982
15. 82-2297:Lesy, Michael. Bearing witness. New York, Pantheon Books, c1982. xx, 171 p, chiefly ill., 32 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: E661 .L66 1982

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SKIP AHEAD/BACK: type any item# in set Example--> 25
FULL DISPLAY: type DISPLAY ITEM plus an item# Example--> display item 2
READY:

ITEMS 16-19 OF 21 SET 2: BRIEF DISPLAY FILE: LCCC
(ASCENDING ORDER)

16. 84-600384:Library of Congress. Motion Picture, Broadcasting, and Recorded Sound Division. The Theodore Roosevelt Association film collection. Washington, Library of Congress, For sale by the Supt. of Docs., U.S. G.P.O, 1986. xxii, 263 p, ill., ports., 27 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: E757 .L76 1986 ALSO Z663.36 .T47 1986
17. 86-29782:Vidal, Gore. Empire. New York, Random House, c1987. 5], 486, 3] p., 25 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: PS3543.I26 E4 1987
18. 86-81936:Growth and change. Dubuque, Iowa, Kendall/Hunt Pub. Co, c1986. iv, 188 p, ill., 23 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: E742 .G76 1986
19. 87-162623:Vidal, Gore. Empire /. Franklin Center, Pa, Franklin Library, 1987. 16], 486, 1] p., 8] p. of plates, 1 ill., ports., 25 cm.
LC CALL NUMBER: PS3543.I26 E4 1987b ALSO PS3543.I26 E4 1987b

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SKIP AHEAD/BACK: type any item# in set Example--> 25
FULL DISPLAY: type DISPLAY ITEM plus an item# Example--> display item 2
READY:

ITEMS 20-21 OF 21 SET 2: BRIEF DISPLAY FILE: LCCC
(ASCENDING ORDER)

20. 88-12673:Headlines. San Francisco, Chronicle Books, c1988. p. cm.
CIP - NOT YET IN LC
21. 89-9936:Stewart, Gail. 1900s /. New York, Crestwood House, 1989. p. cm.
CIP - NOT YET IN LC

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SKIP AHEAD/BACK: type any item# in set Example--> 25
FULL DISPLAY: type DISPLAY ITEM plus an item# Example--> display item 2
READY:

[redacted]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE:

12-15-89

FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO:

Dave Demarest

cc: John Sununu

Re: State of Union

1. Good research, very interesting

2. I'd like to see if we could think about-

shorter

not 'long list' approach.

Looking to modern times... let's try for less than 30 minutes... if we can think of something dramatic-even shorter.

I'd like to have thought given to:

a. written handout

b. speech on changes in the would...foster change

not reklessly 'cut'..

our 'goal for the 90's'

Fulfilment of the Democratic Dream...

Let's talk on this pre-Xmas.

GB.....

[redacted]

WASHINGTON WHISPERS

Baker cooks up Polish loan deal

Bush to push Kemp housing plan

Czechoslovaks ponder fate of 'Red Berets'

Baker's bread. While the U.S. is playing a secondary role in providing financial help for the ailing economies of Eastern Europe, Secretary of State James Baker hopes to counter criticism of American stinginess by announcing a $300 million loan for Poland. Baker wants to wrap up the arrangements in time for his address in Brussels this week to a group of 24 European governments that pool their resources to coordinate financial assistance to Poland. The money would help tide over the Poles until early next year, when new World Bank and International Monetary Fund loans are expected to become available.

The right's stuff. *Loans to revive the Polish economy may run into stiff opposition from U.S. conservatives. Casting about for post-cold-war themes to stir the political energies—and contributions—of the right wing, Richard Viguerie, longtime champion at loosening purse strings via the mails, believes he has found a new slogan: Don't bail out the Bolsheviks! Viguerie, whose appeals in the past 24 years have produced tens of millions of dollars for right-wing causes, plans to send out a series of letters seeking a war chest to finance a campaign to defeat prospective U.S. loans to faltering Communist economies.*

Kemp follower. In next month's state-of-the-union message, George Bush will give a major push to the housing-reform package put together by Jack Kemp, secretary of Housing and Urban Development. Kemp's program emphasizes getting money directly to homeowners, church groups, and nonprofit community organizations, instead of to private developers. Originally, Bush unveiled the program, the administration's major antipoverty initiative, in a speech in Dallas in November. Unhappily for the president, and for Kemp, the speech was overshadowed by the news of the beaching of the Berlin Wall. Now, with a new send-off from the President, Kemp, who has an enormous reservoir of good will on Capitol Hill among his former colleagues, is confident of winning "85 to 90 percent of our package."

Salinger precedent. *The Supreme Court will soon be asked to overturn a precedent, stemming from a controversial 1987 lower-court ruling upholding the right of J. D. Salinger, the author and celebrated recluse, to prevent a biographer from quoting from his unpublished letters. Since then, scholars and biographers, threatened by the prospect of lawsuits by uncooperative subjects, say they have had to exercise extreme caution in quoting documents that the courts might consider private property. This month, two prominent writers' groups will join an appeal, which was filed recently, asking the High Court to review the Salinger precedent. The new case involves a biographer of L. Ron Hubbard, founder of the Church of Scientology, who wants to quote from Hubbard's unpublished writ-*

TAYLOR JONES FOR USN&WR

Reclusive author J. D. Salinger
Catcher in the courts

ings. In preparing the Hubbard appeal, attorneys for the author cite the "enormous impact" the Salinger case has had on publishing and scholarship.

More of the same. Early estimates indicate that the selling of American assets continued this year at the same record pace as in 1988. That year, for the first time in this century, the total of foreign direct investment in the U.S. ($329 billion) exceeded the total American-owned assets abroad ($327 billion). Moreover, economists are predicting that because the rate of increase in foreign investments in the U.S. is three times that of American investments overseas, when final totals become available in June, they will show that the asset gap grew still wider in 1989. The outlook for 1990: More of the same.

For or against terror? *Western observers are eagerly waiting to see what the new reform regime will do about the "Red Berets," the mysterious unit of the Czechoslovak secret police, supposedly trained to foil terrorists. Diplomatic sources say it was the Red Berets who launched the bloody November 17 attack on student demonstrators that triggered the successive waves of protest that eventually brought down the hard-line regime. Adding to the doubts about the Red Berets' future is the widespread belief that the secret police—who sponsor the elite unit housed in luxurious barracks surrounded by high walls on the outskirts of the capital—have been deeply involved in aiding terrorists. Intelligence sources believe that the secret police have long provided Mideastern terrorist gangs with training, safe havens and technical assistance as well as arms, including quantities of Semtex, the Czechoslovak-made plastic explosive that downed Pan Am Flight 103 a year ago in Scotland.*

Good-neighbor policy. Who is George Bush's favorite among the 85 foreign leaders with whom he has conferred since becoming President? Canadians have a candidate: Brian Mulroney, their Prime Minister for the past five years. Not only has Mulroney met with Bush on five occasions since the inauguration but the two have talked a dozen times by phone in that period. Indeed, before Bush flew off to the Malta summit, he dined privately for 3 hours with Mulroney, who had just returned from seeing Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow. Ottawa is impressed not only by what it sees as Bush's grasp of the issues affecting U.S.-Canadian relations but by his commitment to tight controls on acid rain, which is the item of greatest immediate importance to Canadians, especially in view of the attitude of Bush's predecessor. Canadians say that despite Ronald Reagan's assertions to the contrary, they never were quite able to shake his faith in the notion that trees indirectly produce acid rain.

Edited by Charles Fenyvesi

LBJ -

'69 = 4800
66 - 6678
65 - 6042
64 - 3657

JFK -

63 - 6996
62 - 7950
61 - 6360

IKE - 61 - 8904
60 - 6837
59 - 6360
58 - 6360
5
57 - 2544
56 - 9858
55 - 8713
54 - 7822
53 - 8976

HARRY T. - 53 - 12020
52 - 5935
51 - 4611
50 - 5660

49 - 4070
48 - 6201
47 - 7473
46 - 24804

NIXON: '70 - 4700

'72 - { 4,540
21,000 WRITTEN

'74 - 5,905

FDR

45 - 954[illegible]
44 - 432[illegible]
43 - 502[illegible]
42 - 3516
41 - 3516

40 - 362[illegible]
39 - 4515
38 - 5278
37 - 1908
36 - 5088

35 - 4706
34 - 3816

Carter: '78 - 5152
79 - { 3046
WRITTEN - 22,848
81 - WRITTEN - 35,000

FORD

77 - 56[illegible]

RR*:

1982 5209
83 5611
84 5060
85 4395
86 3366
87 3771
88 4812

*

Pa. MOEN -

1/31/78

STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGE

A record of who gave the Annual Message to Congress each year, with special attention to transition years.

1989				
1988	Ronald Reagan	1/25/88 — 41 min	D	
1987	" "	1/27/87 40 min	D	
1986	" "	2/4/86 —	D	
1985	" "	2/6/85 —	D	
1984	" "	1/25/84 — 43 min	D	
1983	" "	1/25/83 45 min	D	
1982	" "	1/26/82 — 45 min	D	
1981	Jimmy Carter (O)	1/16/81 —	M	1.
1980	" "	1/23/80 31 min	D	
1979	" "	1/23/79 32 min	D	
1978	" "	1/19/78 50 min	D	
1977	Gerald Ford (O)	1/12/77	D	2.
1976	" "	1/19/76 50 min	D	
1975	" "	1/15/75 40 min	D	
1974	Richard Nixon	1/30/74 45 min	D	
1973	" "	2/2/73-3/14/73	M	3.
1972	" "	1/20/72 30 min	D	
1971	" "	1/22/71	D	
1970	" "	1/22/70 30 min	D	
1969	Lyndon Johnson (O)	1/14/69 50 minutes	D	
1968	" "	1/17/68	D	
1967	" "	1/10/67	D	
1966	" "	1/12/66	D	
1965	" "	1/4/65	D	
1964	" "	1/8/64	D	
1963	John Kennedy	1/14/63	D	
1962	" "	1/11/62	D	
1961	Dwight Eisenhower (O)/John Kennedy (I)	1/12/61 / 1/30/61	M / D	
1960	" "	1/7/60	D	
1959	" "	1/9/59	D	
1958	" "	1/9/58	D	
1957	" "	1/10/57	D	
1956	" "	1/5/56	(D[4].)	
1955	" "	1/6/55	D	
1954	" "	1/7/54	D	
1953	Harry S. Truman (O)/Dwight Eisenhower (I)	1/7/53 / 2/2/53	(M[5].)/D	

1. Ronald Reagan addressed a Joint Session on his Program for Economic Recovery on 2/18/81.
2. Jimmy Carter made a "Report to the American People" from the White House Library on 2/2/77.
3. Richard Nixon sent a series of six messages to Congress on the State of the Union on 2/2/73, 2/15/73, 2/22/73, 3/1/73, 3/8/73, and 3/14/73.
4. Eisenhower's message was read before a Joint Session by a clerk of the House of Representatives.
5. Truman's message was read aloud by clerks in both houses of Congress.

Codes
D=Delivered in person before a Joint Session of Congress
M=Message sent to Congress
I=Incoming president
O=Outgoing president
_____ underlined dates=Transition years

See also notes (superscript numerals) at end

J. Cragg 8/88

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A record of who gave the Annual Message to Congress each year, with special attention to transition years.

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1985	" "	2/6/85 —	D	
1984	" "	1/25/84 — 43 min	D	
1983	" "	1/25/83 45 min	D	
1982	" "	1/26/82 — 45 min	D	
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1980	" "	1/23/80 31 min	D	
1979	" "	1/23/79 32 min	D	
1978	" "	1/19/78 50 min	D	
1977	Gerald Ford (O)	1/12/77	D	2.
1976	" "	1/19/76 50 min	D	
1975	" "	1/15/75 40 min	D	
1974	Richard Nixon	1/30/74 45 min	D	
1973	" "	2/2/73-3/14/73	M	3.
1972	" "	1/20/72 30 min	D	
1971	" "	1/22/71	D	
1970	" "	1/22/70 30 min	D	
1969	Lyndon Johnson (O)	1/14/69 50 minutes	D	
1968	" "	1/17/68	D	
1967	" "	1/10/67	D	
1966	" "	1/12/66	D	
1965	" "	1/4/65	D	
1964	" "	1/8/64	D	
1963	John Kennedy	1/14/63	D	
1962	" "	1/11/62	D	
1961	Dwight Eisenhower (O)/John Kennedy (I)	1/12/61 / 1/30/61	M / D	
1960	" "	1/7/60	D	
1959	" "	1/9/59	D	
1958	" "	1/9/58	D	
1957	" "	1/10/57	D	
1956	" "	1/5/56	(D[4].)	
1955	" "	1/6/55	D	
1954	" "	1/7/54	D	
1953	Harry S. Truman (O)/Dwight Eisenhower (I)	1/7/53 / 2/2/53	(M[5].)/D	

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J. Cragg 8/88

Providence Journal-Bulletin 11/20/89

The managerial President

PHILIP TERZIAN

ONE useful measure of George Bush's inaugural year as President, and its relative success, is the pettiness of the criticism the White House hears. I say 'relative' since 12 months is not very long in the life of a presidency; and I count the year from November since it could be reasonably argued that the last six months of the Reagan administration were the first six months of the Bush administration.

I also use the word 'pettiness' advisedly: Those who have ever moaned about style and substance can't logically mourn the absence of charisma. And those who have complained about our national malaise are probably churlish about losing the sweepstakes.

For neither Willie Horton nor Michael Dukakis elected George Bush to the White House. Those two volatile elements didn't hurt him, of course; but even if Willie Horton had never been paroled, or if the Democrats had fielded a stronger nominee — any suggestions? — the American people tended to vote *for* Mr. Bush and not *against* his opponent.

That's a fundamental truth about the electorate, and one that is often lost in the Bill Moyers world of explaining everything through television, or the Arthur Schlesinger notion of the decline of civilization, American-style. People did not vote for George Bush because they were hypnotized into doing so; they voted for him because he represented the sort of President they wished to have, and his opponent did not.

The question is whether there is much difference between what candidate Bush promised in 1988 and what President Bush has delivered in 1989. And the answer is: Not much.

On the broad ideological presumptions of the Reagan years — reducing the Great Society to manageable proportions, guaranteeing peace by maintaining strength — George Bush represented an emblem of consistency. There is little evidence that the electorate has become disenchanted with the policy conversions of the 1980s. People might have grown slightly weary of Ronald and Nancy Reagan, but then again, the last two-term President was first elected in 1952. There was no shift last year, there is no movement now, towards the path plainly charted by the Democratic platform.

But candidate George Bush *did* intimate certain changes in direction, in emphasis, and in tone.

After eight years of what the Tower commission politely referred to as Mr. Reagan's "managerial style," Mr. Bush proclaimed himself to be a "shake-me-and-wake-me" President, and so he has proved to be. It has been some time since anyone complained about those long intervals between White House press conferences: Mr. Bush seems actually to relish the dialogue — although, it should be admitted, confrontations with the Washington press corps aren't much challenge to the intellect.

Moreover, while his touch may not always be indelible, it is certainly evident in everything that's been done. James Baker is not the vicar of foreign policy; Nicholas Brady isn't the economic czar. George Bush runs the show.

This managerial presidency has broadened the scope of the man who holds the office. Mr. Bush's environmental leanings have been fashioned into shrewd, effective legislative strategies. His devotion to diplomacy has reduced the number of photo ops, but has given the United States new luster among our allies. His 'kinder, gentler' persona may send Garry Trudeau into paroxysms of bile, but it has translated into something approaching public affection. John Kennedy may have been the sporty cousin, and Ronald Reagan the foxy grandpa; but when the courtly, awkward uncle rates a 70 in the polls, that's nothing to sneeze at in the science of modern politics.

Of course, to some degree, George Bush has been fortunate: With the slow disintegration of the Soviet empire, he is harvesting the crop that his predecessor planted. And who would have guessed that the Democratic leadership on Capitol Hill would be wounded and disabled by old-fashioned corruption? Congressional opposition has been scattershot and petulant, and the Democratic Party as a national institution still seems not to comprehend what hit it last year.

As of this morning, George Bush has outmaneuvered his detractors, disarmed his adversaries, disproved conventional wisdom, stolen thunder, territory, attention and initiative. He has yet to be scarred by catastrophe or scandal. The President is disinclined to dive in head first, and no one has drowned in a quagmire of his making.

It is an article of faith among the President's loudest critics that George Bush has yet to be tested in crisis. Well, if crises are the means by which Presidents are judged, it is true that no Bay of Pigs has yet taken place. But is that deliberate, or an accident? Every day in the White House is a crisis of sorts.

Steinberg & Robert Hector
e Card Number: 66–20309
States of America

Preface

The first clause of Article II, Section 3, of the Constitution provides the starting point for Presidential leadership in legislation—"He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union." Through custom, "from time to time" became annually and from George Washington to Lyndon Johnson, the "information of the state of the Union" also included recommendations, observations, and advice. These messages have become, as Charles Beard observed, "the one great public document of the United States which is widely read and discussed. Congressional debates receive scant notice, but the President's message is ordinarily printed in full in nearly every metropolitan daily, and is the subject of general editorial comment throughout the length and breadth of the land. It stirs the country: it often affects Congressional elections; and it may establish grand policy." While the style and content and even the manner of delivery have varied, the State of the Union messages tell dramatically the tribulations of a growing nation. Compiled and indexed for the first time, these documents present a sweeping view of American history as seen through the writings of the Presidents of the United States.

In 1839 the New York publishing firm of McLean and Taylor issued a 632 page volume containing the first compilation of the annual, special, and veto messages, proclamations and inaugural addresses of the Presidents through Van Buren's second State of the Union. Revisions, supplements and other editions followed sporadically. In 1894 Congress authorized the printing of 6000 copies of the Presidents' public papers. Under the editorship of Congressman James D. Richardson of Tennessee, the ten volume series *Messages and Papers of the Presidents 1789–1897* appeared between 1896 and 1899. Successive editions of Richardson brought the compilation through the Coolidge administration. Collections of the public papers of the Presidents from Hoover to Johnson have been published in separate Presidential series. In these three volumes we have compiled and indexed the full texts of the 178 State of the Union messages. These documents comprise a year-by-year chronicle of the nation's history. No other Presidential paper is as consistently comprehensive in coverage and analysis of major events and trends in the nation's history.

Volume One begins with Washington's State of the Union address, read before Congress on January 8, 1790, and concludes with Buchanan's fourth message of December 3, 1860. Washington presided over a new nation forged out of revolution. In seeking to fix the idea of Union, he datelined his address "United States" rather than New

York, the capital city. Buchanan, on the other hand, presided over a country tottering on the verge of disintegration. Seventy years of national successes and failures separate the two men. Running through these messages is the theme of the growth of Presidential power as well as the transformation of thirteen states into a mighty republic. Evident here, almost with the fatalism of a Greek tragedy, are issues pushing the nation toward the brink of self-destruction. Washington's faith in America sharply contrasts with Buchanan's pessimism. The messages and addresses of the Presidents presented in this volume form a cohesive pattern, which illustrates, among other things, why the conquest of a continent and the emergence of an Atlantic power resulted not in the fulfillment of Washington's hopes but in Civil War.

Fred L. Israel

The City College of New York
April 1966

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Contents

WILLIAM H. HARRISON

March 4 to April 4, 1841

(Died prior to delivering any Annual Messages)

JOHN TYLER

April 4, 1841 to March 4, 1845

JAMES K. POLK 1845–1849

ZACHARY TAYLOR

March 5, 1849 to July 9, 1850

MILLARD FILLMORE

July 10, 1850 to March 4, 1853

FRANKLIN PIERCE 1853–1857

Preface

Volume II begins with Lincoln's eloquent defense of the Union and concludes with Theodore Roosevelt's justification of his expansionist philosophy. Lincoln's compact essays contain an average of 8,000 words while Roosevelt's discourses approximate 22,000 words. Both Lincoln and Roosevelt spoke about a positive presidency. "I suppose I have a right to take *any* measure which may best subdue the enemy," Lincoln told Chicago friends. And his annual messages to Congress adequately illustrate his concept of strong executive authority. Theodore Roosevelt recorded how he considered himself "a steward of the people bound actively and affirmatively to do all he could for the people, and not to content himself with the negative merit of keeping his talents undamaged in a napkin." Roosevelt used his messages to assert and defend his Presidential leadership in foreign and domestic affairs. In the generation which separates these two men, the United States passed through the trying Reconstruction period and forged ahead to the front rank of the manufacturing nations. The new age brought with it all the hazards posed by a mechanized society and raised fundamental questions for a democracy. In foreign affairs, the United States, by the turn of the century, had taken its place as a world power.

It is generally assumed that the men who occupied the White House from the end of Reconstruction to the twentieth century appeared to ignore the major problems inherent in an industrial society that had subjugated a vast continent. To the contrary, the texts of the messages clearly illustrate that the Presidents made specific recommendations to Congress on a multitude of issues. The Index at the end of Volume III underscores the range of Presidential concern: civil service, internal improvements, tariff reform, agriculture, land sales, conservation, Indian relations, banking and currency reforms, education, immigration, plus scores of other detailed domestic issues. In foreign affairs, a grandiose Pacific policy emerges—a two ocean navy, the purchase of Alaska, coaling stations in Hawaii, trade with the Far East, and an Isthmian canal. In the Caribbean the United States continued to uphold the Monroe Doctrine, adding to it the spirit of "manifest destiny." For all practical purposes American isolationism ended as trade now extended to all parts of the world.

The years 1861 to 1904 are marked by a new American consciousness—the consciousness of national pride and strength. At the turn of the century Americans could look back to a generation of progress unparalleled in history.

Fred L. Israel

l Steinberg & Robert Hector
ue Card Number: 66–20309
d States of America

Contents

ULYSSES S. GRANT (Second Term) 1873–1877

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES 1877–1881

JAMES A. GARFIELD

March 4, 1881 to September 19, 1881

(*Assassinated prior to delivering any Annual Messages*)

CHESTER A. ARTHUR

September 19, 1881 to March 4, 1885

GROVER CLEVELAND 1885–1889

Preface

Volume III begins with Theodore Roosevelt's fifth annual message and concludes with Lyndon Johnson's third. At the turn of the century Presidents Roosevelt, Taft and Wilson were concerned about the growing trusts and how the Republic could cope with the formidable problems posed by the widening disparity between the rich and the poor. The rapid growth of cities and surging tides of immigration increased the class tensions of a society plunging into industrialization. But the advent of World War I temporarily arrested the reform impulse. In his second State of the Union message delivered on December 8, 1914, Wilson promised that "we will not ask our young men to spend the best years of their lives making soldiers of themselves." The following year, however, the President called for "more adequate national defense" including "a force of four hundred thousand disciplined citizens." And by 1917, the war, which the United States had now entered, became according to Wilson, "just and holy." Wilson had spoken of a new day dawning for democracy but the harsh realities of the peace treaties embittered many. The "just and holy" conflict was followed by a sharp election repudiation of Wilsonian idealism. After being involved in a horrible war, the nation had grown tired of crusades to "make the world safe for democracy." Presidents Harding and Coolidge concentrated on domestic affairs and the "return to normalcy." Their State of the Union messages stressed economy in government and tax reductions. "The wealth of our country is not public wealth," said Coolidge, "but private wealth. . . . No right exists to levy on a dollar, or to order the expenditure of a dollar of the money of the people, except for a necessary purpose duly authorized by the Constitution." President Hoover and Franklin Roosevelt's early messages are devoted to plans for ending the economic depression which began when the bottom dropped from the stock market in October 1929. Roosevelt's vigorous assertion of national leadership sharply contrasts with Hoover's statement that "economic depression cannot be cured by legislative action or Executive pronouncement." Roosevelt's concern over domestic problems, however, is overshadowed by the coming of World War II. For three years American servicemen fought to defeat the Axis powers in Europe, Africa, and Asia. The war had required a mighty effort and the nation successfully met the challenge. The difficulties of transition from the controlled economy of war to the relatively free economy of peace were many. President Truman's messages impressively deal with his attempts to continue the work of Roosevelt in the domestic field while constructively helping the rest of the world to restore peace, stability, and freedom. The dilemma of living in a land of plenty and a world of peril engage the messages of Eisenhower, Kennedy, and

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States of America

Johnson. At home, these presidents were concerned with using the national affluence to insure realization of the American dream and abroad they acknowledged the command of Isaiah to undo the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free.

My colleague Dr. James Watts, Jr. assisted me in preparing the comprehensive index at the end of this volume. I am deeply grateful to Dr. Watts, and I wish also to thank Mary F. McCarthy for her editorial and proofreading help and Jack Oppenheim for his encouraging support. We have sought to include every significant event and policy in our nation's history. It is our hope that this index, conceptual and analytic, will offer firm guidelines toward understanding the growth of the nation as seen through the annual reports of the Presidents of the United States.

I wish to express our special appreciation to the New York Public Library for its help with official documents and for the cooperation of its Photographic Division in processing much of the material in the Third Volume.

Fred L. Israel

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Contents

WARREN G. HARDING
March 4, 1921 to August 2, 1923

CALVIN COOLIDGE (First Term)
August 3, 1923 to March 4, 1925

CALVIN COOLIDGE (Second Term)
March 4, 1925 to March 4, 1929

HERBERT C. HOOVER 1929–1933

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT (First Term) 1933–1937

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER (First Term) 1953–1957

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER (Second Term) 1957–1961

JOHN F. KENNEDY
January 20, 1961 to November 22, 1963

LYNDON B. JOHNSON
November 22, 1963–

Nixon Pledges War on Pollution in His State of Union Message

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

in a real sense, 50 per cent better off, 50 per cent happier?"

To insure an affirmative answer, he asked the country to follow him down a "new road" and offered, in a speech largely avoiding specifics, the following general proposals:

¶A five-year, $10-billion program—partly financed by the Federal Government—to build waste treatment plants and thus attack water pollution.

¶A variety of additional weapons — including research, incentives, and "new regulations"—to resist and reverse contamination of the environment.

¶A doubling of expenditures in the coming fiscal year to fight crime.

¶A continuing effort to arrest the rising cost of living by reducing unnecessary expenditures and eliminating ineffective programs.

¶A renewed push to win Congressional approval of two major programs submitted last year — welfare reform and a program to share federal tax revenues with the states and cities.

¶A commitment to develop a "national growth policy" that would seek to influence patterns of population movement, reverse the flow of people to crowded urban centers, and restore economic vitality to rural America.

The President was said to have composed most of the speech himself, and he apparently thought of little else this morning. Just two hours before the speech he called Paul W. McCracken, the chairman of his Council of Economic Advisers, for some new figures, and during his ride to Capitol Hill, he jotted down fresh phrases and revised old ones in his text.

Relaxed and composed, he was met in the House chamber by a warm ovation, delivered the address rapidly and was interrupted by polite applause 26 times from the chamber floor. His wife and family, including his son-in-law, David Eisenhower, watched from the galleries.

Although he summoned his Congressional audience to address the problems of the age in a nonpartisan spirit, the speech was not without overtones of partisanship. The issues to which he devoted heaviest emphasis—crime, inflation, and pollution—were the very ones Democratic strategists had counted on most to retain their Congressional strength in the November elections.

On occasion, Mr. Nixon obliquely accused his Democratic predecessors of leaving the nation's ills unattended, of allowing the institutions of government to decay and of permitting the economy to grow unchecked.

"The decade of the sixties was also a period of great growth economically," he declared, adding: "But in that same 10-year period we witnessed the greatest growth of crime, the greatest increase in inflation, the greatest social unrest in America in 100 years. Never has a nation seemed to have had more and enjoyed it less."

Congressional reaction appeared largely favorable, although some Democrats noted that Mr. Nixon had yet to spend some $800-million appropriated for waste treatment last year. These Democrats said that only time would reveal the depth of the President's commitment to the fight against pollution.

Questions were also raised about the basis for Mr. Nixon's assertion that the inflation of the 1960's was the worst in 100 years; generally-used figures suggest that the increase in prices during the forties was substantially larger.

Unlike his Democratic predecessors, Mr. Nixon mentioned the problems of the Negro and questions of civil rights only in passing. Instead of addressing himself to the difficulties of any specific group in American society he talked of problems that touch all races and all classes. These included inflation, overcrowding and the steady erosion of the country's natural environment.

The solutions he offered to these and other difficulties were not always conventionally Republican solutions. Although he pledged himself to a balanced budget, dedicated himself anew to achieving law and order—an old campaign theme—and asserted at one point that "human rights" meant little when divorced from "property rights," he accepted and indeed encouraged the proposition that many problems would remain insoluble without strong Federal leadership.

This was particularly true in his remarks about the environment and in his suggestion that the Federal Government must help redirect the movement of people to relieve pressures on congested urban areas and to restore economic strength to the countryside.

In nearly every case, however, Mr. Nixon insisted that the Federal Government could not successfully carry out its leadership role unless it improved the delivery of Federal programs, improved the efficiency of its management and acquired the courage to jettison old programs that proved to be ineffective even if they were politically popular.

"At heart, the issue is the effectiveness of Government," he asserted at one point. A few moments later, he declared:

"It is time to quit putting good money into bad programs. Otherwise, we will end up with bad money and bad programs."

In a similar vein, he promised to share power with the states and cities even in those programs requiring Federal leadership. He said he would depend upon the wisdom of local governments to help him in his scheme to achieve better balance between rural and urban areas.

According to informed sources in the Administration, even his $10-billion, five-year waste-treatment program will call for only $4-billion in direct Federal spending and leave much of the responsibility for raising the additional funds and managing the program to the states and municipalities.

In a speech heavily philosophical in tone as well as substance, Mr. Nixon decried the ravages of unchecked and unmonitored economic growth but asserted that he saw no contradiction between increasing commercial prosperity, properly managed, and the quality of life.

"The answer," he said, "is not to abandon growth but to redirect it. We should turn toward ending congestion and eliminating smog the same resourceful inventive genius that created them in the first place. Continued vigorous economic growth provides us with the means to enrich life itself and to enhance our planet as a place hospitable to man."

The crucial point, he stressed, was whether the nation's old commitment to industrial expansion would be tempered henceforth with a fresh recognition of the consequences of expansion. Time and again he returned to the theme that happiness was not to be found either in personal economic wealth or in the economic indicators of government.

"We can be the best clothed, best fed, best housed people in the world, enjoying clean air, clean water, beautiful parks, but," he said, "we could still be the unhappiest people in the world without an indefinable spirit — the lift of a driving dream which has made America from its beginning the hope of the world."

"Our recognition of the truth that wealth and happiness are not the same thing requires us to measure success or failure by new criteria," he added.

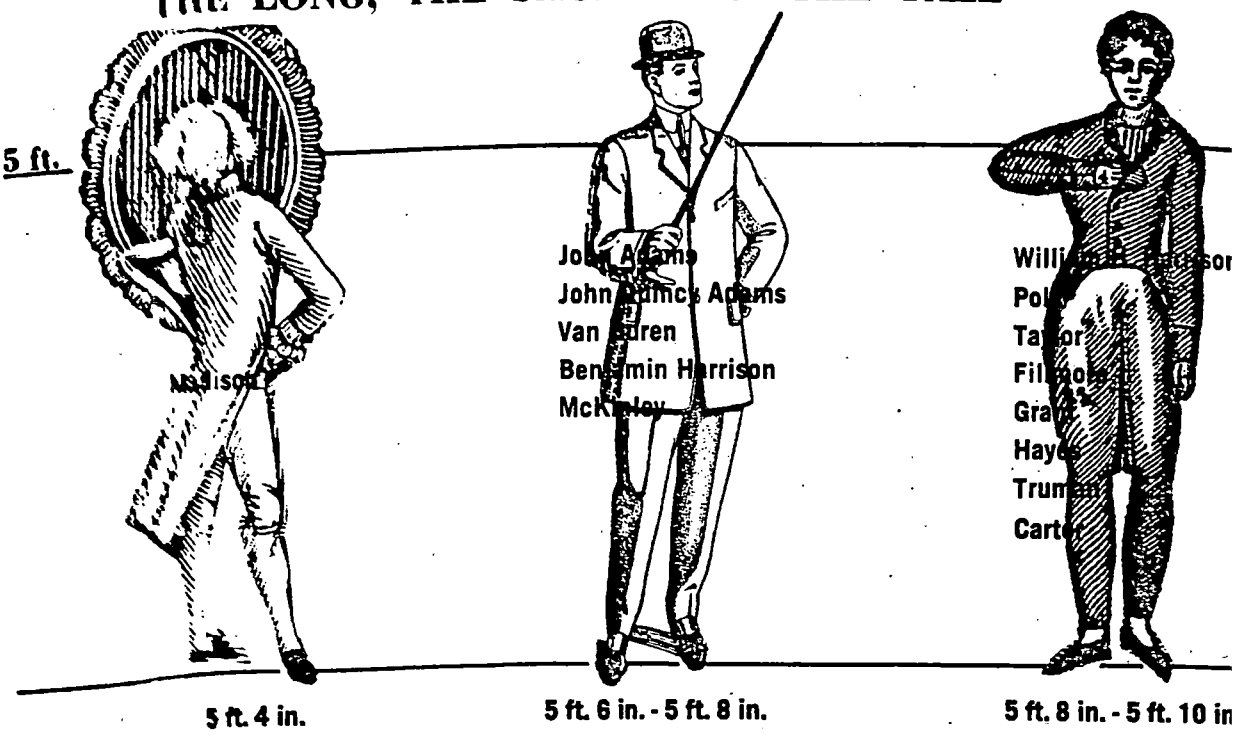
Not unexpectedly, Mr. Nixon took care to identify his concerns with some of the concerns of youth, particularly the issue of the environment.

"The great question of the seventies," he said, "is: Shall we surrender to our surroundings or shall we make peace with nature and begin to make reparations for the damages we have done to our air, to our land, and to our water?

"Restoring nature to its natural state," he insisted, "is a cause beyond party and beyond factions. It has become a common cause of all the people of America. It is a cause of particular concern to young Americans because they more than we will reap the grim consequences of our failure to act on programs which are needed now if we are to prevent disaster later."

THE PRESIDENTS

THE LONG, THE SHORT AND THE TALL



WELL QUALIFIED

In 1888, an official campaign biography was written for **Benjamin Harrison** by a Hoosier neighbor. The neighbor was General Lou Wallace, already famous as the author of the celebrated novel "Ben Hur." One of Harrison's friends felt that the selection of Wallace as a biographer was a particularly fine choice. As the gentleman put it, "He did so well on 'Ben Hur' that we surely can trust Wallace with 'Ben Him'."

PAY CLOSE ATTENTION

James Monroe's seventh annual message to Congress, delivered on December 2, 1823, included reports on finances, military affairs, and generally routine matters. Among the other information he presented, the President made two references to American foreign policy, one early in the speech, the other near the close.

Adroitly avoiding foreign repercussion by the apparent casualness of the references, the President had issued one of the strongest statements of intent which has ever been made in the history of American government. The two parts of the speech, put together, are the Monroe Doctrine.

CONVERSATIONA CONSERVATIONIS

"I do not choose to run fo ident in 1928," said **Calvi lidge,** a statement that ha remembered ever since fo its brevity and its wisdom.

Coolidge wasted nothing, included.

"I bet someone that I co more than two words out o a visitor once said to him. Cal did not speak. Then speak.

"You lose."

NIXON, STRESSING QUALITY OF LIFE, ASKS IN STATE OF UNION MESSAGE FOR BATTLE TO SAVE ENVIRONMENT

President Nixon acknowledging the greeting he received yesterday in the House Chamber. At rear are Vice President Agnew and John W. McCormack, the House Speaker.

The New York Times (by Mike Lien)

OFFERS 'NEW ROAD'

Efforts to Curb Crime and Rising Cost of Living Ar[illegible] Urged

Text of State of the Union Message is on Page 22.

By ROBERT B. SEMPLE Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 22 — President Nixon committed himself and challenged the country today to rescue the American environment from years of human indifference and to display, in the decade ahead, a deeper concern for the quality of American life.

In his first State of the Union Message, the 37th President placed "first priority" on world peace and a "just" settlement of the war in Vietnam. But his major preoccupation was the state of the union, not the state of the world, and his central message was an appeal to match the resources of the 1970's to the vision of the 1770's.

Prospects for 10 Years

Before a joint session of Congress assembled in the chamber of the House of Representatives, Mr. Nixon sketched in 36 minutes a portrait of a nation rich in resources but confused in purpose and concerned about forces seemingly beyond its control. His picture was of a nation robbed of its natural heritage by human and industrial carelessness, cheated of the dividends of economic growth by inflation, poorly served by a proliferating Federal apparatus, and threatened by crime and the growth in population.

The address drew a generally favorable response in Congress. Republicans approved it and Democrats, despite some skepticism on key points, regarded it as a skillful exercise in which the President seized upon issues that they had regarded as their own.

The President's theme was best expressed in a rhetorical question:

"In the next 10 years we shall increase our wealth by 50 per cent. The profound question is—does this mean that we will be 50 per cent richer

Continued on Page 23, Column 4

Yablonski Killing Depicted As Move to Balk U.S. Jury

Murder Charges Filed

By JERRY M. FLINT
Special to The New York Times

CLEVELAND, Jan. 22—A Government attorney said today that Joseph A. Yablonski was murdered by three Cleveland men to keep the rebel mine union leader from testifying before a Federal grand jury.

The suspects, all Appalachian-born and two with criminal records, were held here on $250,000 bond each. It was expected they would be extradited to Pennsylvania before the Federal charges progress very far.

In Washington, Pa., meanwhile, the state filed formal charges of premeditated murder against the three men—Paul Eugene Gilly, 36 years old, Claude Edward Vealey, 26, and Aubran Wayne (Buddy) Martin, 23. The complaints were filed by Washington County District

Visit by Suspect Reported

By BEN A. FRANKLIN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Pa., Jan. 22—A bizarre account of events preceding the murder of Joseph A. Yablonski and his wife and daughter began to unfold here today.

The account came from friends of Mr. Yablonski, the defeated candidate for president of the United Mine Workers, who was found dead Jan. 5 in his home at nearby Clarksville, Pa. These friends, who have been among the chief police informants in the case, told of a visit to the Yablonski home, before the murders, by one of the suspects.

The suspects, now being held in Cleveland, are Paul Eugene Gilly, 36 years old; Claude Edward Vealey, 26, and [illegible]

$10-BILLION ASKED FOR CLEAN WATER

Officials Say White House Plan Calls for $4-Billion Federal Contribution

BY E. W. KENWORTHY
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 22 — President Nixon said today he would propose a $10-billion program to clean up America's waters over five years. Informed officials said later that, under the President's plan, the Federal Government would pay 40 per cent of the cost and the states and cities 60 per cent.

Thus, the Federal share would be $4-billion and the local share $6-billion, according to these officials.

Furthermore, they said that the Federal grants would be made on a sliding scale over

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STATE OF THE UNION MESSAGES —*Continued*

T. Roosevelt
Dec. 3, 1901
Dec. 2, 1902
Dec. 7, 1903
Dec. 6, 1904
Dec. 5, 1905
Dec. 3, 1906
Dec. 3, 1907
Dec. 8, 1908

Taft
Dec. 7, 1909
Dec. 6, 1910
Dec. 5, 1911
Dec. 3, 1912

Wilson
Dec. 2, 1913 40, Tues
Dec. 8, 1914 40
Dec. 7, 1915 60
Dec. 5, 1916 18
Dec. 4, 1917 30
Dec. 2, 1918 45
Dec. 2, 1919 writ
Dec. 7, 1920 writ

Harding
Dec. 4, 1921
Dec. 8, 1922

Coolidge
Dec. 6, 1923 65
Dec. 3, 1924 writ
Dec. 8, 1925 writ
Dec. 7, 1926 writ
Dec. 6, 1927 writ
Dec. 4, 1928 writ

Hoover
Dec. 3, 1929
Dec. 2, 1930
Dec. 8, 1931
Dec. 6, 1932

F. D. Roosevelt
Jan. 3, 1934 25
Jan. 4, 1935 45
Jan. 3, 1936 50
Jan. 6, 1937 35
Jan. 3, 1938 50
Jan. 4, 1939 45
Jan. 3, 1940 35
Jan. 6, 1941 40
Jan. 6, 1942 40
Jan. 7, 1943 40
Jan. 11, 1944 writ
Jan. 6, 1945 writ

Truman
Jan. 22, 1946 writ
Jan. 6, 1947 60
Jan. 7, 1948 50
Jan. 5, 1949 30
Jan. 4, 1950 40
Jan. 8, 1951 writ
Jan. 9, 1952 40
Jan. 7, 1953 writ

Eisenhower
Feb. 2, 1953 60
Jan. 7, 1954 55
Jan. 6, 1955 60
Jan. 5, 1956 writ
Jan. 10, 1957 35
Jan. 9, 1958 45
Jan. 9, 1959 45
Jan. 7, 1960 40
Jan. 12, 1961

Kennedy
Jan. 30, 1961 45
Jan. 11, 1962 60
Jan. 14, 1963 45

L. B. Johnson
Jan. 8, 1964 45
Jan. 4, 1965 50
Jan. 12, 1966 60
Jan. 10, 1967 75
Jan. 17, 1968 55
Jan. 14, 1969 45

Nixon
Jan. 22, 1970 40
Jan. 22, 1971 40
Jan. 20, 1972 30*
Feb. 2, 1973 series of writ
Jan. 30, 1974 45**

Ford
Jan. 15, 1975 45
Jan. 19, 1976 50
Jan. 12, 1977 50

Carter
Jan. 19, 1978
Jan. 23, 1979
Jan. 23, 1980
Jan. 16, 1981

THE PRESIDENTIAL VETO

Article I, section 7 of the Constitution contains the following provisions:

> Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it becomes a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. . . . If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which case it shall not be a Law.
>
> Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

The Constitution thus provides not only for a regular veto, which Congress may override by a two-thirds majority of both Houses, but also for a "pocket veto"—if the President opposes a bill sent to him ten days before the adjournment of Congress, he can, instead of vetoing it, merely ignore it, or "pocket" it, and prevent it from becoming a law.

The following list shows the number of bills vetoed by each President. Noted in parenthesis after each total are the figures comprising the total: first, the number of regular vetoes; second, the number of pocket vetoes; third, the number of vetoes sustained by Congress; and fourth, the number passed over his veto.

Washington—2 (2, 0; 2, 0)
J. Adams—0
Jefferson—0
Madison—7 (5, 2; 7, 0)
Monroe—2 (1, 1; 1, 1)
J. Q. Adams—0
Jackson—12 (5, 7; 12, 0)
Van Buren—0
W. H. Harrison—0

* 72 - 15,000 wd message
** 74 - 22,000 "

tatistics

ontrol (CDC) collects data on abortions annually with a statewide reporting system. The Alan Gutta on the number of abortions based on its own her Institute also publishes data on the character- changes in the number of States reporting each

y rate, defined as the number of births that 1,000 ar of age, they experienced the birth rates occurhed by NCHS. Other data relating to social and as contraceptive use and birth expectations, are d the Bureau of the Census. NCHS figures are tificates and on the periodic National Surveys of ed on decennial censuses and the CPS.

lifetime in years for persons who attain a given letails, see the technical appendix in *Vital Statis-*

tionwide statistics on marriages and divorces in National Office of Vital Statistics prepared estiupdates took place after 1888, marriage and diannually until 1944 by that Office. In 1957 and rriage- and divorce-registration areas. Beginning 0 States, plus Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and d the District of Columbia. The divorce-registraawaii, and the Virgin Islands, currently includes res for estimating the number of marriages and *Vital Statistics of the United States,* Vol. III—egistration and nonregistration States are gathriages and divorces reported by State offices of

nd divorce trends in the United States is the conducted by the Bureau of the Census. For

tistics rates computed by NCHS are based on or 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980; and on nated by the Bureau of the Census (see text,

and divorces from NCHS are based on inforne Census Bureau's Current Population Survey classify their race as: (1) White, (2) Black, (3) cific Islander.

al collection, estimation, and sampling proce- to Census Bureau and NCHS data, see Ap-

cross-references, where applicable, to *Histori-970.* See Appendix IV.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. . .

Fertility / Births Number of

Martin O'Connell
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763-5303.

No. 83. Live Births, Deaths, Marriages, and Divorces: 1950 to 1987

[Prior to 1960, excludes Alaska and Hawaii. Beginning 1970, excludes births to, and deaths of, nonresidents of the U.S. See Appendix III. See also *Historical Statistics, Colonial Times to 1970,* series B 1–5, B 142, B 167, B 214, and B 216]

Year	Number (1,000)					Rate per 1,000 population				
	Births [1]	Deaths		Marriages [3]	Divorces [4]	Births [1]	Deaths		Marriages [3]	Divorces [4]
		Total	Infant [2]				Total	Infant [2]		
1950	3,632	1,452	104	1,667	385	24.1	9.6	29.2	11.1	2.6
1955	4,097	1,529	107	1,531	377	25.0	9.3	26.4	9.3	2.3
1957	4,300	1,633	112	1,518	381	25.3	9.6	26.3	8.9	2.2
1960	4,258	1,712	111	1,523	393	23.7	9.5	26.0	8.5	2.2
1965	3,760	1,828	93	1,800	479	19.4	9.4	24.7	9.3	2.5
1970	3,731	1,921	75	2,159	708	18.4	9.5	20.0	10.6	3.5
1971	3,556	1,928	68	2,190	773	17.2	9.3	19.1	10.6	3.7
1972	3,258	1,964	60	2,282	845	15.6	9.4	18.5	10.9	4.0
1973	3,137	1,973	56	2,284	915	14.8	9.3	17.7	10.8	4.3
1974	3,160	1,934	53	2,230	977	14.8	9.1	16.7	10.5	4.6
1975	3,144	1,893	51	2,153	1,036	14.6	8.8	16.1	10.0	4.8
1976	3,168	1,909	48	2,155	1,083	14.6	8.8	15.2	9.9	5.0
1977	3,327	1,900	47	2,178	1,091	15.1	8.6	14.1	9.9	5.0
1978	3,333	1,928	46	2,282	1,130	15.0	8.7	13.8	10.3	5.1
1979	3,494	1,914	46	2,331	1,181	15.6	8.5	13.1	10.4	5.3
1980	3,612	1,990	46	2,390	1,189	15.9	8.8	12.6	10.6	5.2
1981	3,629	1,978	43	2,422	1,213	15.8	8.6	11.9	10.6	5.3
1982	3,681	1,975	42	2,456	1,170	15.9	8.5	11.5	10.6	5.0
1983	3,639	2,019	41	2,446	1,158	15.5	8.6	11.2	10.5	4.9
1984	3,669	2,039	40	2,477	1,169	15.5	8.6	10.8	10.5	5.0
1985	3,761	2,086	40	2,413	1,190	15.8	8.7	10.6	10.1	5.0
1986	3,757	2,105	39	[5] 2,400	[5] 1,159	15.6	8.7	10.4	[5] 10.0	[5] 4.8
1987, prel	3,829	2,127	38	2,421	1,157	15.7	8.7	10.0	9.9	4.8

[1] Through 1957, adjusted for underregistration. [2] Infants under 1 year, excluding fetal deaths; rates per 1,000 registered live births. [3] Includes estimates for some States through 1965 and also for 1976 and 1977 and marriage licenses for some States for all years except 1973 and 1975. Beginning 1978, includes nonlicensed marriages in California. [4] Includes reported annulments and some estimated State figures for all years. [5] Preliminary.

Source: U.S. National Center for Health Statistics, *Vital Statistics of the United States,* annual; and unpublished data.

No. 84. Live Births and Deaths—20 Largest Metropolitan Areas: 1986

[Excludes births to, and deaths of, nonresidents of U.S. Data are by place of residence. Metropolitan statistical areas (MSA's), consolidated metropolitan statistical areas (CMSA's) and New England County Metropolitan Areas (NECMA's), are as defined by the U.S. Office of Management and Budget as of **June 30, 1987;** see Appendix II for definitions and components]

Metropolitan area	Number (1,000)			Rate per 1,000 population		
	Births	Deaths		Births	Deaths	
		Total	Infant [1]		Total	Infant [1]
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-CT CMSA [2]	261,869	171,369	2,744	14.6	9.6	10.5
Los Angeles-Anaheim-Riverside, CA CMSA	247,483	96,595	2,224	18.9	7.4	9.0
Chicago-Gary-Lake County (IL), IL-IN-WI CMSA	130,021	68,677	1,641	16.0	8.5	12.6
San Francisco-Oakland-San Jose, CA CMSA	92,741	45,144	759	15.8	7.7	8.2
Philadelphia-Wilmington-Trenton, PA-NJ-DE-MD CMSA	89,318	56,922	1,006	15.3	9.7	11.3
Detroit-Ann Arbor, MI CMSA	69,032	41,324	846	15.0	9.0	12.3
Boston-Lawrence-Salem-Lowell-Brockton, MA NECMA	52,825	34,504	444	14.2	9.3	8.4
Dallas-Fort Worth, TX CMSA	71,880	23,784	727	19.7	6.5	10.1
Houston-Galveston-Brazoria, TX CMSA	67,600	20,862	643	18.5	5.7	9.5
Washington, DC-MD-VA MSA	57,393	24,226	705	16.1	6.8	12.3
Miami-Fort Lauderdale, FL CMSA	44,247	30,480	487	15.3	10.5	11.0
Cleveland-Akron-Lorain, OH CMSA	39,589	26,899	439	14.3	9.7	11.1
Atlanta, GA MSA	42,210	17,325	494	16.4	6.7	11.7
St. Louis, MO-IL MSA	38,346	22,895	447	15.7	9.4	11.7
Pittsburgh-Beaver Valley, PA CMSA	28,301	25,737	294	12.3	11.1	10.4
Minneapolis-St. Paul, MN-WI MSA	38,532	16,181	350	16.8	7.0	9.1
Seattle-Tacoma, WA CMSA	36,084	16,634	344	15.8	7.3	9.5
Baltimore, MD MSA	35,582	21,130	424	15.6	9.3	11.9
San Diego, CA MSA	39,044	15,608	356	17.7	7.1	9.1
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL MSA	24,557	23,879	278	12.8	12.5	11.3

[1] Infants under 1 year, excluding fetal deaths; rates per 1,000 registered live births. [2] CT portion of CMSA covers all of Fairfield County.

Source: U.S. National Center for Health Statistics, *Vital Statistics of the United States,* annual.

rate of deaths per 1,000 population in each age interval for a specified year. For a detailed description of the direct method by which these rates were computed, see *Vital Statistics Rates in the United States, 1900–1940*, pp. 66–69.

B 181–192. Death rate, by age and sex, 1900–1970.

Source: 1900–1939, U.S. Public Health Service, *Vital Statistics—Special Reports*, vol. 43, No. 1, pp. 10–12; 1940–1954, U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Vital Statistics of the United States, 1954*, vol. I, p. xlix; 1955–1957, *Vital Statistics of the United States, 1956*, vol. I, p. xcviii; 1958–1970, *Vital Statistics of the United States, 1968*, vol. II, part A; and unpublished data.

B 193–200. Death rate, by sex and by selected cause, for Massachusetts, 1860–1970.

Source: 1860–1899, computed from *48th Annual Registration Report for Massachusetts* and *77th Annual Report on the Vital Statistics of Massachusetts;* 1900–1956, U.S. Bureau of the Census and U.S. Public Health Service, *Vital Statistics of the United States*, vol. I, annual issues; 1957–1970, U.S. Public Health Service, *Vital Statistics of the United States*, vol. II, part A, annual issues.

B 201–213. Death rate, by age, for Massachusetts, 1865–1900.

Source: *48th Annual Registration Report for Massachusetts*, p. 321, and *77th Annual Report on the Vital Statistics of Massachusetts*, p. 126.

B 214–220. Marriage rate and divorce, 1920–1970.

Source: **Series B 214–218**, U.S. Public Health Service, *Vital Statistics of the United States*, vol. III, annual issues; **series B 219–220**, U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, series P-20.

See also: U.S. Commissioner of Labor, *A Report on Marriage and Divorce in the United States, 1867 to 1886;* U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Marriage and Divorce, 1867–1906; Vital Statistics—Special Reports*, vol. 9, No. 60, "A Review of Marriage and Divorce Statistics: United States: 1887–1937"; *Marriage and Divorce, 1916* and annual issues for 1922–1932; S. A. Stauffer and L. M. Spencer, "Recent Increases in Marriage and Divorce," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 44, No. 4 (for 1933–1936); U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Vital Statistics—Special Reports*, vol. 15, Nos. 13 and 18, "Estimated Number of Marriages by State: United States, 1937–1940" and "Estimated Number of Divorces by State: United States, 1937–1940," respectively. For exact population base figures, see *Vital Statistics—Special Reports*, vol. 46, No. 12, p. 330.

Marriage and divorce records are filed only at the county level in some States, but gradually the various States are requiring by law that such events be recorded at the State level. The completeness of reporting to the State offices varies, but there has been no nationwide test. A marriage-registration area covering 30 States and 5 independent areas was established by the National Office of Vital Statistics in 1957. A major criterion for admission of a State to the registration areas was agreement with the National Office of Vital Statistics to conduct a test of marriage registration completeness. By 1971, the marriage-registration area covered 40 States and 3 independent areas. A divorce-registration area with 14 States and 3 independent areas was inaugurated in 1958. By 1971, it covered 29 States and 1 independent area.

The marriage

Series B 1–4. Live Births, Deaths, Marriages, and Divorces: 1909 to 1970

[In thousands. Birth, marriage, and divorce figures represent estimates of all such events; death figures, the number of registered events]

Year	Live births [1,2]	Deaths [3]	Marriages	Divorces [4]	Year	Live births [1]	Deaths [3]	Marriages	Divorces [4]	Year	Live births [1]	Marriages	Divorces [4]
	1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4		1	3	4
1970	3,731	1,921	2,163	708	1950	3,632	1,452	1,667	385	1930	2,618	1,127	196
1969	3,600	1,922	2,145	639	1949	3,649	1,444	1,580	397	1929	2,582	1,233	206
1968	3,502	1,930	2,069	584	1948	3,637	1,444	1,811	408	1928	2,674	1,182	200
1967	[5] 3,521	1,851	1,927	523	1947	3,817	1,445	1,992	483	1927	2,802	1,201	196
1966	3,606	1,863	1,857	499	1946	3,411	1,396	2,291	610	1926	2,839	1,203	185
1965	3,760	1,828	1,800	479	1945	2,858	1,402	1,613	485	1925	2,909	1,188	175
1964	4,027	1,798	1,725	450	1944	2,939	1,411	1,452	400	1924	2,979	1,185	171
1963	4,098	1,814	1,654	428	1943	3,104	1,460	1,577	359	1923	2,910	1,230	165
1962	4,167	1,757	1,577	413	1942	2,989	1,385	1,772	321	1922	2,882	1,134	149
1961	4,268	1,702	1,548	414	1941	2,703	1,398	1,696	293	1921	3,055	1,164	160
1960 *	4,258	1,712	1,523	393	1940	2,559	1,417	1,596	264	1920	2,950	1,274	171
1959 [6]	4,245	1,657	1,494	395	1939	2,466	1,388	1,404	251	1919	2,740	----------	----------
1958	4,255	1,648	1,451	368	1938	2,496	1,381	1,331	244	1918	2,948	----------	----------
1957	4,308	1,633	1,518	381	1937	2,413	1,450	1,451	249	1917	2,944	----------	----------
1956	4,218	1,564	1,585	382	1936	2,355	1,479	1,369	236	1916	2,964	----------	----------
1955	4,104	1,529	1,531	377	1935	2,377	1,393	1,327	218	1915	2,965	----------	----------
1954	4,078	1,481	1,490	379	1934	2,396	1,397	1,302	204	1914	2,966	----------	----------
1953	3,965	1,518	1,546	390	1933	2,307	1,342	1,098	165	1913	2,869	----------	----------
1952	3,913	1,497	1,539	392	1932	2,440	----------	982	164	1912	2,840	----------	----------
1951	3,823	1,482	1,595	381	1931	2,506	----------	1,061	188	1911	2,809	----------	----------
										1910	2,777	----------	----------
										1909	2,718	----------	----------

* Denotes first year for which figures include Alaska and Hawaii.
[1] 1959–1970, registered live births; 1909–1958, adjusted for underregistration.
[2] Based on 50-percent sample for 1951–1954, 1956–1966, and 1968–1970.
[3] Excludes fetal deaths.
[4] Includes reported annulments.
[5] Based on 20- to 50-percent sample.
[6] Includes Alaska.

Series B 5–10. Birth Rate—Total and for Women 15–44 Years Old, by Race: 1800 to 1970

[Based on estimated total live births per 1,000 population for specified group. Based on a 50-percent sample of births for 1951–1954, 1956–1966, and 1968–1970; on 20- to 50-percent sample for 1967. Prior to 1959, births adjusted for underregistration; thereafter, registered live births]

Year	Rate, total population			Rate, women 15–44 years [1]			Year	Rate, total population			Rate, women 15–44 years [1]		
	Total	White	Negro and other	Total	White	Negro and other		Total	White	Negro and other	Total	White	Negro and other
	5	6	7	8	9	10		5	6	7	8	9	10
1970	18.4	17.4	25.1	87.9	84.1	113.0	1932	19.5	18.7	26.9	81.7	79.0	103.0
1969	17.8	16.9	24.4	86.5	82.4	114.8	1931	20.2	19.5	26.6	84.6	82.4	102.1
1968	17.5	16.6	24.2	85.7	81.5	114.9							
1967 [2]	17.8	16.8	25.0	87.6	83.1	119.8	1930	21.3	20.6	27.5	89.2	87.1	105.9
1966	18.4	17.4	26.1	91.3	86.4	125.9	1929	21.2	20.5	27.3	89.3	87.3	106.1
1965	19.4	18.3	27.6	96.6	91.4	133.9	1928	22.2	21.5	28.5	93.8	91.7	111.0
1964	21.0	20.0	29.1	105.0	99.9	141.7	1927	23.5	22.7	31.1	99.8	97.1	121.7
1963 [3]	21.7	20.7	29.7	108.5	103.7	144.9	1926	24.2	23.1	33.4	102.6	99.2	130.3
1962 [3]	22.4	21.4	30.5	112.2	107.5	148.8							
1961	23.3	22.2	31.6	117.2	112.2	153.5	1925	25.1	24.1	34.2	106.6	103.3	134.0
1960 *	23.7	22.7	32.1	118.0	113.2	153.6	1924	26.1	25.1	34.6	110.9	107.8	135.6
1959 [4]	24.0	22.9	32.9	118.8	113.9	156.0	1923	26.0	25.2	33.2	110.5	108.0	130.5
1958	24.5	23.3	34.3	120.2	114.9	160.5	1922	26.2	25.4	33.2	111.2	108.8	130.8
1957	25.3	24.0	35.3	122.9	117.7	163.0	1921	28.1	27.3	35.8	119.8	117.2	140.8
1956	25.2	24.0	35.4	121.2	116.0	160.9							
1955	25.0	23.8	34.7	118.5	113.8	155.3	1920	27.7	26.9	35.0	117.9	115.4	137.5
1954	25.3	24.2	34.9	118.1	113.6	153.2	1919	26.1	25.3	32.4	111.2	(NA)	----------
1953	25.0	24.0	34.1	115.2	111.0	147.3	1918	28.2	27.6	33.0	119.8	(NA)	----------
1952	25.1	24.1	33.6	113.9	110.1	143.3	1917	28.5	27.9	32.9	121.0	(NA)	----------
1951	24.9	23.9	33.8	111.5	107.7	142.1	1916	29.1	28.5	----------	123.4	121.8	----------
1950	24.1	23.0	33.3	106.2	102.3	137.3	1915	29.5	28.9	----------	125.0	123.2	----------
1949	24.5	23.6	33.0	107.1	103.6	135.1	1914	29.9	29.3	----------	126.6	124.6	----------
1948	24.9	24.0	32.4	107.3	104.3	131.6	1913	29.5	28.8	----------	124.7	122.4	----------
1947	26.6	26.1	31.2	113.3	111.8	125.9	1912	29.8	29.0	----------	125.8	123.3	----------
1946	24.1	23.6	38.4	101.9	100.4	113.9	1911	29.9	29.1	----------	126.3	123.6	----------
1945	20.4	19.7	26.5	85.9	83.4	106.0	1910	30.1	29.2	----------	126.8	123.8	----------
1944	21.2	20.5	27.4	88.8	86.3	108.5	1909	30.0	29.2	----------	126.8	123.6	----------
1943	22.7	22.1	28.3	94.3	92.3	111.0	1900	32.3	30.1	----------	----------	130	----------
1942	22.2	21.5	27.7	91.5	89.5	107.6	1890	(NA)	31.5	----------	----------	137	----------
1941							1880	39.8	35.2	----------	----------	155	----------
							1870						

Of little, if any, interest!

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TRIBUTE TO JOE BARTLETT

SPEECH OF

HON. CLARENCE E. MILLER

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 28, 1979

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. MOAKLEY). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. MILLER) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in salute to my good friend and the recently retired minority clerk, Joe Bartlett. How and where does one begin to say thank you to a man who has spent 37½ years of dedicated and faithful service to the House of Representatives?

As one who has known Joe for but 13 of those 37½ years, I cannot recount, other than by hearsay, his early accomplishments and contributions to this body; so I will focus my remarks on the first hand experiences I shared with Joe during my service in the Congress. It is a shame that so many of those Members that could give testimony to the fine job Joe did all those years cannot be with us here today to join in this tribute. I know many of them would like to be. By my tally there have been 2,033 Members that have served in the House of Representatives since Joe began his long career of public service in 1941. Only one Member who was a part of that 77th Congress remains, and that is the able chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, Congressman JAMIE WHITTEN.

A lot of water has gone under the bridge since Joe first set foot in these Chambers as a 14-year-old page appointee from Clarksburg, W. Va. Five speakers have overseen the activities of the House, eight Presidents have appeared before this body to give state of the Union addresses, and the country has been in and out of three major wars. Social change has been considerable. From the tail end of the New Deal, through the Fair Deal, the New Frontier, and the Great Society, Joe has seen our country evolve from a predominantly rural society to an urban one.

Joe Bartlett has seen a lot and done a lot during his 37½ years service to the Congress. And everything he has done, he has done well.

I first became acquainted with Joe when he was the minority reading clerk. Particularly helpful to new Members, he went out of his way to familiarize newcomers such as myself with the procedures and practices of the House. His helpful hints and observations have proven invaluable to me as a legislator, and I will be forever grateful to him for providing this guidance. That was Joe's way. He was always accessible, always available, always willing to be of assistance. The excellent aptitude, and attitude he brought to his work made him stand out from the rest, and carried him from his first position as a page to the top Republican staff position in the House of Representatives, that of minority clerk.

A person of his caliber is hard to find, no less replace. We miss Joe Bartlett. For me, and for many others, he helped to make service in this Chamber a more pleasant and meaningful experience and for that he will long be remembered. May he and his lovely wife, Jinny, enjoy the new challenges and experiences that lie ahead. I am sure that whatever they are the Bartletts will approach them with the same vigor and enthusiasm that they displayed through all their years of association with the Congress.

□ 1945

Mr. REGULA. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. REGULA).

Mr. REGULA. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, there are many fine things we could say about Joe Bartlett, one of our favorite Buckeyes, but I thought I might take a different tack and use the two Websters, Noah Webster and Daniel Webster, to provide the words that I would want to use.

In the office formally occupied by Joe there is a well-worn dictionary, Webster's New International Dictionary, and in that dictionary they define a "patriot" as "one who loves his country and zealously supports its authority and interests."

How well that describes Joe Bartlett.

Webster's says that a definition for "dedicate" is "to become committed to." And again that is a beautiful description of the life of Joe Bartlett as he served his Nation in so many different ways.

I could go on with many others: "Devote," "loyal," "friend," and so on. All of those words in the dictionary are very aptly used in describing the life of Joe Bartlett.

But let me turn to the other Webster, Daniel Webster, and let us be reminded of the words that are inscribed so beautifully in the plaque above the Speaker's chair as a quotation from Daniel Webster. These are the words of that plaque:

> Let us develop the resources of our land, call forth its powers, build up its institutions, promote all its great interests and see whether we also in our day and generation may not perform something worthy to be remembered.

Those are the words that are inscribed in this Chamber as a challenge to every Member who serves here.

And certainly in the way that Joe Bartlett conducted his life, both in his service to the House of Representatives and to his Nation in the military service, he did strive to meet the goals that are so beautifully outlined in this quotation from Daniel Webster.

The poets say that the two most beautiful words in the English language are "summer afternoon," and on a day like today we might agree. But I would say that two equally beautiful words are "good friend." Joe Bartlett and his wife, Ginny, have been good friends to all of us in a lot of different ways, and all of us who have served with Joe appreciate him so much for being the good friend he always has been.

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. REGULA).

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. I yield to the gentleman from Idaho (Mr. HANSEN).

Mr. HANSEN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. MILLER) for yielding, and I commend him for this thoughtful special order to honor a great American and a person who has served well the House of Representatives and his country in a number of capacities.

I do not know of anyone I have met who is more well-rounded and who is better thought of than Joe Bartlett. Certainly it has been a great pleasure for me to know him, to know of his wise and accommodating ways, and to partake of his good advice and assistance while we have been here getting acclimatized and then as the years roll on in the endeavors we have before us.

Mr. WYLIE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. WYLIE).

Mr. WYLIE. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to compliment my colleagues from Ohio, the gentleman in the well, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. MILLER), and the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. BROWN), for taking this special order for our good friend, Joe Bartlett.

□ 1950

I welcome the opportunity to salute a friend and fellow Ohioan and his lovely wife, Jinny. Joe was most helpful to me when I first arrived on the scene in 1966, shortly after the election. He was always ready, willing and able to serve any Member of Congress who sought his assistance—and I sought it on many occasions. His tireless and solicitous efforts evidenced a concern which helped me produce many beneficial results. I congratulate Joe for his extremely impressive service as a reading clerk. I think he contributed greatly to the image of the House through his faithful years of service as a reading clerk. One of the things I remember most, as I arrived on the scene, was the way he acted as reading clerk. He had a kind of rhythm and a tone which was unique and, as I say, I think certainly improved the image of this House for visitors who came to see us from the gallery. I salute Joe also for his dedication as a soldier, as a brigadier general in the Marine Corps. I know his wife, Jinny, and his daughters, Linda and Laura, are very proud of Joe and his career, to which they have contributed a great deal. Marjorie and I wish him happiness in the years ahead.

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate my colleague's yielding. I want to thank him for taking the time to express our appreciation for the service of Joe Bartlett. He certainly gave loyal and reliable service to the House of Representatives, especially to the minority. He was always on the job and, as my several colleagues from Ohio have already indicated, he went out of his way, as many new Members came here—and we all did at one time—to make sure that we understood the procedures of the House and the ways in which each of us as individuals could be more effective. Joe was always more than willing to take the time to be helpful and to explain how each of us could be of greater service to our districts. I am sure that Joe must have been disappointed, as all of us were, that he did not become the Clerk of the House, because I am sure he would have been a major candidate for that position had we ever been smart enough to figure out a way to become the majority during his time of service.

I have always been impressed with Joe Bartlett's great sense of patriotism and great sense of duty to the country. I think that we all recognize and realize that his sense of patriotism was epitomized by his constantly asking himself the question: "How can I best serve the country?" That one question was ever prominent in his mind.

Mr. Speaker, I think it is most appropriate that my colleague has taken the time to say, in our own way here, "Thank you, Joe Bartlett, for the fine job you have done in serving the Congress and especially the Members of the minority."

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. I thank the gentleman from California for his remarks.

Mr. MYERS of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. I yield to the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. MYERS of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding to me and for taking this time to pay our respects to one who was a most dedicated public servant for many, many years. Each of us has been a freshman at some point in our career, and in most cases there has been someone who has kind of taken us under his or her wing and guided us through the difficult task of becoming a legislator in a very competitive atmosphere. I can recall that I had hardly been confirmed as the winner, back in 1966, when I had received a letter from the reading clerk of the House of Representatives, the minority reading clerk, a man I did not know at that time. Most of us, I am sure, found ourselves in a similar situation. But Joe took an interest right away in the freshman Members, not for a self-serving purpose, but because he sincerely wanted the Members to become better Members. His was not a biased or selfish view, so far as partisanship was concerned.

□ 1955

He offered the same kind of friendship and assistance to both political sides, but very early Joe was always one to come back off the stand here after reading and come down and give little hints, little suggestions. Time and time again we received special little notes from Joe, something that he had read and witnessed on the floor, trying always to give help to make the House of Representatives a better place.

So, it is with sadness that this year we learned that Joe had made his decision not to continue his service here as the minority Clerk of the House, which he had assumed several years ago, because he continued to be the same type of servant, always wanting to help Members to be better Members and to do their jobs better. But, after he made that decision, we all certainly wish him well and congratulate him for the tremendous service he has given the country and given especially to this House to make it a better House.

So, as he now is pursuing new adventures in life, I want to join his many, many friends who wish him and Ginny many years of happiness and success at whatever he attempts—and Joe will be a success at whatever he decides to do. So, we do wish him well and thank him for the help he has given the House and the Nation.

I might add here that it is sad that he served before television came to the floor, because many, many Members will remember Joe, but the Nation will remember Joe not as serving as reading clerk of the House of Representatives, but as permanent clerk of several Republican national conventions when he most eloquently served in that capacity. So, we will miss him but we wish him well.

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. I thank the gentleman from Indiana.

Mr. LIVINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. I yield to the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. LIVINGSTON).

Mr. LIVINGSTON. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding. I also thank the gentleman for bringing this special order as well. As one of the more recent additions to this body, I also would like to express my sincere appreciation to Joe Bartlett for the dedicated work that he did as minority clerk of the House.

When I came to Congress, Joe was extremely helpful to me. I looked to him for guidance and he was always cordial in manner and wise in counsel. His resignation was a great loss to me.

Joe's long career in the House, his interest in Congress, his sincere desire to serve his country by his service in this House, and his capacity for hard work—all these are qualities we should mention in expressing our gratitude to Joe. But it is his friendship which is most important.

I shall always be glad that I was elected to the 95th Congress; that I knew General Joe Bartlett; that I worked with him in Congress and had his friendship.

Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. I thank the gentleman from Louisiana.

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. I yield to the gentleman from California (Mr. DORNAN).

Mr. DORNAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding to me. I would like to associate myself with the remarks of my colleague from the 95th Congress. I had a freshman Congressman ask me in this new 96th Congress what I thought he would be missing by not having been here 2 years earlier, and the first thought that came very quickly to my mind was that he would not be able to avail himself to the counsel of Joe Bartlett.

He has the wisdom and philosophical astuteness of an Aristotle; the patience of a Job; he is, of course, as patriotic and "gung ho" as a Gen. George Patton, with the personality and demeanor of lovable Ike Eisenhower. I feel ashamed for mentioning prominent Army generals except that Joe's career in the Marine Corps, if it had not been interrupted by his brilliant service in this House, would certainly have led him to the esteemed title of commandant.

It was no small accomplishment that in his spare time and in those great periods of his life when he gave of himself to active duty, he still carved out a distinguished record in this body while attaining the rank of brigadier general in the U.S. Marine Corps. I do not think I ever came on the House floor as a new Member without being greeted by Joe Bartlett's smile. Moreover, he unsparingly counseled me and other new Members and gave counsel to those Members who were senior to him by several decades.

I think that Joe's loss not only to our party but to the whole House is one that will not be made up for many, many years.

I think the assistance which some of the Members have mentioned which Joe Bartlett gave when they were freshmen in pointing out an article in some distinguished newspaper across this country, in assisting us, and in guiding us in the approach which freshmen sometimes made in their exuberant attempt to go into the well at all times on every issue, and Joe Bartlett's general counsel of, "Don't blunt your pick on this one; save yourself," constituted one bit of advice which this Member needed, I think, more than did most Members in the House.

Mr. Speaker, it goes without saying that Joe looks 20 or 30 years younger than his years on this planet. I know he will not deny his party his wisdom and counsel over the years. I know we will all see him in Detroit in the summer of 1980, and I hope he haunts the halls of this great Capitol Building which he loved so well, with his beautiful Ginny, and lets the freshmen Members of both parties in the 96th Congress know just what they are missing by not having Joe's handsome visage sitting in front of that new little computer which he used so effectively over the years.

I look forward to his careful and studious analysis of what these six monster RCA cameras are going to do with us.

I think I will put in the RECORD this year, as I did last year and as many, many others before me have put into the RECORD for each Congress in the last five or six Congresses, Joe's brilliant analysis of how we could all serve our country better by making this body of ours run more efficiently and more smoothly.

So I hope my great and dear friend of 2 years and 3 months—actually, longer than that because he visited me in my district when I had 6 months to go in my first race—will make sure that this Congress gets that brilliant analysis of his forthwith so that it can be put in the RECORD during the next few days.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. MILLER) for taking this special order, and I thank him for letting me participate in it at the last moment. It is the nicest honor that I have had so far in the 96th Congress, just as the nicest honor I had during the 95th Congress was making the acquaintenance of Joe Bartlett.

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from California (Mr. DORNAN) for his comments.

Mr. McEWEN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. McEWEN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding, and I thank the gentleman for taking this special order.

Mr. Speaker, if a word could describe Joe Bartlett, it is "friend"—friend of this House of Representatives. No more loyal friend, no more understanding person of this institution and its greatness, with tolerance for the frailties of its Members on occasion, could be found than Joe Bartlett, friend of the House of Representatives, and Gen. Joe Bartlett, friend of the U.S. Marine Corps.

Anyone who knew Joe Bartlett knew that he was a Marine; and those of us who did not have the honor of serving in that corps knew about it because we were invited to the Congressional Marines Breakfast and other functions.

Joe is a friend of that corps, and he was a friend of those of us serving here.

Again, Mr. Speaker, I would just say that the one word to describe Joe Bartlett would be "friend." He was a staunch friend. What Joe believed in, Joe knew: this institution, this country, his beloved Marine Corps, and those of us whom he so ably and so generously assisted.

Going back, Mr. Speaker, to the 89th Congress, I remember how hopeful Joe Bartlett was then and was all through the years.

So, Mr. Speaker, I am delighted to have the opportunity of joining with the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. MILLER) and with so many others in just saying "Thank you," to friend Joe Bartlett and to Jinny, and may they have the very best of years ahead of them.

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman from New York (Mr. McEWEN) for his comments.

☐ 2005

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I yield now to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. BROWN).

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. I thank my colleague from Ohio, the Honorable CLARENCE MILLER, for allowing me to close this tribute to Joe Bartlett.

I think we do not as Members of Congress pay tribute enough to the people that many of our constituents think of as anonymous but we know very well by first name and by face, the staff that serves us here in this Chamber, because it is these people who make the whole operation run smoothly. Some of them are now rewarded by being on camera all the time, but many of them are not because they serve in the rear of the Chamber and are the ones who offer us a little advice when we come in about the nature of the legislation and when the next vote is likely to occur, and the processes that are going to be pursued in the next few minutes, and the schedule of the House. So, indeed, it is an honor for me and a great personal pleasure to have the chance to pay tribute to Joe Bartlett—I, perhaps, should say parenthetically to his friend, Charlie Hackney, who retired about the same time, and to all the others who have served here. But particularly because it is Joe, I personally welcome this opportunity to officially recognize the innumerable contributions he has made to the U.S. House of Representatives and the Government of this country during his 37 years of service here.

From his days as a page to those 8 years as the ranking Republican staff officer in the House, Joe's service spanned the events of a momentous historical period, a period of great significance to our country, and permitted him to become personally associated with, as my friend, the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. MILLER) said, 2,000 Members of Congress, 5 of whom eventually served this Nation as the President of the United States: Harry Truman, Lyndon Johnson, Jack Kennedy, Richard Nixon, and Jerry Ford.

Joe Bartlett maintained throughout his distinguished career on Capitol Hill an unsurpassed reputation for propriety, for loyalty, and honesty in the performance of his myriad duties, justly earning him the esteem and confidence of the Members of both sides of the political aisle, the friendship of all of us and all of the staff members on the Hill.

Joe first came to Washington to represent his native State, West Virginia, at a national school boys safety patrol convention as "America's Typical Schoolboy Patrolman," but not quite typical because he was smaller than most at that age, and he was the only one from West Virginia. So he marched singly behind this great placard which was carried indicating that this was the West Virginia contingent, and that so attracted one of our former colleagues that he named Joe to a 30-day appointment as a page in the House of Representatives. Joe continued in that position without portfolio, I guess it could be said, for 3 years—those were the years I first knew him—and graduated from the Capitol Page School in 1944.

As a 17-year-old volunteer, he joined the U.S. Marine Corps to serve in the remaining months of World War II. After being honorably discharged as a private first class, Joe returned to the Capitol to become, at the age of 19, the youngest chief of pages on record in this body. He continued his Reserve activities and won a commission from the ranks as a "meritorious noncommissioned officer" when the Korean emergency broke out, during which he served a year with the Second Marine Division in North Carolina. In the ensuing years, Joe had varied and worldwide Reserve experience in the Marines, eventually, of course, serving as brigadier general in the U.S. Marine Corps Reserve until his retirement from the corps on July 1, 1978.

He was known here as the organizer and chief factotum of the Marine Corps Breakfasts which have been held regularly on Capitol Hill for Members of Congress who formerly served in the Marines, and for other Marines in the Washington area, and for the friends of Marines, of which I was pleased to be one—because I served in the amphibious forces, and I always told Joe that I helped make those Marines heroes by stepping on their hands so they would go down into the small boats and charge the beach. Joe enjoyed that Marine Corps association and was honored suitably by his friends in the Marine Corps.

But no mention of Joe's Marine Corps experiences would be complete unless it included that "hazardous duty" assignment he had as a young lieutenant in the spring of 1951 when he was asked to

escort the Ohio cherry blossom princess, the attractive Miss Virginia Bender, daughter of the late House Member and Senator from Ohio, George Bender, and his wife who still survives. His friends and his biography will tell you that the romance between the two blossomed that week, and it has been in full flower ever since.

□ 2010

But no mention of Joe's Marine Corps service would be complete unless it included that "hazardous duty" Lieutenant Bartlett was ordered to perform in the spring of 1951 as an escort of the Ohio Cherry Blossom Princess, Miss Virginia Bender, daughter of the late House Member and Senator from Ohio, George Bender and Mrs. Bender, thus becoming an honorary Ohioan. The following year Jinny and Joe were married. They are now the parents of two lovely daughters, Linda Louise, now Mrs. James L. Hobgood of Fredericksburg, Va., who was graduted "with distinction" by the University of Virginia, where she also earned a graduate degree, and Laura Lee, a junior at Virginia Tech. Both girls were honored to be selected to follow their mother as Ohio princesses in the National Cherry Blossom Festival, so he is a good sire, as well as these other qualifications.

While working for Congress, Joe attended George Washington University at night, and West Virginia Wesleyan College briefly during a recess of the House. In 1971, Salem College, Salem, W. Va., bestowed on Bartlett the degree of doctor of laws. He also has received a similar honor from the Atlanta Law School in Atlanta.

In addition to his duties as an employee of the House, Joe has become a well-respected and active member of the Republican Party, and a dynamic force in Republican politics at the local, State, and national levels.

Although he has served in this body on a bipartisan basis and is as respected and held in affection by our friends on the other side of the aisle as he is by the minority party, his dedicated and determined efforts have truly helped to strengthen our two-party system, and therefore, the very basis of our democratic form of government.

Joe, incidentally, will be the last minority clerk of the House. His title has been officially retired, and his successors will be titled counsel to the minority. Joe now will be known as the clerk of the minority emeritus.

To those of us who have had the opportunity to work with Joe, that title will mean a great deal because of the man behind it. Joe has given us a fine example of warm humanity and civic culture that contributes so much to our society. He has demonstrated by his behavior the deep meanings of human dignity and the rule of law. His friendly smile, his great enthusiasm and his endless willingness to help, to befriend new Members, will always be remembered in this House by all of us who have served here.

Joe, Jinny, I join my colleagues in wishing you and your fine family much happiness and success in all your future endeavors, wherever they may lead you.

Call on us, if you ever need us, because we feel that sense of loyalty to our honorary Ohioan.

I am joined in this tribute to you by a number of Members who could not stay and share their personal affection for you; but I just want to read the list of Members who before this session ended today asked me to tell you how much they think of you:

CALDWELL BUTLER, LARRY COUGHLIN, BOB WALKER, DICK SCHULZE, DON CLAUSEN, ROBERT DORNAN, who spoke, and GEORGE HANSEN, who spoke, BOB LAGOMARSINO, who spoke, MATT RINALDO; the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, PETE RODINO; DANTE FASCELL, DICK WHITE of Texas; JOEL PRITCHARD; JOHN SEIBERLING, another Buckeye; TOBY MOFFETT, LARRY WINN; DAVE TREEN; MRS. MARGARET HECKLER; JAMES MARTIN of North Carolina; MORGAN MURPHY of Illinois; LINDY BOGGS, whose husband served as a majority leader of this body and then she succeeded him; GILLIS LONG of Louisiana; ROBERT ROE of New Jersey; MARILYN LLOYD BOUQUARD of Tennessee; and the majority leader of the House of Representatives, the Honorable JAMES WRIGHT of Texas; and a former colleague of ours, Clark MacGregor, who shares with us this moment.

In addition to that, I have special order requests from Mr. ROBINSON of Virginia; from TENNYSON GUYER of Ohio; from MORRIS UDALL of Arizona; and a tribute from the Ohio House of Representatives inserted by the State representative from Mechanicsburg, Ohio, whose father served as the Senator from Ohio, Charles Rockwell Saxbee of District 75; a letter from Chet Newland, professor of the University of Southern California, Washington Public Affairs Center, who praises you and wishes you well.

I would also, Mr. Speaker, ask for the opportunity to insert in the RECORD not only that resolution from the Ohio House of Representatives and the letter from Mr. Newland; but the last biography of Joe Bartlett when he completed his service as clerk of the minority of the House of Representatives.

The material follows:

OHIO HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—H.R. No. 48

Recognizing Joe Bartlett for his outstanding service to the United States House of Representatives

Whereas, The members of the House of Representatives of the 113th General Assembly of Ohio, fully aware of the innumerable contributions Joe Bartlett has made during his eight years as clerk of the minority of the United States House of Representatives, take this opportunity to express our appreciation; and

Whereas, A former resident of Chagrin Falls, Joe Bartlett, prior to his election as clerk of the minority, served Congress for seventeen years as the House Republican reading clerk, having first acquired an interest in the legislative branch of government as a page in 1941; and

Whereas, Throughout his distinguished career on Capitol Hill, Joe Bartlett maintained an unsurpassed reputation for loyalty and honesty in the performance of his myriad duties, justly earning him the esteem and confidence of members from both sides of the political aisle; and

Whereas, A well-respected member of the Republican party, Joe Bartlett has been a dynamic force in Republican politics at the local, state, and national levels, and his dedicated, determined efforts have truly helped to strengthen our two-party system, the cornerstone of American democracy; therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the members of the House of Representatives of the 113th General Assembly, in adopting this Resolution in honor of Joe Bartlett, recognize this magnanimous Ohio son for his thirty-seven years of outstanding service to the United States House of Representatives and wish him much happiness and success in all his future endeavors; and be it further

Resolved, That the Legislative Clerk of the House of Representatives transmit duly authenticated copies of this Resolution to Joe Bartlett; to The Cleveland Press; and to The Plain Dealer, Cleveland.

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA, WASHINGTON PUBLIC AFFAIRS CENTER,
Washington, D.C., January 17, 1979.

CLERK TO THE MINORITY,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

Joseph D. Bartlett, trustworthy and distinguished Clerk to the Minority of the House of Representatives, has now served 40 sessions of Congress. He has served with distinction—always outstanding in meeting ever-increasing demands. But far more, he has provided a superb example of warm humanity and civic culture which has stretched far beyond Capitol Hill to nourish the basic values and principles of American constitutional government.

Joe Bartlett demonstrates by his behavior the deeper meanings of human dignity and rule of law. At the same time, he knows by disciplined study and experience the conceptual and practical dimensions of those most basic values. He teaches them well by example, and he also has a rare talent for articulating them.

Joe attended the Federal Executive Institute as a distinguished career Federal executive while I was privileged to serve as FEI's director. Of the superior participants in the Institute's major developmental program, Joe was clearly at the top in every respect. He invariably helped others to perform at their best. He led effectively in groups, even as a quiet participant. But he also spoke eloquently and with impressive knowledge when that was appropriate. He was a masterful teacher—and in all respects a most thoughtful student, always learning.

Joe's positive impact on executives and on government generally was recognized when FEI alumni selected him as the principal speaker at the Institute's Tenth Anniversary celebration in 1978. He was outstanding in that role.

The combination of vast practical knowledge, informed political theory, and personal integrity demonstrated by Joe Bartlett is exceptional. His talent in working with people and helping them to surpass themselves and his deep understanding of American government and politics make him a resource without equal. He must continue to be utilized,

for as an ever-growing, good human being, Joe Bartlett will never be used up.

With sincere, great respect,

CHESTER A. NEWLAND,
Professor.

Joe Bartlett, the Clerk to the Minority of the United States House of Representatives, is the ranking Republican staff officer in the House, and is elected to that position by the Members of the Republican Conference at the beginning of each Congress. Joe is serving his fifth term as Clerk, having commenced his unusual career as a House Page in 1941, and having served seventeen years as House Reading Clerk.

A familiar voice in the Congress for many years, Joe Bartlett is widely recognized for his similar role as Chief Reading Clerk of the Republican National Conventions. He has been selected for that assignment since 1960, and has served each convention since 1948, when he was Chief of the Pages.

Well into his 37th year with the Congress, Bartlett is now "dean" of the legislative attaches. His service has spanned events of momentous historical significance and rich personal experiences in association with some two thousand Members of Congress, five of whom he has seen become President of the United States. Of the Congressmen who were there when Joe started as a Page, August 1, 1941, only three remain, and all three have announced this will be their final session; they are not seeking re-election.

Erstwhile citizen of Chagrin Falls, Ohio, Bartlett continues to serve as an adjunct member of the Cuyahoga County Republican Executive Committee. Born in Clarksburg, West Virginia, August 7, 1926, Dorsey Joseph Bartlett is the sixth of the ten children of Flavius Dorsey Bartlett (deceased) and Blanche Hacker Bartlett, both descendants of early pioneer families.

Chosen as a lone delegate to represent West Virginia at a national safety convention in Washington, D.C., Joe was singled out as "America's Typical Schoolboy Patrolman." From this, came the opportunity to serve a 30-day appointment as a Page in the House of Representatives, after which Joe continued "without portfolio" for three years, graduated from the Capitol Page School in 1944, and joined the Marine Corps, to serve the remaining months of World War II.

Honorably discharged as a Private First Class, Bartlett returned to the Capitol and became, at 19, the youngest Chief of Pages on record. He continued his reserve activities and won a commission from the ranks as a "meritorious NCO" when the Korean emergency broke out, during which he served a year with the Second Marine Division at Camp Lejeune, N.C. In the ensuing years Joe had varied and world-wide reserve experience, and was commanding VTU 4-1, Washington, D.C., when he was selected for promotion to flag rank.

Bartlett served as a Brigadier General in the U.S. Marine Corps Reserve from July 1, 1975 to July 1, 1978. At retirement ceremonies on the parade field at historic Marine Barracks, Washington, D.C., Marine Corps Commandant, General Louis H. Wilson, decorated General Bartlett with the Legion of Merit "for exceptionally meritorious conduct in the performance of outstanding services."

During basic training at Quantico in 1951, Lieutenant Bartlett was among a small group of junior officers ordered to Washington for a week of "hazardous duty" as escorts in the National Cherry Blossom Festival. Joe was assigned to escort the Ohio Princess, Miss Virginia Bender of Chagrin Falls, daughter of then-Congressman George H. Bender (deceased) and Mrs. Edna Bender. Romance also blossomed, and the following year "Jinny" and Joe were married.

While working for the Congress, Joe attended George Washington University at night, and West Virginia Wesleyan College briefly during a recess of the House. In 1971, Salem College, Salem, West Virginia, bestowed on Bartlett the degree of Doctor of Laws. A year earlier he had been awarded a similar honor by the Atlanta Law School, Atlanta, Georgia.

The Marine Corps selected General Bartlett to participate in Defense Strategy Seminar '75, of the National War College (National Defense University) in June 1975.

On the nomination of the Speaker of the House and House Minority Leader, Bartlett became the first representative of the Congress to attend the Federal Executive Institute at Charlottesville, Virginia. Completing Senior Session No. 33 in December, 1975, Bartlett was elected to deliver the graduation address, and subsequently to serve on the Board of Directors of the FEI Alumni Association.

A frequent speaker at public events, Bartlett was honored to be asked to make the address at the 102nd Memorial Day Services at Gettysburg National Cemetery. The U.S. Jaycees presented him their Distinguished Service Award for his work in helping to organize a Federal Affairs program for their membership. In 1969, as the author of a patriotic essay, he received the George Washington Honor Medal of the Freedoms Foundation.

A member of numerous professional organizations, Joe has long been an officer of the National Republican Club of Capitol Hill, presently serving on its Board of Governors.

Jinny and Joe Bartlett have two daughters, Linda Louise (now Mrs. James L. Hobgood of Fredericksburg, Va.) who was graduated "with distinction" by the University of Virginia, where she also earned a graduate degree, and Laura Lee, a junior at Virginia Tech. Both girls were honored to be selected to follow their mother as Ohio Princesses in the National Cherry Blossom Festival. The Bartletts make their capitol home in McLean, Virginia.

□ 2015

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. I thank the gentleman from Ohio for those very good remarks and I yield now to the gentleman from South Dakota (Mr. ABDNOR).

Mr. ABDNOR. I thank the gentleman from Ohio for yielding and I certainly want to commend him for taking out this special order. And I would just like to add my few words to the beautiful tribute that has been paid to Joe Bartlett and his lovely wife, Jinny.

I would just like to say that I was not a frequent visitor by any means to Washington prior to coming to Congress but I felt like I knew Joe Bartlett before I ever arrived here because I did have one thing in common with him. We were both frequent visitors to Chagrin Falls, Ohio, where his wife was reared and raised.

Back in Chagrin when people knew I was coming here I heard many, many wonderful things about Joe Bartlett and what a great fellow and American he was. Everything I heard from back in his second home was true. I heard Member after Member recite the assistance he gave each of them when they came to Congress. The same was true with me.

The thing that went through my mind as I look back is regardless of how much we imposed upon his time he always seemed like he thoroughly enjoyed helping us all and assisting us in any way he could. We appreciate the great leadership and guidance he gave us. He is a great American. He not only devoted a great part of his life to working in the House of Representatives and therefore working for his country but he continued his great service in the military by staying in the Marine Reserves rising to the position of general. We all miss him but we all wish him well, he and his lovely wife in their future endeavors.

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. I thank the gentleman from South Dakota.

One of the many highlights of Joe's distinguished career came in 1975 when he was nominated and confirmed as brigadier general in the U.S. Marine Corps Reserve. An overflow crowd of friends and well wishers that July day saw Marine Corps Commandant, Gen. Louis Wilson administer the oath of office to Joe and read the following letter:

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, July 10, 1975.

Brig. Gen. JOE BARTLETT,
U.S. Marine Corps Reserve,
Washington D.C.

DEAR JOE: Knowing how much the Marine Corps has meant in your life, and how much the values which Marines cherish have contributed to your outstanding career of service to the House of Representatives, I want to add my congratulations on this happy occasion for you and your fine family. Warm good wishes. General, from a reserve Lieutenant Commander who got recalled to active duty.

Sincerely,

JERRY FORD.

Joe is truly the citizen-soldier—a patriot who unswervingly heeds the call of his country in time of war and peace. No one could have a deeper and more abiding love for his country and desire to serve it than Joe Bartlett.

● Mr. RHODES. Mr. Speaker, in the book of Ecclesiastics we are directed: "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might." For 37 years of dedicated service to the House of Representatives, Joe Bartlett worked enthusiastically at whatever task he was assigned. His trademark was unflagging cheerfulness, a ready smile, and willingness to tackle what needed to be done.

Joe was active in many areas—and rose to the rank of brigadier general in the Marine Corps Reserve. He was a familiar fixture at Republican National Conventions, where he helped keep things flowing as official reader and with his knowledge of parliamentary procedure.

He served the Congress during a time in which the Nation faced three wars and many domestic crises. I know that I speak for all my colleagues, those now serving as well as those who have served during the past four decades, in expressing our appreciation for all the hard work Joe Bartlett put in to make our jobs a little easier.

I join my fellow Republicans in wishing him a long and fulfilling retirement, and I know that whatever he turns his hand to now, he will be doing it with all his might. That was Joe Bartlett's way.●

● Mr. GUYER. Mr. Speaker, Joe Bartlett gave new dimensions to a long and eventful career of public service. For 37 colorful years, Joe served in the House of Representatives. From page to minority clerk, Joe was the epitome of service above self.

Nobody was prouder of Ohio than Joe Bartlett. Few esteemed his country more than Joe. While he was Republican all the way, he never forgot that being a gentleman is the first requisite of good citizenship.

Whatever new horizons Joe seeks, he has cast a long shadow in the Nation's Capitol. We all wish him and his family new mountains to climb and new goals to achieve.●

● Mr. ROBINSON. There have been several occasions on which it has been appropriate to express publicly a high regard for Joe Bartlett, and it has been a genuine pleasure for me to have such opportunities.

I recall the occasion's of Joe's advancement to the grade of brigadier general in the U.S. Marine Corps Reserve—a very unusual distinction for a reservist of that service. More recently, many of us attended the impressive retirement parade for him at the Marine Barracks in Washington.

Now, it is with mixed feelings that we express again our admiration for Joe, because we are noting that he closed out, as this 96th Congress began, a career of service to the House spanning 37 years. It was a remarkable record, and, while we regret that Joe no longer is an officer of this body, we rejoice that he is able to look back with satisfaction on so long a service while still a relatively young man, and enjoying good health, the comfort of a fine family and opportunity to explore other opportunities to help preserve and advance our systems of representative government and free enterprise.

As others have recalled today, Joe joined the House as a page in 1941. Later, he was to be appointed chief of pages, reading clerk and, from May 11, 1970, through the 95th Congress, he was elected minority clerk of the House.

That he did not have opportunity to serve as Clerk of the House was not because of any shortcoming of this dedicated man. This miscarriage of fate—probably the major disappointment of *Joe's long tenure with us—must be laid* to the failure of the minority to preach its gospel effectively enough, or the failure of a sufficiently large segment of the national electorate to recognize the truth of the message.

After God, family and country, Joe Bartlett's loves have been this House and the Marine Corps—and his heart has been large and vigorous enough to give without stint, through the years, to all of these.

While I cannot claim Joe as a constituent, I value highly the friendship of the Bartlett family. There is a specific link to the Seventh Congressional District of Virginia, in that one of the two attractive and intelligent Bartlett daughters, Linda, has been active in advancing the cause of sound government as assistant to a Virginia State senator and lives in the Fredericksburg area, where her husband is in charge of my congressional district office.

I am glad to be able to salute Joe on this occasion, and to extend best wishes to him, his wife, Ginny, and the rest of his family.●

● Mr. MOTTL. Mr. Speaker, today we pause for a few moments to pay tribute to 37 years of dedicated and loyal service to the House of Representatives by Joe Bartlett. I am proud to note that Joe hails from my own 23d District of Ohio. He further represents a proud family tradition of public service to the Nation and to the Cleveland area.

Joe's career with the House began in 1941, when he joined us as a page. He later became chief of pages, and then reading clerk. From May 11, 1970, through this past Congress, Joe served as minority clerk of the House.

Joe Bartlett, always cheerful, helpful, and friendly, will be missed in our corridors. I join in wishing Joe and his family all of the best for the future.●

● Mr. KINDNESS. Mr. Speaker, it is certainly appropriate that we set aside this time today to pay tribute to a man who has given the major portion of his life in service to the House of Representatives, and to the Government, and the people of this Nation.

Joe Bartlett's career is one which all should envy, and which few could duplicate. He is truly the classic example of the ideal public servant, thinking rarely of his own needs and interests, but rather those of the public, and the House of Representatives.

It gives me great pleasure to take this opportunity to publicly commend Joe for his long years of dedicated service, and to thank him on behalf of the House of Representatives.●

● Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, this year witnesses the retirement of one of the most dedicated public servants we have had the good fortune to know. After 37 years of work in the House of Representatives, Joe Bartlett decided to take his leave. We will miss him.

Joe first came to the House in 1941 and worked as a page for the minority. Within 3 years he learned the ropes well enough to be appointed Republican chief of pages, and from there his career was a steady ascent in authority and respect, finally culminating in his tenure as minority clerk. Over the years I was pleased to make his acquaintance and even become friends with Joe, despite the fact that he insisted upon staying on the other side of the aisle. No matter, intelligent men may differ in their political inclinations and, more important than any political opinion, Joe and I shared an experience that itself would make us friends in the face of any adversity.

Of course, I refer to Joe's career as a marine. And Joe Bartlett was not just any marine. The loyalty and dedication that he brought to his public service in the House was also brought to his service in the U.S. Marine Corps. Joe served two tours in the corps, eventually retiring as a lieutenant colonel. But his efforts and dedication did not end there, either. Joe remained active in the Marine Corps Reserve program and, in 1975, was rewarded with a promotion to brigadier general in the U.S. Marine Corps Reserve.

It is the Nation's ability to make men of Joe Bartlett's character that is our hope and promise for a continued freedom and prosperity. Laurels, tributes, thanks, and a hearty handshake to Joe on his retirement and career success.●

● Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, I rise to join my colleagues in paying tribute to Joe Bartlett, who was, until earlier this year, minority clerk of the House.

Joe served the House for 37 years in a number of capacities including page, reading clerk, and finally from May 11, 1970, through the 95th Congress, as minority clerk. To his job, Joe brought dedication and hard work, making the job of a minority member less arduous.

In addition to his service to Republican Members of the House, Joe devoted a great deal of energy to occasional assignments for the National Congressional Campaign Committee, as secretary of the Capitol Hill Club, where he was a member of the board of governors, executive committee, and as an officer of the Republican National Conventions since 1948.

Although he has devoted most of his working life to the House of Representatives, it is significant to note that the Marine Corps has played an important role in his life. Many of us recall July 11, 1975, when the Commandant of the Marine Corps, Gen. Louis Wilson, administered the oath of office to newly promoted Brigadier General Bartlett.

By his service and dedication, Joe Bartlett contributed greatly to the House, the Marine Corps, and his community. I join my colleagues today in wishing him well and extending our thanks for 37 years of praiseworthy service.●

● Mr. WALKER. Mr. Speaker, I am privileged and honored to join with my colleagues in the House of Representatives today to pay well-deserved tribute to our friend and indeed my very good friend, Joe Bartlett. While other Members will undoubtedly outline *the many accomplishments* of Joe's distinguished career, I would be remiss in not mentioning some of the highlights as well.

Joe's dedicated service to the House of Representatives began in 1941 when he became a page. From this position, Joe advanced to become the youngest chief of pages on record at age 19, and then to House reading clerk. On May 11, 1970, Joe was elected to serve as clerk to the minority of the House of Representatives, the position in which he served through the 95th Congress.

With Joe's retirement earlier this year, we have lost a valuable and experienced individual. I am sure that I speak for all of my colleagues when I say that Joe Bartlett will be sorely missed not only by the minority, but also the majority

Members of the House. Joe Bartlett was so much a part of this House that the loss of his service is truly a major loss to the institution.

Joe brought to the Congress not only his wealth of experience within its halls, but his interests as a distinguished military leader, a student and a scholar, and, above all, a concerned American. Time and again Joe Bartlett's ideas were translated into legislation with little or no credit to the originator, but with full knowledge that the source of those ideas was a man whose wealth of experience and interpretation of experience was deserving of recognition and respect.

My wife Sue and I extend our very best wishes to Joe and his family for many healthy and happy years ahead.●

● Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, it is with great respect and admiration that we recognize Joe Bartlett today, who for 37 years served his country in the House of Representatives as chief of pages, reading clerk, and for the last 9 years as minority clerk of the House.

Although Joe and I viewed the Capitol from different sides of the political aisle, his dedication, and abundant willingness to do a difficult job managed to cross party lines and confirm his reputation on both sides of the House floor. Joe has succeeded in weathering the storms of Washington through 9 Presidential terms and 18 Congresses. He has witnessed a myriad of change—international and domestic, political and cultural. His knowledge of the Congress and the arena in which we function is vast; and, as such, he will serve as an example for all of us to follow many years after his departure.

All of us will miss Joe as the 96th Congress progresses. My wife, Lee, and I would like to wish him the very best of luck in his retirement and to extend our thanks for a job very well done.●

● Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, I commend the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. MILLER) for creating the opportunity to pay tribute to Joe Bartlett, who recently retired as minority clerk of the House after 37 years of service to the Congress. Joe started as a page in 1941, and was chief of pages in the House and reading clerk along the way to become minority clerk. During those years he served the House capably and faithfully, but he also served his country. Twice, Joe left his congressional duties for Marine Corps service, culminating in the high honor of being commissioned a brigadier general in the Marine Corps Reserve.

Joe was senior reading clerk when I came to the Congress 10 years ago. We quickly developed a friendship which has lasted over the years. His great abilities, his sense of humor, his humility: All combined to make him a valued acquaintance. We have had many discussions during that time about issues which concerned us both. We agreed at time and had strong differences at others. But at all times I had total respect and admiration for Joe and his principles. I have missed our frequent meeting since his retirement, for he is a rare person, but I wish him the best of all that life has to offer in the future. He was a real credit to the U.S. Congress.●

● Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the brief remarks I am about to make are made with mixed feelings. I am grateful for the opportunity to pay tribute to Joe Bartlett, but at the same time I sincerely regret that he is retiring.

While Joe has served primarily the minority Members of the House I am sure my colleagues on the other side of the aisle would agree that Joe has served the entire House with distinction.

In addition to his service to the Congress, Joe Bartlett has also distinguished himself in other ways. He is a devoted husband and understanding father, and I know that his fine family shares his pride on this day. He has served us in other ways as well, as a member of one of our proudest military forces, the U.S. Marine Corps. He joined the corps as a private during World War II, and 4 years ago was promoted to the rank of brigadier general in the Reserves, which was one of his proudest experiences.

Mr. Speaker, I could go on but I want to give my colleagues ample time to express their feelings. So I will conclude by saying to you Joe, that you have been a great credit to this institution, and we will all miss you. I wish you well in your retirement, and hope that you will come back to visit often.●

● Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, it is an honor to join in paying tribute to one of the most conscientious and loyal servants of the House of Representatives, our former minority clerk, Joe Bartlett.

Joe's association with this body goes back further than almost any Member of the House today. He began his distinguished career, which spans more than three and a half decades, as a House page in 1941. From that beginning, he roes to become the chief assistant for this side of the aisle.

During those years, Joe received many tributes and special recognition. He was awarded the George Washington Honor Medal of the Freedoms Foundation, the Jaycees Distinguished Service Award for assistance in Government Affairs programs, and was invited to speak before distinguished organizations such as the Brookings Institute and the Industrial College of the Armed Forces. Everywhere Joe went, he brought credit to himself and to the House of Representatives.

Joe's second career, and his other love, has been the Marine Corps.

For nearly 30 years, Joe has been a conscientious Marine Reserve officer who has risen through the ranks from second lieutenant to brigadier general. Twice, in the spirit of a true citizen-soldier, he voluntarily left his position with the House to go on active duty with the Marines. With his unbounded energy and talent, Joe has been a great credit to both his careers.

Mr. Speaker, as a personal friend, I extend my warmest, best wishes to Joe, his gracious wife, Jinny, and their two daughters, and I offer my heartiest congratulations for his full and dedicated service to the House of Representatives. I will always be grateful for the many kindnesses and friendship he has extended to me during our joint service in this body.●

● Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, Joe Bartlett leaves a positive and important mark on the House. Intelligent, fair, possessed of a brilliant and quick mind, he is universally respected not only by his friends in the minority, but by all of us in the majority. For 18 years, I have worked with Joe and always found him responsive and helpful to all Members.

I have been privileged to be his neighbor in McLean where he is a favorite as well. I wish him all the best in his new career.●

● Mr. SCHULZE. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to rise today to join my colleagues in paying tribute to a long-term public servant, Joe Bartlett, who retired earlier this year.

Joe came to the House in 1940 as a 30-day page, and through these many years Joe climbed the ropes till reaching the position of minority clerk, where he served for 8 years.

But we are not here today to review Joe Bartlett's service, because his dedication and success speak for themselves. Rather, we are here to say thank you to this man who aided so many of us through the years. I think Joe's service to the House of Representatives will best be remembered for his unending belief in the democratic system of government, and his dedication to those principles. He gave more than 37 years of outstanding service to the House, and for those years I say, thank you, Joe, and best wishes for those wonderful retirement years ahead.●

● Mr. SLACK. I wish to join with those who are taking the occasion to express their admiration for our hard-working minority clerk, Joe Bartlett, who has retired after 37 years of service in the House of Representatives. He is a former West Virginian whom I have known ever since I entered the Congress, and down through the years I have admired his loyalty and sense of dedication to this body. He was always helpful to Members of both sides of the aisle and was extremely cooperative on all occasions. We will miss him greatly, and I hope that his years of retirement will permit him to enjoy the leisure time which his many years of service to the House has earned for him.●

● Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my colleagues in paying tribute to our friend, Joe Bartlett, who has retired after 37 years of dedicated service to the House of Representatives.

His concept of public trust was without parallel and in every position he held, he achieved distinction. His service in all of his assignments was marked by a high sense of conscience and duty. Joe Bartlett possesses outstanding moral and intellectual qualities that are essential in carrying out the assignments that he has held down through the years, utilizing at all times, sound

judgment, patience, and perseverance. His character, his achievements, and his faithful service will be an inspiration to generations yet to come.

I want to wish my friend, Joe Bartlett, his lovely wife and family the best of everything in the future.●

● Mr. MONTGOMERY. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to be able to join with my other colleagues this afternoon to pay tribute to a truly outstanding and dedicated former employee of this body.

Joe Bartlett was a friend to everyone with whom he came in contact. It was certainly a pleasure to be associated with him in the House of Representatives and even though he was on the minority staff, Joe was always very thoughtful to me and those of us on the majority side.

During the first few years I was in Congress I was also a member of the National Guard and Joe was a member of the Marine Corps Reserve. I enjoyed being with General Bartlett at the various military functions we would attend.

Joe Bartlett's retirement is already being felt in this body. We miss him, but at the same time we wish him the very best and hope he will come back to visit often.●

● Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, if ever a man deserved to be called an institution it is Joe Bartlett. His long years as a House staff member enabled him to know the House as few know it, and to serve as few have served it.

His knowledge and judgment made him a valuable member of the minority team, and earned him respect and affection on the other side of the aisle as well.

We will miss him, but his long and distinguished career established a standard to which all of us can aspire.●

● Mr. SHUSTER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to a man who has had a distinguished career in service to the House of Representatives for over 35 years. Joe Bartlett began working in this historic Chamber before a good many of us who now serve here were even aware of the existence of the U.S. House.

In 1941, when Joe was working here as a page, Franklin Delano Roosevelt was President of the United States, the United States was on the brink of entering what would become the Second World War, and within 5 years, that rare creature, a Massachusetts Republican, would become that rarest of all creatures—a Republican Speaker of the House.

And Joe Bartlett has been here through it all, walking the corridors of history and constantly serving the Members of this House. His was a steady progression—page, chief of pages, reading clerk, and, finally, 8 fruitful years as minority clerk of the House of Representatives. He was here to serve and to assist, and he was able to have a career in which he saw four Members that he had worked with daily succeed each other as President—former Congressmen Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, and Ford.

I will always be grateful for the kindnesses shown to me by Joe Bartlett when I came to this House. I wish him a long and happy retirement.●

● Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join in this tribute to a very good friend of mine, Joe Bartlett.

I was disappointed when Joe resigned earlier this year because I hated to see those of us on our side of the aisle lose the thoughtful assistance Joe always provided and the inestimably valuable experience he garnered in his 37 years of association with the Congress.

Joe's career, first as a page, then as chief reading clerk, and finally, as clerk to the minority of the U.S. House of Representatives, has been a unique one and one unlikely ever to be duplicated, either in its breadth or in its performance.

He has been a faithful servant of the people of the United States not only in his various capacities with the Congress but also in his wartime military service and his many years with the U.S. Marine Corps Reserve.

Joe is truly a great American, and we shall miss him and his good services.

In attempting to convey the gratitude I feel and the respect I hold for Joe Bartlett, I am reminded of Sallust's speech on the state addressed to Caesar in his later years:

> Experience has shown that to be true which Appius says in his verses, that every man is the architect of his own fortune; and this proverb is especially true of you, who have excelled others to such a degree that men are sooner wearied in singing the praises of your deeds than you in doing deeds worthy of praise.

I wish for Joe continued success and satisfaction beyond his fondest dreams in all that he does.●

● Mr. SEBELIUS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join with my colleagues in paying tribute to our friend, Joe Bartlett.

As the record shows, Joe started his career on Capitol Hill as a page for the House of Representatives in 1941. He later served as chief of pages, reading clerk and for the past 8 of his 37 years of service was the minority clerk of the House. In addition, he has managed to combine his service in the House with a distinguished career in the Marine Corps rising to the rank of brigadier general in the Reserves.

During his nearly four decades of service, Joe has made many friends. However, I may be able to claim one of the longest friendships. I first met Joe in 1949 when we attended a Young Republican Convention in Salt Lake City. Since then our paths have crossed many times and when I was elected to Congress 11 years ago we were able to renew our acquaintance on a permanent basis.

Joe's many years of service to the minority have been greatly appreciated. Because he was there faithfully doing his job throughout many transitions, he made our jobs a little easier.

I am sure I speak for all my colleagues when I thank Joe for his many years of service and to wish him the best in his retirement.●

● Mr. COLLINS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman from Ohio yielding. I am pleased to have this opportunity to add a few words about my good friend Joe Bartlett. We miss Joe from the House and we especially miss his friendly smile and enthusiastic spirit. He has served our party well. Joe always knew what was going on. He knew how to sum up the issue in a few words. If you needed facts, he could put his hands right on them.

When I think of Joe Bartlett, I think immediately of two things. He was smart and he was a marine. The fact that he was smart made him a tremendous asset to us in his capacity to coordinate all the activities on the floor. Being a marine impresed me, since I am a Texan where defense and love of country with strong patriotism still gives us the measure of a good man.

Joe should run for office and join us here in Congress. He is a winner all the way.●

● Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege to take part in this tribute to our former minority clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives and my longtime friend—Joe Bartlett. During my 16 years in this body, I have come to know many Members and staff personnel serving the membership of the House, as well as its committees. From the standpoint of versatility of experience and depth of knowledge regarding the U.S. House and its operations, as well as a personal acquaintanceship with most of the Members of the House during the period I have been here, Joe Bartlett stands at or near the top of the list.

Mr. Speaker, we frequently hear expressions on the part of Members and House personnel who exclaim, "I love the House." However, I do not think that anyone uttered these words with greater meaning than Joe Bartlett. Coming up the hard way from a House page to a top administrative role in the House of Representatives—as minority clerk of the House—Joe Bartlett earned his spurs by reason of the excellence of his service and his steadfast application to the job.

In addition to my close association to Joe Bartlett in our contacts here in the House, I have been privileged to serve as part of the congressional Marine Corps group which owes its principal organizational support to Joe Bartlett, a brigadier general in the U.S. Marine Corps Reserve.

Mr. Speaker, I am sure that Joe Bartlett will move on from his service in the U.S. House to other activity, as I simply cannot believe that he could remain inactive very long. In whatever direction his service leads him, the good wishes of his friends here in the U.S. House will be a supporting influence. We join today in expressing appreciation to Joe Bartlett for a job "well done" and extend to him and to his lovely wife, Jinny, our congratulations and our every good wish for healthy and happy lives together.●

Mr. MILLER of Ohio. I thank you, Mr. Speaker, and I yield back the balance of my time.

JOE BARTLETT RETIRES

SPEECH OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 28, 1979

● Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this time to salute my good friend and retired minority clerk, Joe Bartlett. Joe gave 37½ years of dedicated and faithful service to the House of Representatives and to his country. We appreciate the great inspiration and guidance he gave us.

Joe served the House in a number of capacities including page, reading clerk, and finally from May 11, 1970, through the 95th Congress, as minority clerk, and to these duties, Joe brought dedication and hard work. Joe Bartlett effectively carried out the assignments that he held through the years, utilizing at all times, sound judgment, patience, and perseverance.

With Joe's retirement, we have lost a valuable, experienced and conscientious individual. He was always accessible and always willing to be of assistance, providing good advice and wise counsel. Joe maintained, throughout his distinguished career, an unsurpassed reputation for loyalty and honesty in performing his duties, justly earning the esteem and confidence of the Members from both sides of the aisle. He will be missed by all of us.

Not only did Joe devote a great part of his life to his country by serving the House of Representatives, but proved he is a great American by continuing his service in the Marine Reserves. One of the many highlights of Joe's career came in 1975, when he was nominated and confirmed as brigadier general of the U.S. Marine Corps. Twice, he voluntarily left his position with the House to go on active duty with the Marines. With his unbounded energy and talent, Joe has been a great credit to both careers.

Joe is truly a solid citizen, a marine, and a patriot. I wish to express my sincere appreciation to Joe Bartlett for the dedicated work that he did as minority clerk of the House.

My wife, Pat, joins me in wishing Joe and his patient wife, Jinny, and their family, the very best in the years ahead.●

JOE BARTLETT

SPEECH OF

HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 28, 1979

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, it is a real personal pleasure to join my colleagues in this tribute to a very fine human being and a very loyal servant of the House of Representatives, Joe Bartlett.

We all know how Joe worked his way up through the ranks from his service as a page to become minority clerk of the House. We also know that if times had been different, there is a strong possibility that Joe would have been Clerk of the House of Representatives at some time.

An individual attains such responsibility only through hard work and dedication. Few could equal Joe on that score. He has always given his full effort to all he has done. We are going to miss him here in the House and we certainly wish him well as he turns his sights to other pursuits.

Thirty-seven years in any career is a landmark, but Joe has done more than put in his time. He has helped to make history and on many occasions has seen it firsthand.

Joe was always available to any Member who needed his advice or his assistance. He did his work with a smile and a sincere desire to be of help. He is a patriotic American and proud of it. For many years Joe also served in the U.S. Marine Corps Reserve, rising to the rank of general. Joe Bartlett has served his country well and deserves his well-earned retirement.

My wife Albra and I extend to Joe and his family our very best wishes for a long and happy retirement. We add our thanks for his long standing friendship. We will miss having him as an official member of the House staff, but know that he will continue to maintain his love for this Chamber and its people. May success and achievement continue to be his trademark.

JOE BARTLETT

SPEECH OF

HON. J. WILLIAM STANTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 28, 1979

● Mr. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to join with my colleagues in expressing thanks to Joe Bartlett for his many years of service to the House of Representatives.

The name, Joe Bartlett, is synonymous with the House of Representatives. Joe began his service in the House over 38 years ago. Since that time, he has served in many capacities and along the way made thousands of friends.

Anyone who is fortunate to know Joe Bartlett knows the great love and admiration he has for this House. I have had constituent after constituent say that the entire place seemed to come alive when Joe Bartlett was explaining it to them.

To Joe and Ginny and their wonderful family, I express my sincerest thanks and extend to Joe many happy years of future endeavor.●

TRIBUTE TO JOE BARTLETT

SPEECH OF

HON. W. HENSON MOORE

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 28, 1979

Mr. MOORE. Mr. Speaker, although Joe Bartlett's tenure in puplic service to the House was established long before my election to Congress in 1974, I found his willingness to take me aside and explain the rudiments of floor procedure and interaction to be freely given when other requests for assistance from those he had known far longer were also on his note pad. His courtesy and responsiveness went far beyond the House floor as well in providing assistance to my staff. In a Congress where we often find it a major task to get a telephone call returned in a timely manner, Joe Bartlett excelled in speed and accuracy of information.

Along with this service of information, Joe always had a refreshing way about his conduct on the House floor. When others tired during the long hours of a legislative session, his humor and interaction with Members eased the tensions of the day. His memory of legislative battles that preceded my service in Congress provided insight on what to expect from others when presenting my own legislative initiatives on the House floor.

The record of Joe Bartlett in service to this Congress is a hallmark for others to follow. He will be missed professionally and as a friend, and I join my colleagues in wishing him well in his future endeavors.

TRIBUTE TO JOE BARTLETT

SPEECH OF

HON. MORGAN F. MURPHY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 28, 1979

● Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I want to join my colleagues in paying tribute to Joe Bartlett, who retired after serving as one of this body's most well-liked and well-respected employees.

Few know this House, or love this House, as much as Joe did. First starting as a page, Joe worked his way up the ladder to chief page, reading clerk and finally, minority clerk. The experience he gained during his 37 years here gave him a unique perspective that was fascinating to all of us. Though Joe worked on the other side of the aisle, he was always extremely thoughtful toward those of us on the majority side.

Mr. Speaker, I wish the very best to my good friend Joe Bartlett, along with his wife Jinny and family. May he enjoy life to the fullest as he pursues his interests outside this body.●

TRIBUTE TO JOE BARTLETT

SPEECH OF

HON. MATTHEW J. RINALDO

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 28, 1979

● Mr. RINALDO. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to take this opportunity to join my colleagues and friends in honoring Joe Bartlett, who recently retired as minority clerk.

Joe was minority clerk when I was first sworn into the House of Representatives in 1973, and I quickly learned from my colleagues that he was one of the ablest officers of the House. For over 37 years, he distinguished himself as a public servant and a staunch Republican.

Like myself, most Members in this House have served with Joe over the years and have learned to respect his political savvy, his knowledge of the House of Representatives, and his willingness to work for the good of the party.

In my judgment, it is not surprising that, with the retirement of Joe Bartlett, the title of "minority clerk" will no longer be used. Because I doubt there is anyone who can fill the job the way Joe Bartlett did, and his retirement really is the end of an era. Joe started out as a House page in 1941 and served 17 years as House reading clerk. Moreover, he has served as chief reading clerk at every Republican National Convention since 1960.

Mr. Speaker, Joe Bartlett's service to the United States, to the Congress, and to the Republican Party places him among the small group of Americans who have dedicated their lives to public service and who have earned the respect and friendship of members of both political parties.

I join my colleagues in wishing him well and extending my personal gratitude for his years of loyal unstinting service.●

TRIBUTE TO JOE BARTLETT

SPEECH OF

HON. GILLIS W. LONG

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 28, 1979

● Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, it is with much pleasure that I join with my colleagues in congratulating Joe Bartlett on his 37 years of distinguished service as an officer of the House of Representatives.

As page, chief of pages, reading clerk, and finally minority clerk of the House, Joe Bartlett has proven to be an invaluable asset to the operation of this institution. A dedicated public servant and true gentleman, Joe easily won the respect and friendship of Members and staff from both sides of the aisle.

I wish Joe continued success and happiness in his retirement. We shall certainly miss him.●

TRIBUTE TO JOE BARTLETT

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 29, 1979

● Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, I want to join with my colleagues in recognizing an outstanding public servant who has given this House 37 years of competent, dedicated work. As Joe Bartlett enjoys his retirement after serving in this House since 1941, I want him to know that his many friends here, on both sides of the aisle, will miss him greatly.

I have had the privilege of knowing Joe personally for nearly three decades, and I am pleased that my colleagues have have seen fit to honor this man who has served so long and so faithfully.

The same courage and concern—and respect for the institutions of government—which helped make him a brigadier general in the Marine Corps also contributed to his effectiveness in the various roles he held in this House—serving as a page, then as chief of pages, reading clerk, and finally as minority clerk of the House.

Joe's dedicated service to the Congress and to the people of this country, while it may have gone unnoticed by the public, is highly deserving of our appreciation and of our praise.

I am happy to join my colleagues in sending Joe my gratitude and best wishes for a happy and healthy retirement.●

JOE BARTLETT

SPEECH OF

HON. M. CALDWELL BUTLER

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 28, 1979

● Mr. BUTLER. Mr. Speaker, I would just like to take a brief moment in this special order to associate myself with the remarks of the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. BROWN) and state for the record that I take great pride in the friendship of Joe Bartlett. The assistance and cooperation he gave me both as a new Member of the Congress and one who became, after time, more familiar with the rules and proceedings of the House was always most helpful, reliable and professional. Joe was unfailingly courteous and I am indeed grateful for the privilege of knowing him and wish him many years of good health and happiness.●

TRIBUTE TO JOE BARTLETT

SPEECH OF

HON. RICHARD C. WHITE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 28, 1979

● Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, over the years that I have been in Congress I have had a friend who has consistently demonstrated an unpretentious and unselfish friendship first established on the common bond of service in the Marine Corps. When there is true friendship, it transcends politics. Those who have been in the corps discover that fraternal relationships exist on the outside among those who have shared common experiences and similar hazards.

Gen. Joe Bartlett has been the cement that has bound all hill Marines together and has enlivened the liaison between the active corps and the "Few Good Men" who won't acknowledge that the years are advancing.

Joe loves Congress, loves the institutions of this Nation, and has reveled in being a part of the evolutionary process that has advanced this Nation to its great stature. He is leaving before I feel his time has come to leave, but I am sure that along with his lovely wife and fine family he will be contributing to the continued glory of his country, the corps, and the community in which he settles. We all wish Joe and his family the best, which they richly deserve.●

SPEECH OF

HON. DAVID C. TREEN

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 28, 1979

● Mr. TREEN. Mr. Speaker, one of the greatest rewards of my first 6 years in the Congress was the privilege of knowing Joe Bartlett. As the minority clerk, Joe was always ready and cordially willing to assist me and my colleagues in every possible way.

Joe Bartlett is one of the most optimistic and patriotic citizens I have ever met. His faith in America and in the House of Representatives was an inspiration to me every day I saw Joe. He served this institution well, especially those of us in the loyal opposition.

Joe has a vision for reorganizing this House to serve the mushrooming demands on the Congress. I drew upon his proposal for the central theme of my introduction to "Can You Afford This House." I hope Congress will adopt Joe Bartlett's ideas for managing our workload. But I hope even more that this Congress and this country will be blessed by many more men who love their country as deeply as Joe Bartlett.

It is a pleasure to join my colleagues in wishing Joe many more years as happy and rich as those he spent with us as minority clerk.●

TRIBUTE TO JOE BARTLETT

SPEECH OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 28, 1979

● Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I feel like I have known Joe Bartlett forever. When I first came to Washington in 1952, Joe was here in this Chamber to greet me, to guide me through the intricacies of House routine and to counsel me. I heeded his advice then and have heeded it ever since. As we all will, I will certainly miss Joe.

Joe Bartlett has been an important part of our lives and our work here. His patience, his wisdom, and his unflagging good humor have helped us over some mighty rough spots. A man of exceedingly high integrity, if Joe said something was so, you could take his word and put it in the bank. Though he was ostensibly a Member of the minority side, his wise counsel was available to all—and we all used it.

Joe served his country both here in this House and with distinction as a Marine Corps officer, retiring from the corps with the rank of brigadier general. He is one of the most patriotic men I have ever met, a man who feels a true pride in his country and an obligation to serve it well.

Joe, we thank you for your many years of loyalty and dedication. We are going to miss you, but wish you and Jinny well in your well-deserved retirement. We ask only that you keep in touch so that we will continue to have the benefit of your wisdom, guidance, and friendship.●

JOE BARTLETT

SPEECH OF

HON. JOHN W. WYDLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 28, 1979

● Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, Joe Bartlett is a fine person who served his country and our Congress well over the years. The contribution he made is one that those of us who spent our time on the floor of the House know very well. The rest of the people do not. The fact, is, however, that this great legislative body depends on many sources of strength, not the least of which are those who staff it and make it function smoothly and well. Joe Bartlett did a good job, and I am glad and proud to have known and worked with him.●

TRIBUTE TO JOE BARTLETT

SPEECH OF

HON. GUY VANDER JAGT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 28, 1979

● Mr. VANDER JAGT. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to salute one of the finest individuals known to this Chamber, Joe Bartlett, who recently retired from his position as minority clerk after 37 years of service to the U.S. House of Representatives.

All of us who have served in the House, and especially those of us who are on the minority side, realize and appreciate the fine assistance and guidance which Joe has provided during his years of service. Starting out "at the bottom" in 1941 as a page, Joe has become a real fixture in the House and has been particularly invaluable as minority clerk, giving counsel, guidance and a semblance of order to this body which has a tendency, from time to time, to resist orderly procedures.

Few Americans are really familiar with the operations of the Congress, and the vital contributions made by staff behind the scenes by persons such as Joe Bartlett. Perhaps this situation might change somewhat with the introduction of televised proceedings in this House, and it is unfortunate that Joe will not be around to stand in the eye of the cameras. Nevertheless, Joe would be a familiar face to most Americans, and his distinctive voice would be recognized from his duties at the podium of Republican National Conventions.

Joe's contributions to his country have not been limited to his valuable service to the Congress and the Republican Party. He joined the U.S. Marine Corps in 1944, and served during the final months of World War II. He continued his reserve activities and served as a commissioned officer during the Korean conflict. His service to the Marine Corps has continued, and Joe retired from the Marine Corps Reserve last year at the flag rank level.

Joe Bartlett's entire career has been marked by this type of success, rising from a Marine Corps Private to a Brigadier General, beginning his career with the Congress as a temporary page, and ending it as the top Minority employee.

My wife, Carol, and I extend our very best wishes to Joe and his lovely wife, Jinny, for many more years of success and happiness.●

THE HOUSE WILL MISS GENERAL JOE

SPEECH OF

HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 28, 1979

● Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to have this opportunity to join with so many of my colleagues and to express by appreciation for the many years of dedicated service to the House and its Members and to me personally rendered by Joe Bartlett. When I first came to Capitol Hill in the late forties as administrative assistant to former Congressman Velde, Joe was then serving as a chief page. He briefly interrupted his service to the Congress to serve his country in the Marine Corps. Joe has always been a proud Marine. After his stint of active duty he returned to his first love—the U.S. Congress—but even then became the most active Marine reservist on Capitol Hill and they recognized his services and value by promoting him right to the top. When he retired this past year he was holding the rank of brigadier general. He will always be General Joe to us.

During his lifetime service here on the Hill he was our reading clerk for some 17 years and holds the record for the call of rollcalls before the days of electronic voting. Beginning in 1960, he became the chief reading clerk at each succeeding Republican National Convention. Joe had completed four terms of service as clerk to the minority and he served each and every Member to his utmost.

To Joe Bartlett we say thanks for his many years of service and true dedication to this institution he loved so well. To his wife, Jinny, the lovely and charming Cherry Blossom Princess whom he married in 1952 and his two daughters, Linda and Laura, I extend to them best wishes for the future. I know Joe's star is still in the ascendancy and we will be hearing more from him.●

United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 95th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

GEN. JOE BARTLETT AWARDED THE LEGION OF MERIT

HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Saturday, October 14, 1978

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I do not want this session to close without taking time to congratulate, for the record, my good friend Joe Bartlett on the recent completion of his service as a U.S. Marine Corps Reserve officer.

All of us are familiar with the splendid service Joe has performed as a minority staff officer here in the House, but fewer of us are aware of the devotion he has given to his avocation as a member of the Marine Corps Reserve.

We may know that Joe began his service to the House as a page in 1941, but you may not know that when he graduated from the Page School in 1944 he immediately joined the Marines to serve the remaining months of World War II.

He was serving as our chief of pages when, in 1950, he was commissioned a second lieutenant in the Marine Corps Reserve as a "meritorious NCO," and was called back to active duty to serve a year with the Second Marine Division at Camp Lejeune.

Back at the Capitol, Joe became House Reading Clerk and earned a commendable reputation in that role, but at the same time he organized the congressional Marines fraternal group and became active in Navy-Marine Corps Composite Company 5–48.

Through that reserve unit and other special assignments, Joe became increasingly knowledgeable about U.S. defense interests around the world, and took part in active duty inspections of just about every vital area of concern. This was invaluable professional development for a Reserve officer, and Joe regularly earned promotions, known to but few outside the unit.

Some learned in 1975 when, as commanding officer of VTU 4–1, Joe was selected for promotion from colonel to brigadier general, and the President sent his nomination to the Senate for confirmation. Members of the "other body" had to explain that, yes, "Dorsey J. Bartlett" who was about to become a general was, in fact, their old friend, Joe Bartlett, and they joined in a chorus of rare acclaim.

But this summer when Joe was about to conclude his Active Reserve service, I was surprised that many still did not know this side of Joe's life. Part of it is his own fault, because Joe has always felt that it was prudent to "run at periscope depth" and to "keep a low profile" as a Marine.

Joe laughed when he told me of one Member who confirmed he was going to the retirement parade, but he looked right at Joe and said:

But you know, I really don't know this "General Dorsey Bartlett," do I?

Well, the stands at Marine barracks were full of those who did know our "General Joe," and who felt very proud when he marched out there resplendent in his dress white uniform, to receive his final salute and to review the magnificent parade in his honor.

And their pride peaked when they heard the citation read:

The President of the United States takes pleasure in presenting the Legion of Merit to Brigadier General Dorsey J. Bartlett, United States Marine Corps Reserve, for service as set forth in the following citation:

"For exceptionally meritorious conduct in the performance of outstanding service as Special Assistant to the Director of Training, Headquarters, United States Marine Corps from July 1975 through March 1978.

"During his tenure, Brigadier General Bartlett rendered sound counsel and advice of inestimable value which transcended the confines of his assignment to a more direct application to all Marine Corps programs. A persuasive and dynamic leader, his innovative management style, concise analytical ability and vast experience as a public servant lent credence and authenticity to all projects with which he was associated. Directly involved in evaluations which dealt with the entire spectrum of military training, installations, and national defense interests, Brigadier General Bartlett's in-depth knowledge of the Marine Corps Reserve provided an essential perspective to the implications of "Total Force." As a seasoned practitioner of the legislative process, his astute guidance was a continuing factor in the development of Marine Corps legislative policy.

"Brigadier General Bartlett's superb accomplishments, perceptive judgment, and selfless devotion to duty reflected great credit upon himself and were in keeping with the highest traditions of the Marine Corps and the United States Naval Service.

For the President:

W. GRAHAM CLAYTOR,
Secretary of the Navy.

And the Commandant of the Marine Corps, Gen. Louis H. Wilson, stepped forward and decorated Joe with the coveted Legion of Honor Medal, a fitting tribute to his extraordinary service.

The citation folder included an official letter from Commandant General Wilson in parting gratitude to General Bartlett:

WASHINGTON, D.C.,
June 28, 1978.

Brig. Gen. D. J. "JOE" BARTLETT,
McLean, Va.

DEAR JOE: Upon your transfer to the Retired Reserve, I want to express my personal appreciation for your more than 30 years of service to Corps and Country.

No one knows better than you the demands of reserve service. You have devoted yourself fully to two professions; a citizen in the civilian community and a Marine. As a Marine you have constantly stood ready to serve our Corps.

During the years, despite your pressing responsibilities as a member of the Staff of the U.S. House of Representatives, you sought and explored every opportunity to advance the best interests of the Marine Corps and individual Marines, and you were never too busy to respond to any request to assist the Corps. As special assistant to the Director, Training and Education Division you were very instrumental in conducting several comprehensive studies on defense installations and activities around the world; the most significant of which was your excellent and in-depth report on the status of Navy/Marine Corps Activities on the islands of Culebra and Vieques. There are many more testimonials of your dedication, willingness to sacrifice, patriotism, and professional excellence, too numerous to mention here.

It has been a source of great pride that men of your caliber and ability give so freely and helpfully of their time and talents in the interest of the Corps. Most certainly you exemplify the very finest of this group whose support is so vitally important if the Corps is to continue to make its fullest contribution to our national security.

The Marine Corps has been fortunate to have you as an officer of Marines, not just because of the contributions you have made to the Corps of today, but perhaps more important, is the example you leave for Marines of tomorrow. As you depart our ranks, your many friends in the Corps join Jane and me in extending to you and Jinny our very best wishes for continued success, the best of health, and much happiness in the years to come.

Sincerely,

LOUIS H. WILSON,
General, United States Marine Corps,
Commandant of the Marine Corps.

As one who values Joe Bartlett's friendship and appreciates his service to our country, I join in this salute on the culmination of his active Reserve service, but if I know Joe, he will continue the march, and keep the creed, "always faithful."

Our heartiest congratulations to you, Joe.

The View From the White House, Seymour H. Fersh

FYI GW's first SOU delivered in Senate Chamber

GW's diary: "According to appointment, at 11 o'clock, I set out for the City Hall in my coach, preceded by Colonel Humphreys & Major Jackson in uniform (on my two white horses) & followed by Messrs. Lear & Nelson, in my chariot, & Mr. Lewis on horseback, following them." p. 8

FYI

~~GW didn't outline spec. leg. - instead restricted himself to a gen. enumeration of subj areas he thought needed cong-al attention p. 9~~

GW's gen SOU pattern = greeting & rel thanksgiving, skim over contemp scene, devoting brief ¶s to various subjects (no details)

FYI

docs First address, started practice of sending along messages from cabinet officers. p. 10

concluding H of 1794 SOC:

"Yet we unite ... in imploring the Sup Ruler of Nations to spread his holy protection over these US; ... To perpetuate to our country that prosperity wh His goodness has already conferred + to verify the anticipation of this Govt being a safeguard to human rights." p. 11

FY1

long reply (1790) - "future + perhaps rapacious Presidents may be the dark + despotic Caesars of America ... Is it the duty of Cong + they in conscience bound to endanger the pol system by paying compliments?" p. 12

FY1

1st message - accession of NC, reported Indian hostilities ... facilitation of intercourse with distant parts of country by due attention to p o + post roads ...

FY1

Educ - "Knowledge is in every country the surest basis of public happiness. In one in wh the measures of govt receive their impressions so mixed from the mass of the comm as ours it is proportionably essential." p. 13

F41

Jefferson: manner of a statesman offering ~~minimalized~~ good advice rather than chief exec initiating policy. Sketched position in generalized way w/ statements of principle. p. 18

Reports on explorations.

dull

Madison, Monroe + J.Q. Adams - annual message more itemized + more dull; longer + less read by the public - "more like a lantern hanging from the stern of the Ship of State than like a searchlight scanning the unlit course ahead." p. 21

Thru JQ Adams SOV = business-like summary - comme what a corporation pres wld submit to his board of directors. Annual message = informational, deliberate, & uninspiring.

stars

re: Jackson quote p. 38

Andrew Jackson: fashioned SOV into natl platform & appealed for his programs over heads of lawmakers to the public at large. p. 28

does

Pierce (w/out initiation from Cong) delivered written message + several accompanying documents. p. 37

pos pattern of mid-19th century messages: religious thanksgiving; superficial review of foreign affairs; detailed summary of dept-al reports; final ¶ expressing confidence in future of nation. p. 38

F41

After 1850 the abolitionists were consistently singled out for castigation in the annual messages as one of the groups responsible for fomenting radical doctrines + working contra the natl interest. p. 40

stars – comm Jackson

Lincoln, faced w/ long opposition, saw SOU addresses as medium to address nation; a message supposedly to long → loudspeaker to people. p. 45

stars

does

Lincoln sacrificed detailed factual reporting in favor of discussing admin proposals – more emphasis on readability + impact. Statistical bulk kept to minimums by greater reliance on transmission of Cab repts to Cong. p. 45

stars

Under Lincoln's pen, annual messages reached one of highest peaks of prestige + consequence. Factual reporting continued but on a smaller + less detailed scale. As presidency became more forceful, annual report became

correspondingly more signif; &
conversely, Lincoln's dramatic
use of message helped upgrade
the office. p. 47

Pink: last sou
Chester Arthur, 1883 (?), coincluding #:
"The preservation of forests on the
public domain, ~~the granting of~~
... the amendment of the Fed Const
so as to make effective the
disapproval by the Pres of
particular items to approp bills ...
& the determining of rules & guidance
respecting presidential inability."
p. 56

stars? Literary style made comeback w/
Lincoln & Johnson, who both needed
public support in their roles as
strong execs, using striking
phraseology & appeals to emotion.
Exp true of Lincoln — refused to
clutter rept w/ summations,
leaving himself free to concentrate

on pub examination of crucial issues. He never forgot he was the one w/those he led - he avoided the ornate, preferring a simplicity of expression w/ carried conviction. - much quoted ff from 1862 SOU p. 59

fr. Lincoln to Arthur, 1st Thanksgiving + p. 60-1

Grover Cleveland concentrated his entire 1887 SOU to a single issue: the tariff. His reasoning was based on belief that this innovation "being an absolutely new departure, would in itself focus the attention of the country & cause comment & discussion of the issue wh he was so urgently recommending." This was indeed a "new departure" & signified that the message need not be a routine obligation for an exec who was venturesome. p. 63

√ WW docs

dove

1887 message concluded w/ reminder that dept-al reports submitted to Cong along w/ annual rept "contain full & explicit info ..."
Cleveland succeeded in calling tariff issue sharply to public attention & forced his own party to espouse tariff reform in the election. p. 64-5

dull

McKinley avg length = 20,000 words. Did not make for popular rdg & definitely interfered w/ Pres's effectiveness in getting his point of view across to the public.

Peter Finley Dunne, Sampson:

"Did ye r-read th' president's message?" asked Mr. Dooley.

"I did not," said Mr. Hennessy.

"Well, ye-re r-right." said the philosopher. "I didn't mesilf. 'Tis manny years since I gave up my devotion to that form iv fiction. I don't think anny man r-reads a message but th' clerk iv the house

in representatives, an' he has to hold his job." p. 68

"Stewardship Theory"

Exception: T.R. clearly took initiative in leg process. "In theory the Exec has nothing to do w/ leg. In practice, as things R now, the Exec is & ought to be peculiarly representative of the people as a whole. As often as not the action of the Exec offers the only means by wh the people can get the leg they demand + ought to have."

All of his annual messages = longest ever delivered (all written).

However, aimed not at Am + world audience. Consisted of short essay-type commentaries on multitude of subjs. Very readable, stimulating. pp. 69-70

135
7
64

Stars

TR's SOU lengths most likely did limit their effectiveness – p. 73

Taft favored long dominance

1911, Taft split annual message into series of four messages. NY Tribune hailed this innovation in an editorial: "In presenting his annual message to long in parts, each devoted to a single subject, Pres. Taft makes a useful break in a custom wh was becoming burdensome. Pres's messages, w/ the imp + complexity of the topics treated in them, had grown too long for the public to read." p. 74

FYI

TR: "The wave will recede; but the tide will advance." p. 77

~~Pres Wilson firmly believed his Exec leading leg. Broke 112 yr precedent + delivered SOU in person. p. 81~~

stet Message dealt w/ single topic of tariff reform – attendant ceremony + speech itself took less than 10 min.

NYT cautious of new procedure, but did admit certain improvements — spoken message bound to be shorter + "If the day of long messages has passed the country is to be congratulated. ... The wonder is that in 7 yrs TR never thought of this way of stamping his personality upon his age." p. 81

stars "The extraordinary dignity of SOU message today owes much to [his] imagination + initiative." Wilfred E. Binkley p. 81

WW: "I shall ask your indulgence if I venture to depart in some degree from the usual customs of sitting before you in formal review the many matters such have

dons

engaged the attention & called for the action of the several depts of Govt ... because the list is long, very long, & wld suffer in the abbrev to wh I shld have to subj it. I shall submit to you the reports of the heads of the several depts, in wh these subjs R set forth in careful detail ..." p. 82

stars

1916 - (18 min) Wilson restricted his rept to a call for further enactment of unfinished phases of his dom program. His admin had already provided leadership for more imp leg than any since Lincoln. p. 86

FYI
*

WW: In America "the instrument of all reform is the ballot" + those who propose "any other method of reform R enemies of this country." (1919) p. 87

Harding re-est trend rec proposal, survey-type message wh lost its way in a maze of topics abitrarily lumped together. Firmly believed in Cong's prerogatives in leg leadership. p. 88

docs
Harding Started practice of submitting Budget Message w/annual message

head quote 12/5/28 Coolidge - long messages. Cong leadership. NYT - "Common misfortune of the Pres-al Annual Message is that ~~they~~ tend to become a catch-all. Being that they often catch nothing." p. 90

docs 1923 - Am Legion submitted leg program

~~FDR - ~ a Wilson, finely knit unified speech, w/ factual reporting kept to a minimum. 102~~

?. 1st address = 22 min. 102

Dec 7!

"I come before you ... not to make requests for special or detailed items of leg; I come, rather, to counsel w/ you, who, like myself, have been selected to carry out a mandate of the whole people." 102

Stars

Length - additional docs.

1934 - specific recommendations. "2nd New Deal" — 1, 2, 3, 4, "I am now ready to submit to Cong a broad program designed ultimately to cut all 3 of these factors of security..." 103

Stars

1944 + 1945 — FDR submitted written message to Cong + delivered shorter version on radio (too ill to appear before Cong.)" 104-5

Stars

1945 writ message was over 8,000 words — more than twice as long as most of his yearly reports. Press Conf: "Terrible. I am ashamed of it. But it was terrible.

Wartime produces things out of proportion." 105

1956 ann. 4

James M. Burns: "Probably no Am politician has given so many speeches that were essentially sermons rather than statements of policy. Like a preacher, he wanted & expected his sermons to serve as practical guides to the people." 106

Truman, 1946 SOU radio address of Jan 3 - followed by combined Annual & Budget Messag submitted to Cong on Jan. 17. 110-11

1947 - 7,000 wd SOU address; 30,000 wd. merit Econ Rept; 1626 pg Budget Messag 112

By 1952, NYT yearned for return to more personalized SOU:
"Unfortunately, Mr. Truman lacks the inspired eloquence & the personal

magnetism that cld be usefully employed in such times as this to pull all groups & all factions together in heroic ~~factions~~ fashion for a common effort." 112

FYI ☆ Truman
Valedictory message - "As we continue to confound Sov expectations, as our world grows stronger, more united, more attractive to men on both sides of the iron curtain, then inevitably there will come a time of S w/in the Comm world. We do not know how that S will come about, whether by deliberate decision in the Kremlin, by coup d'etat, by revolution, by defection of satellites, or perhaps by some unforseen combination of such factors as these." 113

[Switch Long/Pres]

Ike - 1956 press conf., wanted it understood that he intended to work for enactment of his recommendations & he was not making them "to pass the time away or to look good ... He was going to work for their enactment. Make no mistake about that. That was really what he was in the WH for & what he intended to do." 115

dull

all in all, Ike's SOU's were long on documentation & short on dramatization in sharp contrast to the carefully timed appeals of Wilson & FDR. 116

dull

Ike, 1956, voiced hope of 20-minute address. Old - 7500 wd mess. sent message to Long - BUT 7-minute personal summary from Key West. 117

dull 1954

NYT expressed regret at passing of dramatically formed address - but laid it to the P in the times - "those deep R gone forever when the probs

were fairly simple ' the Pres did give the 'sov' in a few hundred words." 117

1958 - WH considered innovation. Pres wld give 10-min "curtain raiser" & let the clerks finish delivering message. Nothing came of it. Ended up delivering 45-min address.

dull NYT editorial said although many liked the tone, "Mr. Eisenhower used too broad a brush in presenting his program." At outset gave 2 tasks confronting country - but itemized cutting of 8 areas requiring action predictably lost impact on rapidly tuning audience. 118

dull 1959 + 1960 both 45-min. Allen Drury: "Looking somewhat relieved the Pres departed; looking somewhat bored the Senate w/drew." 118

59

DON'T FORGET NIXON!

Epilogue

p. 132 1st full ¶

In researching the SOU's of the past, it became clear that the ~~more~~ true leaders of the past tended to limit delivery, shorter addresses + presented a thematic approach rather than a laundry list.

GW, Jefferson – both viewed prerog of Cong

Jackson –
Lincoln –
TR –
Wilson –
FDR –

Kenn? Johnson? Nixon? Reagan?

Those Pres's who viewed it as their role, rather than Cong's, to direct leg

"Quotes"

Summ Epilogue

The Stars

The Bullards

Accompanying Documents

In light of SOU, our strongest Pres saw the annual address to Cong as an opp to voice their agendas (& coincidentally that of the people who elected them).

Our strongest Presidents have seen it as their duty, not Congress's, to direct legislative agendas, & the majority of them seized upon the SOU as a unique communiqué to the American people. These leaders (w/ the notable exception of TR) tended to deliver briefer addresses w/ concise, thematic structures.

Early Pres firmly believed it was Congress' job to dictate leg. It was the Pres's job to execute the laws.

Andrew Jackson ~~did~~ rejected this precept, & was the first Pres to look on the SOU as not simply an info occasion to the Cong, but as an appeal to the Am public.

Nixon, 72 - "There is ample precedent... for me to present you w/ a long list of new proposals... I shall not do that. I have presented to the leaders of the Cong today a message of 15,000 words describing in some detail where the Nation stands & setting forth specific leg-ive items on wh I have asked the Congress to act."

Dave

Nixon, 70 - "The State of the Union is traditionally an occasion for a lengthy & detailed account by the Pres of what he has accomplished in the past, what he wants the Cong to do in the future, &, in an election year, to lay the basis for the pol issues wh might be decisive in the fall.

Occasionally there comes a time when profound & far reaching events command a break w/ tradition.

This is such a time.

I say this not only because 1972

F41

marks the beginning of a new decade in which America will celebrate its 200th birthday. I say it because new knowledge & hard experience argue persuasively that both our programs & our institutions in turn need to be reexamined.

Dad

~~Be sincere~~

My father gave me three hints on speechmaking – be sincere, be brief, be seated.

James Roosevelt, son of FDR

A speech is a solemn rep. The man who makes a bad 30-min speech to 200 people wastes only a half hr of his own time, but he wastes 100 hrs of the audience's time – more than 4 days – with added chance of hanging offender.

Jenkin Lloyd Jones

The purest eloquence is that which gets things done. David Lloyd George

Accompanying Documents

FYI

Short Speeches

Aceptano v. Feb 9 media #'s headlines

analyze Inaug