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# FOIA MARKER

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**Record Group/Collection:** George H.W. Bush Presidential Records  
**Collection/Office of Origin:** Speechwriting, White House Office of  
**Series:** Speech File Backup Files  
**Subseries:** Chron File, 1989-1993

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**OA/ID Number:** 13706  
**Folder ID Number:** 13706-007

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**Folder Title:**  
Governors' State Dinner 2/25/90 [OA 6894]

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Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
<b>G</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5</b>

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 22, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH:           CHRISS WINSTON

FROM:               DAN MCGROARTY

SUBJECT:            TOAST AT THE GOVERNORS' STATE DINNER

I.    SUMMARY

In the State Dining Room on Sunday, February 25, at 7:30 p.m. you will attend the annual Governors' State Dinner. Almost all the governors will be there, as well as many Cabinet members.

I.    DISCUSSION

The toast emphasizes your support for the six Education Goals, and your conviction that -- working together with the governors -- America's educational system will be able to meet them.

# # #

McGroarty/Dooley  
February 22, 1990  
2:45 pm  
[GOVS]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TOAST AT THE GOVERNORS' STATE DINNER  
STATE DINING ROOM  
FEBRUARY 25, 1990  
7:30 PM

It's my great pleasure to welcome all of you to the White House. Terry Branstad, doing double duty as Governor of Iowa, and Chairman of the National Governors Association. Terry, I salute you and congratulate you on the leadership you have provided this year in bringing about a concensus for change and focusing on an agenda for educational and environmental quality. Vice Chairman, Governor Booth Gardner. And there are some new faces -- new members of the Governors' club I want to welcome: Governor Florio. Governor Wilder. And Governor Guerrero of the Northern Mariana Islands.

[[You know, I'm reminded every day about the vital work Governors do. The genius of the Governors -- the special insight that comes from the experience of being Chief Executive in the Statehouse. // But come to think of it -- it's always the same fellow who reminds me. // John Sununu.]]

Each one of you deals every day with issues that affect the lives of every citizen in your state -- that affect the very future of our nation. And of all those many issues, none is more important than the one we've all been focusing on since we met

last September: **Education.** What Thomas Jefferson called the **"keystone of the arch" of our democratic system.**

In the five months since we met at Mr. Jefferson's University, we've made a good beginning. For the first time ever, we've proposed a set of **national goals -- goals that will point the way to a decade-long commitment towards excellence in education.**

I'd like to see these goals posted on the wall of every school so that every one who walks in -- parents, students, teachers -- knows what it is we're aiming for:

So that everyone knows we've set ourselves the goal of **raising the graduation rate to 90% or more.**

Of **reclaiming first-place** in science and math achievement **world-wide.**

Of making sure our diplomas **mean something.** Setting up a series of check-points -- so that as our children move from grade school to high school, we assess their **performance.**

And in addition to those first three goals, three more:  
**Every American child** -- ready to learn from the first day they walk into that classroom.

**Every American adult** -- skilled and literate, equipped to be a productive worker and a participating citizen.

**And every school** in America -- **disciplined and drug-free.** //

These goals give us something to reach for. A means of setting priorities -- measuring our progress.

I know every State is already hard at work. We all know there's no one answer -- no one-size-fits-all solution, that works for every school system from Anchorage, Alaska to Zanesville, Ohio -- and for every school in between. We've got to take advantage of the great strength of our system -- we've got to turn our States into **50 laboratories of education reform**. And reward what works. When we find a school where kids are learning -- we've got to make sure we learn the secret to that school's success.

Our challenge couldn't be clearer: If we're going to understand the exciting changes we've witnessed around the world -- if we're going to be able to compete in the global marketplace of the 21st Century, and truly provide opportunity for all Americans, we've got to ask ourselves some threshold questions:

How can our Nation remain a first-rate economic power -- if our school system isn't first class?

How can our kids understand the **Revolution of '89** if they don't know about the Revolution of 1776?

How can we be ready for the year 2000 if **today's first graders, the Class of 2001** -- aren't getting a 21st Century education -- right now.

The people in this room know the answer to these questions. They are self-evident. The future of this nation -- our ability to understand our changing world, to meet and master the challenges we'll face -- is being decided every day: child by child -- in our homes, in our schools, and in our communities.

So tonight, let me thank you for working with me -- for the exciting start we've made, and for your commitment to build on this beginning. Let us all raise our glasses:

To the partnership between this White House and every State House in the nation;

And to our commitment to work together -- toward our future and to an American education system second to none.

# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

February 21, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH:           CHRISS WINSTON *CW*  
FROM:               DAN MCGROARTY *DMG*  
SUBJECT:            TOAST AT THE GOVERNORS' STATE DINNER

I.    SUMMARY

In the State Dining Room on Sunday, February 25, at 7:30 p.m. you will attend the annual Governors' State Dinner. Almost all the governors will be there, as well as many Cabinet members.

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The toast emphasizes your support for the six Education Goals, and your conviction that -- working together with the governors -- America's educational system will be able to meet them.

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McGroarty/Dooley  
February 22, 1990  
2:45 pm  
[GOVS]

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STATE DINING ROOM  
FEBRUARY 25, 1990  
7:30 PM

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Each one of you deals every day with issues that affect the lives of every citizen in your state -- that affect the very future of our nation. And of all those many issues, none is more important than the one we've all been focussing on since we met

last September: **Education.** What Thomas Jefferson called the **"keystone of the arch"** of our democratic system.

In the five months since we met at Mr. Jefferson's University, we've made a good beginning. For the first time ever, we've proposed a set of **national goals -- goals that will point the way to a decade-long commitment towards excellence in education.**

I'd like to see these goals posted on the wall of every school so that every one who walks in -- parents, students, teachers -- knows what it is we're aiming for:

So that everyone knows we've set ourselves the goal of **raising the graduation rate to 90% or more.**

**Of reclaiming first-place in science and math achievement world-wide.**

**Of making sure our diplomas mean something.** Setting up a series of check-points -- so that as our children move from grade school to high school, we assess their **performance.**

And in addition to those first three goals, three more:

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These goals give us something to reach for. A means of **setting priorities -- measuring our progress.**

I know every State is already hard at work. We all know there's no one answer -- no one-size-fits-all solution, that works for every school system from Anchorage, Alaska to Zanesville, Ohio -- and for every school in between. We've got to take advantage of the great strength of our system -- we've got to turn our States into 50 laboratories of education reform. And reward what works. When we find a school where kids are learning -- we've got to make sure we learn the secret to that school's success.

Our challenge couldn't be clearer: If we're going to understand the exciting changes we've witnessed around the world -- if we're going to be able to compete in the global marketplace of the 21st Century, and truly provide opportunity for all Americans, we've got to ask ourselves some threshold questions:

How can our Nation remain a first-rate economic power -- if our school system isn't first class?

How can our kids understand the Revolution of '89 if they don't know about the Revolution of 1776?

How can we be ready for the year 2000 if today's first graders, the Class of 2001 -- aren't getting a 21st Century education -- right now.

The people in this room know the answer to these questions. They are self-evident. The future of this nation -- our ability to understand our changing world, to meet and master the challenges we'll face -- is being decided every day: child by child -- in our homes, in our schools, and in our communities.

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February 22, 1990  
2:45 pm  
[GOVS]

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And it's always wonderful to welcome your Vice Chairman, Governor Booth Gardner. And there are some new faces -- new members of the Governors' club I want to welcome: Governor Florio. Governor Wilder. And Governor Guerrero of the Northern Mariana Islands.

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last September: **Education.** What Thomas Jefferson called the **"keystone of the arch" of our democratic system.**

In the five months since we met at Mr. Jefferson's University, we've made a good beginning. For the first time ever, we've proposed a set of **national goals -- goals that will point the way to a decade-long commitment towards excellence in education.**

And as we worked, we talked and sometimes we argued. We expressed our hopes and sometimes our frustrations. We even found a little humor in the serious business of making American education the very best it can be.

But as we deliberated, as we strove to develop the national education goals our country needs to remain strong and competitive, we achieved something else along the way. We came together not just as Republicans and Democrats. Not as partisan competitors, but as fellow chief executives with our hearts and minds focused on a single goal: the future of our children and our country.

Our work is not finished, but I believe that what we began in Charlottesville was an historic first step in what can be a new relationship between us.

So tonight, let me thank you for working with me -- for the exciting start we've made, and for your commitment to build on this beginning. And let us all raise our glasses:

To the partnership between this White House and every State House in the nation;

And to our commitment to work together -- toward a new decade of excellence and to an American education system second to none.

# # #

1990 FEB 20 PM 12:49

McGroarty/Dooley  
February 20, 1990  
12:30 pm  
[GOVS]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: TOAST AT THE GOVERNORS' STATE DINNER  
STATE DINING ROOM  
FEBRUARY 25, 1990  
7:30 PM

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In the five months since we met at Mr. Jefferson's University, we've made a good beginning. For the first time

Michele Davis

863-8581

ever, we've formulated a set of national goals -- six objectives that will help us measure the progress we make towards excellence in education.

I'd like to see these goals posted on the wall of every school -- call it Target 2000 -- so that every one who walks in -- parents, students, teachers -- knows what it is we're aiming for:

So that everyone knows we've set ourselves the goal of raising the graduation rate to 90% or more.

Of reclaiming first-place in science and math achievement world-wide.

Of making sure our diplomas mean something. Setting up a series of check-points -- so that as our children move from grade school to high school, we assess their performance.

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And every school in America -- disciplined and drug-free. //

Target 2000 gives us something to reach for. Six objectives that will help us set priorities -- measure our progress.

We've set our goals -- now its time to reach them. I know every State is already hard at work. We all know there's no one answer -- no one-size-fits-all solution, that works for every school system from Anchorage, Alaska to Zanesville, Ohio -- and

for every school in between. We've got to take advantage of the great strength of our system -- we've got to turn our states into **50 laboratories of education reform.** And reward what works.

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Our challenge couldn't be clearer: If we're going to understand the exciting changes we've witnessed around the world -- if we're going to be able to compete in the 21st Century, and truly provide opportunity for all Americans, we've got to ask ourselves some threshold questions:

How can our Nation compete in the global marketplace -- remain a first-rate economic power -- if our school system is second-rate?

How can our kids understand the **Revolution of '89** if they don't know about the Revolutions of 1776?

**Can we be ready for the year 2000 if the high school "Class of 2001" -- today's first graders -- aren't getting a 21st Century education -- right now.**

The people in this room know the answer to these questions. They are self-evident. The future of this nation -- our ability to understand our changing world, to meet and master the challenges we'll face -- is being decided every day: child by child -- in our schools.

So tonight, let me thank you for working with me -- for the sound start we've made, and for your commitment to build on this beginning. And let us all raise our glasses:

To a strong partnership between this White House and every State House in the nation;

To an American education system second to none;

And to our commitment to work together -- toward our goals, toward our future.

# # #

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DATE: 2/21/90

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING PAGES TO:

NAME: PEGGY DOOLEY

ORGANIZATION: SPEECHWRITING

FROM: CATHY FENTON, SOCIAL OFFICE

PHONE: X7064

TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES 4 INCLUDING COVER LETTER.

SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS:

Current RSVP list for  
SUNDAY'S GOVERNOR'S DINNER.  
FYI - GOV. BRADSTAD IS CURRENT  
HEAD OF NATIONAL GOVERNOR'S  
ASSN. & WILL RESPOND TO  
THE PRESIDENT'S TOAST BEFORE  
DINNER.

IF YOU DO NOT RECEIVE ALL PAGES, PLEASE CALL BACK AS SOON AS POSSIBLE  
TO (202) 456-7788.

RETURN TELECOPY NUMBER: (202) 456-2407

DINNER (GOVERNORS) SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1990 - 7:30 PM - (bt)  
EAST ENTRANCE - (PARKING)

aa THE PRESIDENT & MRS. BUSH

RR The Vice President & Mrs. Quayle

RR The Secretary of State & Mrs. Baker (Susan)

RR The Secretary of the Treasury & Mrs. Brady (Katherine)

aa The Secretary of Education & Mrs. Cavazos (Peggy)

RR The Secretary of Defense & Hon. (Dr.) Lynne V. Cheney

aa The Secretary of Veterans Affairs & Mrs. Derwinski (Bonnie)

R- The Secretary of Labor & Hon. Robert J. Dole

aa The Secretary of Housing & Urban Development & Mrs. Kemp (Joanne)

aa The Secretary of the Interior & Mrs. Lujan (Jean)

RR The Secretary of Commerce & Mrs. Mosbacher (Georgette)

aa The Secretary of Transportation & Mrs. Skinner (Mary Margaret)

aa The Secretary of Health & Human Services & Mrs. Sullivan (Ginger)

aa The Attorney General & Mrs. Thornburgh (Virginia)

RR The Secretary of Energy & Mrs. Watkins (Sheila)

aa The Secretary of Agriculture & Mrs. Yeutter (Jeanne)

aa Hon. & Mrs. Richard G. Darman (Kathleen)

aa Hon. (Amb.) Carla A. Hills & Hon. Roderick M. Hills

aa Hon. (Dr.) & Mrs. William J. Bennett (Elayne)

aa Hon. (Dr.) & Mrs. Michael J. Boskin

aa Hon. & Mrs. William K. Reilly (Elizabeth)

aa Hon. (Gov.) & Mrs. John H. Sununu

a Hon. (General) Brent Scowcroft

a Hon. (Miss) Debra R. Anderson

aa Hon. & Mrs. Andrew H. Card, Jr. (Kathleene)

aa Hon. & Mrs. George ("Lanny") Griffith (Susan)

aa Mr. & Mrs. Raymond Scheppach (Terry)

-----  
GOVERNORS:

-- Governor & Mrs. Joseph Ada (Roseanne)  
GUAM/R

aa Governor & Mrs. Cecil D. Andrus (Carol)  
IDAHO/D

aa Governor & Mrs. John Ashcroft (Janet)  
MISSOURI/R

aa Governor & ~~Mrs.~~ Norman H. Bangertter ~~(Colleen)~~ + daughter, Mrs. Alayne Isom

aa Governor & Mrs. Evan Bayh (Susan)  
INDIANA/D

aa Governor & Mrs. Henry Bellmon (Shirley)  
OKLAHOMA/R

- aa* Governor & Mrs. James J. Blanchard (Janet)  
 MICHIGAN/D  
*aa* Governor & Mrs. Terry E. Branstad (Christine)  
 IOWA/R  
*aa* Governor & Mrs. Carroll A. Campbell, Jr. (Iris)  
 SOUTH CAROLINA/R  
*aa* Governor Gaston Caperton & *Ms. Rachael Worby*  
 WEST VIRGINIA/D  
*aa* Governor & Mrs. Garrey E. Carruthers (Katherine)  
 NEW MEXICO/R  
*aa* Governor & Mrs. Robert P. Casey (Ellen)  
 PENNSYLVANIA/D  
*aa* Governor Michael N. Castle & *Ms. Jane DiSabatino*  
 DELAWARE/R  
*aa* Governor & Mrs. Richard F. Celeste (Dagmar)  
 OHIO/D  
*aa* Governor & Mrs. William P. Clements, Jr. (Rita)  
 TEXAS/R  
*aa* Governor & Mrs. Bill Clinton (Hilary)  
 ARKANSAS  
*aa* Governor & Mrs. Peter T. Coleman (Nora)  
 AMERICAN SAMOA/R  
*aa* Governor & Mrs. Steve Cowper (Michael Margaret)  
 ALASKA/D  
 -- Governor & Mrs. Mario M. Cuomo (Matilda)  
 NEW YORK/D  
*aa* Governor & Mrs. George Deukmejian (Gloria)  
 CALIFORNIA/R  
*aa* Governor & ~~Mrs.~~ Edward D. DiPrete (Patricia) & *son, Mr. Dennis*  
 RHODE ISLAND/R *Di Prete*  
*aa* Governor & Mrs. Michael S. Dukakis (Kitty)  
 MASSACHUSETTS/D  
 -- Governor Alexander A. Farrelly  
 VIRGIN ISLANDS/D  
*aa* Governor & Mrs. James J. Florio (Lucinda)  
 NEW JERSEY/D  
*aa* Governor & Mrs. Booth Gardner (Jean)  
 WASHINGTON/D  
*aa* Governor & ~~Mrs.~~ Neil Goldschmidt (Margaret) & *daughter, Miss Rebecca*  
 OREGON/D *R Goldschmidt*  
*aa* Governor & Mrs. Judd Gregg (Kathy)  
 NEW HAMPSHIRE/R  
*aa* Governor & Mrs. Lorenzo I. Guerrero (Matilda)  
 NORTHERN MARIANA ISLANDS/R  
*aa* Governor & Mrs. Joe Frank Harris (Elizabeth)  
 GEORGIA/D  
*RR* Governor & Mrs. J. Michael Hayden (Patti)  
 KANSAS/R  
*aa* Governor & Mrs. Rafael Hernandez-Colon (Lila)  
 PUERTO RICO/PDP

- aa* Governor & Mrs. Harold Guy Hunt (Helen)  
 ALABAMA/R  
*aa* Governor Madeleine M. Kunin & Dr. Arthur Kunin  
 VERMONT/D  
*aa* Governor & Mrs. Ray Mabus (Julie)  
 MISSISSIPPI/D  
*aa* Governor & Mrs. James G. Martin (Dorothy)  
 NORTH CAROLINA/R  
*aa* Governor & Mrs. Bob Martinez (Mary Jane)  
 FLORIDA/R  
*AR* Governor John R. McKernan, Jr. & Hon. (Rep.) (Ms.) Olympia J. Snowe  
 MAINE/R  
*a* Governor Ned Ray McWherter  
 TENNESSEE/D  
*AR* Governor & Mrs. George S. Mickelson (Linda)  
 SOUTH DAKOTA/R  
*AR* Governor & Mrs. Robert J. Miller (Sandy)  
 NEVADA/D  
 - Governor Rose Mofford  
 ARIZONA/D  
*a* - Governor & Mrs. William A. O'Neill (Natalie)  
 CONNECTICUT/D  
*aa* Governor Kay A. Orr & Mr. William D. Orr  
 NEBRASKA/R  
*aa* Governor & Mrs. Rudy Perpich (Lola)  
 MINNESOTA/D  
*AR* Governor & Mrs. Buddy Roemer (Patti)  
 LOUISIANA/D  
*aa* Governor & Mrs. Roy Romer (Bea)  
 COLORADO/D  
 - Governor William Donald Schaefer  
 MARYLAND/D  
*aa* Governor & Mrs. George A. Sinner (Jane)  
 NORTH DAKOTA/D  
*aa* Governor & Mrs. Stan Stephens (Ann)  
 MONTANA/R  
*aa* Governor & Mrs. Michael Sullivan (Jane)  
 WYOMING/D  
*aa* Governor & Mrs. James R. Thompson (Jayne)  
 ILLINOIS/R  
*aa* Governor & Mrs. Tommy G. Thompson (Sue Ann)  
 WISCONSIN/R  
*aa* Governor & Mrs. John Waihee (Lynne)  
 HAWAII/D  
*a* Governor L. Douglas Wilder  
 VIRGINIA/D  
*aa* Governor & Mrs. Wallace Wilkinson (Martha)  
 KENTUCKY/D

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*McGrady*

**MEMORANDUM**

**TO:** Firestone/Card  
**FROM:** JOSEPH W. HAGIN  
**SUBJECT:** APPROVED PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY

**EVENT:** State Dinner for the Nation's Governors

**DATE:** February 25, 1990 --- Sunday

**TIME:** 7:30 p.m.

**DURATION:** 2 Hours

**LOCATION:** State Floor

**ATTIRE:** Black Tie

**REMARKS REQUIRED:** Brief Remarks

**MEDIA COVERAGE:** TBD

**FIRST LADY PARTICIPATION:** Yes

**ADDITIONAL INFORMATION:**

**CONTACT:** \_\_\_\_\_

**TELEPHONE:** OFFICE \_\_\_\_\_ HOME \_\_\_\_\_

**NOTE: PROJECT OFFICER, SEE ATTACHED CHECKLIST**

- |                   |                  |                   |
|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Ed Rogers         | Marlin Fitzwater | David Bates       |
| James Cicconi     | David Demarest   | David Valdez      |
| Fred McClure      | Jean Lamb        | USSS - PPD        |
| Susan Porter Rose | Sig Rogich       | Gary Walters      |
| Patty Presock     | John Keller      | WHCA Audio/Visual |
| Chriss Winston    | Tim McBride      | WHCA Operations   |
| Laurie Firestone  | J. Bonnie Newman | C. Boyden Gray    |
| William Kristol   | Paul Bateman     | John Herrick      |
| Jackie Kennedy    |                  |                   |

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

REVISED

2  
1-12-90

MEMORANDUM

TO: Andy Card

FROM: JOSEPH W. HAGIN

SUBJECT: APPROVED PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY

EVENT: Meeting with Nation's Governors

DATE: February 26, 1990 — Monday

TIME: ~~2:15 p.m.~~ 11:15pm

DURATION: One Hour

LOCATION: TBD

ATTIRE: Business suit

REMARKS REQUIRED: TBD

MEDIA COVERAGE: Press Pool

FIRST LADY PARTICIPATION: No

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION:

CONTACT: \_\_\_\_\_

TELEPHONE: OFFICE \_\_\_\_\_ HOME \_\_\_\_\_

NOTE: PROJECT OFFICER, SEE ATTACHED CHECKLIST

- |                   |                  |                   |
|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|
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| Chriss Winston    | Tim McBride      | WHCA Operations   |
| Laurie Firestone  | J. Bonnie Newman | C. Boyden Gray    |
| William Kristol   | Paul Bateman     | John Herrick      |
| Jackie Kennedy    |                  |                   |

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DATE: FEBRUARY 14, 1990

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING PAGES TO:

NAME: PEGGY DOOLEY/SPEECHWRITING

ORGANIZATION: \_\_\_\_\_

FROM: CATHY FENTON, SOCIAL OFFICE

PHONE: X7064

TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES 6 INCLUDING COVER LETTER.

**SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS:**

ATTACHED IS BACKGROUND ON OUR ENTERTAINMENT FOR THE FEB. 25 DINNER IN HONOR OF THE GOVERNORS OF THE STATES AND TERRITORIES AND THEIR SPOUSES. THE ENTERTAINMENT IS "GREATER TUNA" STARRING JASTON WILLIAMS AND JOE SEARS. YOU MAY REMEMBER READING THAT IT PLAYED THE KENNEDY CENTER IN DECEMBER AND THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH WENT TO SEE "A TUNA CHRISTMAS." THEY REALLY ENJOYED THE SHOW AND INVITED THEM TO COME TO THE WHITE HOUSE.

PLEASE PREPARE BRIEF THANK YOU REMARKS FOR THE PRESIDENT TO MAKE FOLLOWING THEIR TWENTY MINUTE PERFORMANCE. WE WOULD APPRECIATE A COPY OF YOUR DRAFT. THANK YOU.

IF YOU DO NOT RECEIVE ALL PAGES, PLEASE CALL BACK AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO (202) 456-7788.

RETURN TELECOPY NUMBER: (202) 456-2407

CC:FIRST LADY'S PRESS OFFICE

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DATE: FEBRUARY 14, 1990

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING PAGES TO:

NAME: PEGGY DOOLEY/SPEECHWRITING (FAX x 6218)

ORGANIZATION: \_\_\_\_\_

FROM: CATHY FENTON, SOCIAL OFFICE

PHONE: X7064

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PLEASE PREPARE BRIEF THANK YOU REMARKS FOR THE PRESIDENT TO MAKE FOLLOWING THEIR TWENTY MINUTE PERFORMANCE. WE WOULD APPRECIATE A COPY OF YOUR DRAFT. THANK YOU.

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**CHARLES H. DUGGAN**  
**P R E S I D E N T**

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TO: Kathy Fenta - W.H. Social Office  
FROM: Shirley Ponder  
DATE: 2/12/90  
RE: Greedy Juma

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*Reverend Spikes*  
*Vera Carp*  
*Mtg of the Smut*  
*Snatchers of*  
*The New Order*

(PRODUCER)

Charles H. Duggan is the executive producer of the Marines Memorial Theatre and the Cable Car Theatre in San Francisco. Mr. Duggan has been a producer for more than twenty-five plays, including *Corridos*, *Sister Mary Ignatius Explains It All for You* (which opened with Lynn Redgrave and went on to star Cloris Leachman and Peggy Cass during its record-breaking run), *Charles Pierce In An Intimate Extravaganza*, Emlyn Williams as *Charles Dickens*, *The Foreigner*, (which starred Rene Auberjonois, Imogene Coca, and Charlene Tilton), and Julie Harris in *Bronte*. Mr. Duggan produced national tours of Barbara Rush in *A Woman of Independent Means* which won Bay Area Theatre Critics Awards for Best Production and Best Actress for Miss Rush, *Ian McKellen Acting Shakespeare* which won the Elliot Norton Award and *Jeeves Takes Charge* which marked his London producorial debut. Mr. Duggan has also produced the San Francisco concert appearances of Miss Peggy Lee, Barbara Cook, Della Reese, and Jim Bailey as Judy Garland. In New York Mr. Duggan served as associate producer for the Tony Award-winning play *K2*. Other recent contributions to the San Francisco entertainment calendar have been *American Jukebox*, *Steven Banks Home Entertainment Center*, *The Peking Acrobats*, and George Peppard in his San Francisco stage debut as Ernest Hemingway in *Papa*. Mr. Duggan continues to produce *Greater Tuna* which has been on the boards in San Francisco for five-and-one-half years. Most recently, Mr. Duggan received the Paine Knickerbocker Award from the Bay Area Theatre Critics Circle for his contribution to Bay Area theater and the consistent high quality of his productions.

Ed Howard (Co-author, Director) co-wrote *Greater Tuna* with Jaston Williams and Joe Sears and directed the original and national touring productions. In addition, Mr. Howard directed the productions that played at the Nexus in Atlanta, the Alley in Houston, the Hartford Stage Company, and New York's Circle in The Square. For his work on *Greater Tuna*, Mr. Howard received a Los Angeles Dramalogue Award and a San Francisco Bay Area Theatre Critics Award. He is also co-author and director of the teleplay of *Greater Tuna* which appeared as an HBO special. His directing credits include in 1984 New York production of *Romulus Linney's Laughing Stock*, starring Francis Sternhagen, which was named one of the ten best plays of the year by *Time Magazine*. In Austin he designed and appeared in *The Hunchback*, and co-produced and designed *Rodents and Rumors*. At the Collective Theatre in Atlanta he directed *Splendor*, a comedy based on the novel by Edward Swift which he co-wrote with Douglas Dyer. An Atlanta resident, Mr. Howard has also worked as an actor, director, and/or designer for the Barn Dinner Theatre, the Southern Theatre Conspiracy, and the Theatrical Outfit. Most recently Mr. Howard wrote the book and lyrics for *O Miranda*, a new musical with music by Dennis West. Mr. Howard received a B.A. in religion and philosophy from Birmingham-Southern College and an M.F.A. in directing from the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa.

PETER A. STILL -Biography (Revised 1/31/90)

most recently joined the original cast of Greater Tuna as production stage manager for a successful tour of their new sequel, A Tuna Christmas, which appeared in San Francisco, Austin and Washington's Kennedy Center. Mr. Still

**Peter A. Still (Production Stage Manager)** has stage managed numerous Equity productions, notably Numberris, directed by its author Dan Goggin and starring Dody Goodman; Romance/Romance starring the New York cast and directed by writer Barry Harman; Evils starring Sandra Santiago; Taken in Marriage starring Vera Miles, Deborah Raffin, and Betsy Palmer; ...My Name is Alice starring Marilyn McCoo and Deana Pasoway; and Peter Pan starring Olympic gymnast Cathy Rigby. He was production stage manager for the new Al Hirschfeld Theatre in Miami for its premiere full-year's season and for two years at the Burt Reynolds Jupiter Theatre, working with such noted directors as Charles Nelson Kelly and Dom DeLuise. While in Jupiter Mr. Still himself directed apprentices of the Burt Reynolds Institute of Theatre Training in productions of The Foreigner and Brighton Beach Memoirs. He also worked as production stage manager of the touring company of Bullshot Crammond with the original New York and London cast, visiting San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Ford's Theatre in Washington, DC. He has managed two workshop productions of American Window, directed and co-authored by Jason Williams. Among his nightclub credits Mr. Still includes innumerable engagements working for comedienne Charles Pierce, as well as stage managing for the first year of Steve Silver's Beach Director Babylon Goes Bananas when it originally moved into the Club Fugate of San Francisco's North Beach in 1975.

JASTON WILLIAMS - Biography (Revised 1/31/80)

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Mr. Williams has most recently completed a tour of A tuna Christmas, appearing in San Francisco, Austin and Washington, a Kennedy Center.

James Williams returns to Tuna, Texas, to present the document he first brought to the Office in 1963. Mr. Williams was a recipient of the Governor's Award for Individual Contribution to the art, presented by then-Governor Mark White. Mr. Williams is co-author and editor of Greater Tuna, in which he has appeared in more than fifteen hundred performances, and which was the most produced show in the United States two years running. He has appeared in Greater Tuna at the New York City's Plaza Theatre, Washington's Kennedy Center and Ford's Theatre, L.A. Stage Company, Harvard Stage, San Francisco's Latitude 37 Theatre, the Alley Theatre in Houston, Boston's Charles Street Theatre, and the Lyman Theatre in San Diego. Tuna was also produced in the 1965 Boston Festival in Canton, South Carolina, and was one of the two American entries in the 1965 Edinburgh Festival in Scotland. Mr. Williams was also recipient of the Los Angeles Dramatists Award for Best Actor-Writer and the San Francisco Bay Area Citizen Award for Best Actor. Mr. Williams co-authored and co-wrote the musical Lina co-authored and co-wrote the musical Last Tango in Paris, a musical comedy in original dialogue, and was directed on the David Lawrence and Mary Childs shows. Mr. Williams was co-author of the production company of Austin, Texas, where he directed Chamber Music, The Club, and The Jewish Wife, and performed the role of the professor in Eugene Ionesco's The Lesson. While in Austin he also performed for the majority of the producers of Wings and both Cup of Honor. Prior to that he was a member of San Antonio's First Repertory Company, and appeared in San Antonio productions of A Little Night's Dream as Don Juan, and in the play in which he performed in the role of Don Juan. Mr. Williams was also writer for the play, "Comedy Zone," along with Wendy Westerman, Christopher Durang, Ned Simon, John Pettey, Ted Tully, Steve Allen, and others. In Austin he directed Lonesome and Lonesome a production of one-act by Israel Kamranji Alim, and his own one-act play, The Devil and King of the Hill. He also directed, produced, and co-wrote American Way-down, which was performed at the UT at Dean Payne Theatre in January of 1988. His most recent performance in Austin was in last summer's tribute to John Henry Park, where he appeared with Lee Lewis, Ozzie Davis, Jerry Lee Lewis, Linda Tavel, and others. Mr. Williams also appeared in Days in the Heart of New York's American Place Theatre, which was produced by Carol Hall and directed by Peter Klumpp. He is currently in negotiations for a New York edition of his new play I Heard That and in at work on another play named Home and Home. He has completed his third one-act play named Charlie Baker in The Foreigner in Austin, Texas.

recently

and will be returning there in May to perform in A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum. Mr. Williams is also directing a new musical, Bed of the Lamb by the Tunch, which is scheduled for the 1990 Edinburgh Festival in Scotland.

JOE SEARS - Biography (Revised 1/31/90)

Mr. Sears has most recently completed a tour of the new sequel to Greater Tuna, entitled A Tuna Christmas, appearing in San Francisco, Austin and Washington's Kennedy Center.

Joe Sears was nominated in 1984 and again in 1986 for the Helen Hayes Award for Best Actor in Washington, DC, for his performance in Greater Tuna. He originated these roles Off-Broadway when Greater Tuna premiered in October 1982. Since that time, he has performed in a highly successful national tour and co-wrote and starred in the Embassy Television/Norman Lear television special of Greater Tuna which aired on HBO. Mr. Sears has been acting professionally for the past 19 years. His credits include a season with the Performing Arts Repertory Theatre in New York, summer stock, outdoor drama, television, and eight Shakespearean plays. Among his many roles are Bottom and Titus in two separate productions of A Midsummer Night's Dream, Falstaff in The Merry Wives of Windsor, and the Doctor in The Three Sisters. He has directed many productions, including Dark of the Moon, The Children's Hour, and Romeo and Juliet. He and Mr. Williams have also appeared in New York in the American Place Theatre's tribute to Tuna, Deep in the Heart, under the direction of Peter Minsteron and Carol Hill of Best Little Whorehouse fame. Mr. Sears has appeared on the David Letterman and Merv Griffin shows, and he recently received a Los Angeles Dramatists Award for his writing and performance of Greater Tuna. Mr. Sears helped establish the San Antonio Creative Art Center where he also taught. In 1990 the Center won the National Award for Most Outstanding Mental Health Center in the nation. The Center specializes in preventative mental health for young children from low income areas and uses the arts as the basis of its curriculum. Mr. Sears newest work, The Kansas Open (a play about older Americans), was a featured production at the 1988 Piacere/Spoleto Festival in Charleston, South Carolina. He has served as a judge and writer for The American College Festival and is a Character Acting Workshop instructor for The University of Texas at Austin. Mr. Sears spends the summer in the Yellowstone Country of Wyoming, performing in Bobby Bridges' epic musical on mountaineers, A Ballad of the West. He appeared as Owen Mearns with Fannie Flagg in The Forayers and then returned the following year to repeat her role of Betty Mack in the show. Mr. Sears is scheduled to appear in A Midsummer Night's Dream this coming May in San Antonio for a newly formed Shakespearean festival.

Joe has just completed a new one act play about young men growing up called Eddie Lee, Eddie Lee. It is scheduled to be performed in Jackson Hole, Wyoming in 1991 for the Jackson Arts Center.



# Monticello

The Home of Thomas Jefferson

P.O. Box 316

Charlottesville, Virginia 22902

DATE: 20 February 1990

## FAX TRANSMISSION

THOMAS JEFFERSON MEMORIAL FOUNDATION, INC.

*a Ref Bio -*

TO: Tammy, Research Office, The White House

FROM: Cinder Stanton, Director of Research, 804-295-1832

COMMENTS: I am sending four pages (including cover page) which help put the quotation in context. If you have any more questions, don't hesitate to let us know.

*Refers to Jefferson's Education Bill of the 1770's.*

*Quotation from letter to John Adams's on Oct. 28, 1813.*

THE  
*Adams-Jefferson*  
LETTERS

*The Complete Correspondence  
Between Thomas Jefferson  
and Abigail and John Adams*

\*

EDITED BY  
LESTER J. CAPPON

IN TWO VOLUMES

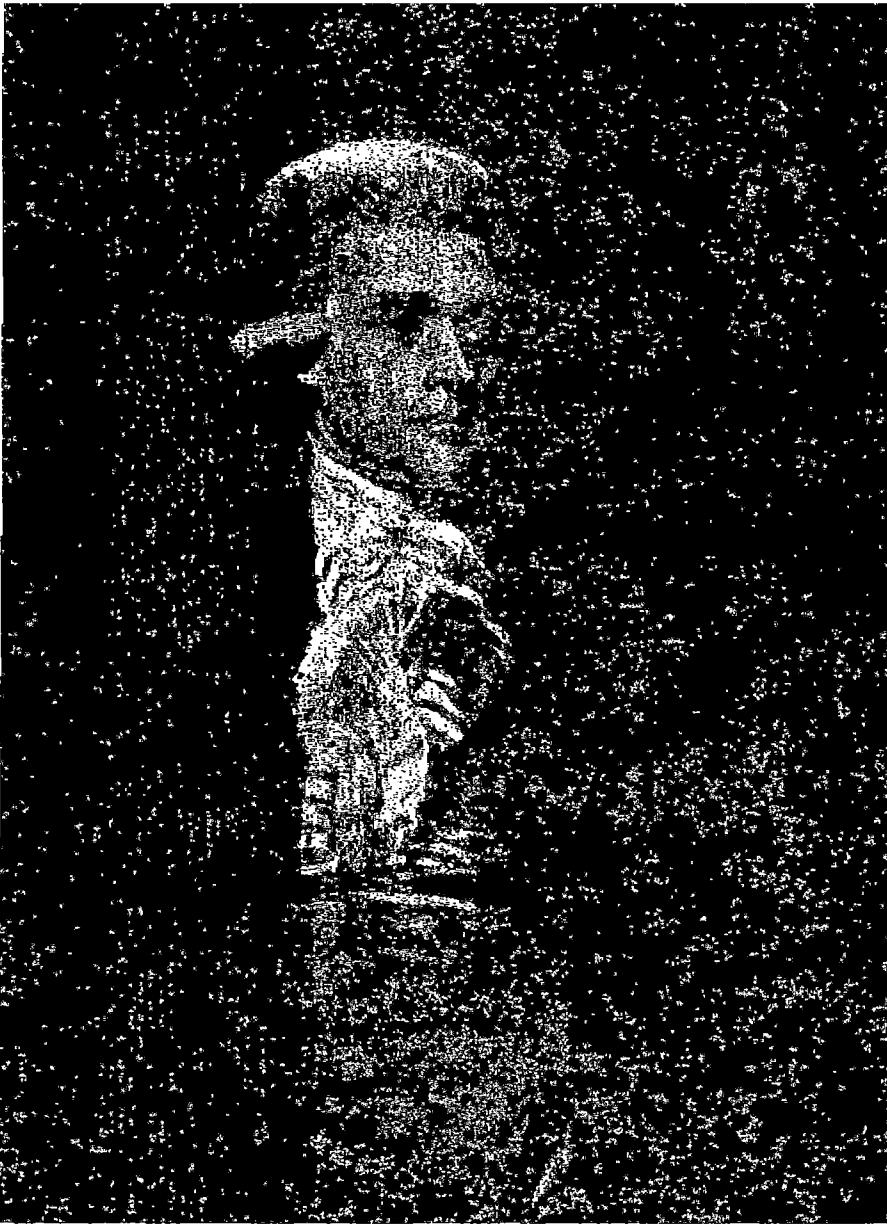
*Vol. II, 1812-1826*



PUBLISHED FOR

*The Institute of Early American History and Culture  
at Williamsburg, Virginia*

by The University of North Carolina Press • Chapel Hill



THOMAS JEFFERSON

Portrait by Mather Brown, painted in London, 1786  
(See p. vii)

good or evil, are transmissible in a certain degree from father to son. But I suspect that the equal rights of men will rise up against this privileged Solomon, and oblige us to continue acquiescence under the *Ἀπορροή τῶν γένεος ἀνδρῶν* ["the degeneration of the race of men"] which Theognis complains of, and to content ourselves with the accidental aristoi produced by the fortuitous concourse of breeders. For I agree with you that there is a natural aristocracy among men. The grounds of this are virtue and talents. Formerly bodily powers gave place among the aristoi. But since the invention of gunpowder has armed the weak as well as the strong with missile death, bodily strength, like beauty, good humor, politeness and other accomplishments, has become but an auxiliary ground of distinction. There is also an artificial aristocracy founded on wealth and birth, without either virtue or talents; for with these it would belong to the first class. The natural aristocracy I consider as the most precious gift of nature for the instruction, the trusts, and government of society. And indeed it would have been inconsistent in creation to have formed man for the social state, and not to have provided virtue and wisdom enough to manage the concerns of the society. May we not even say that that form of government is the best which provides the most effectually for a pure selection of these natural aristoi into the offices of government? The artificial aristocracy is a mischievous ingredient in government, and provision should be made to prevent it's ascendancy. On the question, What is the best provision, you and I differ; but we differ as rational friends, using the free exercise of our own reason, and mutually indulging it's errors. You think it best to put the Pseudo-aristoi into a separate chamber of legislation where they may be hindered from doing mischief by their coordinate branches, and where also they may be a protection to wealth against the Agrarian and plundering enterprises of the Majority of the people. I think that to give them power in order to prevent them from doing mischief, is arming them for it, and increasing instead of remedying the evil. For if the coordinate branches can arrest their action, so may they that of the coordinates. Mischief may be done negatively as well as positively. Of this a cabal in the Senate of the U. S. has furnished many proofs. Nor do I believe them necessary to protect the wealthy; because enough of these will find their way into every branch of the legislation to protect themselves. From 15. to 20. legislatures of our own, in action for 30. years past, have proved that no fears of an equalisation of property are to be apprehended from them.

I think the best remedy is exactly that provided by all our constitutions, to leave to the citizens the free election and separation of the aristoi from the pseudo-aristoi, of the wheat from the chaff. In general they will elect

the real good and wise. In some instances, wealth may corrupt, and birth blind them; but not in sufficient degree to endanger the society.<sup>76</sup>

It is probable that our difference of opinion may in some measure be produced by a difference of character in those among whom we live. From what I have seen of Massachusetts and Connecticut myself, and still more from what I have heard, and the character given of the former by yourself, [vol. 1. pa. 111.]<sup>77</sup> who know them so much better, there seems to be in those two states a traditionary reverence for certain families, which has rendered the offices of the government nearly hereditary in those families. I presume that from an early period of your history, members of these families happening to possess virtue and talents, have honestly exercised them for the good of the people, and by their services have endeared their names to them.

In coupling Connecticut with you, I mean it politically only, not morally. For having made the Bible the Common law of their land they seem to have modelled their morality on the story of Jacob and Laban. But altho' this hereditary succession to office with you may in some degree be founded in real family merit, yet in a much higher degree it has proceeded from your strict alliance of church and state. These families are canonised in the eyes of the people on the common principle 'you tickle me, and I will tickle you.' In Virginia we have nothing of this. Our clergy, before the revolution, having been secured against rivalry by fixed salaries, did not give themselves the trouble of acquiring influence over the people. Of wealth, there were great accumulations in particular families, handed down from generation to generation under the English law of entails. But the only object of ambition for the wealthy was a seat in the king's council. All their court then was paid to the crown and it's creatures; and they Philipised in all collisions between the king and people. Hence they were unpopular; and that unpopularity continues attached to their names. A Randolph, a Carter, or a Burwell must have great personal superiority over a common competitor to be elected by the people, even at this day.

At the first session of our legislature after the Declaration of Independence, we passed a law abolishing entails. And this was followed by one abolishing the privilege of Primogeniture, and dividing the lands of intestates equally among all their children, or other representatives. These laws, drawn by myself, laid the axe to the root of Pseudo-aristocracy. And had another which I prepared been adopted by the legislature, our work

76. The foregoing is TJ's most explicit statement concerning natural aristocracy. Cf. his "Autobiography," Ford, I, 49-56, 68-69.

77. TJ's note, referring to JA's *Defence*.

would have been compleat. It was a Bill for the more general diffusion of learning.<sup>78</sup> This proposed to divide every county into wards of 5, or 6, miles square, like your townships; to establish in each ward a free school for reading, writing and common arithmetic; to provide for the annual selection of the best subjects from these schools who might receive at the public expence a higher degree of education at a district school; and from these district schools to select a certain number of the most promising subjects to be compleated at an University, where all the useful sciences should be taught. Worth and genius would thus have been sought out from every condition of life, and compleatly prepared by education for defeating the competition of wealth and birth for public trusts.

My proposition had for a further object to impart to these wards those portions of self-government for which they are best qualified, by confiding to them the care of their poor, their roads, police, elections, the nomination of jurors, administration of justice in small cases, elementary exercises of militia, in short, to have made them little republics, with a Warden at the head of each, for all those concerns which, being under their eye, they would better manage than the larger republics of the county or state. A general call of ward-meetings by their Wardens on the same day thro' the state would at any time produce the genuine sense of the people on any required point, and would enable the state to act in mass, as your people have so often done, and with so much effect, by their town meetings. The law for religious freedom,<sup>79</sup> which made a part of this system, having put down the aristocracy of the clergy, and restored to the citizen the freedom of the mind, and those of entails and descents nurturing an equality of condition among them, this on Education would have raised the mass of the people to the high ground of moral respectability necessary to their own safety, and to orderly government; and would have compleated the great object of qualifying them to select the veritable aristoi, for the trusts of government, to the exclusion of the Pseudalists: and the same Theognis who has furnished the epigraphs of your two letters assures us that 'ουδεις ποτ, Κυρον αγαθοι πολιν ωλεσσαν ανδρες ["Curnis, good men have never harmed any city"].' Altho' this law has not yet been acted on but in a small and inefficient degree, it is still considered as before the legislature, with other bills of the revised code, not yet taken up, and I have great hope that some patriotic spirit will, at a favorable moment, call it up, and make it the key-stone of the arch of our government.

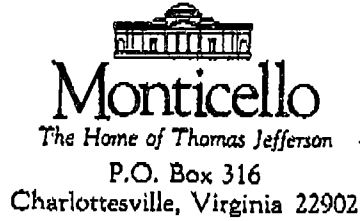
78. "A Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge," No. 79 in the "Catalogue of Bills Prepared by the Committee of Revisors," Boyd, II, 526-35 and n.

79. "AN ACT FOR ESTABLISHING RELIGIOUS FREEDOM, passed in the Assembly of Virginia in the beginning of the year 1786," in TJ, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, ed. by Peden (1955), 223-25.

With respect to Aristocracy, we should further consider that, before the establishment of the American states, nothing was known to History but the Man of the old world, crowded within limits either small or overcharged, and steeped in the vices which that situation generates. A government adapted to such men would be one thing; but a very different one that for the Man of these states. Here every one may have land to labor for himself if he chuses; or, preferring the exercise of any other industry, may exact for it such compensation as not only to afford a comfortable subsistence, but wherewith to provide for a cessation from labor in old age. Every one, by his property, or by his satisfactory situation, is interested in the support of law and order. And such men may safely and advantageously reserve to themselves a wholesome controul over their public affairs, and a degree of freedom, which in the hands of the Canaille of the cities of Europe, would be instantly perverted to the demolition and destruction of every thing public and private. The history of the last 25. years of France, and of the last 40. years in America, nay of it's last 200. years, proves the truth of both parts of this observation.

But even in Europe a change has sensibly taken place in the mind of Man. Science had liberated the ideas of those who read and reflect, and the American example had kindled feelings of right in the people. An insurrection has consequently begun, of science, talents and courage against rank and birth, which have fallen into contempt. It has failed in it's first effort, because the mobs of the cities, the instrument used for it's accomplishment, debased by ignorance, poverty and vice, could not be restrained to rational action. But the world will recover from the panic of this first catastrophe. Science is progressive, and talents and enterprize on the alert. Resort may be had to the people of the country, a more governable power from their principles and subordination; and rank, and birth, and tinsel-aristocracy will finally shrink into insignificance, even there. This however we have no right to meddle with. It suffices for us, if the moral and physical condition of our own citizens qualifies them to select the able and good for the direction of their government, with a recurrence of elections at such short periods as will enable them to displace an unfaithful servant before the mischief he meditates may be irremediable.

I have thus stated my opinion on a point on which we differ, not with a view to controversy, for we are both too old to change opinions which are the result of a long life of inquiry and reflection; but on the suggestion of a former letter of yours, that we ought not to die before we have explained ourselves to each other. We acted in perfect harmony thro' a long and perilous contest for our liberty and independance. A constitution has been acquired which, tho neither of us think perfect, yet both consider as competent to render our fellow-citizens the happiest and the securest



X

FAX TRANSMISSION

Date 21 Feb. 1990

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TO: Peggy Dooley, Speech Writing Office, White House  
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FROM: Cinder Stanton, Director of Research  
804-295-1832

Messages: I'm enclosing: the remainder of the letter  
to Adams; the first page of the Bill in question, with  
part of the headnote and all of the footnote; and two  
sources mentioned in the headnote.

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Thank you!!

The Latin versions of this passage by Buchanan and by Johnston,<sup>74</sup> are but mediocres. But the Greek of Dupont<sup>75</sup> is worthy of quotation.

Ουρανον αγκλινας κατεβη' ὑπο ποσει δ' ἔοισιν  
 Αχλυσ αμφι μελαινα χυθη και νυξ ερεβεννη.  
 Ριμφα ποτατο Χερουβφ οχευμενος, ωσπερ εφ' ἱππφ.  
 'Ιπποτο δε πτερυγεσσι πολυπλαγκτου ανεμοιο.

The best collection of these psalms is that of the Octagonian dissenters of Liverpool, in their printed Form of prayer; but they are not always the best versions. Indeed bad is the best of the English versions; not a ray of poetical genius having ever been employed on them. And how much depends on this may be seen by comparing Brady and Tate's XVth. psalm with Blacklock's *Justum et tenacem propositi virum* ["a man just and steadfast of purpose"] of Horace, quoted in Hume's history, Car. 2. ch. 65. A translation of David in this style, or in that of Pompei's Cleanthes, might give us some idea of the merit of the original. The character too of the poetry of these hymns is singular to us. Written in monostichs, each divided into strophe and antistrophe, the sentiment of the 1st. member responded with amplification or antithesis in the second.

On the subject of the Postscript of yours of Aug. 16. and of Mrs. Adams's letter, I am silent. I know the depth of the affliction it has caused, and can sympathise with it the more sensibly, inasmuch as there is no degree of affliction, produced by the loss of those dear to us, which experience has not taught me to estimate. I have ever found time and silence the only medicine, and these but assuage, they never can suppress, the deep-drawn sigh which recollection for ever brings up, until recollection and life are extinguished together. Ever affectionately yours

TH: JEFFERSON

P.S. Your's of Sep—just recieved

74. George Buchanan, ed., *Psalmorum Davidis paraphrasis poetica, nunc primum edita* (Paris, 1566); Arthur Johnston, *Paraphrasis poetica Psalmorum Davidis* (Aberdeen, 1637).

75. James Dupont, *Δαβιδης Ἑμμετρος, sive metaphrasis libri Psalmorum Graecis versibus contexta* (London, 1712).

Jefferson to Adams

Monticello Oct. 28. 13.

DEAR SIR

According to the reservation between us, of taking up one of the subjects of our correspondence at a time, I turn to your letters of Aug. 16. and Sep. 2.

The passage you quote from Theognis, I think has an Ethical, rather than a political object. The whole piece is a moral *exhortation*, παραίνεσις, and this passage particularly seems to be a reproof to man, who, while with his domestic animals he is curious to improve the race by employing always the finest male, pays no attention to the improvement of his own race, but intermarries with the vicious, the ugly, or the old, for considerations of wealth or ambition. It is in conformity with the principle adopted afterwards by the Pythagoreans, and expressed by Ocellus in another form. Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐκ τῶν ἀλλήλων ἀνθρώπων γενεσεως etc.—οὐχ ἡδονῆς ἐνεκα ἢ μείρι. Which, as literally as intelligibility will admit, may be thus translated. 'Concerning the interprocreation of men, how, and of whom it shall be, in a perfect manner, and according to the laws of modesty and sanctity, conjointly, this is what I think right. First to lay it down that we do not commix for the sake of pleasure, but of the procreation of children. For the powers, the organs and desires for coition have not been given by god to man for the sake of pleasure, but for the procreation of the race. For as it were incongruous for a mortal born to partake of divine life, the immortality of the race being taken away, god fulfilled the purpose by making the generations uninterrupted and continuous. This therefore we are especially to lay down as a principle, that coition is not for the sake of pleasure.' But Nature, not trusting to this moral and abstract motive, seems to have provided more securely for the perpetuation of the species by making it the effect of the oestrus implanted in the constitution of both sexes. And not only has the commerce of love been indulged on this unhallowed impulse, but made subservient also to wealth and ambition by marriages without regard to the beauty, the healthiness, the understanding, or virtue of the subject from which we are to breed. The selecting the best male for a Harem of well chosen females also, which Theognis seems to recommend from the example of our sheep and asses, would doubtless improve the human, as it does the brute animal, and produce a race of veritable ἀριστοι ["aristocrats"]. For experience proves that the moral and physical qualities of man, whether

on whom the sun has ever shone. If we do not think exactly alike as to it's imperfections, it matters little to our country which, after devoting to it long lives of disinterested labor, we have delivered over to our successors in life, who will be able to take care of it, and of themselves.

Of the pamphlet on aristocracy which has been sent to you, or who may be it's author, I have heard nothing but thro' your letter. If the person you suspect<sup>60</sup> it may be known from the quaint, mystical and hyperbolic ideas, involved in affected, new-fangled and pedantic terms, which stamp his writings. Whatever it be, I hope your quiet is not to be affected at this day by the rudeness of intemperance of scribblers; but that you may continue in tranquility to live and to rejoice in the prosperity of our country until it shall be your own wish to take your seat among the Aristoi who have gone before you. Ever and affectionately yours.

TH: JEFFERSON

P.S. Can you assist my memory on the enquiries of my letter of Aug. 22.?

*Adams to Jefferson*

Quincy November 12. 1813

DEAR SIR

As I owe you more for your Letters of Oct. 12. and 28 than I shall be able to pay, I shall begin with the P.S. to the last.

I am very sorry to say, that I cannot "assist your memory in the Enquiries of your letter of August 22d." I really know not who was the compositor of any one of the Petitions or Addresses you enumerate. Nay farther I am certain I never did know. I was so shallow a politician, that I was not aware of the importance of those compositions. They all appeared to me, in the circumstances of the Country like childrens play at marbles or push pin, or rather like misses in their teens emulating each other in their pearls, their bracelets their Diamond Pins and brussels lace.

In the Congress of 1774 there was not one member, except Patrick Henry, who appeared to me sensible of the Precipice or rather the Pinnacle on which he stood, and had candour and courage enough to acknowledge it. America is in total Ignorance, or under infinite deception concerning that Assembly. To draw the characters of them all would require a volume and would now be considered as a caricatura print. One third Tories, another Whigs and the rest mongrels.

<sup>80</sup>. John Taylor of Caroline.

There was a little Aristocracy, among Us, of Talents and Letters. Mr. Dickinson was primus inter pares; the Bell Weather; the leader of the Aristocratical flock. Billy, alias Governor Livingstone, and his Son in law Mr. Jay, were of this privileged order. The credit of most if not all those compositions was often if not generally given to one or the other of these choice Spirits. Mr. Dickenson however was not on any of the original Committees. He came not into Congress till Oct. 17. He was not appointed till the 15th by his Assembly. [*Journals of Congress, containing Their Proceedings*] Vol. 1. 30. Congress adjourned 27. Oct. though our correct Secretary has not recorded any final Adjournment or dissolution. Mr. Dickenson was in Congress but ten days. The business was all prepared arranged and even in a manner finished before his Arrival.

R. H. Lee was the Chairman of the Committee for preparing "the loyal and dutiful Address to his Majesty." Johnson and Henry were acute Spirits and understood the Controversy very well; though they had not the Advantages of Education like Lee and John Rutledge. The Subject had been near a month under discussion in Congress and most of the materials thrown out there. It underwent another deliberation in committee; after which they made the customary compliment to their Chairman, by requesting him to prepare and report a draught, which was done, and after examination, correction, amelioration or pejoration, as usual reported to Congress. Oct. 3. 4. and 5th were taken up in debating and deliberating on matters proper to be contained in the Address to his Majesty. Vol. 1. 22. October 21. The Address to the King was after debate recommitted and Mr. John Dickenson added to the Committee. The first draught was made and all the essential materials put together by Lee, it might be embellished and seasoned Afterward with some of Mr. Dickenson piety; but I know not that it was. Neat and handsome as the composition is, having never had any confidenc[e] in the Utility of it, I never have thought much about it since it was adopted. Indeed I never bestowed much Attention on any of those Addresses; which were all but repetitions of the same Things: the same facts and Arguments. Dress and ornament rather than Body, Soul or Substance. My thoughts and cares were nearly monopolized by the Theory of our Rights and Wrongs, by measures for the defence of the country; and the means of governing our Selves. Please to turn over [to see N. B. at end of letter].

I was in a great Error, no doubt, and am ashamed to confess it; for those things were necessary to give Popularity to Our cause both at home and abroad. And to shew my Stupidity in a stronger light the reputation of any one of those compositions, has been a more splendid distinction than any aristocratical Starr or garter, in the Escutcheon of every man who has enjoyed it. Very sorry that I cannot give you more Satisfactory infor-

THE PAPERS OF  
**Thomas Jefferson**

Volume 2 · 1777 to 18 June 1779  
Including the Revisal of the Laws, 1776-1786

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**PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY  
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS**

1950

**Crimes whose punishment extends to Life.**

- 1. High treason. Death by hanging. Forfeiture of lands & goods to the King.
- 2. Petty treason. Death by hanging. Dissection. Forfeiture of hand & goods to the King.
- 3. Murder:
  - 1. by poison. Death by poison. Forfeiture of one half as before.
  - 2. in duel. Death by hanging. Forfeiture of one half as before. Forfeiture of the challenger's hand & goods to the King.
  - 3. any other way. Death by hanging. Forfeiture of one half as before.
- 4. Manslaughter of a peer. Forfeiture of one year's labor.

**Crimes whose punishment goes to Limb.**

- 1. Rape. } Castration.
- 2. Sodomy. }
- 3. Maiming. } Retaliation.
- 4. Disfiguring. } Forfeiture of hand to the King.

**Crimes punishable by Labor &c.**

- 1. Manslaughter of a peer. Labor 14 years. Forfeiture of half as before.
- 2. Counterfeiting. Labor 7 years. Forfeiture whole to the King.
- 3. Arson. Labor 4 years.
- 4. Rape of a female. Retaliation & forfeiture.
- 5. Robbery. Labor 14 years.
- 6. Burglary. Retaliation & double.
- 7. Housebreaking. Labor 14 years.
- 8. Horse stealing. Retaliation.
- 9. Grand larceny. Labor 14 years. Retaliation.
- 10. Petty larceny. Labor 1 year. Retaliation.
- 11. Witchcraft &c. Dudding. 10 stripes.
- 12. Excusable homicide. Nothing.
- 13. Suicide. Nothing.

# The Revisal of the Laws 1776-1786

I. PLAN AGREED UPON BY THE COMMITTEE OF REVISORS AT FREDERICKSBURG [13 JANUARY 1777]

II. CATALOGUE OF BILLS PREPARED BY THE COMMITTEE OF REVISORS

III. BILLS REPORTED BY THE COMMITTEE OF REVISORS, 18 JUNE 1779

IV. APPENDIX

- 1. BILL DECLARING WHEN LAWS SHALL BE IN FORCE
- 2. JEFFERSON'S NOTES OF ENGLISH STATUTES
- 3. JEFFERSON'S NOTES OF ACTS OF ASSEMBLY ADOPTED OCTOBER 1777 AND MAY 1778
- 4. OUTLINE OF BILL FOR PROPORTIONING CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, &c.
- 5. MEMORANDUM BY JEFFERSON ON BILLS TO BE DRAFTED

### EDITORIAL NOTE

It is an extremely difficult task to bring into proper focus, to say nothing of fully encompassing, the far-reaching revision of the laws that Jefferson and other leading Virginians embarked upon in the autumn of 1776. This is chiefly because the revision of the laws itself never came into focus. It was a long-drawn-out movement, ending in something of an anti-climax, and never became embodied in a single enactment as in the case of earlier or later revisions in Virginia and in other states. However important for the whole future of society its Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom may have been, the revision as a whole has, for the most part, faded into obscurity against the background of ordinary legislation in the decade from 1776 to 1786, with an occasional landmark standing out in bold relief. There is no single identifiable entity that can be called the Revision of the Laws as there is, for example, in the so-called Chancellors' Revisal of 1785 or the revision approved in 1792.

This resulted partly from its purpose, which was not that of forming a collection of laws then in force but of reforming the entire structure of law so as to strip it of all vestiges of its earlier monarchical aspects and to bring it into conformity with republican principles. If Jefferson and his colleagues had been content merely to collect the body of law then in force, no doubt the General Assembly would have approved in 1779 what it actually did approve in 1792. But this would have been executing the task of compilers, not that of legislators, and Jefferson, Pendleton, Wythe, Mason, and others apparently never entertained the idea of making a mere collection of the laws. Certainly Jefferson never did. The failure of the Virginia Convention of 1776 to adopt his proposed Constitution undoubtedly emphasized the need he felt for reform of the laws. For his Constitution had included some provisions that he later incorporated in legislative bills that he thought would form "a system by which every fibre would be eradicated of antient or future aristocracy; and a foundation laid for a government truly republican"

(Autobiography, Ford, I, 68). But he no doubt would have proposed a general overhauling of the legal system as an urgent necessity even if his Constitution had been wholly adopted, for he understood the distinction between fundamental and statutory law and knew that the former could not and should not embrace the detailed provisions of the latter. Certainly Jefferson's historic decision in the early days of October 1776 to remain in Virginia rather than accept the mission to France was largely determined by his zeal to remake the legal structure of the commonwealth and to remold it both in form and substance so as to coincide more nearly with the leading principles of the Revolution. "I knew," he wrote in his Autobiography, "that our legislation under the regal government had many very vicious points which urgently required reformation, and I thought I could be of more use in forwarding that work. I therefore retired from my seat in Congress on the 2d. of Sep., resigned it, and took my place in the legislature of my state" (same, p. 48).

Yet the failure of the revision of the laws to come into focus and to be adequately appraised has resulted from the method as well as the intent of its leading architect. Jefferson, who was unquestionably the principal advocate of the idea of reform, was possessed of a sense of urgency that would not permit a single approach toward the goal. As an active legislator, enmeshed from 1776 to 1779 in the details of day-to-day law-making and its inevitable turmoil of political maneuverings, Jefferson was obliged to be alert to the possibility that any legislative calendar might bring forth bills proposed by adherents of the old order. This ever-present tendency to preserve the status quo or to project the nature of colonial institutions into the future required constant vigilance on his part. But important as this was in the time and energies it consumed, the daily hacking away at laws advocated by conservatives was not reform; it was merely the negative strategy of holding ground that had already been gained. Jefferson's achievement as legislator in the years 1776 to 1779 was more positive and proceeded on a two-fold method.

The first was a singlehanded effort to hasten the new era of republicanism by the drafting of legislative bills on particular subjects—courts of justice, entails, the established church, importation of slaves, naturalization, &c. On these and many other subjects it is safe to say that Jefferson was, as author or chief advocate, responsible for the introduction and adoption of more bills than any other single member of the General Assembly in the years 1776 to 1779. In the variety of subjects touched upon, in the quantity of bills drafted, and in the unity of purpose behind all of this legislative activity, his accomplishment in this period was astonishing. He was in himself a veritable legislative drafting bureau. Often his bills were introduced by others; equally as often he seems to have had himself appointed to committees in order that he might give effect to some of his own legislation by inserting it in or attaching it to the bills of others. But, however his bills were introduced or however important some of them were, Jefferson realized that these were "the details of reformation only . . . points of legislation

prominent in character and principle, urgent, and indicative of the strength of the general pulse of reformation" (same, I, 57). Despite the fact that this piecemeal approach to reform resulted in legislative achievements greater than he recalled and more extensive than biographers have recognized, Jefferson realized that a broader, more systematic revision of the laws was necessary.

His second approach, therefore, sprang from the conviction, as he later expressed it, "that our whole code must be reviewed, adapted to our republican form of government, and, now that we had no negatives of Councils, Governors, and Kings to restrain us from doing right, it should be corrected, in all its parts, with a single eye to reason, and the good of those for whose government it was framed. Early therefore in the session of 76, to which I returned, I moved and presented a bill for the revision of the laws" (same, I, 57-8). Under the broad terms of this Act a Committee of Revisors carried on the work of systematic reform, submitting its report on 18 June 1779. This Report of the Committee of Revisors comes nearer than anything else to representing a concrete revisal of the laws executed under Jefferson's leadership. Yet many bills included in this Report were, for one reason or another, deemed to be of such urgency or importance that they were lifted from it, introduced, and in some instances enacted in advance of the submission of the full Report. Others were singled out for similar action in the years following. Despite this selective treatment of its bills, the proposed revision as a whole was brought forward for consideration at the October 1785 session. At that time about a third of the bills were enacted, though all that were adopted were suspended in operation until 1 January 1787 so that the remainder of the Report could be considered at the next session and, if approved, the entire revisal put into effect as a unit. Only a few of the bills that were held over for the October 1786 session were adopted and the revisal was never put into effect as a unit. In 1785 Jefferson was in France and the sponsorship of the reform rested upon James Madison. Some of the radical measures proposed in the Report met with strong opposition. Then a new committee was set to work, not with the object of reforming but of collecting and publishing the laws in one source. By 1786, in legislation as in other fields of political endeavor, "the general pulse of reformation" was far weaker than it had been in 1776.

Because of these facts, the landmarks of the revision that have been emphasized are chiefly those that Jefferson himself remembered and singled out for emphasis. He left several appraisals of the revision. The most nearly contemporary account—that in *Notes on Virginia*—contains the longest list of "the most remarkable alterations" that had been proposed by the Committee of Revisors (same, III, 242-55). It is also a fairly accurate index of what Jefferson considered his most important contributions to the work of revision, since most of the bills listed were those that he drew. In 1785, before the Report of the Committee of Revisors was even brought up, Jefferson wrote to G. K. van Hogendorp a very depreciatory comment on the revisal: "It contains not more than three or four laws which could strike the attention of a foreigner. . . ."

See enclosure

The only merit of this work is that it may remove from our book shelves about twenty folio volumes of statutes, retaining all the parts of them which either their own merit or the established system of laws required" (letter dated 13 October 1785). But by far the most dramatic and most famous comment was that made by Jefferson in his *Autobiography*. Here he discussed the bills that he introduced separately as well as those that formed his part of the revision, an account which concluded with this sweeping estimate of purpose and accomplishment: "I considered 4 of these bills, passed or reported, as forming a system by which every fibre would be eradicated of ancient or future aristocracy; and a foundation laid for a government truly republican. The repeal of the laws of entail would prevent the accumulation and perpetuation of wealth in select families, and preserve the soil of the country from being daily more and more absorbed in Mortmain. The abolition of primogeniture, and equal partition of inheritances removed the feudal and unnatural distinctions which made one member of every family rich; and all the rest poor, substituting equal partition, the best of all Agrarian laws. The restoration of the rights of conscience relieved the people from taxation for the support of a religion not theirs; for the establishment was truly of the religion of the rich, the dissenting sects being entirely composed of the less wealthy people; and these, by the bill for a general education, would be qualified to understand their rights, to maintain them, and to exercise with intelligence their parts in self-government: and all this would be effected without the violation of a single natural right of any one individual citizen" (Ford, I, 68-9).

This dramatic summation by the chief architect of the revision undoubtedly played its part in throwing the foothills into deeper shadow once the peaks had been singled out. But the total work of revision extending over a full decade would have been obscured even without such an emphasis upon some of its parts. For there were other factors involved in addition to those of purpose, method, and timing indicated above. First of all, there is apparently no manuscript extant for the entire Report of the Committee of Revisors. Apparently no complete manuscript of the Report was submitted to the General Assembly even when Jefferson and Wythe, with Pendleton's concurrence, addressed their letter to Benjamin Harrison on 18 June 1779, for that letter, after explaining that "Some of these bills have been presented to the House of Delegates in the course of the present session two or three of them delivered to members of that House at their request to be presented," explicitly stated that "*the rest are in the two bundles which accompany this*" (italics supplied). Second, the *Report of the Committee of Revisors*, a printed text of ninety-six pages issued under authority of the General Assembly, is the only approximately complete text of the work of the Committee of Revisors existing in any form. Even this cannot be regarded as a complete text of the bills prepared by the Committee. For it lacks the text of Bill No. 15, which must have been among "the two bundles" submitted in 1779 but which, being a war-time measure, had served its purpose so that by 1784 there was no need to print it. Also, the Committee originally prepared at least 128 bills, but during the first week of June 1779 and undoubtedly while prepar-

ing "the two bundles" for transmittal, TJ struck two from the list; these were bills "for establishing a loan office" and "for regulating the inspection of tobacco" (see Document II in this series, notes 6 and 12). Furthermore, the *Report of the Committee of Revisors* is, except for specialists, a rare and inaccessible text of the most interesting and significant legal reforms attempted during the Revolutionary era. No complete publication or reproduction of the bills included in it has been made available heretofore. Finally, even a full and correct reprinting of this pamphlet would be very far from presenting a full account of the reform of the law attempted by Jefferson and his colleagues. To represent the scope of the revision fully it would be necessary to trace at least three difficult and tedious stages: (1) the law as it stood before the Committee of Revisors began work; (2) the alterations that the Committee proposed; and (3) the extent to which these alterations were adopted by the General Assembly. Even in so detailed a work as the present, such an analysis, in documentary form, would not be feasible and probably not desirable. That kind of appraisal must await investigation and evaluation by the legal historian.

Meanwhile, for the purposes of this work it has been deemed essential to present at least the full texts of all bills drafted by the Committee of Revisors, so far as texts can be found. This has been done in the following pages. In many cases a bill as proposed by the Committee has been compared with the law which it reenacted or altered; in many other cases—some of them of the highest importance—this has not been possible because no prototype existed, as, for example, in the Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom or the Bill for Proportioning Crimes and Punishments. In all cases, however, the extent to which the General Assembly accepted or rejected the terms of the bills proposed by the Committee has been noted through a comparison of the text of the bill as proposed with that of the act as adopted.

This has never been done before, though in a few notable instances the difference between what was proposed and what was accepted has been commented upon. However, even in respect to the most famous of all bills in the Report—that concerning religious freedom—the exact nature of the differences has not been indicated and has possibly been misunderstood (see Hening, XII, 84, where the opinion is given that the "variations . . . render the style less elegant, though the sense is not affected"; but see Malone, *Jefferson*, I, 279, for a more correct opinion). A comparison of texts of this Bill also brings out the surprising fact that the text most widely accepted by the general public and by scholars as the Act for Establishing Religious Freedom is neither the text of the Bill as drafted nor of the Act as adopted, but a variant of the two which, for some unknown reason, Jefferson made in 1786 and published under a title that induced subsequent generations to accept it as the text of the Act as adopted. This timeless declaration of intellectual freedom is here presented (either through a full text, a facsimile reproduction, or textual annotation) in the following forms: (1) as originally printed in 1779 and distributed "for the consideration of the people"; (2) as printed in the *Report of the Committee of Re-*

being given by the superintendant, shall be no further restrained by virtue of this act. A person authorised to see the quarantine performed, or a watchman upon any vessel, place, or goods, under quarantine, deserting his duty or willingly permitting a person's vessel or goods to depart, or be conveyed away, from the place, where the quarantine ought to be performed, without a lawful license, or a person, impowered to give a certificate of the performance of quarantine, knowingly giving a false certificate, shall be amerced.<sup>1</sup> The forfeitures inflicted by this act shall be to the use of the commonwealth, and shall be recovered, by action of debt, in which actions the defendants shall be ruled to give special bail.<sup>4</sup>

*Report*, p. 52-3. MS (VIU); clerk's copy. Text of Act as adopted is in Henning, XI, 329-31.

Earlier Acts dealing with the quarantine of vessels coming into Virginia were passed in 1722, 1766, and 1772 (Henning, IV, 99-108; VIII, 280-1, 367-8). Bill No. 78 of the revival was passed in 1783 as a separate Act; it was ordered to be brought in on 20 Nov. 1783, was presented 24 Nov., amended by the House on 3 Dec., and passed the next day; the Senate amended it 13 Dec., which amendments were agreed to by House 15 Dec. (JHD, Oct. 1783, 1828 edn., p. 26, 31, 32, 44, 45, 59, 63). The Act as adopted and the Bill as proposed by the Committee of Revisors are the same except for the addition of a brief preamble in the Act and the other differences indicated below. Although it had already been enacted into law, the

Bill was again brought up on 31 Oct. 1785 by Madison, but was postponed to the next session; it was presented at the Oct. 1786 session, but no further action was taken on it (same, Oct. 1785, p. 12-15, 92; same, Oct. 1786, p. 16-17).

<sup>1</sup> The Act adds: "the sum of five hundred pounds."

<sup>2</sup> The Act adds: "the sum of one thousand pounds."

<sup>3</sup> The Act adds: "the sum of one hundred pounds."

<sup>4</sup> The Act has an additional clause authorizing the governor in council to direct the auditors to issue warrants on the treasurer for such sums as may be necessary "for the support of the persons performing quarantine and those appointed to see it performed," to be repaid by the master or owner of the vessel at the end of quarantine.

natural powers to defeat its purposes; And whereas it is generally true that that people will be happiest whose laws are best, and are best administered, and that laws will be wisely formed, and honestly administered, in proportion as those who form and administer them are wise and honest; whence it becomes expedient for promoting the publick happiness that those persons, whom nature hath endowed with genius and virtue, should be rendered by liberal education worthy to receive, and able to guard the sacred deposit of the rights and liberties of their fellow citizens, and that they should be called to that charge without regard to wealth, birth or other accidental condition or circumstance; but the indigence of the greater number disabling them from so educating, at their own expence, those of their children whom nature hath fitly formed and disposed to become useful instruments for the public, it is better that such should be sought for and educated at the common expence of all, than that the happiness of all should be confided to the weak or wicked:

Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly, that in every county within this commonwealth, there shall be chosen annually, by the electors qualified to vote for Delegates, three of the most honest and able men of their county, to be called the Aldermen of the county; and that the election of the said Aldermen shall be held at the same time and place, before the same persons, and notified and conducted in the same manner as by law is directed for the annual election of Delegates for the county.

The person before whom such election is holden shall certify to the court of the said county the names of the Aldermen chosen, in order that the same may be entered of record, and shall give notice of their election to the said Aldermen within a fortnight after such election.

The said Aldermen on the first Monday in October, if it be fair, and if not, then on the next fair day, excluding Sunday, shall meet at the court-house of their county, and proceed to divide their said county into hundreds, bounding the same by water courses, mountains, or limits, to be run and marked, if they think necessary, by the county surveyor, and at the county expence, regulating the size of the said hundreds, according to the best of their discretion, so as that they may contain a convenient number of children to make up a school, and be of such convenient size that all the children within each hundred may daily attend the school to be established therein, distinguishing each hundred by a particular name; which division, with the names of the several hundreds, shall be returned to the

79. A Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge

Whereas it appeareth that however certain forms of government are better calculated than others to protect individuals in the free exercise of their natural rights, and are at the same time themselves better guarded against degeneracy, yet experience hath shewn, that even under the best forms, those entrusted with power have, in time, and by slow operations, perverted it into tyranny; and it is believed that the most effectual means of preventing this would be, to illuminate, as far as practicable, the minds of the people at large, and more especially to give them knowledge of those facts, which history exhibiteth, that, possessed thereby of the experience of other ages and countries, they may be enabled to know ambition under all its shapes, and prompt to exert their

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Report, p. 53-5. Surprisingly, no MS copy of this famous Bill has been found and no memoranda or scraps of notes such as TJ left respecting other Bills.

The Acts pertaining to the College of William and Mary fell within Pendleton's share of the revision, but, as TJ explained in his Autobiography, "We thought that . . . a systematical plan of general education should be proposed, and I was requested to undertake it. I accordingly prepared three Bills for the Revisal, proposing three distinct grades of education, reaching all classes. 1. Elementary schools for all children generally, rich and poor. 2. Colleges for a middle degree of instruction, calculated for the common purposes of life, and such as would be desirable for all who were in easy circumstances. And 3d. an ultimate grade for teaching the sciences generally, and in their highest degree" (Ford, I, 66). Within a decade after the work of the Committee of Revisors was begun, TJ regarded the Bill for the More-General Diffusion of Knowledge as the most important one in the Report (TJ to George Wythe, 13 Aug. 1786). The exalted declaration of purpose in the preamble remains one of the classic statements of the responsibility of the state in matters of education. But what was new and distinctively Jeffersonian in the Bill was not its advocacy of public education, for in this respect it in fact envisaged a combined system of public and private education; and, indeed, public education was already in practice and had been for some generations in the systems of common schools of New England. But what was new in the Bill and what stamped its author as a constructive statesman of far-seeing vision was the object of seeking out men of genius and virtue and of rendering them "by liberal education worthy to receive, and able to guard the sacred deposit of the rights and liberties of their fellow citizens." This implied the establishment of a ruling elite that would promote public happiness by wisely forming and honestly administering the laws; but, though this never became and possibly could not become an explicit object of any democratic society, the important thing about TJ's Bill was that those "whom nature hath endowed with genius and virtue . . . should be called to that charge without regard to wealth, birth or other accidental condition or circumstance." The

Bill recognized natural gradations and disparities among men; it saw nothing dangerous or inimical to the liberties of the people in accepting and making use of such a natural aristocracy of virtue and talent; and its unique and revolutionary feature, never yet put into practice by any people, was that, in order to permit such a natural aristocracy to flourish freely, it would remove all economic, social, or other barriers that would interfere with nature's distribution of genius or virtue. (See TJ's account of this Bill in *Notes on Virginia*, Ford, III, 251-5; see also R. J. Honeywell, *Educational Work of Thomas Jefferson*, Cambridge, Mass., 1931.) A highly interesting contemporary comment on the Bill is that by William Wirt: "Among other wise and highly patriotic bills which are proposed, there is one for the more general diffusion of knowledge. After a preamble, in which the importance of the subject to the republic is most ably and eloquently announced, the bill proposes a simple and beautiful scheme, whereby science (like justice under the institutions of our Alfred) would have been 'carried to every man's door.' Genius, instead of having to break its way through the thick opposing clouds of native obscurity, indigence and ignorance, was to be sought for through every family in the commonwealth; the sacred spark, wherever it was detected, was to be tenderly cherished, fed and fanned into a flame; its innate properties and tendencies were to be developed and examined, and then cautiously and judiciously invested with all the auxiliary energy and radiance of which its character was susceptible. What a plan was here to give stability and solid glory to the republic! If you ask me why it has never been adopted, I answer, that as a foreigner, I can perceive no possible reason for it, except that the comprehensive views and generous patriotism which produced the bill, have not prevailed throughout the country, nor presided in the body on whose vote the adoption of the bill depended. I have new reason to remark it, almost every day, that there is throughout Virginia, a most deplorable destitution of public spirit, of the noble pride and love of country. Unless the body of the people can be awakened from this fatal apathy; unless their thoughts and their feelings can be urged beyond the narrow confines of their own private affairs; unless they can be

strongly inspired with the public zeal, and the *amor patriae* of the ancient republics, the national embellishment, and the national grandeur of this opulent state, must be reserved for very distant ages" (William Wirt, *Letters of a British Spy*, 10th edn., N.Y., 1832, p. 231-2; originally published in 1803).

TJ apparently finished the Bill late in the autumn of 1778, for on 18 Dec. 1778 he wrote to Pendleton about it (his letter is missing, but see Pendleton's reply under date of 11 May 1779). On 15 Dec. 1778 leave was given by the House for the presentation of a Bill "for the more general diffusion of knowledge," and Richard Parker and George Mason were ordered to prepare it; the Bill was presented by Parker on the next day, whereupon the House "Ordered, That the public printer do forthwith print and forward four copies of the said act to each county within this Commonwealth" (JHD, Oct. 1778, 1827 edn., p. 117, 120). It is very doubtful whether this order to print the Bill was actually executed; if it was, no copy of it has been found (see Edmund Pendleton to TJ, 11 May 1779 and notes thereon). The Bill was again presented on 12 June 1780, but no further action was taken until, on 31 Oct. 1785, Madison brought it up along with other bills of the Report of the Committee of Revisors. It was considered by the House

6 Dec., was amended 20 Dec., and on 21 Dec. was actually passed by the House under a new title, "An act, directing the mode of appointing aldermen." But, on being referred to the Senate, the Bill died (JHD, May 1780, 1827 edn., p. 14, 44; same, Oct. 1785, 1828 edn., p. 12-15, 74-5, 100, 101). Madison reported a year later, when TJ's Bill was again considered, that the system was carefully considered but not adopted because of the cost involved (Madison to TJ, 4 Dec. 1786; see also Madison to TJ, 22 Jan. 1786).

Madison did not bring in Bill No. 79 with the others reported on 1 Nov. 1786 but it was brought up two weeks later, and, as Madison reported to TJ, it "went through two readings by a small majority and was not pushed to a third one" (Madison to TJ, 15 Feb. 1787; JHD, Oct. 1786, 1828 edn., p. 44). The plan for establishing public schools was not carried to completion until 1796 when the Assembly passed an "Act to Establish Public Schools" (Shepherd, II, 3-5) which retained some of the phraseology of TJ's Bill, especially that providing for the election of aldermen. However, the 1796 Act provided only for primary schools, and the determination of the expediency of establishing such schools was left entirely to the aldermen of each county, borough, or corporation.

### 80. A Bill for Amending the Constitution of the College of William and Mary, and Substituting More Certain Revenues for Its Support

Whereas a scheme for cultivating and disseminating useful knowledge in this country, which had been proposed by some of its liberal minded inhabitants, before the year 1690 of the Christian epocha, was approved, adopted, and cherished, by the General Assembly, upon whose petition King William and Queen Mary of England, to the crown whereof the people here at that time acknowledged themselves, as a colony, to be subject, by their charter, bearing date the seventh day of February, in the fourth year of their reign, gave license, in due form, to Francis Nicholson, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor of the colony, and seventeen other trustees, particularly named, to found a place of universal study, or perpetual college, in such part of the country as the General Assembly

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only passed

TJ to George Wythe, 13 Aug 1786

13 AUGUST 1786

much matter in as few words as possible. The word omitted will be supplied by every reader.

The European papers have announced that the assembly of Virginia were occupied on the revisal of their Code of laws. This, with some other similar intelligence, has contributed much to convince the people of Europe, that what the English papers are constantly publishing of our anarchy, is false; as they are sensible that such a work is that of a people only who are in perfect tranquillity. Our act for freedom of religion is extremely applauded. The Ambassadors and ministers of the several nations of Europe resident at this court have asked of me copies of it to send to their sovereigns, and it is inserted at full length in several books now in the press; among others, in the new Encyclopedie. I think it will produce considerable good even in these countries where ignorance, superstition, poverty and oppression of body and mind in every form, are so firmly settled on the mass of the people, that their redemption from them can never be hoped. If the almighty had begotten a thousand sons, instead of one, they would not have sufficed for this task. If all the sovereigns of Europe were to set themselves to work to emancipate the minds of their subjects from their present ignorance and prejudices, and that as zealously as they now endeavor the contrary, a thousand years would not place them on that high ground on which our common people are now setting out. Ours could not have been so fairly put into the hands of their own common sense, had they not been separated from their parent stock and been kept from contamination, either from them, or the other people of the old world, by the intervention of so wide an ocean. To know the worth of this, one must see the want of it here. I think by far the most important bill in our whole code is that for the diffusion of knowlege among the people. No other sure foundation can be devised for the preservation of freedom, and happiness. If any body thinks that kings, nobles, or priests are good conservators of the public happiness,<sup>2</sup> send them here. It is the best school in the universe to cure them of that folly. They will see here with their own eyes that these descriptions of men are an abandoned confederacy against the happiness of the mass of people. The omnipotence of their effect cannot be better proved than in this country particularly, where notwithstanding the finest soil upon earth, the finest climate under heaven, and a people of the most benevolent, the most gay, and amiable character of which the human form is susceptible, where such a people I say, surrounded by so many blessings from nature, are yet loaded with misery by

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kings, nobles and priests, and by them alone. Preach, my dear Sir, a crusade against ignorance; establish and improve the law for educating the common people. Let our countrymen know that the people alone can protect us against these evils, and that the tax which will be paid for this purpose is not more than the thousandth part of what will be paid to kings, priests and nobles who will rise up among us if we leave the people in ignorance.—The people of England, I think, are less oppressed than here. But it needs but half an eye to see, when among them, that the foundation is laid in their dispositions, for the establishment of a despotism. Nobility, wealth, and pomp are the objects of their adoration. They are by no means the free-minded people we suppose them in America. Their learned men too are few in number, and are less learned and infinitely less emancipated from prejudice than those of this country. An event too seems to be prospering, in the order of things, which will probably decide the fate of that country. It is no longer doubtful that the harbour of Cherbourg will be completed, that it will be a most excellent one, and capacious enough to hold the whole navy of France. Nothing has ever been wanting to enable this country to invade that, but a naval force conveniently stationed to protect the transports. This change of situation, must oblige the English to keep up a great standing army, and there is no king, who, with a sufficient force, is not always ready to make himself absolute.—My paper warns me it is time to recommend myself to the friendly recollection of Mrs. Wythe, of Colo. Taliaferro and his family and particularly of Mr. R. T. and to assure you of the affectionate esteem with which I am Dear Sir your friend & servt.,

TH: JEFFERSON

PrC (DLC). Enclosure: Tr of Giovanni Fabbroni to TJ, 20 July 1786.

Mr. R. T.: Richard Taliaferro. I WILL HAVE THE COPPER PLATE IMMEDIATELY ENGRAVED: On 25 Oct. 1786 Short wrote to William Nelson: "This will be delivered to you by Major Martin of Williamsburg. He has been in Paris a few days and leaves it immediately to return to America by the way of London. Mr. Jefferson sends by him also the Arms of the Family of Tagliaferro as received from Italy" (DLC: Short Papers; see also TJ to Short, 7 Apr. 1787; TJ to Wythe, 16 Sep. 1787).

The original copperplate of the Taliaferro arms is owned by Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., and is in the Wythe House, Williamsburg.

<sup>1</sup> Thus in MS; TJ followed Wythe's use of the word literally, both as to the erroneous spelling and as to the form of the first sigma; see Wythe to TJ, 10 Jan. and 10 Feb. 1786.

<sup>2</sup> The preceding seven words were interlined in substitution for: "could give any aid towards their preservation," deleted.

Pardon and privilege of clergy are proposed to be abolished; but if the verdict be against the defendant, the court in their discretion, may allow a new trial. No attainder to cause a corruption of blood,<sup>19</sup> or forfeiture of dower. Slaves guilty of offences punishable in others by labour, to be transported to Africa, or elsewhere, as the circumstances of the time admit, there to be continued in slavery. A rigorous regimen proposed for those condemned to labour.)

Another object of the revisal is, to diffuse knowledge more generally through the mass of the people.<sup>20</sup> This bill proposes to lay off every county into small districts of five or six miles square, called hundreds, and in each of them to establish a school for teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic. The tutor to be supported by the hundred, and every person in it entitled to send their children three years gratis, and as much longer as they please, paying for it. These schools to be under a visitor, who is annually to chuse the boy, of best genius in the school, of those whose parents are too poor to give them further education, and to send him forward to one of the grammar schools, of which twenty are proposed to be erected in different parts of the country, for teaching Greek, Latin, geography, and the higher branches of numerical arithmetic. Of the boys thus sent in any one year, trial is to be made at the grammar schools one or two years, and the best genius of the whole selected, and continued six years, and the residue dismissed. By this means twenty of the best geniusses will be raked from the rubbish annually, and be instructed, at the public expence, so far as the grammar schools go. At the end of six years instruction, one half are to be discontinued (from among whom the grammar schools will probably be supplied with future masters); and the other half, who are to be chosen for the superiority of their parts and disposition, are to be sent and continued three years in the study of such sciences as they shall chuse, at William and Mary college, the plan of which is proposed to be enlarged, as will be hereafter explained, and extended to all the useful sciences. The ultimate result of the whole scheme of education would be the teaching all children of the state reading, writing, and common arithmetic: turning out ten annually of superior genius, well taught in Greek, Latin, geography, and the higher branches of arithmetic: turning out ten others annually, of still superior parts, who, to those

branches of learning, shall have added such of the sciences as their genius shall have led them to: the furnishing to the wealthier part of the people convenient schools, at which their children may be educated, at their own expence.—The general objects of this law are to provide an education adapted to the years, to the capacity, and the condition of every one, and directed to their freedom and happiness. Specific details were not proper for the law. These must be the business of the visitors entrusted with its execution. The first stage of this education being the schools of the hundreds, wherein the great mass of the people will receive their instruction, the principal foundations of future order will be laid here. Instead therefore of putting the Bible and Testament into the hands of the children, at an age when their judgments are not sufficiently matured for religious enquiries, their memories may here be stored with the most useful facts from Grecian, Roman, European and American history. The first elements of morality too may be instilled into their minds; such as, when further developed as their judgments advance in strength, may teach them how to work out their own greatest happiness, by shewing them that it does not depend on the condition of life in which chance has placed them, but is always the result of a good conscience, good health, occupation, and freedom in all just pursuits.—Those whom either the wealth of their parents or the adoption of the state shall destine to higher degrees of learning, will go on to the grammar schools, which constitute the next stage, there to be instructed in the languages. The learning Greek and Latin, I am told, is going into disuse in Europe. I know not what their manners and occupations may call for: but it would be very ill-judged in us to follow their example in this instance. There is a certain period of life, say from eight to fifteen or sixteen years of age, when the mind, like the body, is not yet firm enough for laborious and close operations. If applied to such, it falls an early victim to premature exertion; exhibiting indeed at first, in these young and tender subjects, the flattering appearance of their being men while they are yet children, but ending in reducing them to be children when they should be men. The memory is then most susceptible and tenacious of impressions; and the learning of languages being chiefly a work of memory, it seems precisely fitted to the powers of this period, which is long enough too for acquiring

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the most useful languages antient and modern. I do not pretend that language is science. It is only an instrument for the attainment of science. But that time is not lost which is employed in providing tools for future operation: more especially as in this case the books put into the hands of the youth for this purpose may be such as will at the same time impress their minds with useful facts and good principles. If this period be suffered to pass in idleness, the mind becomes lethargic and impotent, as would the body it inhabits if unexercised during the same time. The sympathy between body and mind during their rise, progress and decline, is too strict and obvious to endanger our being misled while we reason from the one to the other.—As soon as they are of sufficient age, it is supposed they will be sent on from the grammar schools to the university, which constitutes our third and last stage, there to study those sciences which may be adapted to their views.—By that part of our plan which prescribes the selection of the youths of genius from among the classes of the poor, we hope to avail the state of those talents which nature has sown as liberally among the poor as the rich, but which perish without use, if not sought for and cultivated.—But of all the views of this law none is more important, none more legitimate, than that of rendering the people the safe, as they are the ultimate, guardians of their own liberty. For this purpose the reading in the first stage, where *they* will receive their whole education, is proposed, as has been said, to be chiefly historical. History by apprising them of the past will enable them to judge of the future; it will avail them of the experience of other times and other nations; it will qualify them as judges of the actions and designs of men; it will enable them to know ambition under every disguise it may assume; and knowing it, to defeat its views. In every government on earth is some trace of human weakness, some germ of corruption and degeneracy, which cunning will discover, and wickedness insensibly open, cultivate, and improve. Every government degenerates when trusted to the rulers of the people alone. The people themselves therefore are its only safe depositories. And to render even them safe their minds must be improved to a certain degree. This indeed is not all that is necessary, though it be essentially necessary. An amendment of our constitution must here come in aid of the public education. The influence over government must be shared among all

the people. If every individual which composes their mass participates of the ultimate authority, the government will be safe; because the corrupting the whole mass will exceed any private resources of wealth: and public ones cannot be provided but by levies on the people. In this case every man would have to pay his own price. The government of Great-Britain has been corrupted, because but one man in ten has a right to vote for members of parliament. The sellers of the government therefore get nine-tenths of their price clear. It has been thought that corruption is restrained by confining the right of suffrage to a few of the wealthier of the people: but it would be more effectually restrained by an extension of that right to such numbers as would bid defiance to the means of corruption.

Lastly, it is proposed, by a bill in this revision, to begin a public library and gallery, by laying out a certain sum annually in books, paintings, and statues.<sup>21</sup>

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Public Papers of the Presidents

Remarks at the University of Virginia Convocation in  
Charlottesville

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September 28, 1989

LENGTH: 4045 words

Governor Baliles. Mr. President, Ladies and gentlemen, as you may have noticed during the course of this unprecedented education summit, Virginia law and tradition oblige us to publicly invoke the name of Thomas Jefferson at least once or twice an hour. [Laughter] There are worse habits.

Mr. President, it has been an interesting, sometimes provocative, gathering. You asked the Governors to be candid, and I think we've fulfilled that request -- perhaps beyond your fondest hopes. [Laughter] I would also say, however, that you gave as good as you got. But these are times for candor and outspoken self-examination. These are times for us to open our eyes and our minds and face the facts. The world has changed more than we sometimes would prefer. The challenges, both internally and externally, are profound and difficult. And, frankly, we have not made it easy for ourselves.

With the last decade, immense Federal budget deficits have accumulated with resulting declines in domestic spending, including education. We need not assign blame, but we ought to acknowledge that the Federal budget situation has left the States increasingly on their own to address not only education, but also health care, transportation, law enforcement, and other pressing concerns. Indeed, the Federal budget deficits have been the backdrop of the education summit stage. The Federal deficits confine our flexibility, limit our options, and explain our shared reluctance to discuss financial resources. To be sure, in recent years the States have stepped into the breach. Imaginative and innovative programs have been created and funded by Governors and State legislators determined not to let the red ink in Washington inhibit the potential of our people in their enterprise.

But has it been enough? Has the renaissance of State governments yielded a renewed competitive America? The evidence says no. Indeed, it may be said of the American Federal system of government that the whole remains less than the sum of the parts. Education is one example, but not the only one. In other words, if we are to take on education as a nation, we had better get all the parts in accord and pulling together. And you, Mr. President, have taken a valuable and important step in that direction.

Up to this point, Mr. Jefferson's preference for locally administered education has prevailed. We will not depart from that model entirely. States and localities will continue to provide more than 90 percent of the funding and the preponderance of the direction and supervision.

And yet, there is a Federal role to be more clearly defined, supported, and sustained. In response to international economic competition, a consensus has emerged for an American national resolve. The Jeffersonian belief that education is the first, best hope for our Republic's enduring success has not

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diminished. We have simply discovered that, as the times change, so must our ideas. That may be the finest result of this education summit: that we have begun, State and Federal governments together, to think anew our respective roles and to address education for the first time as a nation undivided.

Mr. President, you have a loyal ally to support your efforts in the person of the new Chairman of the National Governors Association. It is my pleasure to introduce my friend and the distinguished Governor of the State of Iowa, Terry Bradstad.

Governor Bradstad. Thank you, Governor Baliles. Mr. President, First Lady Barbara Bush, members of the Cabinet, fellow Governors and their spouses, President [University of Virginia] O'Neil and Mrs. O'Neil, and members of the University of Virginia community: It is indeed appropriate that this education summit be held here amidst this historic setting. On behalf of the Governors and their spouses we want to thank the faculty, administration, and students for hosting us here at this beautiful University of Virginia campus. And I hope we haven't disrupted your class schedules too much the last couple of days. [Laughter]

With this historic education summit, the President and the Governors have taken an important first step in the process of developing for the first time a national consensus for educational goals. We are discussing some of the most critical issues facing America today -- that is, the state of education. Our discussions underscore the breadth and depth and the complexity of the issues that we face. We believe that this summit can serve as a catalyst for change and improvement in American education.

But we know that we can't do it alone. Not even the President of the United States and the Congress, each Governor and their legislature can cause the kind of changes that we want. We have to have the involvement of the people who are directly affected; the people who can assure that we get results for America's children. These are the teachers, the parents, local school administrators and school board members. Students, business leaders, leaders in their communities. People who care deeply about American education. Only with the commitment of all of these people and with their cooperation and help can we be successful in attaining the goals that we hope to agree upon.

Governors realize that this is a time for results. We are working hard to achieve results in our States -- results like better student performances on math, science, and foreign language tests; lower dropout rates and higher graduation rates; improved adult literacy; skilled and productive workers for the jobs of the 21st century.

To get the results we want, we have to hold our education system accountable and give educators the flexibility they need to do their job. It is time to find new measures of performance based on what students know and what students can do, not just the number of classes that they complete in high school or college. It is time for more flexibility in the use of Federal dollars, and better coordination and cooperation among all levels of government and the different agencies of the Federal Government and State governments. We need to better serve the needs of American families and American schools.

On behalf of the nation's Governors, we thank you, Mr. President, for convening this historic summit, for the process that you have started and for

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our opportunity to help achieve significant goals that will get results for future generations of Americans.

And now I have the privilege of introducing the Secretary of Education for the United States. Lauro Cavazos was appointed by President Reagan in 1988 as U.S. Secretary of Education. He was confirmed unanimously by the United States Senate, and before that, he had a distinguished career as president of Texas Tech University. And I'm pleased to say, he also has a Ph.D. from Iowa State. Lauro Cavazos, Secretary of Education.

Secretary Cavazos. Thank you, Governor. Thank you. Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. It's my distinct pleasure to be here today as we continue this historic education summit. The decisions we make will affect the lives of millions of children in the United States, and it is for those children and the future of this country that we are here. President Bush has pledged his support for education and system, and it is an honor now for me to introduce the President of the United States, George Bush.

The President. Thank you all very much. Thank you, Secretary Cavazos. Thank you, Governors. Thank you, Dr. Cavazos -- Secretary Cavazos. First, my response to all the Governors here, and I want to thank -- the music of that Air Force Band, just lovely. Thank you for your performance. I want to thank Governor Baliles and Governor Branstad and so many others who had a very special role. I want to thank President O'Neil and Mrs. O'Neil. It was only yesterday that I discovered that he had evicted them for the president's house. [Laughter] And not only did they go peacefully, but they left me this necktie from Eljo's, which I'm sure some of you may recognize. You talk about Virginia hospitality. [Laughter] And I also want to pay my respects to the students and especially to the distinguished faculty for this great institution.

And for Barbara and me it's a delight to be back in Charlottesville. Imagine this: You have a President, the Cabinet, America's Governors all visiting your school. And the big man on the campus -- still Sean Moore. [Laughter] But, you see, we're somewhat familiar -- our son Marvin and our daughter-in-law Margaret, have gone here, both advising me to be humble while I'm at U. Hall. You see, they told me you only do the wave for Ralph Sampson. [Laughter]

Now, it's easy to keep your perspective and be humble at a school so rich in history and in educational endeavor. And I've also been deeply impressed by the commitment, the creativity, and the knowledge that my fellow chief executives bring here to this education reform agenda. In our meetings yesterday, I learned exactly how much you care about the children of your States and the future. And in short, I came to Charlottesville with high expectations, and I've got to say, you have exceeded them. So the spirit of our summit is not: "Who will get the credit?" The spirit of this summit is: "How can we get results?" We are here to put progress before partisanship, the future before the moment, and our children before ourselves.

I've heard eloquent advice from many of you, and from so many others, in the last few weeks. And I've listened, and I am deeply appreciative of all that I have learned. But I've also learned that we should listen to our children. And they have much to tell us. In many ways, they are the luckiest generation in history. Just last month, our children observed, in the clarity of Voyager's sight, the horizons of new worlds, the majesty of space. And think what these

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images would have meant to the ever-curious founder of this university, who could only look through a primitive telescope at faint patches of light and wonder.

But our children are growing up in an age where wonder is commonplace. And our children are also the beneficiaries of a nation that lavishes unsurpassed resources on their schooling. So in many ways, we're close to fulfilling the Enlightenment dream of universal education, a dream that became a reality in the shadows of the Shenandoahs here at Mr. Jefferson's school. And every step we take at this university is truly a walk in Thomas Jefferson's footsteps. When he first charted the ground on which we gather today, there was just a field of grass, a horizon limited only by the blue mountains beyond. But Jefferson surveyed a horizon that no one else could see. He saw the graceful dome of the Rotunda, the elegance of the Lawn and its pavilions. He saw meeting rooms and libraries and lecture halls teeming with professors, students yet unborn. Jefferson set out to fashion his rarified vision into solid reality, brick by brick, book by book. And it is his university, and his dream, that inspires us today to follow in his footsteps. As President O'Neil said, Thomas Jefferson, our first education president, was a relentless advocate for universal public education. "He had a fundamental conviction that on the good sense of an educated citizenry, we could build and defend a country of liberty and justice."

I borrowed those words -- this assessment -- from a friend of mine, another Renaissance man of our time, the late Bartlett Giamatti. Like Jefferson, his life was a metaphor for civility and public service. And it is this commitment to public service that we must carry on. So, let us make this an educational society.

We have already come close to this Jeffersonian ideal. Our educational system is, in many ways, unrivaled in its scale and its diversity, in its commitment to meeting special needs and individual differences. And we're inspired by our best teachers, who give more than we can rightly expect; and from our best students, who surpass our highest expectations. And yet, after two centuries of progress, we are stagnant. While millions of Americans read for pleasure, million of others don't read at all. And while millions go to college, millions may never graduate from high school.

The national Assessment of Educational Progress estimates that fewer than one in four of our high school juniors can write an adequate, persuasive letter. And only half can manage decimals, fractions, and percentages. And barely one in three can locate the Civil War in the correct half-century. No modern nation can long afford to allow so many of its sons and daughters to emerge into adulthood ignorant and unskilled. The status quo is a guarantee of mediocrity, social decay, and national decline.

Education is our most enduring legacy, vital to everything that we are and can become. And come the next century, just 10 years away, what will we be? Will we be the children of the Enlightenment, or its orphans?

Six years ago, the Committee on Excellence in Education issued its powerful report; and yet today, our nation is still at risk. The educational reform movement has done well in articulating its criticisms. And now it is time to define goals. This is the time for action. I sent my proposals for Federal action in education to Congress last spring, including an increase in funding for Head Start. The Educational Excellence Act of 1989 includes ways to

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reshape and expand Federal efforts, to recognize excellence, lift the needy, foster flexibility and choice, and measure and reward progress. I remain solidly committed to these principles and I value your advice and ideas as we continue to refine the Federal role.

Some offer a completely different answer: spend more money alone. And at the Federal level, we have asked Congress to provide nearly a half a billion dollars in new funding for 10 worthy programs. Your States may also choose to spend more. But to those who say that money alone is the answer, I say that there is no one answer. If anything, hard experience teaches that we are simply not getting our money's worth in education. Our focus must no longer be on resources. It must be on results.

And this is only the third time in our 200 years as a nation that a President has called a summit with the Governors. And I've called you together because you bear the constitutional responsibility for education. And I didn't ask you to such an historic occasion merely to bemoan what is wrong. We are here to work; and work together, to once again make an American education the best in the world. And let me say to the Governors before this majestic audience, these sessions have been informative and thoughtful and very useful to me. And I appreciate the obvious extensive preparations that the Governors have undertaken in the days and weeks leading up to this summit. The Governors have emphasized to me the need for national performance goals and the importance of greater flexibility in the use of Federal funds, while accepting enhanced accountability for the results. And they've also stressed the high priority that helping prepare preschool children should have in Federal spending even in time of fiscal constraint.

And finally, the Governors have articulated eloquently the need to restructure our education system. You already are consulting with State legislators to better our schools. Our teachers already are giving their heart and soul to their jobs. But we've never before worked together -- President and principal, Governor and teacher -- to achieve results in education.

A social compact begins today in Charlottesville, Virginia -- a compact between parents, teachers, principals, superintendents, State legislators, Governors and the administration. Our compact is founded out on promises, but on challenges -- each one a radical departure from tradition. I hope that you will join me to define national goals in education for the first time. From this day forward, let us be an America of tougher standards, of higher goals, and a land of bigger dreams.

Our goals must be national, not Federal. That's why I welcome the initiatives of the National Governors' Association, from the Time for Results report in 1986 to the goal-setting project recently begun under the leadership of Iowa's Terry Branstad, South Carolina's Carroll Campbell, Washington's Booth Gardner, Bill Clinton of Arkansas. And my administration will work with you to build on the National Assessment Program's first State by State achievement results. We will work with you to formulate national goals. And then we're going to challenge superintendents and principals to meet these higher goals. In return, I accept your challenge and will work with you to loosen the grip of Federal restrictions. How many great ideas, how many grand and noble experiments, have been impaled on the narrow spike of a Federal directive? Unnecessary restriction is the enemy of the bold. And bold action is what we need most of all.

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I ask Congress to allow Washington to be more flexible by passing reform legislation. And I ask you, in turn, to ease State restrictions on local bodies. And then we'll judge our efforts not by our intentions, but by our results. So, to get results, we need national goals and more flexibility from Federal and State government. To get results, we will need a new spirit of competition between students, between teachers, and between schools -- a report card for all. And to get results, we will need discipline, structure, and goals.

And yet, I do not counsel a naive nostalgia, some tame adherence to the past. Business as usual is not getting us where we need to go. So when hallowed tradition proves to be hollow convention, then we must shatter tradition. The polls show what every PTA board member already knows -- the American people are ready for radical reforms. We must not disappoint them.

For myself, I envision tradition-shattering reform in five areas.

First, I see the day when every student is literate. But literacy should mean more than the "three R's." We must be a reading nation. We must grapple with the hard sciences. And because education is as spiritual as it is practical, our children must know why Americans died at Bunker Hill, at Gettysburg, and at Monte Cassino. And they must do more than identify names on a multiple choice question. They must understand the generosity of Andrew Carnegie and the genius of Alexander Graham Bell and the heroism of Rosa Parks. Some youngsters will naturally take longer than others. And some will need more study and extra instruction. But we should never send a student from school to school just because he or she has passed an arbitrary birthday.

Second, I see a day when our educational system will be unafraid of diversity. Of course, all schools in a State will share a core curriculum and minimum standards of achievement. But the means by which that curriculum is taught and those goals met should be as diverse and varied as America itself. Let them blend, in myriad ways, the traditional and the modern, the human and the technological. Let us give our schools and our teachers the freedom to do what they do best.

Children also differ in their interests and learning styles and capabilities. And so, third, I see the day when choice among schools will be the norm rather than the exception, when parents will be full partners in the education of their children. Too many parents have come to see education as a service we can hand over to the school boards, in much the same way we expect our cities to provide electricity or water. But education is not a utility, not something to be delegated. Education is a way of life. And educational reform is an urgent responsibility for every parent, every student, every community. And those who do not advance the cause of education hinder it. Parents, students, and professional educators must be accountable to one another as a community.

But to be accountable, we need to know just how much progress we're making. So, fourth, I see the day when we use accurate assessments, carefully linked to our educational goals. We need to first know where we are. And this means accepting the bad news along with the good. We've always measured our progress against our past performance. We must now evaluate ourselves on a tougher grading curve -- one that includes the other major industrial nations. And accountability also means we must act on what we discover. Weak performance in the classroom or the principal's office will no longer be tolerated. But

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neither will indifference towards good educators. Society has no greater benefactors than outstanding teachers and principals. And so, let them have their day in the sun, get what they deserve -- generous praise and solid rewards.

Fifth, I see an educational system that never settles for the minimum, in academics or in behavior. Decades of research bear out what the best teachers already know: when standard and expectations are high, everyone does better. And this includes both the unusually gifted and those with special needs and disabilities. But it must also include the student we too often forget, the average student. All you guys with C's, I want to hear it from you. For I do believe that with a little care and a little work we can unleash within each of these so-called ordinary kids an extraordinary potential. This same potential can be found within every disadvantaged child, those from troubled neighborhoods, children for whom our schools must be a beacon of excellence, a sanctuary from violence, a model of good character, sound values, exemplary ethics. Let no child in America be forgotten or forsaken.

Some of our reforms and experiments are sure to come up short. But for too many of our schools, experimentation is preferable to the status quo, because the status quo could scarcely be worse. The worthy and the useful will win out only if we give our schools the freedom that they need. And such freedom will not lead to a quick and easy solution. It's the work of years. And we've taken such a long-term view in our meetings over the last couple of days.

We've discussed the need for educational reform in terms of our national competitiveness -- you hear Governor Baliles refer to that just a minute ago. But I'm sure you agree that there is more to learning than just our trade balance or the graying of our work force; it is broader than the important, but narrow, compass of economics and government. A scholar once wrote that great books are not lifeless paper, but minds alive on the shelves. And he observed that just as the touch of a button on a stereo will fill a room with music, so by taking down one of these volumes and opening it, one can call into range the voice of a man far distant in time and space and hear him speak, mind to mind, heart to heart.

As a nation, we can again hear these voices, feel this enchantment, every time a parent reads a bedtime story to a sleepy child, every time a young scholar turns to the great books. The day must come when every young American can know the life of the mind. I might say parenthetically that is why my wife, Barbara, for many years has devoted a lot of her time to making this country more literate.

In essence, that is why we've gathered here at Mr. Jefferson's school. He was just one man, but look at what one man can do. Imagine what we can do, if we -- more than 50 strong -- are united by this great cause. So let us dream. And let us talk. And if need be, let us argue. But in the end, let us walk together on a journey to enlightenment, in the footsteps of Thomas Jefferson. Thank you for your hard work and dedication. God bless you. And God bless the United States of America.

Note: The President spoke at 11:56 a.m. at the University Hall. In his remarks, he referred to University of Virginia football player Sean Moore, former University of Virginia basketball player Ralph Sampson, and former baseball commissioner, A. Bartlett Giamatti.

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Public Papers of the Presidents

Remarks at the Education Summit Farewell Ceremony in  
Charlottesville, Virginia

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September 28, 1989

LENGTH: 1785 words

Secretary Cavazos. Thank you very much. The past two days have been busy for all of us, but the enthusiasm has come to this meeting, discussions have borne our knowledge that we are doing vital and important work and that the results of our decisions will have an impact far beyond what we can imagine. We've made history at this education summit and I know that we will continue to make history in every State and every school across America.

It is an honor now to introduce the President of the United States, George Bush.

The President. Thank you very much. My role is simply now, at the end of what I think we all agree was a very successful conference, to again thank the University of Virginia -- students, its faculty, its president -- to thank all of the Governors. I want to single out those on the platform with me now. Governor Branstad, who is head of the Governors' Association; Governor Carruthers; Governor Booth Gardner of the State of Washington; and of course Bill Clinton, who looks a little tired, but took on an extra responsibility for hammering out a statement upon which there is strong agreement.

And we've reached agreement on the need for national performance goals; on the need for more flexibility and accountability; the need for structuring and choice, and I agree with Governor Clinton that this is a major step forward in education, the need for letting parents, teachers, students, and communities -- to encourage them to work together more and more; and the need for more Federal support for the prekindergarten education process normally identified with Head Start, but certainly other programs might fit that description.

But I want to thank each and every one of the Governors and their families. This has been historic, and I pledge to you my determination to follow up in every way possible. We just cannot let it sit here and end here, and I promise you that I won't, that my Cabinet won't, and that our entire administration will not. So, with no further ado, to all the Governors here, my heartfelt thanks.

Governor Branstad. Mr. President, on behalf of the National Governors' Association, we thank you for calling us together in this very historic summit on education. I want to thank all of the Governors that participated. We have better attendance than we even do at the National Governors' annual meetings. There were open and frank discussions. A very significant agreement has been reached. This year, the National Governors' Association has an agenda that calls for building a consensus for change to address some of the critical issues facing the United States of America -- the issues of education and the environment.

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And in the last 2 days here, we have made significant progress towards building that national consensus with the leadership of the President and the Governors. In the area of setting national education goals, we unanimously agree that there is a need for the first time in this nation's history to have specific results-oriented goals. And we're talking about roles in the area of readiness of children to start school; in the area of performance of students in international achievement tests in the areas of math and science; in the reduction of the dropout rate and the improvement of academic performance, especially for at-risk children; in the functional literacy of adult Americans; in the level of training necessary to guarantee a competitive work force; in the supply of qualified teachers with up-to-date technology; and the establishment of safe, disciplined, and drug-free schools.

We recognize the need for both flexibility to State governments and to local school districts; but coupled with that, accountability for outcome-related results. I think significant progress has been made. We have committed to work together. The National Governors' Association Task Force on Education and the people designated by the President to make specific goals and to reach those goals hopefully by the February meeting of the National Governors' Association in the Nation's Capital.

It's a beautiful day in Charlottesville, Virginia. I'm proud that the President has invited us to be here. We appreciate the great hospitality of this great State and this great university, and I'm pleased to introduce my Vice Chairman for the National Governors' Association, the Governor of the State of Washington, Governor Booth Gardner, to talk about some of the other goals that have been spelled out in this joint statement. Governor Gardner.

Governor Gardner. The report goes further, and I think one of the reasons that we're all so excited about the results of the last two days are that the report addresses the financial role of the Federal Government in education, albeit in a limited role, but an extremely important role. And the understanding is that the money that becomes available will be applied to the issue of early childhood education and Head Start and preparing young people for the day that they enter school that they will be on a parred and equity basis with other children and they're ready and able to perform.

And we also discussed and agreed that we have to continue to look at mandates from the Federal Government to make sure that those mandates do not impinge on the State's ability to provide its discretionary funds for education. Then we have a very exciting statement on the commitment to restructuring. The President and the Nation's governments have agreed that significant steps must be made in restructuring education in all States; a system of accountability that focuses on results rather than input; a decentralized authority and decision-making responsibility to the school site; empowerment to the principals and the teachers to carry out their mandates and citing challenges to face us in this country; and an educational system that develops first-rate teachers and supports those teachers with the technology, staff and services that are necessary to allow them to be productive.

And lastly, we want to compliment the Secretary of Education and the President on agreeing that we will have a report card and that we will measure the schools, the State, and the Federal Government year by year to make sure that we remain committed to the agreements that we have reached in the past two days and the goals that will come out of the process for the next few months

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that we hope to agree on in February or March.

In the past few days, the President, his Cabinet, Secretary of Education, the Governors and their staff have humbly walked the footsteps of Thomas Jefferson. We started down a promising path, and we have composed a Jeffersonian compact -- the beneficiaries of which will be the children of this country. The children of this country today represent 25 percent of our population. Tomorrow, they are 100 percent of that population. With that, I'd like to introduce the Governor of New Mexico and the Chairman of the Educational Commission of the States, Garrey Carruthers.

Governor Carruthers. Thank you very much, Booth. We came to talk about sharing the responsibility for success, and we've done that. And to have success we need to have a vision, much higher expectations, and the President of the United States gave one of the finest speeches I've ever heard on education today at the convocation at the University of Virginia.

And it is from that speech and the work that we have to do afterwards that will develop the vision of education in this country. But I think also we came to talk about empowering people, and we talked a lot about empowering. We're going to empower parents by encouraging choice; we're going to empower teachers by letting them take over the classrooms again; we're going to empower those educational entrepreneurs that exist in all our communities by deregulating the educational system.

We need to empower the kids by making sure that before they're 5 years old they've been properly taken care of in every way, particularly with health. And we need to empower the private sector by inviting them into the school systems and getting their assistance and mentoring programs and the financial assistance they've always been willing to give us. And then we need to empower all Americans very simply by having them join us in developing a set of national goals. It has been a wonderful conference and now I'd like to introduce you to Governor Bill Clinton who's one of the prime forces in developing this conference, the summit, with the President of the United States.

Governor Clinton. Thank you very much, Governor Carruthers, Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen. This is a rather emotional moment for me. For one thing, I didn't get much sleep last night. We were up working on this statement.

I want to thank Governor Campbell, who is not here, and Governor Branstad, who is, and all of the others who worked on this statement from the National Governors' Association -- [Chief of Staff] John Sununu and [Assistant to the President for Domestic and Economic Affairs] Roger Porter and others from the White House staff. And most important, Mr. President, I want to thank you for giving us the chance, the Governors, after 7 years of hard work on educational reform, to have a real national partnership in education.

The press will ask today, and maybe the people will when we get home, what really happened here that makes a difference. I would say there are three things.

This is the first time in the history of this country that we have ever thought enough of education and ever understood its significance to our economic future enough to commit ourselves to national performance goals. It has never happened in over 200 years. This is the first time, ever, any group of public

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officials have ever committed themselves to a national effort to restructure the schools of the United States -- something every educator who studied it says is the single most significant thing we could do.

And this is the first time a President and Governors have even stood before the American people and said, not only are we going to set national performance goals, which are ambitious, not only are we going to develop strategies to achieve them, but we stand here before you and tell you we expect to be held personally accountable for the progress we make in moving this country to a brighter future. If that doesn't make this a happy day, I don't know what does. Thank you very much.

The President. Thank you all. Well done, Bill. You did a wonderful job. Booth, thanks for everything.

Note: The President spoke at 3:07 p.m. on the steps of the Rotunda.

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Jennifer Davis

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Em. Task Force - GLL

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