

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):

S

FOIA Number:

S

FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential
Library Staff.**

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

OA/ID Number: 13722
Folder ID Number: 13722-008

Folder Title:
Jesse Helms for Senate 6/20/90 [OA 6345]

Stack:

G

Row:

26

Section:

20

Shelf:

6

Position:

3

Protest? — 7:00
They Doan't
next day

(Smith/Garmey)
June 19, 1990
11 A.M.
JESSE

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: HELMS FUNDRAISER
CHARLOTTE FUNDRAISER
WEDNESDAY, JUNE 20, 1990

check update
Mrs. Helms, Governor Jim Martin, Governor Campbell,
Congressman Alex McMillan, Lieutenant Governor Jim Gardner,
Chairman Jack Hawk, Jack and Helen Laughery [LOCK-er-ee], and of
course, the real star of tonight's show. A truly great North
Carolinian, with an unparalleled record of success -- loved by
his fans, feared by his opponents. You know all know him. //
Professional wrestler Ric "Nature Boy" Flair. //

((Ric, I was thinking you ought to team up with my friend
Arnold Schwarzenegger. You know, Conan the Republican. // Maybe
the two of you can bench-press the Federal budget.)) //

check update
((I noticed some protests going on outside as we were coming
in tonight. They're upset because they think the only reason I
was invited to speak this evening is because I'm Barbara Bush's
husband.)) //

tonight.
It's a special pleasure to be with you in the birthplace of
one of America's greatest religious leaders, the Reverend Billy
Graham. // What's more, I am privileged this evening to salute
one of America's most dynamic political leaders. A steadfast
champion of what he believes. Senator Jesse Helms. //

Billy Graham Institute 612 338-0500

((You know, it's been said that Jesse Helms is a political
partisan. He still maintains that One Flew Over the Cuckoo's
Nest was really the title of a film on the 1972 Democratic

Al McGuire -
Coach K -

AFI -

Convention.)) // Yet partisanship is only a small part of the Jesse Helms story. //

The son of a police chief, Jesse worked his way through school. Later, telling the plain truth as a columnist and commentator. // As a Senator with seniority and prestige, he's been a clear, strong voice for North Carolina. Reflecting its State motto: To be rather than to seem.

The theme of this campaign is "You know where Jesse stands." Yet I'd like to talk about the Jesse Helms you may not know about. Not just professionally -- personally. And why his re-election isn't a partisan crusade -- but a national necessity.

The Jesse Helms I know is a man of courtesy and conviction. He's not a trendy follower who flows with the current. He's a visionary who alters the tide. // Sam Ervin put it best: "Jesse is one of the few men [with] the courage to stand up for what he believes."

The Jesse Helms I know also embodies the values of North Carolina's good, quiet, decent people. [People who pay their taxes, believe in hard work, and have a love of country and of God. // Like them, Jesse's a man of integrity. A great family man -- lovely wife, Dot, three great kids, and six grandchildren. A man of kindness and humanity. Let me tell you a revealing story.

((Barbara and I have two adopted grandchildren -- the younger christened two weeks ago. They are a constant source of happiness in our lives. Well, 28 years ago at Christmas, Jesse

Can't check

Char Rosen Schmitt
Frank Shivers
704 332-9051
9050

When
919 850
0567

America's No
Quarrel
(CNC.)

Bel
Burns-
Helms for
Senate.
919 850 092

He's
Carter
When

Bro +
Bill
Burns

Don Rhodes,
White
House

see
BTO

3
Then
Green
after
cheer.
with a family
of his own
Carter
when.
and Dot were reading a story about a boy with cerebral palsy, living in a Greensboro orphanage. Asked what he would most like from Santa Claus, the boy had said, "A mother and a father." // ((The next day, Jesse and Dot visited that boy. They adopted him. Became his mother and father. Brought him through several operations. Today, he's a successful businessman. // Like Barbara and I, Dot and Jesse know the joy of adoption. I know we all salute them for bringing the caring light of love to another.)) //

That's the Jesse Helms I know -- a parable of character. The character which led Jesse to go out and buy glasses for the son of a woman in Johnston County whom he heard couldn't see the blackboard. Or caused him to help Durham's Thuy Doan. Having escaped from Viet Nam, she tried for seven years to get her mother out. Jesse Helms reunited her family. // People don't always agree with him. But they always respect him. Where does Jesse stand? You know where: He places principle and people above partisan politics -- strengthening the U.S. of A. //

As an example, look first at foreign policy. ((Where, naturally, liberal Democrats want us to make drastic defense cuts. As long as I am President, there's as much chance of that happening as there is of Mike Kryzewski [Sha-SHEP-skee] going to the Boston Celtics.)) // Truth is: A strong national defense has, and is, helping build a more democratic world. Consider: Earlier this month, President Gorbachev and I held our Washington Summit. Where we signed a first agreement to eliminate the great

Budget
Student

Cheney
25/10

Don Pilling

Hayden
defense
policy

See
Doubt
speech
12/1/90
6/12/90

Com
N.S.C

Duke
684-8111
4377
684-633
9/9

majority of both sides' chemical weapons stockpiled over the years. A second agreement to update and expand our 1973 pact on the peaceful uses of atomic energy. A third, on nuclear testing, will create unprecedented improvements for on-site verification - as Jesse has urged since the 1970s. NSC
+
Dewh.
6/8/96

At the Summit, we issued a joint statement on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe -- in which both sides committed themselves to intensify the pace of the negotiations in Vienna and agreed that such a treaty is essential to the future security of Europe. Furthermore, we released a Joint Statement on strategic arms limitations, recording our agreement on issues governing a START treaty. And make no mistake: This treaty must, and will, be sound and verifiable before I send it to the Senate. /// President Gorbachev and I also agreed to hold future negotiations on nuclear and space arms once START is concluded.

((The great humorist Will Rogers once said, "A man in the country does his own thinking -- but you get him into town and he soon will be thinking second-handed.")) // In North Carolina, even city folks are common sense country thinkers: You understand that giving peace a chance does not mean taking a chance on peace. // The Complete
Diary of America's
Most Famous
Humanist
in Bruce
Fringh
1942
p. 58
(see) Tonke
P.D.S. 12/8
U.S.C.
OK

As we build upon our new relationship with the Soviet Union, America must heed the desire for self-determination for the Baltic republics -- and we will. I was pleased to see last week's meeting between President Gorbachev and the presidents of these republics. Those talks began a dialogue that we hope can

lead to a peaceful resolution of this situation, an end to the Soviet (economic blockade of Lithuania,) and freedom for millions.

As we work to consolidate the positive change of the past year, we must also maintain the policies and institutions that made that change possible: A strong NATO, with Germany remaining a full member, and a strong American military presence in Europe, as guarantors of stability, security, and freedom. // Carolinians know these challenges can only be met through American strength -- not weakness. Our national defense policies have helped us win the peace. I need Senators who'll help our defense maintain that peace. Where does Jesse stand? You know where Jesse stands. For a safer, more secure, and stable world.

Turning to America, challenges also remain. So, quoting Asheville's own Thomas Wolfe, let's "look homeward": Here, too, I need Jesse Helms to stand up for what's right. //

A noted preacher once said, "A thoughtful mind, when it sees a Nation's flag, sees not the flag only but the Nation itself."

Yet, what would we say to the brave men and women who fought and died for the Stars and Stripes if they were alive today? // Last week, the Supreme Court ruled that flag-burning is protected by the Constitution. Tonight, to the thousands of Americans who gave their lives for freedom, I say: We will ensure that while speech remains free, flag-burning will carry a price. // I need Senators who will pass a Constitutional Amendment giving Congress and the States power to ban the desecration of Old Glory. Let's help Jesse stop those who mock the symbol of America. //

A.W.
Beecher

Pres.
Documents
6/30/89

Jesse will also help pass another Constitutional Amendment
 -- one dear to Carolina hearts. I refer, of course, to our
 proposal to restore voluntary prayer. // Most Carolinians
support this Amendment: They know that political values without
moral values cannot sustain a Nation. Let others defend keeping
 God out of the classroom. I need Jesse to help put the Faith of
our Fathers back in our schools. //

Finally, let me cite three other issues where Carolina's
 Senior Senator supports what's right. First, equal opportunity.
 Today in Washington, some have proposed what they term a new
 civil rights bill. In reality, it's a quotas bill. I know every
 person in this room believes discrimination is not only wrong --
 it is un-American. All of us support equality in every sense --
period. // I want to sign a new civil rights bill -- and
 negotiations are underway to find a compromise that I can sign.
But I will not sign a quotas bill. //

The last two issues I'd like to mention concern every
 American. Federal spending and crime. // When it comes to
 solving problems, liberals measure progress made by dollars
spent. Jesse Helms, on the other hand, will help me clean up the
 deficit by backing our proposals requiring a balanced budget and
 a line item veto. // He'll also help me clean up our streets.

Last May, I outlined our Violent Crime Act. At its heart is the
 belief that for anyone killing a law enforcement officer, no
 legal penalty is too tough. Liberals oppose the death penalty.
 Where does Jesse stand? Where I do: We want to eliminate

Can N.C.
 GOP

must
 be
 true

Carter
 when

Summary
 says
 OK!

C.W.

Chrus
 Winston

Control

Hal
 Bambi
 6/8/90

7
loopholes that allow criminals to escape just punishment -- and to provide constitutionally sound procedures for the death penalty. What's more, we want to expand its coverage to include major drug traffickers. Not some time. Not some place. But across America -- now. //

Hal
David
Blaze

Jesse Helms' favorite movie is Patton. And in closing, let me recite the words of Patton telling his troops that in coming months they would often wonder whether they'd retreat under fire. "Don't worry about it," he advised them. "I can assure you, you will all do your duty."

C. Wren

DUTY
Csee
need

For 18 years, Jesse Helms has done his duty. Acting as a United States Senator to protect what Mayberry's own Aunt Bee, of the beloved Andy Griffith Show, called "home and people's feelings, and how they grew up." // He continues to lead with the civility and conscience that is a metaphor for North Carolina. And with a spirit that would make even General Patton proud. //

Cart
Smith

Two years ago, after an operation, Jesse disobeyed doctor's orders by leaving his sick bed early to hit the campaign trail for myself and Dan Quayle. I'll never forget how he, literally, stood up to support me. Tonight, I pledge to him my support. // You know where Jesse stands: For a safe, strong, and moral America. I need him in the Senate. So let's keep him there -- for North Carolina's sake, and America's. Thank you for this occasion. Let's re-elect Senator Jesse Helms. And God bless the United States of America.

Carla
Wren

STAFFED

FACTS

Acknowledgments

(Smith/Garmey)
June 15, 1990
12 P.M.
BAR

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: HELMS FUNDRAISER
CHARLOTTE FUNDRAISER
WEDNESDAY, JUNE 20, 1990

Senator and Mrs. Helms, ladies and gentlemen, friends. It is a pleasure to be in the birthplace of one of America's greatest religious leaders, the Reverend Billy Graham.

((Billy and I got to talking religion a few moments ago. His favorite passage is one tonight's honored guest missed in Sunday school. // Blessed are the meek.)) //

This evening, I am privileged to salute that guest -- one of America's most dynamic political leaders. A steadfast champion of what he believes. Senator Jesse Helms. //

((I got to thinking about Jesse as we were flying into Charlotte. I went up into the cockpit, and heard him on the control tower radio. He was demanding that the pilot land on runway right.)) // That would-be traffic controller has made Carolina proud. I need him in the Senate to keep America proud.

All of you know Jesse's story. The son of a police chief, he worked his way through school. Later, telling it like it is as a columnist and commentator. // As a Senator with seniority and prestige, he's been an clear, strong voice for North Carolina. Reflecting its State motto: To be rather than to seem.

The slogan of this campaign is "You know where Jesse stands." Yet I'd like to talk about the Jesse Helms you may not know about. Not just professionally -- personally. And why his re-election isn't a partisan crusade -- but a national necessity.

The Jesse Helms I know is a man of courtesy and conviction. ((During the Cold War days, his idea of a conciliatory stance was writing "Have a nice day" on nuclear warheads)). He's not a trendy follower who flows with the current. He's a visionary who alters the tide. // Sam Ervin put it best: "Jesse is one of the few men [with] the courage to stand up for what he believes." //

The Jesse Helms I know also embodies the values of North Carolina's good, quiet, decent people. People who pay their taxes, believe in hard work, and have a love of country and of God. // Like them, Jesse's a man of integrity. A great family man -- lovely wife, Dot, three great kids, and six grandchildren. A man of kindness and humanity. As this story shows.

((Barbara and I have two adopted grandchildren -- the younger christened two weeks ago. They are a constant source of happiness in our lives. Well, 28 years ago at Christmas, Jesse and Dot were reading a story about a boy with cerebral palsy, living in a Greensboro orphanage. Asked what he would most like from Santa Claus, the boy had said, "A mother and a father." //

((The next day, the Helmses visited that boy. They adopted him. Became his mother and father. Brought him through several operations. Today, he's a successful businessman. // Like Barbara and I, Dot and Jesse know the loving joy of adoption. I salute Charles Helms and his wonderful parents.))

That's the Jesse Helms I know -- a parable of character. The character which led Jesse to go out and buy glasses for the son of a woman in Johnston County whom he heard couldn't see the

blackboard. Or caused him to help Durham's Thuy Doan. Escaping from Viet Nam, she tried for seven years to get her mother out. Jesse Helms reunited her family. // People don't always agree with him. But they always respect him. Where does Jesse stand? You know where Jesse stands: He places principle and people above partisan politics -- strengthening the U.S. of A. //

As an example, look first at foreign policy. ((Where it's been said that Jesse's idea of an acceptable Secretary of Defense is "Rambo.")) // Truth is: A strong national defense has, and is, helping build a more democratic world. Consider: Earlier this month, President Gorbachev and I held our Washington Summit. Where we signed a first agreement to eliminate the great majority of chemical weapons stockpiled over the years. A second agreement to update and expand our 1973 pact on the peaceful uses of atomic energy. A third will create unprecedented improvements for on-site verification -- as Jesse has urged since the 1970s.

Understandings, too, can link the community of Nations. So President Gorbachev and I vowed to continue future negotiations on nuclear and space arms. And we issued a statement on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe. Furthermore, we released a Joint Statement on strategic arms limitations, recording our agreement on issues governing a START treaty. And make no mistake: This treaty must, and will, be sound and verifiable before I send it to the Senate. ///

((The great humorist Will Rogers once said, "A man in the country does his own thinking -- but you get him into town and he

The Complete
Jesse Helms
Haven
Howard

1962

Brace
Fingert

Clearing
P. 58

FAA
Cer
(6/29)

Tan
Tangle
12/8

soon will be thinking second-handed.))) // In North Carolina, even city folks are country thinkers: You understand that giving peace a chance does not mean taking a chance on peace. //

As we build upon our new relationship with the Soviet Union, America must heed the desire for self-determination for the three Baltic republics -- and we will. I was pleased to see last week's meeting between President Gorbachev and the presidents of these republics. Those talks began a dialogue that can lead to a peaceful resolution of this situation, and freedom for millions. // We must also work toward reunification within NATO mirroring the wishes of the German people. Carolinians know these challenges can only be met through American strength -- not weakness. Our national defense policies have helped us win the peace. I need Senators who'll help our defense maintain that peace. Where does Jesse stand? You know where Jesse stands. For a safer, more secure, and stable world. //

Turning to America, challenges also remain. So, quoting Asheville's own Thomas Wolfe, let's "look homeward": Here, too, I need Jesse Helms to stand up for what's right. //

A noted preacher once said, "A thoughtful mind, when it sees a Nation's flag, sees not the flag only but the Nation itself." Yet, what would we say to the brave men and women who fought and died for the Stars and Stripes if they were alive today? // Last week, a Supreme Court ruling judged flag-burning constitutional. Tonight, to the thousands of Americans who gave their lives for freedom, I say: We will ensure that while speech remains free,

flag-burning will carry a price. // I need Senators who will pass a Constitutional Amendment banning the desecration of Old Glory. Let's help Jesse stop those who mock the symbol of America. //

Jesse will also help pass another Constitutional Amendment -- one dear to Carolina hearts. I refer, of course, to our proposal to restore voluntary prayer. // Most Carolinians *reference to Court?* support this Amendment: They know that political values without moral values cannot sustain a Nation. Let others defend keeping God out of the classroom. I need Jesse to help put the Faith of our Fathers back in our schools. //

Finally, let me cite three other issues where Carolina's Senior Senator supports what's right. First, equal opportunity. Today in Washington, some have proposed what they term a new civil rights bill. In reality, it's a quotas bill. I know every person in this room believes discrimination is not only wrong -- it is un-American. All of us support equality in every sense -- period. // I want to sign a new civil rights bill -- and negotiations are underway to find a compromise that I can sign. But I will not sign a quotas bill. //

The last two issues I'd like to mention concern every American. Federal spending and crime. // When it comes to solving problems, liberals measure progress made by dollars spent. Jesse Helms, on the other hand, will help me clean up the deficit by backing our proposals for a Constitutional Amendment requiring a balanced budget and a line item veto. // He'll also help me clean up our streets. Last July I sent our Violent Crime

Act to Congress. At its heart is the belief that for anyone killing a law enforcement officer, no legal penalty is too tough. Liberals oppose the death penalty. Where does Jesse stand?

Where I do: We want Congress to expand the death penalty. Not some time. Not some place. But across America -- now. //

Jesse Helms' favorite all-time movie is Patton. And in closing, let me recite the words of George C. Scott -- as Patton -- telling his troops that in coming months they would often wonder whether they'd retreat under fire. "Don't worry about it," he advised them. "I can assure you, you will all do your duty."

For 18 years, Jesse Helms has done his duty. Acting as a United States Senator to protect what Mayberry's own Aunt Bee, of the beloved Andy Griffith Show, called "home and people's feelings, and how they grew up." // He has acted with the civility and conscience that is a metaphor for North Carolina. And with a spirit that would make even General Patton proud. //

Two years ago, after an operation, Jesse disobeyed doctor's orders by leaving his sick bed early to hit the campaign trail for myself and Dan Quayle. I'll never forget how he, literally, stood up to support me. Tonight, I pledge to him my support. // You know where Jesse stands: For a safe, strong, and moral America. I need him in the Senate. So let's keep him there -- for North Carolina's sake, and America's. Thank you for this occasion. Let's re-elect Senator Jesse Helms. And God bless the United States of America.

#

CONNALLY

LEADERSHIP FOR AMERICA

9-25-61
Suggested Remarks
Will Rogers Quotes

Our Foreign Policy

"There's one thing no nation can ever accuse us of and that is secret diplomacy. Our foreign dealings are an open book, generally a checkbook."

--October 23, 1923

Our Present Leadership

"No man can ever rise above his surroundings, and if you put a man in that was elected on nothing but campaign speeches, you are going to have nothing but wind to represent you."

--December 26, 1926

Genius of Rural People

"A man in the country does his own thinking, but you get him into town and he soon will be thinking second-handed."

--May 3, 1926

Political Promises

"Farmers starve three years out of four, but the good year is always election year."

--September 9, 1928

Houston Office
3200 Kirby Drive, Suite 104
Houston, Texas 77098
Telephone (713) 520-0600



Austin Office
1011 Congress Avenue, Suite 416
Austin, Texas 78701
Telephone (512) 477-9000

CONNALLY

LEADERSHIP FOR AMERICA

The Bureaucracy

"We are always reading statistics and figures. Half of America do nothing but prepare propaganda for the other half to read."

--February 24, 1929

The Democrats' Major 1980 Hope

"The short memories of the American voter is what keeps our politicians in office."

--April 7, 1930

Everything is Politics

"I love a dog. He does nothing for political reasons."

--December 3, 1933

Washington's Fixation with Politics

"Politics isn't worrying this country one-tenth as much as parking space."

--January 6, 1924

President Carter's Economists

"An economist is a man who can tell you what can happen under any given conditions, and his guess is liable to be just as good as anybody's else's."

--May 26, 1935

Houston Office
3200 Kirby Drive, Suite 104
Houston, Texas 77098
Telephone (713) 520-0600



Austin Office
3011 Congress Avenue, Suite 416
Austin, Texas 78701
Telephone (512) 477-9000

6/18/90

(Smith/Garmey)
June 15, 1990
12 P.M.
BAR

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: HELMS FUNDRAISER
CHARLOTTE FUNDRAISER
WEDNESDAY, JUNE 20, 1990

(Senator and Mrs. Helms, ladies and gentlemen, friends.) It is a pleasure to be in the birthplace of one of America's greatest religious leaders, the Reverend Billy Graham.

((Billy and I got to talking religion a few moments ago. ^{in the bubble} His favorite passage is one tonight's honored guest missed in Sunday school. // Blessed are the meek.)) // up date?

This evening, I am privileged to salute that guest -- one of America's most dynamic political leaders. A steadfast champion of what he believes. Senator Jesse Helms. //

((I got to thinking about Jesse as we were flying into Charlotte. I went up into the cockpit, and heard him on the control tower radio. He was demanding that the pilot land on runway right.)) // That would-be traffic controller has made Carolina proud. I need him in the Senate to keep America proud.

All of you know Jesse's story. The son of a police chief, he worked his way through school. Later, telling it like it is as a columnist and commentator. // As a Senator with seniority and prestige, he's been a clear, strong voice for North Carolina.

^{Always} Reflecting its State motto: To be rather than to seem.

The slogan of this campaign is "You know where Jesse stands." Yet I'd like to talk about the Jesse Helms you may not know about. Not just professionally -- personally. And why his re-election isn't a partisan crusade -- but a national necessity.

negotiation
word?
that
want
was
adding
campaign
the way

The Jesse Helms I know is a man of courtesy and conviction. ((During the Cold War days, his idea of a conciliatory stance was writing "Have a nice day" on nuclear warheads)). He's not a trendy follower who flows with the current. He's a visionary who alters the tide. // Sam Ervin put it best: "Jesse is one of the few men [with] the courage to stand up for what he believes." //

The Jesse Helms I know also embodies the values of North Carolina's good, ^{complimentary?} quiet, decent people. People who pay their taxes, believe in hard work, and have a love of country and of God. // Like ^{you} them, Jesse's a man of integrity. A great family man -- lovely wife, Dot, three great kids, and six grandchildren. A man of kindness and humanity. As this story shows.

((Barbara and I have two adopted grandchildren -- the younger christened two weeks ago. They are a constant source of happiness in our lives. Well, 28 years ago at Christmas, Jesse and Dot were reading a story about a boy with cerebral palsy, living in a Greensboro orphanage. Asked what he would most like from Santa Claus, the boy had said, "A mother and a father." //

((The next day, ^{Jesse + Dot,} the Helmses visited that boy. They adopted him. Became his mother and father. Brought him through several operations. Today, he's a successful businessman. // Like Barbara and I, Dot and Jesse know the loving joy of adoption. I salute Charles Helms and his wonderful parents.))

That's the Jesse Helms I know -- a parable of character. The character which led Jesse to go out and buy glasses for the son of a woman in Johnston County whom he heard couldn't see the

blackboard. Or caused him to help Durham's Thuy Doan. ^{Having} Escaping ^{ea} (occurred already)
 from Viet Nam, she tried for seven years to get her mother out.
 Jesse Helms reunited her family. // People don't always agree
 with him. But they always respect him. Where does Jesse stand?
You know where Jesse stands: He places principle and people
 above partisan politics -- strengthening the U.S. of A. //

As an example, look first at foreign policy. ((Where it's
 been said that Jesse's idea of an acceptable Secretary of Defense
 is "Rambo.")) // Truth is: A strong national defense has, and
 is, helping build a more democratic world. Consider: Earlier
 this month, President Gorbachev and I held our Washington Summit.
 Where we signed a first agreement to eliminate the great majority
 of chemical weapons stockpiled over the years. A second
 agreement to update and expand our 1973 pact on the peaceful uses
 of atomic energy. A third will create unprecedented improvements
 for on-site verification -- as Jesse has urged since the 1970s.

Understandings, too, can link the community of Nations. So
 President Gorbachev and I vowed to continue future negotiations
 on nuclear and space arms. And we issued a statement on
 Conventional Armed Forces in Europe. Furthermore, we released a
 Joint Statement on strategic arms limitations, recording our
 agreement on issues governing a START treaty. And make no
 mistake: This treaty must, and will, be sound and verifiable
 before I send it to the Senate. ///

((The great humorist Will Rogers once said, "A man in the
 country does his own thinking -- but you get him into town and he

soon will be thinking second-handed.")) // In North Carolina, even city folks are country thinkers: You understand that giving peace a chance does not mean taking a chance on peace. //

As we build upon our new relationship with the Soviet Union, America must heed the desire for self-determination for the three Baltic republics -- and we will. [I was pleased to see last week's meeting between President Gorbachev and the presidents of these republics. Those talks began a dialogue that can lead to a peaceful resolution of this situation, and freedom for millions.] // We must also work toward ^aGerman reunification within NATO mirroring the wishes of the German people. → update needed?

Carolínians know these challenges can only be met through American strength -- not weakness. Our national defense policies have helped us win the peace. I need Senators who'll help our defense maintain that peace. Where does Jesse stand? You know where Jesse stands. For a safer, more secure, and stable world.

Turning to America, challenges also remain. So, quoting Asheville's own Thomas Wolfe, let's "look homeward": Here, too, I need Jesse Helms to stand up for what's right. //

A noted preacher once said, "A thoughtful mind, when it sees a Nation's flag, sees not the flag only but the Nation itself." Yet, what would we say to the brave men and women who fought and died for the Stars and Stripes if they were alive today? // Last week, a Supreme Court ruling judged flag-burning constitutional. Tonight, to the thousands of Americans who gave their lives for freedom, ^{Jesse and I} I say: We will ensure that while speech remains free,

1 Glad to see courts allow equal access to student religious groups.

flag-burning will carry a price. // I need Senators who will pass a Constitutional Amendment banning the desecration of Old Glory. Let's help Jesse stop those who mock the symbol of America. //

Jesse will also help pass another Constitutional Amendment -- one dear to Carolina hearts. I refer, of course, to our proposal to restore voluntary prayer. // Most Carolinians support this Amendment: They know that political values without moral values cannot sustain a Nation. Let others defend keeping God out of the classroom. I need Jesse to help put the Faith of our Fathers back in our schools. //

Finally, let me cite three other issues where Carolina's Senior Senator supports what's right. First, equal opportunity. Today in Washington, some have proposed what they term a new civil rights bill. In reality, it's a quotas bill. I know every person in this room believes discrimination is not only wrong -- it is un-American. All of us support equality in every sense -- period. // I want to sign a new civil rights bill -- and negotiations are underway to find a compromise that I can sign. But I will not sign a quotas bill. //

The last two issues I'd like to mention concern every American. Federal spending and crime. // When it comes to solving problems, liberals measure progress made by dollars spent. Jesse Helms, on the other hand, will help me clean up the deficit by backing our proposals for a Constitutional Amendment requiring a balanced budget and a line item veto. // He'll also help me clean up our streets. Last July I sent our Violent Crime

(This was a victory for the prayer group. I lost 1000 votes.)

Act to Congress. At its heart is the belief that for anyone killing a law enforcement officer, no legal penalty is too tough. Liberals oppose the death penalty. Where does Jesse stand?

Where I do: We want Congress to expand the death penalty. Not some time. Not some place. But across America -- now. //

Jesse Helms' favorite all-time movie is Patton. And in closing, (let me recite the words of George C. Scott) -- as Patton -- telling his troops that in coming months they would often wonder whether they'd retreat under fire. "Don't worry about it," he advised them. "I can assure you, you will all do your duty."

refers to S.C.S. name + did not as comparison for Duhalde

For 18 years, Jesse Helms has done his duty. Acting as a United States Senator to protect what Mayberry's own Aunt Bee, of the beloved Andy Griffith Show, called "home and people's feelings, and how they grew up." // He has acted with the civility and conscience that is a metaphor for North Carolina. And with a spirit that would make even General Patton proud. //

but not over yet. what about. "continues to lead"

Two years ago, after an operation, Jesse disobeyed doctor's orders by leaving his sick bed early to hit the campaign trail for myself and Dan Quayle. I'll never forget how he, literally, stood up to support me. Tonight, I pledge to him my support. // You know where Jesse stands: For a safe, strong, and moral America. I need him in the Senate. So let's keep him there -- for North Carolina's sake, and America's. Thank you for this occasion. Let's re-elect Senator Jesse Helms. And God bless the United States of America.

#

Jesse Helms for Senate: June 20, 1990.
7:00 P.M.

Information on Liberty Hall:

- One component of the Merchandise Mart.
- ~~POTUS may have attended groundbreaking; we are checking.~~
- 2000-3000 expected for fundraising dinner on 20th.
- Two-tier dais with capacity of 50; acknowledgements will be extensive. Billy Graham likely to be present.
- Gov. Martin as M.C.
- Teleprompter required.

Lanier G. White
7170
Spring
1987

Owner
Charlotte

shall fall on my sword at the first opportunity."

—Van Heflin mocking humility before Robert Taylor in Mervyn LeRoy's *Johnny Eager* (Screenplay by John Lee Mahin and James Edward Grant; based on a story by James Edward Grant)

7.

"Perhaps it's for the best, for how can I forget the precepts taught to me at my mother's dying knee when she said, 'Sidney, never marry a woman who drinks.' Too bad. Such a fine woman once, and now a slave to demon rum."

—Wallace Beery making an alcoholic exit, teasing his straitlaced sweetheart (Aline MacMahon), in Clarence Brown's *Ah, Wilderness!* (Screenplay by Albert Hackett and Frances Goodrich; based on the play by Eugene O'Neill) and (almost verbatim)

—Frank Morgan dittoing Agnes Moorehead in the remake, Rouben Mamoulian's *Summer Holiday* (Screenplay by Irving Brecher and Jean Holloway; based on *AH, WILDERNESS!*, a screenplay by Albert Hackett and Frances Goodrich and play by Eugene O'Neill)

DUTY

1.

Some of you boys, I know, are wondering whether or not you'll chicken out under fire. Don't worry about it. I can assure you that you will all do your duty. The Nazis are the enemy. Wade into them. Spill *their* blood. Shoot *them* in the belly. When you put your hand into a bunch of goo that a moment before was your best friend's face, you'll know what to do."

—George C. Scott pep-talking to his troops at the outset of Franklin Schaffner's *Patton* (Original Screenplay by Francis Ford Coppola and Edmund H. North; based on *PATTON: ORDEAL AND TRIUMPH*, a book by Ladislav Farago, and *A SOLDIER'S STORY*, a book by Omar N. Bradley)

3. "Congratulations, my dear. I made it just in time, didn't I? May I borrow the end of your speech to make a speech of my own? My method for gaining your attention may seem a little uncon—unconventional, but, er, hard times call for harsh measures. My—I had my speech all prepared, but I—it's gone right out of my head. Let me see—why, it's silly to be so formal, isn't it? I know most of you sitting out there by your first names, don't I? I made a lot of money for you gentlemen in my time through the years, haven't I? Well, I need a job now. Yeah, that's it. That—that—that—that's the speech. That's the—I need a job. That's what I wanted to say. I—I need a job. It's as simple as that. I—I need a job, that's all. My talents, I might say, are not confined to dramatic parts. I can play comedy, too."

—James Mason interrupting the Oscar-acceptance speech of his wife (Judy Garland) in George Cukor's *A Star Is Born* (Screenplay by Moss Hart; based on a screenplay by Dorothy Parker, Alan Campbell and Robert Carson and original story by William A. Wellman and Robert Carson)

4.

"I'm drunk. It's a pleasure to stay drunk when your little boy's been killed."

—Eileen Heckart grieving about her son's death in Mervyn LeRoy's *The Bad Seed* (Screenplay by John Lee Mahin; based on the play by Maxwell Anderson and novel by William March)

5.

"Well, you said yourself you were looking for someone to do dramatic crimitism—er, criticism. I am drunk."

—Joseph Cotten asking, with a drunk-thick tongue, for a transfer to Chicago from his best friend (Orson Welles) in Orson Welles's *Citizen Kane* (Original Screenplay by Herman J. Mankiewicz and Orson Welles)

6.

"Emperor, I have incurred your displeasure. I

TINGS

ery happy to be to be anywhere. Perhaps it'd be hat bottle right imm? It'll save ps. . . . I'm glad gh so well. As pressed it, 'Our : stands today,' you'll all agree e time for all of face facts, get ut the war and say it. I'm just p in one word tter sum it up

bankers in Wil-
Lives
based on
icKinlay

y dear. Very
I want to be
ou on that—
-a-brac. Now
emen of the
one of those
don't mean
ear. What I
ing nobody
e Worst Per-
it three stat-
nces of the
d every sin-
terpieces of
i."

r-acceptance
iam A. Well-

campbell
al story by
n)

VA. They have one son, Paul, a student at the College of William and Mary. Mr. Kopp and his wife currently reside in Alexandria, VA.

Continuation of Kathleen D. Koch as General Counsel of the Federal Labor Relations Authority
June 29, 1989

The President today announced that Kathleen Day Koch will continue to serve as General Counsel of the Federal Labor Relations Authority for a term of 5 years. She would succeed Dennis M. Devaney.

Since 1988 Ms. Koch has served as General Counsel of the Federal Labor Relations Authority. Prior to this she was Associate Counsel to the President at the White House, 1987-1988. She was senior attorney at the Department of Commerce, 1984-1987. She was an attorney with the United States Merit Systems Protection Board, 1979-1984, and at the Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1977-1979.

Ms. Koch graduated from the University of Missouri at St. Louis (B.S., 1971) and the University of Chicago Law School (J.D., 1977). Ms. Koch, a native of St. Louis, resides with her three children in Annandale, VA.

Nomination of Jean McKee To Be a Member of the Federal Labor Relations Authority, and Designation as Chairman

June 29, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Jean McKee as a member of the Federal Labor Relations Authority for a term of 5 years expiring July 1, 1994. Upon confirmation, she is to be designated Chairman. This is a reappointment.

Since 1988 Ms. McKee has served as Acting Chairman of the Federal Labor Relations Authority, and has served as a member of the Authority since 1986. Prior to this she was Executive Director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service,

1983-1986. From 1980 to 1983, Ms. McKee was director of government relations for the General Mills Restaurant Group. From 1979 to 1980, she was a public affairs consultant in New York and Connecticut. In 1979 she was appointed to a 3-year term on the Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy, and Deputy Administrator then Administrator of the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration in Washington, DC, 1976-1977. Prior to this she served in several capacities for New York Senator Jacob K. Javits, 1967-1975.

Ms. McKee graduated from Vassar College with a political science degree. She resides in Washington, DC.

Statement on the Death of Alan Woods
June 29, 1989

We are saddened by the loss of Alan Woods, a personal and professional friend who served his country with compassion and distinction.

Alan was committed to focusing AID's [Agency for International Development] work on promoting growth in developing countries. He was convinced that without basic economic growth permanent improvements could not be made in the quality of life and the elimination of poverty in those nations. He cared deeply for those people around the world who needed our help.

He served his country loyally and diligently under two Presidents. On a personal level, Alan was a good friend and family man. While he continued his battle against cancer, he also continued to promote the ideas and programs in which he believed.

Barbara and I send our sympathies to Cameron, Alexandra, and Caroline.

Remarks Announcing the Proposed Constitutional Amendment on Desecration of the Flag

June 30, 1989

Senator Dole, thank you, sir, and Senator Dixon, appreciate your coming all this way

to join us on such short notice. To Congressmen Michel and Montgomery, my sincere thanks, and all the Members of the Senate and House that are here, Secretary of Defense and other distinguished civilians, the Defense Department, and of course I salute the members of the Joint Chiefs who have joined us here. I might say I'm delighted to see Admiral Crowe back from his very successful visit to the Soviet Union. Welcome back to the U.S. of A., Bill. And also our fellow citizens, citizens of this, the freest, most generous nation on God's Earth—thank you for joining us.

And we stand today before a symbol of hope and of triumph. All across America—above farmhouses and statehouses, schools and courts and capitols—our flag is borne on the breeze of freedom. And it reminds Americans how much they've been given and how much they have to give. Our flag represents freedom and the unity of our nation. And our flag flies in peace, thanks to the sacrifices of so many Americans.

A woman in Florida recently shared with me a letter written by her cousin, a young soldier named Wayne Thomas. On December 16, 1966, he wrote, "Every time we go out on patrol, it gets a little scarier. The only thing that gives us a sense of security is when we walk back into camp and our flag is still flying high." She told me that Wayne stepped on a landmine 11 days later and was killed. He was 18 years old. He understood this banner of freedom and ultimately gave his life for the flag to give others the freedom that it represents.

You know, she also pointed out to me, parenthetically, that she was a registered Democrat. And to me that simply states that patriotism is not a partisan issue; it's not a political issue: Our purpose today transcends politics and partisanship.

And we feel in our hearts, and we know from our experience, that the surest way to preserve liberty is to protect the spirit that sustains it. And this flag sustains that spirit. And it's one of our most powerful ideas. And like all powerful ideas, if it is not defended, it is defamed. To the touch, this flag is merely fabric. But to the heart, the flag represents and reflects the fabric of our nation—our dreams, our destiny—our very fiber as a people.

And when we consider the importance of the colors to this nation, we do not question the right of men to speak freely. For it is this very symbol, with its stripes and stars, that has guaranteed and nurtured those precious rights, for those who've championed the cause of civil rights here at home, to those who fought for democracy abroad.

Free speech is a right that is dear and close to all. It is in defense of that right, and the others enshrined in our Constitution, that so many have sacrificed. But before we accept dishonor to our flag, we must ask ourselves how many have died following the order to "Save the Colors!" We must ask how many have fought for the ideals it represents. And we must honor those who have been handed the folded flag from the casket at Arlington.

If the debate here is about liberty, then we cannot turn our backs on those who fought to win it for us. We can't forget the importance of the flag to the ideals of liberty and honor and freedom. To burn the flag, to dishonor it, is simply wrong.

And today we remember one of the most vivid images of our flag—the one you see behind me—Joe Rosenthal's stunning photograph immortalized in bronze. As you view this memorial, think of its flag and of these men and of how they honor the living and the dead. Remember their heroism and their sacrifice, giving of themselves and others of their lives, fighting bravely, daring greatly, so that freedom could survive.

The Battle of Iwo Jima wrote one of the greatest chapters in the story of America. And even now, it humbles us, inspires us, reminds us of how Henry Ward Beecher said, "A thoughtful mind, when it sees a nation's flag, sees not the flag only but the nation itself."

The Nation itself was ennobled by the Battle of Iwo Jima. It was fought in early 1945, fought on 8 square miles of sand, caves, and volcanic rubble. And it cost our Armed Forces almost 7,000 killed and more than 19,000 wounded—almost a third of the landing force. But like Tarawa and Guadalcanal and the Philippines before, it had to be won. For victory at Iwo would be yet another step towards bringing that ghastly war to a close.

These marines wrote a profile in courage, enduring a torrent of shells, pushing their way up that extinct volcano. And they stormed Mount Suribachi. And when they reached the top, the five men behind me raised a piece of pipe upright, and from one end flew a flag. And in the most famous image of World War II, a photograph was taken of these men and that flag. And what that flag embodies is too sacred to be abused.

As Justice Stevens stated so eloquently in his dissenting opinion in the recent Supreme Court case: "The ideas of liberty and equality have been an irresistible force in motivating leaders like Patrick Henry, Susan B. Anthony, Abraham Lincoln; schoolteachers like Nathan Hale and Booker T. Washington; the Philippine Scouts who fought at Bataan; and the soldiers who scaled the bluff at Omaha Beach. If those ideas are worth fighting for—and our history demonstrates that they are—it cannot be true," he says, "that the flag that uniquely symbolizes their power is not itself worthy of protection from unnecessary desecration." The Justice is right.

And today I am grateful to the leaders here and the leaders of the Congress with us in this audience who have proposed a constitutional amendment to protect the flag. Its language is stark, and it's simple and to the point: "The Congress and the States shall have power to prohibit the physical desecration of the flag of the United States." Simple, and to the point. This amendment preserves the widest conceivable range of options for free expression. It applies only to the flag, the unique symbol of our nation.

Senator Dole, Senator Dixon, Congressmen Michel and Montgomery, I know that you have already taken the lead, but please take the lead, working with others here today, in moving this bill forward. With the help of you Members of the Senate and House here today, and with the help of the many more of your colleagues who couldn't be with us today, I am confident that we will succeed. I've seen predictions that this will take a long time. It need not. It is simple, to the point, direct; and it addresses itself to only one thing: Our flag will not be desecrated.

Let me close with a letter from a man named Augusto Moreno. Born in Argentina, now a naturalized citizen, he likes to say that he's more proud to be an American than most of those born in this country. I'm not sure he's right about that, but that's what he likes to say, anyway. He's very serious when he states; "I am proud to say that my blood is represented on our flag. I was wounded while fighting for democracy with the United States Marine Corps in Vietnam. I am now a disabled veteran. I am sure that there is not one day that goes by without you seeing the faces of those who were not so fortunate to return as you and I." And he says, "We must continue our struggle to protect the flag now, as when we were in uniform—if not for us, then for those fallen veterans. We've been entrusted by those who have fought for freedom before us to protect our flag. I cannot allow anyone to desecrate the only symbol of freedom in the world." And he ends saying, "Sir, I realize that you're a Navy veteran, but Semper Paratus anyway." [Laughter] Those darn marines, I'll tell you.

Well, Mr. Moreno, you have our word on it: For the sake of the fallen, for the men behind the guns, for every American, we will defend the flag of the United States of America.

Thank you. God bless this flag. And God bless the United States of America.

Note: The President spoke at 9:23 a.m. in front of the Iwo Jima Memorial in Arlington, VA. In his remarks, he referred to Secretary of Defense Richard B. Cheney and Adm. William J. Crowe, Jr., USN, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Statement on Meeting With South African Antiapartheid Activist Albertina Sisulu

June 30, 1989

I have been pleased today to welcome to the White House Mrs. Albertina Sisulu, of Soweto, South Africa. "Mama Sisulu", as she

is known by her legion of admirers, is co-president of the United Democratic Front, a coalition of multiracial South African organizations opposed to apartheid. The UDF is among the organizations banned by the South African Government, and Mrs. Sisulu has been subjected to imprisonment, house arrest, and to government restrictions on her activities. However, she remains a strong advocate of nonviolence and of a nonracial South Africa.

Mrs. Sisulu has lived a life of sacrifice for the betterment of all South Africans. At age 70, she continues to be active in the service of others. Each day she travels more than an hour to reach her job as a nurse in a clinic which cares for the neediest residents of Soweto. She personifies the struggle for human rights and human dignity, and her presence here is an inspiration to us all.

As I told Mrs. Sisulu in our meeting, the United States also believes fundamentally in human rights and human dignity. We believe strongly that apartheid is wrong and that it must end. We want to see the creation of a nonracial and democratic South Africa as a result of negotiations among legitimate representatives of all of South Africa's people. We support the beginning of a process leading to a peaceful transition to democracy.

To achieve our goal, we intend to expand our assistance to black South Africans to help them both economically and politically so they can play their rightful role in determining the future of their country. We will work with the Congress to increase present programs and develop new ones to assist black South Africans in the critical areas of human rights, education, employment, housing, and community development. Such programs should not be misunderstood as our acquiescing in apartheid, but rather viewed as a determined effort to bring it to an end.

We will also work closely with our allies, particularly the British, Japanese, West Germans, and Portuguese, to develop mutually supporting policies and cooperative programs to resolve the political impasse created by apartheid and to assist in the advancement of black South Africans. These

nations have important historical, cultural, and economic ties with South Africa, and their wisdom and influence need to be brought to bear on the problems of South Africa and the region.

Again, it has been an honor to be with Mrs. Sisulu here today. Her struggle and that of her husband, Walter, who remains in prison, and her children, remind us of the price of freedom and the hope which her example inspires in all of us.

Nomination of Jane A. Kenny To Be Director of ACTION June 30, 1989

The President today announced his intention to nominate Jane A. Kenny to be Director of ACTION. She would succeed Donna M. Alvarado.

Mrs. Kenny currently serves as Deputy Director of ACTION, the Federal domestic volunteer agency in Washington, DC, and also serves as Acting Associate Director of the Office of Domestic and Antipoverty Operations. In November 1988 she was appointed Deputy Director of the Office of Domestic Operations and administered the ACTION programs, including the Foster Grandparent, Senior Companion, and Retired Senior Volunteer Programs (RSVP); Volunteers In Service to America (VISTA); and ACTION Drug Alliance. Mrs. Kenny joined ACTION in July 1986, serving as Director of VISTA. Prior to this, she was Director of the Executive Secretariat at the General Services Administration. She served in the Office of Vice President George Bush for 4 years, most recently serving as Special Assistant to the Vice President. Mrs. Kenny has served as a staff assistant at the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration, and as a management analyst in the Department of Justice in Washington, DC.

Mrs. Kenny graduated from the College of New Rochelle (B.A., 1967) and American University (M.P.A., 1977).

*Jim Gardner
B.A. Call.
Wake Forest*

SENATORS

Sen. Jesse A. Helms (R)



Elected 1972, seat up 1990; b. Oct. 18, 1921, Monroe; home, Raleigh; Wingate Col., Wake Forest U.; Baptist; married (Dorothy).

Career: Navy, WWII; City Ed., *Raleigh Times*; A. A. to U.S. Sens. Willis Smith, 1951-53 and Alton Lennon, 1953; Exec. Dir., NC Bankers Assn., 1953-60; Raleigh City Cncl., 1957-61; Exec. V.P., WRAL-TV and Tobacco Radio Network, 1960-72.

Office: 403 DSOB 20510, 202-224-6342. Also P.O. Box 2888, Raleigh 27602, 919-856-4630; and P.O. Box 2944, Hickory 28603, 704-322-5170.

Committees: *Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry* (3d of 9 R). Subcommittees: Agricultural Production and Stabilization of Prices (Ranking Member); Domestic and Foreign Marketing and Product Promotion; Nutrition and Investigation. *Foreign Relations* (Ranking Member of 9 R). *Rules and Administration* (4th of 7 R).

Select Committee on Ethics (2d of 3 R).

Group Ratings

	ADA	ACLU	COPE	CFA	LCV	ACU	NTLC	NSI	COC	CEI
1988	5	4	8	10	0	100	93	100	75	75
1987	10	—	7	8	—	100	—	—	89	87

National Journal Ratings

	1988 LIB — 1988 CONS		1987 LIB — 1987 CONS	
Economic	7%	92%	6%	87%
Social	0%	89%	6%	89%
Foreign	19%	80%	0%	76%

Key Votes

1) Cut Aged Housing S	AGN	5) Bork Nomination	FOR	9) SDI Funding	FOR
2) Override Hwy Veto	AGN	6) Ban Plastic Guns	FOR	10) Ban Chem Weaps	FOR
3) Kill Pint Clsng Notice	FOR	7) Deny Abortions	FOR	11) Aid To Contrás	FOR
4) Min Wage Increase	AGN	8) Japanese Reparations	AGN	12) Reagan Defense \$	—

Election Results

1984 general	Jesse A. Helms (R)	1,156,768	(52%)	(\$16,917,559)
	James B. (Jim) Hunt, Jr. (D)	1,070,488	(48%)	(\$9,461,924)
1984 primary	Jesse A. Helms (R)	134,675	(91%)	
	George Wimbish (R)	13,899	(9%)	
1980 general	Jesse A. Helms (R)	619,151	(55%)	(\$8,123,205)
	John R. Ingram (D)	516,663	(45%)	(\$264,088)

ov., Jim Gardner (R); Secy. of State, Treasurer, Harlan Boyles (D); Auditor, use of Representatives, 120 (74 D and 46 R); Representatives, 11 (8 D and 3 R).

ential Vote

.....	1,346,481	(62%)
.....	824,287	(38%)

lican Presidential Primary

.....	124,260	(45%)
.....	107,032	(39%)
.....	26,861	(10%)
.....	11,361	(4%)

an. 1993; b. Dec. 11, 1935, Savannah, Ga.; Col., B.S. 1957, Princeton U., Ph.D. 1961; married (Dorothy).

l., 1960-72; Mecklenburg Cnty. Bd. of Comm., 1967-68, 1970-71; U.S. House of Representatives, 1971-77.

igh 27611, 919-733-4240.

1) G. Martin (R) ..	1,222,338	(56%)
2) Dan III (D)	957,687	(44%)
3) Martin (R), unopposed		
4) Martin (R)	1,208,167	(54%)
5) en (D)	1,011,209	(45%)

JESSE HELMS
U.S. SENATE

1000, 500, 250, 150
HELMS for Senate

P.O. Box 26544 • Raleigh, N.C. 27611-9921
(919) 850-0922

ELISABETH SMITH
TREASURER

UNITED STATES SENATOR JESSE HELMS
NORTH CAROLINA
BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

2 daughters
+
1 adopted
6 granddaughters

2000
Senator Jesse Helms began his first term in the Senate on January 3, 1973. He was reelected in 1978 and 1984. Senator Helms ranks 18th in seniority among the 100 Senators and will increase his seniority at least to No. 17 if reelected in November. He is the Republican Leader of the powerful Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, a member and former Chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry, a Member of the Select Committee on Ethics and the Rules Committee. He has also served on the Committee on Armed Services and Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Development. He has served as Chairman of the Senate Steering Committee, as well.

While serving in the Senate, Senator Helms has saved the taxpayers \$3,169,781.40 by returning to the Treasury money that was allocated for him to spend in operating his Senate Office expenses.

Senator Helms has a lifetime attendance record of 96%, one of the highest in the Senate.

He has stated that his legislative goal for 1990 is to "cut wasteful spending, cut wasteful spending, cut wasteful spending."

Senator Helms has received the coveted "Watchdog of the Treasury" award every year for voting to cut wasteful federal spending.

Senator Helms has fought to pass 28 measures to fight crime and drugs. He was recently honored by North Carolina law enforcement officers for his effective work in helping them fight crime and drugs.

Senator Helms was born in Monroe, North Carolina, on October 18, 1921. He attended the Monroe Public Schools, Wingate (NC) Junior College, and Wake Forest College. Senator Helms worked his way through school waiting tables and as a proofreader for the Raleigh News & Observer. While working at the News & Observer, Senator Helms met his wife Dorothy who also worked at the paper. When they were married, they were both earning about \$30 a week. That was not much to start a family on. But, as Senator Helms says, "At least we weren't paying a quarter of our income in taxes like many young families are today." That is why Senator Helms supports child care tax credits to help families with young children.

Senator Helms volunteered for the U. S. Navy after Pearl Harbor. After World War II, he became City Editor of the Raleigh Times, and later, Director of News and Programs for the Tobacco Radio Network and Radio Station WRAL, in Raleigh.

He served as Administrative Assistant to United States Senator Willis Smith, 1951-1953 and United States Senator Alton Lennon, 1953.

From 1953 through 1960, Mr. Helms was Executive Director of the North Carolina Bankers Association, and served as Editor to The Tarheel Banker, which became the largest state banking publication in America under his stewardship.

He served two-year terms on the Raleigh City Council. During all four years, 1957-1961, he served as Chairman of the Council's Law and Finance Committee.

He is a past president of the Raleigh Rotary Club, and the Raleigh Executives Club. A thirty-third degree Mason, he is past Grand Orator of the Grand Lodge of Masons of North Carolina and a member of the Shriners.

He has served as a Director of the North Carolina Cerebral Palsy Hospital and Rehabilitation Center in Raleigh. Dr. Lenox Baker, the hospital's founder, says, "Jesse Helms has raised more money to help crippled children than any other man in North Carolina."

Nationally respected commentator, Paul Harvey said, "Senator Jesse Helms is a conservative so he is rarely mentioned by national news media...unless it has something unflattering to say. Why do you suppose the people of North Carolina keep reelecting him? Maybe they know him better than we do. For example, they know that Senator Helms has raised more money to help crippled children than anyone else in the history of the state. That Jesse Helms, personally, adopted and raised to manhood a crippled orphan".

Prior to his election to the Senate, Senator Helms served as deacon and Sunday School teacher at Hayes Barton Baptist Church in Raleigh.

He was one of the founders and serves as a director of Camp Willow Run, a Christian Youth Camp near Littleton, NC. Each year the camp devotes several weeks to underprivileged children.

He has served on the Boards of Trustees of Meredith College, John F. Kennedy College, Campbell University and Wingate College.

In 1941, at age 20, he became the youngest reporter, up to that time, to win the annual North Carolina Press Association award for enterprising reporting.

In 1962, he received the annual Freedoms Foundation Award for the television editorial judged best in America. He was similarly honored by the Foundation in 1973 for a newspaper article.

He is the first Republican, as well as the first North Carolinian, to receive the Golden Gavel for presiding over the Senate more than 120 hours in 1974.

He holds the Gold Medal of Merit from the Veterans of Foreign Wars and a Special Commendation Award from the American Legion. He was chosen Man of the Year by Women for Constitutional Government and Legislator of the Year in 1978 by the National Rifle Association. In 1980 and 1983, he was voted the Most Admired Conservative in Congress by the readers of "Conservative Digest".

In 1981 and 1982, he received the Taxpayers' Best Friend Award presented to him by the National Taxpayers' Union. For every session of Congress since he became a Senator in 1973, he has received the Watchdog of the Treasury Award from the National Associated Businessmen.

He was Executive Vice-President, Vice-Chairman of the Board and Assistant Chief Executive Officer of Capitol Broadcasting Company, Raleigh, North Carolina, from 1960 until his election to the Senate.

From November, 1960, until he filed for the Senate in 1972, Mr. Helms wrote and presented daily editorials on WRAL-TV and the Tobacco Radio Network. His editorials were printed regularly in more than 200 newspapers throughout the United States. They were broadcast by more than 70 radio stations in North Carolina.

The late Sam Ervin, the highly-respected Democrat who served in the Senate with Senator Helms, said, "I admire Senator Helms very much. He's one of the few men in public life who's got the courage to stand up for what he honestly believes. Courage is the rarest trait among public men I know of. Many of them are intelligent, but there are very few of them courageous."

His knowledge of the Senate Parliamentary Rules and his effectiveness have been praised by Democrats and Republicans. Democratic Senator Joe Biden said, "Helms is the master. He's the toughest. He's the smartest."

Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts said "All of us would be remiss if we did not take this opportunity to recognize the tireless efforts of the distinguished ranking Republican on the Foreign Relations Committee in focusing our attention on the Panama problem. At one time, Senator Jesse Helms was a voice in the wilderness condemning this narco-dictatorship, and I think we owe him a debt of gratitude for perseverance on this issue."

Republican leader, Robert Dole, said, "Senator Helms is an extraordinarily diligent Senator with an exceptional voting

record -- 99.7 percent attendance in the 99th Congress and 100 percent for the first half of the 100th... The people of North Carolina are very fortunate. Because no one represents their interests with more strength or more conviction than Jesse Helms."

He is married to the former Dorothy Jane Coble of Raleigh. He is the father of three children; Jane (Mrs. Charles R. Knox), an elementary school principal in Raleigh, Nancy (Mrs. John C. Stuart), a nurse in Raleigh and Charles, a businessman in Winston-Salem.

You know where
Jesse Helms
stands.

What Jesse Helms
stands for
warbs.

Jesse Helms for Senate:
June 20, 1990

I. All of us can probably remember breaking the rules once or twice in our childhood. Mark Twain once told an audience of a turning point during his early years. He recalled a day in his youth when he stole a watermelon out of farmer's wagon while the farmer was waiting on another customer, only to find that the watermelon was not ripe when he returned home with it.

The minute I saw it was green, he said, I was sorry, and began to reflect- reflection is the beginning of reform... I said to myself: 'what ought a boy to do who has stolen a green watermelon? What would George Washington do, the father of his country, the only American who could not tell a lie? There is only one right, high, noble thing for any boy to do who has stolen a watermelon of that class; he must make restitution; he must restore that stolen property to its rightful owner...(So) I carried that watermelon back- what was left of it- and restored it to the farmer, and made him give me a ripe one in its place." But as Jesse and I know, these days we have to worry about more than stolen watermelons. Drugs and gang violence pervade...

II. The Jesse Helms I know cares about people, raising money every year for crippled children. That's the Jesse Helms who went out and personally bought a pair of glasses when he heard about the son of a woman in Johnston County who couldn't see the blackboard. If you want to know about Jesse Helms, just ask the family of a missionary in Nigeria who got arrested on a case of mistaken identity about how Jesse got their son home. Or ask the class of 1951 at Burlington High School about how Jesse Helms arranged for special medical treatment for a victim of ALS disease. Talk to Durham's Thuy Doan about Jesse Helms. Thuy escaped from Vietnam and struggled for seven years to get her mother out. She'll tell you how Jesse reunited her family. You see, that's the Jesse Helms I know, a man who visits with literally thousands of North Carolina school children every year, and the man who consistently gets voted by the pages at the Senate as the most courteous and helpful Senator to work with.

THOUSAND POINTS OF LIGHT

You hear me talk about what I call the Thousand Points of Light -- people helping other people. Jesse Helms has been one of those Thousand Points of Light. Beginning with the days when he got out of the Navy after the war and worked with veterans to build a ball park and bring a baseball team to Roanoke Rapids so kids wouldn't be hanging out on the street corners.

Dr. Lennox Baker, a pioneer in orthopedic surgery, has said of Jesse, "Jesse Helms has raised more money to help crippled children than any other man in North Carolina."

Jesse Helms is one of those Thousand Points of Light and examples abound. A prison inmate told Jesse about a woman in Johnston County whose son couldn't see the blackboard in school and the family couldn't afford glasses. Jesse bought the glasses.

The family of a Missionary in Nigeria who got arrested on a case of mistaken identity will tell you about how Jesse Helms got him home.

The class of 1951 at Burlington High School will tell you how a victim of ALS needed special medical care and Jesse Helms got it for him.

Thuy Doan of Durham, who escaped from Vietnam and tried for seven years to get her mother out, will tell you how Jesse Helms helped reunite their family. She told the Durham Morning Herald, "He must be very powerful. Before he got involved, the paperwork just went around and around."

These people and more will tell you that Douglas Kiker of NBC News was exactly right when he said, "If a political profile of Jesse Helms comes down to one thing, it is compassion."

ABORTION

I believe I know one of the reasons Jesse is opposed to abortion -- a very personal reason -- and I'd like to share it with you. Because it's an experience we've share in my own family.

It was Christmas, 1962, when Jesse and Dot Helms read a newspaper article about a boy with cerebral palsy in Greensboro living in an orphanage. The child wished Santa Claus would bring him a mother and father.

Jesse and Dot Helms adopted that boy, they helped him through a tough series of operations. Today, Charles Helms is a successful young man with a family of his own.

Today, there are 40 couples waiting to adopt for every available baby. A family like Jesse's or my own who has experienced the joy of adoption first-hand is naturally going to come down on the side that adoption is superior to abortion. I respect Jesse for his courage on this issue.



Excerpt from PAUL HARVEY NEWS ... December 6, 1989

Senator Jesse Helms is a conservative so he is rarely mentioned by national news media ... unless it has something unflattering to say.

Why do you suppose the people of North Carolina keep reelecting him?

Maybe they know him better than we do.

For example, they know that Senator Jesse Helms has raised more money to help crippled children than anyone else in the history of the state.

That Jesse Helms, personally, adopted and raised to manhood -- a crippled orphan.

DRUGS AND CRIME

Jesse Helms has worked for 42 measures fighting crime and drugs. Boot camp prisons for drug offenders, tougher penalties for cocaine users, real jail time for traffickers and the death penalty for drug kingpins. North Carolina police have honored Jesse Helms for his effective work fighting crime and drugs.

Jesse, I know your youngest daughter, Nancy, is a nurse. And I'm sure she sees, just like Barbara does, the awful tragedy of babies born addicted to crack cocaine. It tears at your heart. That's why I am an enthusiastic backer of Jesse Helms' legislation to cut congressional expense accounts in order to fund treatment for babies born addicted to crack cocaine. Jesse, that idea works and I know you'll be fighting for it every day until we get it passed.

TRADITIONAL VALUES

There is no doubt that the decline in traditional values greatly contributes to the rise in crime and drug abuse. Jesse Helms stands for restoring the traditional values of faith and work -- the principles that built this country and the principles that will sustain it. I stand shoulder to shoulder with Jesse in the fight to restore traditional values like the right to voluntary school prayer.

STORY

I know how Jesse looks after the little things that mean a lot to individual people. There was the time he was meeting with me and, before he left, he gave me a birthday card to sign for two 105 year old twin sisters in North Carolina.

Jesse played the tuba in the high school band. At the State band contest Jesse was assigned to play The Flight of the Bumblebee. And people who know the tuba tell me that's a very difficult number. So Jesse started and then he stopped. And he started again and stopped. The judge asked him, "Son, what's the matter?" And Jesse replied, "I'm scared to death." But he pulled himself together and went on to win the State contest. Jesse was the King of the tuba that day. And one of his band teammates on the clarinet went on to play in Tommy Dorsey's band.

AMERICAN DREAM

When Jesse graduated from high school, times were tough. Money was tight. And he didn't know whether he could afford college or not. But the high school principal told him if you were willing to work you could make it. Jesse worked his way into college waiting tables and proof reading copy at the local newspaper. The most important thing the government can do is maintain a climate in America where hard work gets you ahead. That's the American dream and Jesse Helms and I are dedicated to preserving it.

PERSONAL BACKGROUND AND CHILD CARE

Jesse Helms grew up during the depression, the son of a police chief. Traditional values of faith, courage and work were taught in the home, in the church and in the schools.

When Jesse and Dot Helms were first married, Dot had to work so they could make ends meet. But they weren't paying 32% of their income in taxes like many young families are today. That's why Jesse Helms supports tax credits for families with children in day care. Jesse Helms stands for strengthening the family. And what Jesse Helms stands for works.

EASLEY ON THE BALANCED BUDGET

I noticed Jesse's Democratic opponent is critical of the balanced budget amendment and line item veto authority for the President to cut spending. Jesse's opponent is wrong on those two issues. A balanced budget amendment will put some discipline back into the federal government. Line item veto authority will let me slice the pork and fat out of the budget. Jesse Helms stands for the balanced budget amendment and the line item veto to control spending. And what Jesse Helms stands for works.

TRADITIONAL VALUES/ACLU

I read one of the top officials of the American Civil Liberties Union -- the ACLU -- formed a special Political Action Committee for the sole purpose of defeating Jesse Helms -- The North Carolina Senate Vote '90, they call it. Well, the choice is very clear.

Jesse Helms and I believe flag burning ought to be illegal while the ACLU believes it ought to be legal. Jesse Helms and I believe voluntary school prayer ought to be legal and the ACLU believes it ought to be illegal. Jesse Helms and I want to take the handcuffs off the police and put them on the criminals... Jesse, if the ACLU is after you, then you're doing the right thing. Jesse, you're standing for the traditional values that built this country and we can't let the ACLU tear them down.

DRUGS AND CRIME

Manuel Noriega is cooling his heels in Florida awaiting his trial on drug charges. Jesse Helms was right about Noriega all along. I don't often agree with Senator John Kerry, the Massachusetts Democrat, but Senator Kerry was absolutely right when he said, "At one time, Senator Jesse Helms was a voice in the wilderness condemning this narco-dictatorship, and I think we owe him a debt of gratitude for his perseverance on this issue."

TAXES AND SPENDING

To keep taxes down, we need Senators like Jesse Helms with the courage to control federal spending. And Jesse Helms doesn't just talk about controlling spending. According to the National Taxpayers Union, Jesse Helms has been ranked No. 1, repeatedly, in the Senate for cutting wasteful spending and opposing big spending bills. As the Taxpayers Union said, "If every member of Congress cast spending votes as carefully as Jesse Helms, we would have a balanced federal budget, lower taxes and a healthier economy." I wholeheartedly agree.

QUOTE

"The man from North Carolina does believe in something --
and that makes him worth more than almost any 50 Democrats
picked at random."

Richard Reeves
Universal Press Syndicate
July 14, 1989

ENVIRONMENT

Jesse Helms voted for a tough oil spill clean up bill and unlimited liability for offshore drillers. But it is simply unfair, dishonest politics for the extreme environmentalists to label a senator anti-environment because he could not support every provision of the Clean Air Act. I know how hard Jesse worked for environmental policies that are good for North Carolina and clean fuels that will relieve smog in our cities.

TAXES AND SPENDING

Sometimes, you just have to grin and bear it when you hear congressmen after congressmen say you can't cut spending, you can't cut spending and you know the same congressmen are more than \$30 million over budget for the mass mailings Congress sends out promoting their re-election campaigns. Jesse Helms does not send out mass mailings at taxpayers' expense. Jesse Helms preaches fiscal responsibility and he practices it -- returning over \$3 million to the Treasury from office funds he did not need.

SENIORITY AND EFFECTIVENESS

Around the nation, Jesse Helms is known as the Senator who stands up for traditional values. But the federal agency heads in Washington know him as the Senator who gets things for North Carolina. Jesse Helms got an airplane for the Hyde County sheriff to fight drugs. And drug education funds for the Gaston County schools. Whether it's helping a community college obtain equipment to teach students new skills or getting state-of-the-art heart research technology for Duke Hospital, Jesse Helms has the seniority and effectiveness to get the job done for North Carolina.

As a key member of the Agriculture Committee, Jesse Helms is always there to protect the critical farm programs that benefit North Carolina's economy. It was Jesse Helms who navigated the legislative mine field to pass a new tobacco program that has meant an average \$3600 in added income per farmer in North Carolina.

EASTERN EUROPE

In the 1970's, Jesse Helms was a lonely voice against the cuts in defense that nearly brought America to her knees in 1980. But in the 1980's, we rebuilt our strength with Jesse's help. And the fact that America is strong again is the reason why freedom is on the march and the Berlin Wall has fallen. Jesse's belief that only a strong America could force the Soviets to change has been proven right.

ECONOMIC GROWTH

I depend on Jesse Helms to help me pass our agenda for economic growth -- tax free savings accounts to help families save for retirement, college costs or home ownership, a cut in capital gains taxes to reinvigorate our high-tech industries in competition against Japan and Germany. Senator Helms stands for reducing the size of government so opportunities for working families can expand.

PIONEER

Jesse Helms has truly been a pioneer in so many things. Jesse was one of the original sponsors of the innovative schools of choice plan that lets parents choose the school that is best for their child — a concept reinvigorating public education across the country. Jesse Helms was one of only 11 Senators to oppose the catastrophic health care surtax on senior citizens and helped lead the fight to repeal it. Jesse Helms stands for ending the Social Security earnings limit that penalizes senior citizens who want to continue working.

COURAGE

I respect Jesse for his courage and independence. Sam Ervin, one of the giants who served in the United States Senate, said of Jesse, "I admire Senator Helms very much because he's one of the few men in public life who's got the courage to stand up for what he honestly believes. Courage is the rarest trait among public men I know of. Many of them are intelligent, but there are very few of them courageous."

It is absolutely vital that we have someone like Jesse Helms in the Senate -- someone who will vote his convictions and stand his ground regardless of the political consequences.

YOUNG PEOPLE

Jesse is fond of saying you don't spend time with young people, you invest it. That's why he meets with thousands of North Carolina school children every year to show them around the Capitol. That's why the young people who come to the Senate as Pages voted Jesse Helms the most courteous and helpful Senator they dealt with.

SENIORITY AND EFFECTIVENESS

Having a Senator like Jesse Helms with seniority and effectiveness means real things to real people in North Carolina. Ask the thousands of North Carolinians who got their Social Security after Jesse Helms cleared away bureaucratic roadblocks. Jesse helped get a serviceman home from the Philippines into Walter Reed Hospital for malaria treatment. And Jesse helped a man dying with cancer realize his dream of becoming an American citizen.

Other Books by Robert V. Remini

MARTIN VAN BUREN AND THE MAKING OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

THE ELECTION OF ANDREW JACKSON

ANDREW JACKSON

ANDREW JACKSON AND THE BANK WAR

THE PRESIDENCY OF ANDREW JACKSON (EDITOR)

THE AGE OF JACKSON (EDITOR)

WE THE PEOPLE: A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

(WITH JAMES I. CLARK)

THE REVOLUTIONARY AGE OF ANDREW JACKSON

ANDREW JACKSON

and the

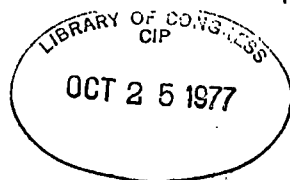
COURSE OF AMERICAN EMPIRE, 1767-1821

Robert V. Remini



1817

HARPER & ROW, PUBLISHERS
NEW YORK, HAGERSTOWN, SAN FRANCISCO, LONDON



E382
R43
1977
vol. 1
MSS

Jacket portrait of Andrew Jackson by Ralph E. W. Earl, courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

ANDREW JACKSON AND THE COURSE OF AMERICAN EMPIRE, 1767-1821. Copyright © 1977 by Robert V. Remini. All rights reserved. Printed in the United States of America. No part of this book may be used or reproduced in any manner whatsoever without written permission except in the case of brief quotations embodied in critical articles and reviews. For information address Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., 10 East 53rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10022. Published simultaneously in Canada by Fitzhenry & Whiteside Limited, Toronto.

FIRST EDITION

Designed by Eve Callahan

Maps by J. P. Tremblay

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Remini, Robert Vincent, date

Andrew Jackson and the course of American empire.

CONTENTS: v. 1. 1767-1821.

Bibliography: v. 1, p.

Includes index.

1. Jackson, Andrew, Pres. U.S., 1767-1845.

2. Presidents—United States—Biography. 3. United

States—Territorial expansion. 4. United States—

Politics and government—1815-1821. I. Title.

E382.R43 1977 973.5'6'0924 [B] 77-3766

ISBN 0-06-013574-3 (v. 1)

77 78 79 80 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

For Harriet C. Owsley and Sam B. Smith,
True Jacksonians in their friendship and loyalty

CHAPTER 1

Beginnings

AT ONE TIME IN THE HISTORY of the United States, General Andrew Jackson of Tennessee was honored above all other living men. And most dead ones, too. The American people reserved to him their total love and devotion. Nothing within their sovereign power did they deny him. Nothing satisfied the need to acknowledge his greatness or the enormous debt they owed him. As a mark of that devotion and confidence—if not the mark of madness—some men continued to vote for him for President of the United States nearly fifteen years after his death. As the nation stumbled toward the crisis of Civil War these votes desperately sought to summon him from his tomb to rescue once again his beloved country.

No American ever had so powerful an impact on the minds and spirit of his contemporaries as did Andrew Jackson. No other man ever dominated an age spanning so many decades. No one, not Washington, Jefferson, or Franklin, ever held the American people in such near-total submission.

An early and reliable biographer of this impossible Hero tried to convey to his readers the strength and longevity of the bond forged between Jackson and the American electorate. Hard pressed to find the appropriate words, he finally summed it up this way: "Columbus had sailed; Raleigh and the Puritans had planted; Franklin had lived; Washington fought; Jefferson written; fifty years of democratic government had passed; free schools, a free press, a voluntary church had done what they could to instruct the people; the population of the country had been quadrupled and its resources increased ten fold; and the result of all was,

that the people of the United States had arrived at the capacity of honoring Andrew Jackson before all other living men."¹*

And justly so. For the story of Andrew Jackson's life is one of the most important and significant chapters in the history of the United States. As both military commander and political leader, he reshaped and redirected the course of American expansion and democracy. That a man of such towering influence in his country's growth and development should have been born into relative obscurity and poverty added to his achievement and popularity. To many Americans his life scored the final proof that their new nation was an unparalleled success.

The story of Andrew Jackson and his immediate family begins in Northern Ireland in 1765. There were four brothers, the sons of Hugh Jackson, a well-to-do linen weaver. Each of the brothers occupied a "large Farm" and paid the usual rents to the "Lord of the Soil."² Each was known for his "hospitality" and "strict adherence and attachment to the faith as professed by the Kirk of Scotland." They were Scotch-Irish, their ancestors having crossed from Scotland to Northern Ireland after the army of William III defeated James II at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690. Though they had been born in Northern Ireland it was reported that the Jackson brothers preserved "a great portion of Scottish phraseology and Dialect."³ If this was true (some historians have doubted the source of this information⁴) it would seem to indicate that these Scotch-Irish were a tightly knit, insulated group.

The youngest brother, Andrew, father of the future President, lived near Castlereagh, a hundred and twenty-five miles from Carrickfergus, on the eastern coast of Northern Ireland. He had married Elizabeth Hutchinson, by whom he had two sons, Hugh and Robert. In 1765, when his sons were aged two years and six months respectively, Andrew decided to improve his station by pulling up stakes, selling his property, and sailing to America. Andrew was probably encouraged in this adventure by his wife's sisters, all of them intent on moving to America and all but one apparently unmarried at the time of their crossing. Andrew and family sailed from Carrickfergus in 1765 accompanied by his neighbors, James, Robert, and Joseph Crawford (or Crafford). James Crawford's wife was Elizabeth Jackson's sister. It was now two years since the signing of the peace treaty ending the European Seven Years' War, called the French and Indian War in America; it was also the year American colonists met together in congress to protest the Stamp Act that Parliament had enacted to increase taxes to help pay the costs of an expanded empire.

*Notes begin on p. 425.

The Scotch-Irish were arriving in America in ever-increasing numbers in the mid-eighteenth century. Attracted by the promise of a new life, impelled by the disappointments of the old, and encouraged by the sheer numbers of emigrants leaving Ireland to seek another start, they swarmed across the ocean, landed at every conceivable port along the American coastline, and quickly fanned out into the upland interior. The early history of the Jackson family as it relocated in the colonies is extremely difficult to trace because of the sparseness of documentary evidence, but it is probable that Andrew, Elizabeth, and their two boys landed in Pennsylvania and slowly moved southward, following the route taken by several of Elizabeth's sisters.⁵ In time they settled in the Waxhaw region, which straddled North and South Carolina and was watered by Waxhaw Creek, a branch of the Catawba River where the Catawba Indians once roamed. Because of the creek the region was a fertile island in a wasteland of pine woods, and it had a slight reputation for the quality of its grapes. A meeting house had been erected to provide community life. And, of course, there was a church which was Presbyterian in its denomination.

Despite the generally unpromising location of the region it attracted a substantial number of people from the north country of Ireland. One Scotch-Irish family followed another into the Waxhaw, trailing down from Pennsylvania and huddling together for protection and comfort. The Jacksons and Crawfords headed for it because they could expect to find family already established in the Waxhaw who would assist them in settling in a new and frightening world.

They were not disappointed. Waiting to greet them was the George McCamie family, Mrs. McCamie—a recent bride—being the sister of Mrs. Jackson and Mrs. Crawford. Several other sisters lived in the Waxhaw, two of whom were now married to brothers by the name of Leslie. So when the Jacksons and Crawfords finally reached this pine country there was a sort of family reunion. The moment of arrival for the two families, who had crossed a fierce ocean and tramped through a wilderness to reach the Waxhaw, must have occasioned great joy.

It was a good beginning. The several families linked by a common female tie sustained each other during the terrible struggle for survival that lay ahead. For the Jacksons it was particularly difficult; unlike the Crawfords, who had a little money and thus bought land on the more fertile side of the Creek, the Jacksons scraped along at near subsistence level and were forced to settle on new land around Twelve Mile Creek, another branch of the Catawba. Whether Jackson was a squatter or not is uncertain, and some early biographers of President Jackson have taken the position that his father "never owned in America one acre of land."⁶ Certainly the elder Jackson claimed he owned the land on which he

settled. Unfortunately, one Thomas Ewing also claimed it. After the death of her husband, and with the assistance of her brother-in-law, James Crawford, Elizabeth Jackson received an indenture in the name of her children for the land in question from Ewing on payment of fourteen pounds "Currant Money of North Carolina."⁷ According to this deed the extent of the property began at a white oak on the south side of Twelve Mile Creek "by a small Branch & Runs thence N 10 E 180 poles to a Red Oak by a Small branch Thence N 80 W 180 poles to a R. O. thence S 10 W 180 poles to a Red Oak thence to the Beginning."⁸ In all, the property encompassed approximately 200 acres of land.

For two long, difficult years Andrew Jackson sweated over this sour land to make it yield. For his wife it was a continuation of the hardship she had always known, one that extended back to her early life in Ireland. Her family had been weavers of linen, and the women had sometimes toiled half the night to earn extra money while the men worked the farms they did not own but paid high rents to occupy. At least now, in America, they worked for themselves.

The area around Twelve Mile Creek later became part of Union County, North Carolina. It got that name in tribute to President Jackson and as a rebuke to its neighboring "nullifiers" in South Carolina. At one time there had been a plan to call the county Jackson County, but it was finally decided that Union County was a worthier compliment, particularly since the county arrogantly poked itself partway into South Carolina.

The short time that the elder Jackson worked this land produced a small log house, some cleared fields, and enough crops to feed his family. But the labor exacted in this enterprise broke the unfortunate man; after only two years in the country, he died suddenly in March 1767,⁹ his wife pregnant with his third child. A rude farm wagon bore the body to the Waxhaw churchyard, where it was buried in the presence of relatives and neighbors, among them his sons, Hugh, now four, and Robert, aged two. After the funeral, Elizabeth went to the home of her sister, Jane Crawford; there, a few days later, on March 15, 1767, she gave birth to a third son, whom she named Andrew in memory of her late husband.

Something of a controversy exists about the birthplace of President Jackson—specifically, whether he was born in North or South Carolina. (There are also claims that he was born on the high seas and in Ireland, but there is no reliable evidence to support these contentions.) The problem of the birthplace turns on Elizabeth's actions following the death of her husband. If she went to the Crawfords and had her child in their house, then Jackson was born in South Carolina. However, there is a tradition in the Leslie branch of the family, accepted by some biographers,¹⁰ that Elizabeth went to the home of George McCamie and there gave birth to Andrew, in which case Jackson's birthplace was North Caro-

lina. According to the Leslie tradition, Elizabeth was on her way to the Crawfords when she stopped for a visit with the McCamies, and while there she went into labor. Not until after the child was born and she was able to travel—approximately three weeks later—did she continue her journey to the Crawfords. Since the Crawford house was located in South Carolina and the McCamie home in North Carolina, the two states have never given up trying to certify Elizabeth's physical location at the time of her son's birth.

The evidence advanced for both claims is inconclusive, but the better case is offered by South Carolina if for no other reason than that Jackson himself believed it was his birthplace. Presumably each person at some early period of his life asks and learns where his life began, and Jackson repeated many times that he was born in South Carolina. In response to an inquiry by James H. Witherspoon of South Carolina in 1824, Jackson wrote: "As to the question asked, I with pleasure answer, I was born in So Carolina, as I have been told at the plantation whereon James Crawford lived about one mile from the Carolina road and of the Waxhaw Creek, left that State in 1784, was born on the 15 of march in the year 1767."¹¹ Furthermore, Jackson constantly referred to South Carolina as his "native State" during the nullification crisis in 1832, and this, in the absence of concrete evidence, must be the decisive factor in awarding the state that Jackson threatened to drench in fraternal blood the honor of claiming him as its own.¹²

In any event, Elizabeth abandoned the farm her husband had worked himself to death to till and took up permanent residence with the Crawfords. As Jane Crawford seems to have been a semi-invalid, Elizabeth became housekeeper and poor relation. She had eight Crawford children to look after along with her own three. Later she was remembered as always knitting or spinning, always busy, always working—as she had been trained from early childhood. She was a stout woman and exceedingly pious, in many respects very much like President Jackson's wife, Rachel. She was a woman of extraordinary interior strength whose life was nearly as heroic as that of her famous son.

She had one pious little hope: that her youngest boy, Andrew, would become a Presbyterian minister. To fulfil that hope she would see to it that he got the liberal education he needed for the ministry. Then, with God's grace, he would go forth and help men to save their souls!

CHAPTER 2

Revolutionary Soldier Boy

FOR THE FIRST TEN OR TWELVE YEARS of his life Andrew Jackson lived at the Crawfords' and enjoyed the comfort and support as well as the turmoil and confusion of a large family. Since his mother ran the household, it is unlikely he felt like an outsider. Indeed Andrew was accorded many advantages. When he grew to age, he attended an academy conducted by Dr. William Humphries, which indicates that there was some financial support for his education. Later he went to a school run by James White Stephenson, a Presbyterian minister. His two older brothers did not share his advantage. They went to a "common country school."¹ Because Elizabeth Jackson was intent on rearing Andrew for the ministry, he had the benefit of a more expensive education.

At Humphries's academy Andrew learned to read, write, and "cast accounts." He later told a biographer that he also studied the "dead languages," by which he presumably meant Latin and Greek.² Exposure to the classical languages had no particularly profound effect on him. On occasion he could spout Latin phrases with the best of them—*delenda est Carthago, e pluribus unum*, and *sine qua non* were said to erupt from him at appropriate moments—but nothing much beyond these tired clichés. That he was exposed to the "dead languages" indicates that he attended better than ordinary academies, schools run by clergymen in which languages were emphasized and students were prepared for college and the clergy.³

If Elizabeth Jackson hoped the education she struggled to give Andrew would steer him into the ministry, she was mistaken. She soon

spotted signs that his interests and instincts were far removed from matters ecclesiastical. To begin with, even at a tender age, he swore a blue streak—fine, lovely, bloodcurdling oaths that could frighten people half to death—hardly the language of a budding clergyman. Indeed he used this art very effectively throughout his life to scare his victims into doing what he wanted. Which is to say that there was something of the bully in Andrew Jackson, both as man and boy. Sometimes he feigned anger as an excuse to release a flood of expletives, thereby terrorizing those around him. He had a mean, vicious temper that frequently exploded into ugly language and acts, although it now seems clear that his temper was more often than not under complete control and was displayed only for effect. As he matured he grew less insanely excitable, probably with his wife's help and encouragement.

Poor Elizabeth. Andrew never developed into the boy she wished him to be. After a while she probably knew he would never become a Presbyterian minister. Although her ministerial intention for him failed to quicken, there was yet a strong, distinctive religious streak in Andrew Jackson, no doubt rooted by his mother and later nurtured by his wife. It is too often assumed that the grown Jackson was a street brawler, duelist, gambler, and all-around ruffian. Any notion of him as being religious is dismissed as absurd—except as he might cynically use it for political purposes. But to deny his genuine religious faith is a mistake. True, he attended church services on an irregular basis, but he believed in organized religion and regarded himself as a practicing Christian. Late in life he formally joined a Presbyterian church.⁴

Despite his better-than-average education, better at least than that of his brothers, Andrew did not acquire a secure academic background. His education simply did not take, and he himself later recognized his deficiencies. Of history, political science, grammar, literature, mathematics, and science he knew little. Not that this bothered him particularly since he was absolutely confident of his instincts and talents. His consummate ego dispelled any anxiety he might have felt about his limitations. James Parton, an early and critical biographer, said his "ignorance of . . . everything which he who governs a country ought to know, was extreme. . . . His ignorance was as a wall round about him—high, impenetrable. He was imprisoned in his ignorance, and sometimes raged round his little, dim enclosure like a tiger in his den."⁵ Parton got carried away; this is a gross distortion.

It was also said—again unfairly—that the only "secular" book Jackson ever read from cover to cover was *The Vicar of Wakefield*. True, he prized the *Vicar* above all other books after the Bible, but the extent of the library he left upon his death raises doubts about his reading limita-

tions. He rarely talked about books in his correspondence, though on one occasion he counseled his nephew about "having a good library."⁶ And he himself was a voracious reader of newspapers, like all good politicians, and subscribed to a wide range of journals from all parts of the country, particularly after he emerged as a national figure. His poor spelling and fractured syntax are glaring when compared to the writings of the early Presidents, like Jefferson, Madison, and the Adamses, but when compared to most contemporaries they are better than average.

Jackson wrote with a vigorous scrawl that reflected the strength of his character. Admittedly, his sentences collide with each other, running on line after line in a wild "Ciceronian" style; ideas crowd against each other in a rapid, free flow of thought; commas, dashes, or pauses replace periods; and all manner of grammatical mayhem savage the English language. Nonetheless, despite these lapses, he commanded a powerful style of writing. His prose sometimes vibrated with all the energy and aggressiveness of his forceful and explosive personality. He wrote as he talked: strong, assertive, self-confident. His imagery, especially when he got himself worked up, conveyed enough raw power to jolt readers even a hundred and fifty years after it was written. When he communicated with Spanish governors or Indian chieftains, for example, he frequently summoned an eloquence of unparalleled thrust and drive.

Jackson understood the value of academic subjects in later years. History especially. He once told one of his wards to amuse himself occasionally with history, "amongst which if to be had, I would recommend to you the history of the Scottish chiefs." Considering his background, this recommendation was hardly unexpected. He always regarded Sir William Wallace as "the best model for a young man. . . . we find in him the truly undaunted courage, always ready to brave any dangers, for the relief of his country or his friend."⁷ Actually, Jackson could have been talking about himself.

In specifying the limits of his formal education—and they are not to be denied—there is danger of implying more than the actual truth, of suggesting (as did James Parton) that Jackson was a total ignoramus or something approaching it. And that would be absolutely false. Despite his limitations, Jackson was neither ignorant nor illiterate. He was in fact a man of genuine intellectual power, formidable in speech and writing, and, later in life, an excellent conversationalist.

Jackson's actions, more often than not, were inspired by instinct and intuition rather than knowledge or information. Supremely confident of himself, he was not afraid to rush forward and translate his impulses into action, declaring (as though the words provided justification) that he was taking full responsibility for whatever he did. Sometimes his impulses got

him into trouble, but on the whole he had particularly keen instincts as a politician, and he developed along the way a strong sense of the popular will. Highly educated men, with few exceptions, tend to be notoriously feeble politicians; Andrew Jackson's limited education never proved a political liability.

As a youth, Andrew was a "wild, frolicsome, willful, mischievous, daring, reckless boy." He was especially fond of foot races or jumping matches. He also liked to wrestle, but since he was quite slender he was more active than strong and as a consequence was usually thrown. "I could throw him three times out of four," said one classmate, "but he would never *stay thrown*. He was dead game, even then, and never would give up."⁸

To those who competed with him and were his equals or superiors, Andrew was a difficult boy to get along with. He was easily offended, irascible, self-willed, and somewhat overbearing. From an early age he showed unmistakable signs of being a bully, although an unusual sort of bully in that he could be a generous protector of younger boys provided they never questioned his ability or challenged his leadership.⁹ As one early writer put it, Andrew Jackson was a fighting cock all his life who was very kind to the hens who clucked about him, giving them many a nice kernel of corn. But he flared up in a rage and savaged with beak and spur any other cock who dared to challenge his domain.¹⁰ As a mature man he brooked no opposition to his will. Disagreements or differences of opinion he tolerated only if they posed no threat to his authority or reputation. It is possible that these early, unpleasant traits—traits that were modified but not appreciably altered during his later years—were the result in large measure of his living with the Crawfords as a poor relation and lacking the guidance of a strong father who could ween him from his bullying inclination. His insecurity forged a terrible need to assert himself against those of demonstrated superior ability.

Because Andrew was so competitive and overbearing, some boys gave him a gun one day, loaded to the muzzle, and dared him to fire it. They wanted the delicious pleasure of watching him get kicked to the ground by the discharge. Never one to refuse a challenge, Andrew grabbed the gun and fired it. The recoil sent him sprawling. Infuriated by the joke, he jumped to his feet and in a near frenzy screamed, "By G-d, if one of you laughs, I'll kill him!"¹¹ There was silence. No one uttered a sound. No one dared.

With all his youthful petulance, Andrew liked to have fun, play games, indulge in outrageous practical jokes. "Frolic . . . not fight, was the ruling interest of Jackson's childhood." He had a bit of gibberish to accompany his frolicking, the meaning of which suggests a great deal

about his character and personality. The gibberish was remembered by a second cousin who heard it from his father. It went like this: "Set the case: you are Shauney Kerr's mare, and me Billy Buck; and I should mount you, and you should kick, fall, fling and break your neck; should I be to blame for that?"¹² So, as he playfully knocked someone over or tripped him or wrestled him to the ground, Andrew would singsong his little piece about being the buck and mounting his opponent and asking whether it was his fault if calamity befell his opponent for resisting his advances.

The need to dominate. The need to have his will accepted without question. The warning that resistance could bring disaster. And whose fault was that? Certainly not Andrew Jackson's. Better to accept the yoke than chance a frightful consequence. If there be sexual meaning or connotation in the gibberish, it is for those with professional knowledge and skill at such analysis to suggest the possibilities.¹³

During the early years there were several indications that Andrew experienced emotional problems of one kind or another. An early writer mentions one without elaborating upon it or identifying the source of his information. He writes: "But the boy [Andrew], it appears, had a special cause of irritation in a disagreeable disease, name unknown, which induces a habit of—not to put too fine a point on it—'slobbering.' Woe to any boy who presumed to jest at this misfortune! Andy was upon him incontinently, and there was either a fight or a drubbing."¹⁴ What this slobbering signified is difficult to fathom. A modern historian suggests it was precipitated by Andrew's relationship with his mother and occurred when he was excited and could not express himself coherently.¹⁵ Like Billy Budd, who stuttered, Andrew could not defend himself verbally and therefore flew into a wild rage when tormented.¹⁶ Living on the frontier, where passions were easily inflamed and invariably led to violence, Andrew experienced emotional outbursts of such intensity that he literally choked with rage. He slobbered. And a fight or a drubbing ensued.

To what extent Andrew's relationship with his mother was the cause of this "disagreeable disease" is a matter of conjecture. A measure of parental responsibility is invariably present in the emotional traumas children suffer. Was the slobbering an expression of rage against the mother for reasons that may be totally unknown? Elizabeth Jackson later abandoned her son in a patriotic cause. Did this separation signify rejection? Is this, then, a contributory factor of the slobbering and the devouring violence?

Elizabeth Jackson was said to have dominated her son. An early historian—one Augustus Buell, whose veracity is highly questionable¹⁷—tells the story that "Aunt Betty Jackson" found the five-year-old Andrew

crying one day. "Stop that Andrew," she commanded. "Don't let me see you cry again! Girls were made to cry, not boys!" The young Andrew replied, "Well, then, mother, what are boys made for?" "To fight!" she snapped.¹⁸ Elizabeth is also supposed to have advised her son against lying, stealing, or suing for slander or assault—an account which a true man would settle on the field of honor. According to one John Trotwood Moore, who cited no source for his story, Andrew Jackson on his birthday in 1815, immediately following his military victory over the British at New Orleans, said to several friends gathered around him, "Gentlemen, I wish she could have lived to see this day. There never was a woman like her. She was gentle as a dove and as brave as a lioness. Her last words have been the law of my life." Those supposed last words were these:

Andrew, if I should not see you again, I wish you to remember and treasure up some things I have already said to you: in this world you will have to make your own way. To do that you must have friends. You can make friends by being honest, and you can keep them by being steadfast. You must keep in mind that friends worth having will in the long run expect as much from you as they give to you. To forget an obligation or be ungrateful for a kindness is a base crime—not merely a fault or a sin, but an actual crime. Men guilty of it sooner or later must suffer the penalty. In personal conduct be always polite but never obsequious. None will respect you more than you respect yourself. Avoid quarrels as long as you can without yielding to imposition. But sustain your manhood always. Never bring a suit in law for assault and battery or for defamation. The law affords no remedy for such outrages that can satisfy the feelings of a true man. Never wound the feelings of others. Never brook wanton outrage upon your own feelings. If you ever have to vindicate your feelings or defend your honor, do it calmly. If angry at first, wait till your wrath cools before you proceed.¹⁹

The final sentences of this passage, concerning what the law can and cannot remedy, have been repeated in other versions in other places.²⁰ They seem to support Augustus Buell's story of Aunt Betty's reminding her son that boys were made to fight. More reliable sources find Elizabeth Jackson considerably less combative, although the admonition against instituting suit for assault remained. John H. Eaton, a longtime associate of Andrew Jackson, wrote a campaign biography of his friend and recounted an incident in which Jackson spoke of his mother and her famous last words. "One of the last injunctions given me by her," said Jackson, "was never to institute a suit for assault and battery, or for defamation; never to wound the feelings of others, nor suffer my own to be outraged; these were her words of admonition to me; I remember them well, and

have never failed to respect them; my settled course throughout life has been, to bear them in mind and never to insult or wantonly to assail the feelings of any one; and yet many conceive me to be a most ferocious animal, insensitive to moral duty, and regardless of the laws both of God and man."²¹

Perhaps the injunction to fight when assaulted is implied, but it is not specifically stated in this passage spoken by Andrew. And the tone of the whole is not one of violence but—quite the contrary—of respecting the rights and sensibilities of others. The record, therefore, does not demonstrate a relationship between mother and son in which the mother conditioned the son to fight or prodded him to violence. That distorts the relationship.

Elizabeth Jackson was a strong-minded woman who had a powerful influence on her son. In speaking of her in later life—on the few occasions he did so—Andrew seems to have remembered her with affection. He reflected most on her courage and the strength she displayed in losing her husband and having to face the rigors of harsh frontier life with three sons to raise, the youngest of whom never knew his father. It has been reported that Andrew sometimes clinched a remark or an argument by saying, "*That I learned from my good old mother.*"²² All the earliest accounts of his life insist that Andrew "deeply loved his mother, and held her memory sacred to the end of his life."²³ Time no doubt erased the most painful memories and left only those remembrances Jackson could accept of the one person who most influenced his early life.

The danger of reading great psychological meaning into Andrew's early behavior should be obvious: little hard evidence exists to support such speculation. The "slobbering" is a case in point. The mid-nineteenth century writer who used the term did not explain what he meant by it, nor could he imagine what dire traits of character would be found in that single word by later interpreters. Is it not possible that the slobbering was a simple and not unusual childhood dysfunction that accompanied momentary emotional outbursts and that Jackson easily outgrew in the course of time?

The same writer who mentioned the slobbering also insisted that "frolic . . . not fight" best described Andrew's ruling interest as a child. "No boy ever lived who liked fun better than he, and his fun . . . was of an innocent and rustic character, such as . . . gives a cheery tone to the feelings ever after." Surely "slobbering" is incompatible with a fun-loving boy when the word is made to freight deep psychological problems raging within the young man.

There was indeed one raging passion deep inside the fun-loving Andrew: horses. He loved everything and anything about them—riding

them, racing them, tending to their needs. There was probably nothing unusual about this interest; most frontier boys came to know and appreciate the value of these animals almost as soon as they could walk and talk.

Nor was his delight in cockfighting any more unusual. Living on the frontier, he had an early initiation to this grisly sport. Like dueling, cockfighting was a fact of life in the south and west in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and Andrew absorbed the one as readily as the other. Interestingly, the earliest dated document in the collection of papers preserved by Jackson (it is not written in his hand) is titled, "A Memorandum How to Feed a Cock Before You Him Fight." It gives this advice:

Take and give him some Pickle Beaf Cut fine 3 times a Day and give him sweet Milk Instead of water to Drink give him Dry Indien Corn that hase been Dryn Up in smoke give him lighte wheat Bread Soken in sweet Milk feed him as Much as he can Eat for Eaight Days Orrange Town in Orange County
March the 22d 79
Mr. Mabee Merchant²⁴

It is fair to say that things athletic, rather than matters academic, interested Andrew most during his early school years. An older classmate remembered him as being "remarkably athletic" but also recollected that Andrew was impulsive, "ambitious, courageous and persevering in his undertakings."²⁵ At the time he attended school Andrew was a tall, extremely slender boy, whose most distinguishing features were his bright, intensely blue eyes—how they blazed when passion seized him!—and a shock of long, bushy, sandy-colored hair. If he got little out of school he nonetheless developed talents for absorbing what he needed and wanted. Over these early years he became uncommonly self-reliant. He had to. It was necessary for survival, particularly after the death of his mother. Moreover he frequently refused help or assistance from those who offered it. The strong urge to do things himself, to rely on his own resources, was a constant in his life, and he seemed to think all men should be guided by this principle. He was never afraid of responsibility. Indeed he hotly pursued it as though to satisfy some powerful inner need. No matter the circumstances, no matter the crisis, Andrew Jackson always prefaced his actions with "I take the responsibility"—as though that somehow put everything to rights.²⁶ Political opponents grew weary of his incessant "I take the responsibility." His defensiveness, they insisted, sought only to obscure the degree of his culpability.

Along with his self-reliance, Andrew developed an enormous sense of self-esteem, a protective coating that got thicker as he grew older and

provided the daring and willingness to take risks that helped bring him many of his political and military successes. It was one of his greatest strengths. More important, it clothed him with an ambience of authority that served him well—even when he was dead wrong—and encouraged men to follow him and to submit to his will.

Andrew's education, such as it was, may have failed to equip him with the knowledge and tools he would need as a well-informed public official, but it was better than most and it may have been sufficient to prod him toward a professional career in law. Certainly it did not hamper his swift and spectacular rise to fame and power. What invites conjecture are the accomplishments and heights he might have reached had his full intellectual strengths been cultivated.

Andrew's education took a different and very radical turn with the outbreak of war between the American colonies and the British Crown. Andrew was nine years of age when delegates to the Second Continental Congress, meeting in Philadelphia, signed a Declaration of Independence from Great Britain and in support of that Declaration mutually pledged their lives, fortunes, and sacred honor. There is a story that when the great document was received in the Waxhaw district, Andrew was called upon to read the Declaration aloud to the community. It is a charming story and deserves to be true—it would make a fitting complement to the story of Andrew's mutilation by a British officer after he was captured—but unfortunately the story is a fiction by a twentieth-century writer who made it up, probably to add color and excitement (as well as material) to his account of Jackson's early life.²⁷

The revolutionary war did not touch the Waxhaw settlement until several years after the adoption of the Declaration. Then, suddenly, the British burst into South Carolina. Savannah fell, and Charleston appeared to be the next target. American troops hurried to Charleston to strengthen the defenses, but they were no match for the trained professionals opposing them, and the city capitulated on May 12, 1780. South Carolina was now helpless.

Following the capture of Charleston, bands of Tories and redcoats ravaged the Carolina countryside. In the spring of 1780 a force of 300 British horsemen, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton, surprised a detachment of patriot soldiers in the Waxhaw vicinity, killing 113 and wounding 150. Because many bodies were mangled in the fighting, with a dozen or more wounds inflicted upon each one, and because the butchery and the pillaging of homes were so extensive, the engagement was rightly called a massacre. The wounded were left to the Waxhaw townspeople to attend, and the old log meeting house was converted into a hospital where Elizabeth Jackson, assisted by her sons

Robert and Andrew, treated the most desperate cases.

Then tragedy again touched the Jackson family. Hugh, at sixteen the eldest son, joined the regiment of William Richardson Davie when hostilities reached South Carolina, and he fought at the Battle of Stono Ferry. Immediately after the battle Hugh Jackson died, not from wounds but from the "excessive heat of the weather, and the fatigues of the day."²⁸

After the grisly massacre of the Waxhaw inhabitants, Colonel Tarleton passed through the settlement and headed toward the Catawba Nation, where he hoped to enlist the Indian tribe in his war against the Carolina settlers. As Andrew Jackson later remembered it, Tarleton himself passed within a hundred yards of where Andrew and his cousin Crawford were hidden. "I could have shot him," Jackson recalled.²⁹

Immediately after the Tarleton massacre came the grim report that an even larger corps of royal troops under Lord Rawdon was headed for the Waxhaw with the intent of devastating the region unless every inhabitant formally promised not to take part in the war thereafter. Elizabeth Jackson, her sons, the Crawfords, and most of their neighbors fled their homes rather than submit to this oath of allegiance. They retired to the north and waited until the enemy retreated. Soon it became a seesaw operation: the Waxhaw people moved back and forth from a northern sanctuary each time the British lunged at them. During the summer of 1780 there were so many alarms of troop movements by "murderous Tories" that the people of the Waxhaw lived in a state of perpetual fright, ready to flee the area in an instant to escape the certain fury.

By this time both Andrew and Robert were fairly well acquainted with "the manual exercise, and had some idea of the different evolutions of the field."³⁰ Their mother had encouraged them to attend the drills and general musters of the local militia. No doubt her encouragement stemmed from a practical necessity and perhaps pride, but more particularly it arose from her violent hatred of the British, a hatred that stretched back many years. During winter evenings she frequently gathered her sons around her and chilled them with stories of the sufferings of their grandfather during the siege of Carrickfergus and the oppression imposed by the Irish nobility on the laboring poor, impressing upon her children, as their first duty, the necessity of "defending and supporting the rights of man."³¹ The young and impressionable boys trembled at the horror of her tales, a horror that was never forgotten. Andrew absorbed a near-permanent hatred for the British not only because of his mother's instruction but as a result of his own revolutionary war experiences as well.

Thus at a relatively early age Andrew Jackson became familiar with the militia. He learned its drills and exercises and, far more important,

W. 177
998-2870

FOX

well, excuse
me.



703 ~~703~~

898-1458

45

Two

WV/NM

Hal Davis

Carter Wren →

919 850-0567

Pattay

Summit.
numm.

George relationship
C. Slett.

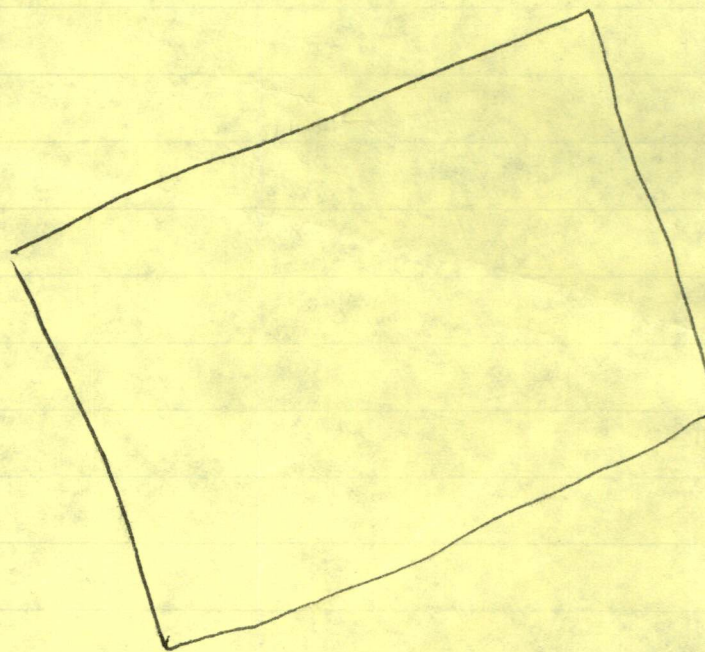
- relationship: probably goes back to 43. Wines are friends
- Summit
- Helms supported Reagan/Bush agenda.
- 1988 - Helms N.C. chairman - just got out of Hospital, Rocky Mountain
Raleigh - Rocky Mountain
- Don't mention name
L

J. Prager

Liberty
Commencement

Address to Conservatives

Need Book
Man of Integrity
Comm. Need
LA
LA



Boyd Hollingsworth

- Senator Helms.
- Summit: ? - ^{Use of Democracy} - The last time the Russians.

- Ag. Bill: Helms use to be chairman of Ag. Committee. - no longer though - may not want to highlight. - cite 'continued leadership.'

Ag. Bill
could be
out in
the 20th.
more general.

L Anne Barn Sullivan Crusade.

- Quotas - general statement
- Flag Burning - decision coming soon. L Constitutional Amendment
- Voluntary Prayer - consistent record - general statement
 - renew campaign.
 - 2/3 Congress
 - 3/4 states ratification.
- ^{Gayle} Rose Principles

- The man: little self-deprecation

- Humor

- deserve Garbachev - actually Helms

- Education - Education proposals have come through Senate well. (Nat. Teacher Cert. Board problem) (Hunt - Helms)
 - L 1/8 - P
 - L Helms support for education

Net:
choice
standards
Senate
Committee

Senatorial Committee

Christina Collins

Holms - Education

Rae Nelson

- Voluntary Prayer

- Another Fund - 2645.

- speak of 'President's Remarks'
nat Senate will include
Holms. voted against.

- President's Speeches

- Quarters:

Rose Garden

Civil Rights Comm. - 2 weeks
ago

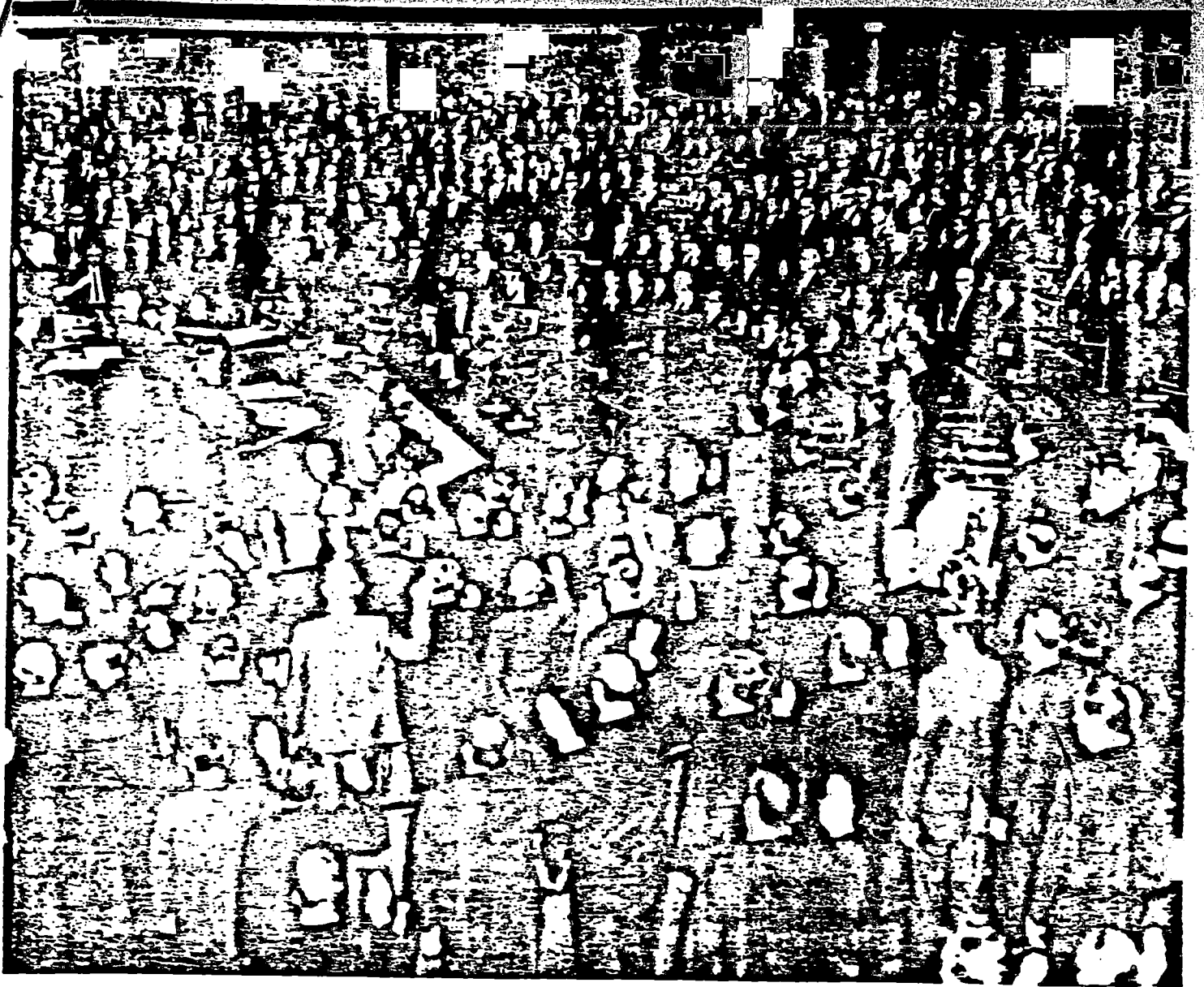
- Flag Burning: 120 fine Memorandum
July 1st.

- Voluntary Prayer:

Beulah Convention

August 18th

New Orleans.



SWEARING-IN CEREMONY AT OPENING OF 91ST CONGRESS.

***BUSH reports
on the action!***

HAIL AND FAREWELL: I was privileged to be selected as one of those to escort former President Johnson down the aisle at the joint session of Congress when he presented his State of the Union message. Those who agreed with his policies and those who disagreed were united in their respect for his long service to this country. I liked his call for unity behind our new President.

On January 20, I gathered with other Members of the 91st Congress in the House Chamber before proceeding to the inaugural platform for the Inauguration of President Nixon. Although it was a very cold day, I had a warm feeling inside as I listened to the prayers that were offered for our country and its new leader and to the President's message.

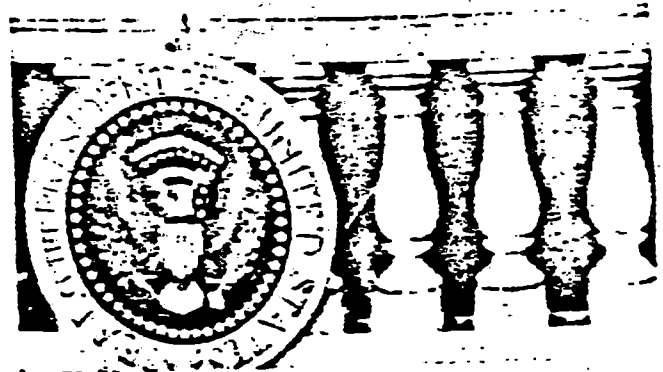
I once again felt a deep sense of gratitude to you who chose me as your Representative in Washington and gave me this opportunity to be a part of these high moments in history. Another highlight was seeing our many friends from the 7th District and other parts of Texas at the open house at our home and at my congressional office before and after the Inaugural Ceremony.

THE 91st CONGRESS: Legislation I have introduced since the opening of the first session of the 91st Congress includes:

A bill calling for Congressional veto of the pay raise of Members of Congress and other top Administration and Judicial officials. I think a good textbook case can be made for the increase, but the overriding point is that other working people are being asked to keep their wage and salary increases down while Congress receives an increase. I don't think it is fair to ask the people to stick with one standard and then to have the Congress given another. Unfortunately, the majority decided they would rather not have this bill taken up and it was left to die in Committee, and the raise took effect.

A bill calling for a Constitutional Amendment that would invalidate any interpretation of the Constitution that would abridge the right of persons lawfully assembled, in any public building, supported in whole or in part by public funds, to participate in nondenominational prayer. I think it is very important that this Congress uphold the people's right to pray in public buildings, schools, homes or at any public gathering. The bill is carefully drawn so as not to force a given religion down anyone's throat. I think we must keep church and state separate, but we must safeguard the right to prayer.

On the opening day of Congress, I reintroduced legislation aimed at removing politics from the Post Office. This legislation, first introduced in March of 1967, would have put the appointments of postmasters and rural carriers on a merit basis and prohibit individuals from seeking political endorsements for such appointments.



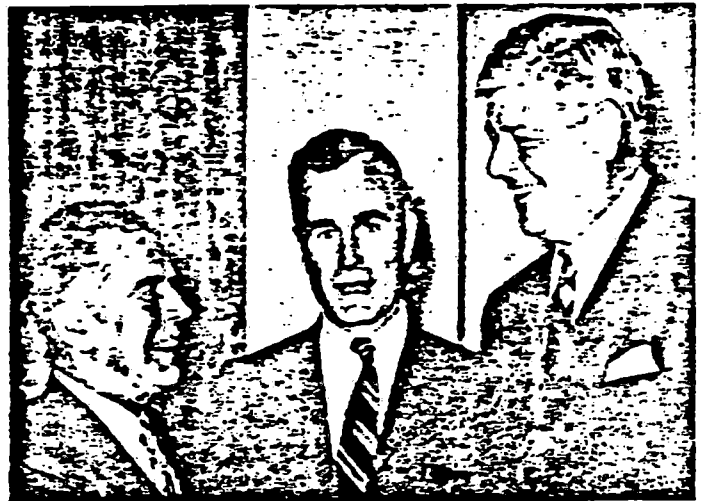
President Nixon taking the oath of office with Mrs. Nixon holding the family Bibles.

General Blount which achieved this result. There is no question in my mind that this will help facilitate a smooth-running and more efficient postal organization. The federal government is responsible for the mail service and I am glad to see that this challenge has been accepted by the new Administration.

I have just introduced a bill proposing the establishment of a Joint Select Committee on Population and Family Planning. I am convinced that we can never come to grips with the problems of poverty and hunger without a really enlightened family planning effort both in this country and abroad. This Committee, to be composed of five Members of the Senate and five Members of the House of Representatives, would conduct a complete investigation and study of the problems of population growth and the need for family planning in both the United States and the world in order to provide the Congress with a comprehensive basis for future scrutiny in this field.

THE WAYS AND MEANS COMMITTEE is where the action is in the 91st Congress. We are now in full swing on important tax reform hearings. I strongly favor tax reform, not to raise more revenue but to eliminate some of the inequities.

The hearings on tax-exempt foundations have just ended. They showed many abuses by some foundations. Foundations have done a tremendous amount of good in education and charitable deeds, but regrettably some have used their tax shelter improperly. The taxpayer ends up financing all kinds of non-charitable or non-educational programs. I am convinced the law will be changed to protect all of the taxpayers and to force the foundations to operate only for the purposes approved by the Congress.



Ranking Minority Member of the Ways & Means Committee, John Byrnes, with Congressman Bush welcoming newly-appointed Committee Member, Congressman Rogers Morton of Maryland.

SCHOOL BUSING: As your Congressman, I have tried at all times to work for fair play in race relations. Recently, I have received a lot of mail on school busing. Last year I voted with the majority of the Congress against using federal funds to achieve racial balance through busing. In my view, Negro and white parents alike oppose busing. They favor the neighborhood school concept and the freedom of choice approach. They want quality neighborhood schools, fair play for all, good teachers, good classrooms and facilities; but, they do not want their children carted miles away from their homes.

In Houston, the matter is now in the Federal Court. The School Board must make its best case to the Court. In Washington, I will continue to battle for good federal programs in education, but I will continue to fight against the use of federal funds for busing. Contrary to the opinion of much of my mail, the Nixon Administration has not come out in favor of busing.

ACADEMY APPOINTMENTS: I have just completed my recommendations for Academy appointments for the July 1, 1969, class. I am now accepting applications from boys interested in competing for appointment to West Point, Annapolis, the Air Force Academy, or the Merchant Marine Academy in the class entering July 1, 1970. This year, I plan to stop taking applications at Thanksgiving for the next class.

the Mexico-United States Interparliamentary Group, whose main objective is better understanding between our two countries. The Committee, which alternates on meeting sites, will meet this year in Mexico April 2-9. I feel that my work on this Delegation will be another means of better understanding the problems of our Mexican-American citizens as well as the relations between our two countries. The Mexican delegation is made up of members of the Mexican government comparable to the U. S. Representatives and Senators. During the meeting, we will have the opportunity to meet with the President of Mexico.



Mr. & Mrs. Douglas Johnston with Mrs. Bush, were among the many visitors at the open house in Congressman Bush's office after the Inaugural Ceremony.

SINCE THE FIRST OF THE YEAR, I have had the privilege of speaking in the district at the annual dinner meeting of the Family Service Center, the annual meeting of the Greater Houston Convention and Visitors Council; the annual luncheon meeting of the United Nations Association; a "town meeting" of the First Congregational Church; at SCORE, a counseling organization of retired executives; at Prairie View A&M College's President's Lecture Series; was honored at an appreciation dinner given by some of my Mexican-American friends; and was honored to be the first Member of Congress to speak at a student assembly at Katy High School. I also spoke at the general meeting of the American Association of University Women and the Spring Convention of the Southeast Gulf Coast District of Student Councils at MacArthur Senior High School.



At National Council of Farmer Cooperatives Dinner in Washington; left to right from top of picture: Mr. and Mrs. Cecil Melendy of Houston, Rep. and Mrs. Bush, and Mr. and Mrs. Wesley Nelson of Katy.

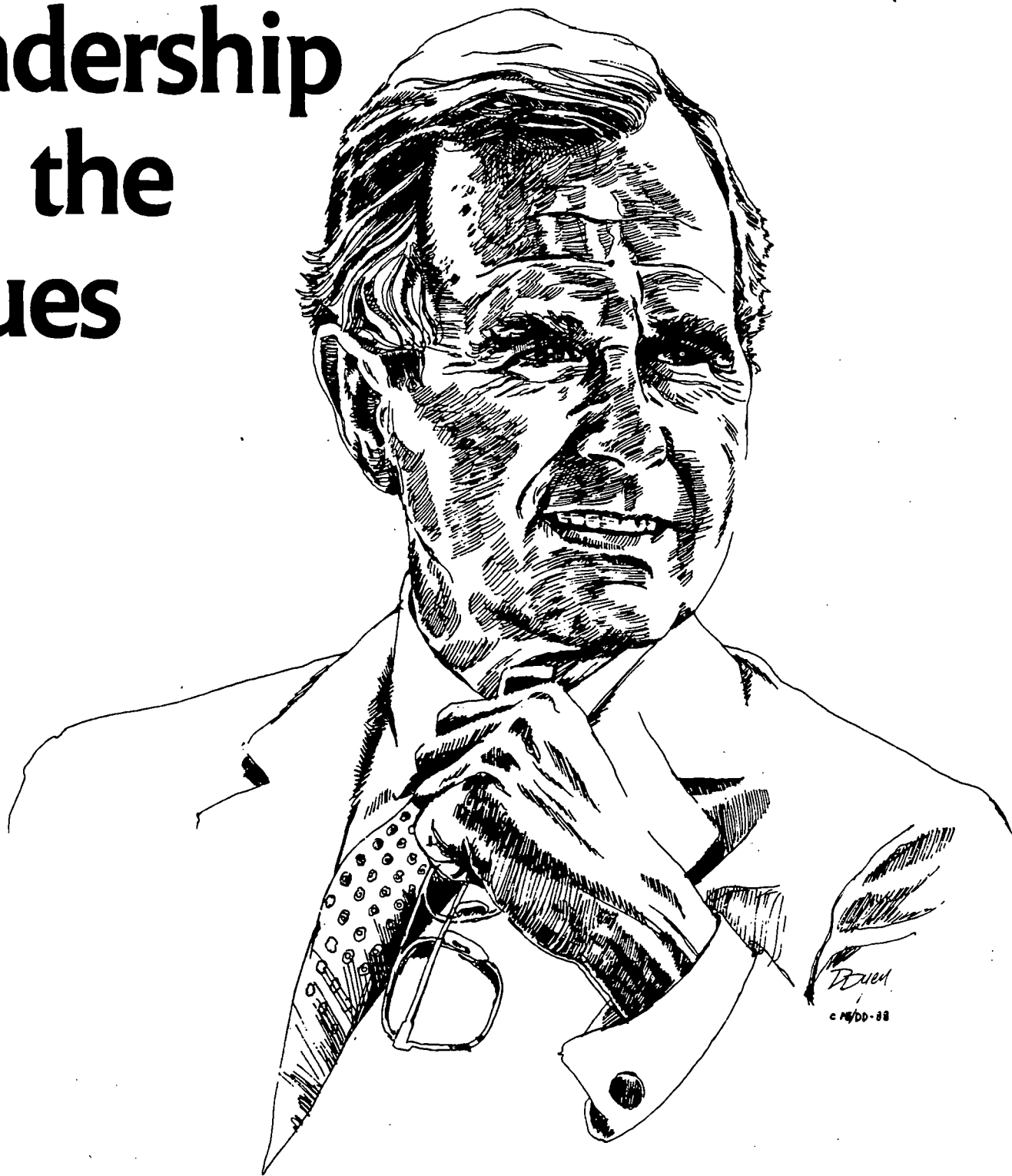
During this same time, Barbara has given her program on historic Washington through the use of slides for eighteen schools and other groups. We both get our "batteries recharged" through these meetings at home.

DR. COOLEY COMES TO WASHINGTON: I had the privilege this month of taking Dr. Denton Cooley, Houston's famed heart surgeon who has performed more heart transplants than any surgeon in the world, over to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to meet the new Secretary, Robert Finch.

WHO SAID THERE'S INEFFICIENCY IN GOVERNMENT? In a recent Newsletter I asked your help in correcting our mailing list. Many of you responded. We carefully sorted the envelopes on which you noted your corrections. Then, a particularly conscientious member of the building cleanup crew removed the box of alphabetized envelopes! So — one more time — if there's an error on this mailing, or you're getting more than one newsletter, please note it on the envelope and return it to us. We plan to lock them up in the safe!

Cy Bush

Leadership on the Issues



*“A presidency can shape an era—and it can change our lives.
A successful presidency can give meaning to an age.”*

George Bush
October 12, 1987

SCHOOL PRAYER

As a Congressman from Texas, I co-sponsored the "Prayer in School" Amendment.

Education is not just the teaching of facts and figures, but also the values that make up our democratic way of life. We must teach values. I believe "value free" education does not serve either the student or the society well.

I favor a voluntary prayer in school as an extension of our commitment to teaching values. I believe that students should have the right, if they wish, for a momentary reflection, meditation, or prayer.

* * *

RIGHT TO LIFE

I support a Constitutional Amendment that would reverse the Supreme Court's Roe v. Wade decision on abortion made in 1973. I also support a human life amendment with an exception for the life of the mother, rape, or incest. In addition, I oppose the use of federal funds to pay for abortion except when the life of the mother is threatened.

Frankly, while I have long opposed abortion, there has been an evolution in my thinking on the legal means by which we protect the sanctity of human life. Since the Supreme Court's Roe v. Wade decision in 1973, there have been about 18 million abortions in this country. This is a tragedy of shattering proportions. It brings a renewed sense of urgency to adoption of a Constitutional Amendment to overturn Roe v. Wade and the effort for a human life amendment.

I oppose the Supreme Court's ruling in Roe v. Wade and federal funding for abortions except when the life of the mother is threatened.

* * *

PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE Los Angeles, California October 13, 1988

Bar and I lost a child, you know that. We lost a daughter, Robin. I was running records in West Texas, and I got a call from her -- "Come home." Went to the doctor. The doctor said -- beautiful child -- "Your child has a few weeks to live." And I said, "What can we do about it?" He said, "No, she has leukemia, acute leukemia, a few weeks to live." We took the child to New York. Thanks to the miraculous sacrifices of doctors and nurses, the child stayed alive for six months and then died.

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
DURING MEETING WITH
COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The Rose Garden

10:02 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Welcome to the Rose Garden and to the White House. Thank you all very much for coming. To the Attorney General and Secretary Cavazos and Secretary Sullivan, thank you for joining us. Director Newman, the same. And to Senators Dole, Hatch, and Garn, Congressman Ham Fish, thank you very much for being with us today. To Chairman Fletcher, an old friend and a man I'm very proud of, welcome, sir. To Commissioners Buckley, Ramirez, Redenbaugh, Wilfredo Gonzalez and the State Advisory Committee Chairpersons, and to the distinguished leaders. I see Ben Hooks here and others of the civil rights community across this great country. It is -- and I mean it -- an honor to have you here today.

I think we've made it a moment that's very hopeful worldwide. In a minute from now, I'll be meeting in this marvelous Oval Office with Chancellor Kohl, talking about the dramatic changes that have taken place in the world. There is a time when the thundering cry for freedom is being heard and answered from Panama, hopefully in Johannesburg, to Warsaw.

And around the world, peoples are warring against tyranny, citizens struggling against state control, economies weary of bureaucratic central planners, all are looking to America as reason for hope -- the bright star by which to chart their course to freedom.

And so it's all the more crucial now that we look carefully to the kind of country we are -- to the state of democracy here in the Land of Liberty. And we're called upon to ensure that this democracy means opportunity for all who call it home.

Few have worked harder to deliver the promise of democracy, to make an enduring dream a living reality, than the men and women assembled here today in this Rose Garden. And particularly, I want to give credit again to these men and women standing behind me.

From its earliest origins, the Commission on Civil Rights has been an independent, bipartisan voice for justice. And the Commissioners, the Directors, the Advisory Committees all share a cultural diversity and an intellectual and moral conviction that are truly America's best. And these men and women have earned our admiration. And today, they deserve our thanks.

Joining a new Chairman -- and as I said, my friend of many years, Art Fletcher -- are two outstanding additions: Carl Anderson and Russell Redenbaugh. I know Bob Dole shares my admiration for Russell, a man of impressive credentials, who knows, as all Americans should know, that physical disability will not be a barrier to service in this administration. That's why I remain firmly committed to the landmark Americans for Disabilities Act to help ensure equal rights and opportunities for these Americans.

And today, I'd like to announce a new member of the Civil Rights Commission, Mr. Charles Pei Wang, President of the China Institute in America, an outstanding new addition.

Over the last few days, I've met to discuss pending civil

MORE

rights legislation with leaders representing America's rich tapestry of cultural, religious, and ethnic diversity. And I got, as I knew I would, a lot of sound advice. Much of which I can accept. (Laughter.) But these leaders, this Commission -- (applause) -- the Congress and this administration, believe me, all share a common conviction for equal opportunity. It's a responsibility that I've tried to take very seriously -- especially now, when our most vital export to the world is democracy.

And we must make sure that we as a nation continue to lead by example. We must see that true affirmative action is not reduced to some empty slogan, and that this principle of striking down all barriers to advancement has real, living meaning to all Americans. We will leave nothing to chance and no stone unturned as we work to advance America's civil rights agenda. (Applause.)

This nation's progress against prejudice, from the '64 Act to the Voting Rights Act, to the Fair Housing and Age Discrimination in Employment Acts, it's all hinged on the principle that no one in this country should be excluded from opportunity. And so, we're committed to enacting new measures like the Hate Crimes Statistics Act, the HOPE initiative of housing, a revitalized enforcement of restrictions against employment bias. This administration seeks equal opportunity and equal protection under the law for all Americans -- goals that I know are shared by Senators Kennedy and Representative Hawkins, and certainly by the four distinguished members of Congress with us here today.

And so we've supported efforts to ensure an individual's ability to challenge discriminatory seniority systems. We've also moved to stiffen the penalties from racial discrimination in setting or applying the terms and conditions of employment. And today, as we work to ensure that America represents democracy's highest expression, I want to begin by offering three principles that must guide any amendments to our civil rights laws. These principles are firmly rooted in the spirit of our current laws. After the extensive discussions that we've had this week, I think they're principles on which all of us, including the leadership on the Hill, can agree. And so I will enthusiastically support legislation that meets these principles.

First, civil rights legislation must operate to obliterate consideration of factors such as race, color, religion, sex, or national origin from employment decisions. (Applause.) So in essence, we seek civil rights legislation that is more effective, not less. The focus of employers in this country must be on providing equal opportunity for all workers, not on developing strategies to avoid litigation. (Applause.)

No one here today would want me to sign a bill whose unintended consequences are quotas. Because quotas are wrong, and they violate the most basic principles of our civil rights tradition and the most basic principles of the promise of democracy. America's minority communities deserve more than symptomatic relief, and we want to eradicate the disease. And that will require systematic solutions, strategies that transcend statistics.

We should empower and ennoble our minority communities. We should seek systematic change that allows every American to excel. During these meetings this week, I invited the civil rights leadership to work with me to craft a bill that moves us towards this goal. After these consultations, I am confident that this can be done. I want to sign a civil rights bill, but I will not sign a quota bill. (Applause.) I think we can work it out. (Applause.)

The second civil rights legislation must reflect fundamental principles of fairness that apply throughout our legal system. Individuals who believe their rights have been violated are entitled to their day in court, and an accused is innocent until proved guilty. In every case involving a civil rights dispute, constitutional protections of due process must be preserved.

MORE

And third, federal law should provide an adequate deterrent against harassment in the workplace based on race, sex, religion, or disability, and should ensure a speedy end to such discriminatory practices. Our civil rights laws, however, should not be turned into some lawyer's bonanza, encouraging litigation at the expense of conciliation, mediation, or settlement.

Let me add that Congress, with respect, should live by the same requirements it prescribes for others. (Applause.) In '72, the Civil Rights Act of '64 was justly applied to executive agencies in state, local governments and Congress, however, has not covered. And this -- this is not an assault on Congress, I'm just trying to -- I've got about -- (laughter) -- but seriously, this inconsistency should be remedied to give congressional employees and applicants the full protection of the law to send a strong signal that it's both the Executive Branch and Congress that are in this together. And the Congress should join the Executive Branch in setting an example for these private employers.

Now, we seek strategies that work, putting power where it belongs -- in the hands of the people. That means new ideas, like giving poor parents the power of an alternative choice in where to send the kids to school so that all can have access to the best. It means more tenant control and ownership of public housing. Tax credits for child care to give parents more flexibility and choice. Policies that underwrite prosperity by encouraging capital flow to build more businesses in poor neighborhoods. The door is open wider now than it ever has been. Together, I believe we can open it still wider.

Today, an expanding economy is working in the service of civil rights. And so, let's not set the clock back. Let's look past the differences that divide us, to the shared principles and the better natures that we have within us. To the civil rights leadership assembled here today -- Dorothy, excuse me, I didn't see you earlier -- and so many -- I'm in real trouble if I single them out here. Look, I have offered you my hand and my word that, together, we can and will make America open and equal to all. Now, this administration is committed to action that is truly affirmative, positive action in every sense, to strike down all barriers to advancement of every kind for all people. We will tolerate no barriers, no bias, no inside tracks, no two-tiered system, and no rungless ladders. And I'm willing to take the time to make sure that this is done right, simply because it's worth doing right. Now is the time, really, to extend a hand to all that are struggling, and to devote our energies to a broader agenda of empowerment, that all might join in this new age of freedom.

I am delighted that you all came here. Thank you for bringing honor to this prestigious Rose Garden, and to paying tribute to our Commission here in which I have great confidence, and in which I take great pride.

Thank you all very, very much. (Applause.) Thank you.

END

10:16 A.M. EDT

4. "Well, Max, here we are: middle-aged man reaffirming his middle-aged manhood and a terrified young woman with a father complex. What sort of script do you think we can make out of this?"

—Faye Dunaway proposing an affair to William Holden in Sidney Lumet's *Network*
(Original Screenplay by Paddy Chayefsky)

5. "Maybe we could do something else together. Mrs. Robinson, would you like to go to a movie?"

—Dustin Hoffman suggesting to Anne Bancroft an alternative to adultery in Mike Nichols's *The Graduate*
(Screenplay by Calder Willingham and Buck Henry; based on the novel by Charles Webb)

6. "Let's get out of here together. No use staying here, letting the South come down around your ears. Too many nice places to go and visit. Mexico, London, Paris—"

—Clark Gable trying to woo Vivien Leigh away in Victor Fleming's *Gone With the Wind*
(Screenplay by Sidney Howard; based on the novel by Margaret Mitchell)

7. "Listen, baby, when we first met—you and me—you thought I was common. Well, how right you was! I was common as dirt. You showed me a snapshot of the place with them columns, and I pulled you down off them columns, and you loved it! We were having them colored lights going! And wasn't we happy together? Wasn't it all okay till she showed here?"

—Marlon Brando reminding Kim Hunter of the good times before Vivien Leigh's arrival in Elia Kazan's *A Streetcar Named Desire*
(Screenplay by Tennessee Williams; adaptation by Oscar Saul; based on the play by Tennessee Williams)

8. "You remember how it really was? You and

were a couple of drunks on the sea of Cortez, and the boat sank. I got hold of something that kept me from going under, and I'm not going to let go of it. Not for you. Not for anyone. If you want to grab on, grab on. But there's just room for you and me—no three-some."

—Jack Lemmon establishing the rule for reconciliation with Lee Remick in Blake Edwards's *Days of Wine and Roses*
(Screenplay by J. P. Miller; based on his teleplay)

9. "You know, I used to live like Robinson Crusoe—shipwrecked among eight million people. Then one day I saw a footprint in the sand, and there you were. It's a wonderful thing, dinner for two."

—Jack Lemmon sweet-talking Shirley MacLaine in Billy Wilder's *The Apartment*
(Original Screenplay by Billy Wilder and I. A. L. Diamond)

10. "All right. It'll be you at the tiller and me at the engine, just like it was from the start."

—Humphrey Bogart deciding to let Katharine Hepburn help him knock off a 100-foot German gunboat in John Huston's *The African Queen*
(Screenplay by James Agee and John Huston; based on the novel by C. S. Forester)

11. "We McDonalds—we're high-tempered. We fight amongst ourselves, but let trouble come from outside and we stick together."

—Agnes Moorehead vowing to help her pregnant niece (Jane Wyman) in Jean Negulesco's *Johnny Belinda*
(Screenplay by Irmgard Von Cube and Allen Vincent; based on the play by Elmer Harris)

12. "Now an army is a team. It lives, eats, sleeps, fights as a team. This individuality stuff is a bunch of crap. The bilious bastards who

cont

WHAT THEY SAID IN 1970

(MAXIMILIAN SCHELL)

love it more to be beaten in the fight . . . They love to lose, to be sat on, conquered, vanquished . . . to be bossed.

*Interview, New York/
San Francisco Examiner, 9-26:31.*

William J. Scherle
United States Representative, R-Iowa

If you look at what young people are reading these days, it is not hard to see where the ideas come from. One popular writer is Herbert Marcuse, who attacks big, rich organizations as "de-humanizing" and "totalitarian" because, he believes, they control people's lives without their consent, or even their knowledge. Under this heading, he lumps big business and big government, especially the military. Obviously, this doctrine has a lot of appeal to a young man fearful of exchanging the freedom and individualism he has known as a student for the regimented life of the Army or a large corporation in a nine-to-five job. It is easier to condemn the establishment than to accept the hard realities of adult responsibilities.

*Before the House, Washington, May 4/
Congressional Record, 5-4:E3848.*

Charles R. Schroeder
Director, San Diego Zoo

There are no juvenile delinquents in the animal world. Animal parents don't permit it.

The Dallas Times Herald, 7-6:A2.

George C. Scott
Actor

I played (General George S.) Patton because I liked the man. He was a professional, and I admire professionalism. And for whatever else he was—good or bad—he was an individual. That's what's most important to me today—when everybody else around seems to be some kind of damn ostrich.

Time, 2-9:78.

Glenn T. Seaborg
Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission of the United States

I believe that one of the characteristics of the human race—possibly the one that is primarily responsible for its course of evolution—is that it has grown by creatively responding to failure. We have always experienced times when we have been dissatisfied, unhappy with ourselves and our conditions and lamented them profoundly before we took new steps to change them.

*Before House Select Subcommittee on
Education, Washington, Feb. 4/
The New York Times, 2-5:1.*

Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber
Journalist; Member, French National Assembly

By far the greatest challenge (in the world today) is the passion of youth—admirable in its motivation, dangerous in its frustration. The quest of the young for dignity, sincerity and truth in our generation is one of the two great sources of human energy. The other source is industry. Both are highly progressive and liberating forces. If we allow them to remain as they are today, on a collision course, the future will be dark. If we forge their alliance by reform, then we shall have met the challenge of our generation.

*Washington/
The Christian Science Monitor, 8-7:2.*

Dan Seymour
President, J. Walter Thompson Company

Bad news always did travel fast; now it travels instantaneously. But gloom isn't the only thing that travels freely across the borders of the world. Today, under the big eye of television, with the busy satellites whirling overhead and the telephone lines and pipelines and airports endlessly connecting people and things, the world has been pulled tightly together. Not only are the countries connected by roads and wires and pipes; they are connected by policies and pacts and agreements and commerce and matters of health and information and money and cur-

up. No. Stand up. There's no goodbye, Maria, because we're not apart. Pilar! No, don't turn around. Go now. Be strong. Take care of our life."

—Gary Cooper saying good-bye to Ingrid Bergman in Sam Wood's *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (Screenplay by Dudley Nichols; based on the novel by Ernest Hemingway)

8.
"I'll be all around in the dark. I'll be ever'where—wherever you can look. Wherever there's a fight so hungry people can eat, I'll be there. Wherever there's a cop beatin' up a guy, I'll be there. I'll be in the way guys yell when they're mad—an' I'll be in the way kids laugh when they're hungry an' they know supper's ready. An' when the people are eatin' the stuff they raise, livin' in the houses they build—I'll be there, too."

—Henry Fonda saying goodbye to Jane Darwell in John Ford's *The Grapes of Wrath* (Screenplay by Nunnally Johnson; based on the novel by John Steinbeck)

ENEMY

1.
"I always choose my friends for their good looks and my enemies for their good intellects. Man cannot be too careful in his choice of enemies."

—George Sanders laying down guidelines in Albert Lewin's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (Screenplay by Albert Lewin; based on the novel by Oscar Wilde)

2.
"Now, there's another thing I want you to remember: I don't want to get any messages saying that we're holding our position. We're not holding anything. We'll let the Hun do that. We are advancing constantly, and we're not interested in holding onto anything—except the enemy. We're going to hold onto him by the nose, and we're going to kick him in the ass.

We're going to kick the hell out of him all the time, and we're going to go through him like crap through a goose."

—George C. Scott pep-talking to his troops at the outset of Franklin Schaffner's *Patton* (Original Screenplay by Francis Ford Coppola and Edmund H. North; based on *PATTON: ORDEAL AND TRIUMPH*, a book by Ladislav Farago, and *A SOLDIER'S STORY*, a book by Omar N. Bradley)

3.
"When you jumped in here, you were my enemy—and I was afraid of you. But you're just a man like me, and I killed you. Forgive me, comrade. Say that for me. Say you forgive me! Oh, no, you're dead! You're better off than I am—you're through—they can't do any more to you now. Oh, God! why did they do this to us? We only wanted to live, you and I. Why should they send us out to fight each other? If we threw away these rifles and these uniforms, you could be my brother, just like Kate and Albert. You'll have to forgive me, comrade."

—Lew Ayres pleading with the Frenchman he has killed (Raymond Griffith) in Lewis Milestone's *All Quiet on the Western Front* (Screenplay by Dell Andrews, Maxwell Anderson and George Abbott; based on the novel by Erich Maria Remarque)

4.
"I don't know. Sometimes, a dead man can be a terrible enemy."

—Richard Garrick fearing that assassination has made Marlon Brando a myth in Elia Kazan's *Viva Zapata!* (Original Screenplay by John Steinbeck)

5.
"That's one for the book—your book. Only when you write it, they won't believe it. Our enemy, our prisoner of war. Now, we're his prisoners, and he's gauleiter of the boat, singing German lullabies to us while he rows us to his supply ship and a concentration camp. Tell 'em, Willie. Tell 'em how funny it is."

—John Hodiak getting the fact that a German American lifeboat in (Screenplay by Jo Su John Steinbeck)

ALSO SEE: *Duty Land-4*; *Static-14*;

E
1.
"This here is Will stroke, old, old ma cause they got no Nobody kilt him.]

—Charley Grapewin Henry Fonda on the *The Grapes of Wrath* (Screenplay by Nunnally Johnson; based on the novel by John Steinbeck)

2.
"The Himmmler of that will become i

—Michael Redgrave pupils in Anthony A (Screenplay by Tereplay)

3.
"Good grief, look Rittenhouse, self-n long as you're sitt last will and testar for you now—Ritt too, Narcissus—it's that chest of your Quitter."

—Tallulah Bankhead Hull and John Hodiak (Screenplay by Jo Su John Steinbeck)

4.
"That's an epitaph Monetti. Period."

wrote that stuff about individuality for the *Saturday Evening Post* don't know any more about real battle than they do about fornicating."

—George C. Scott preaching teamwork to the troops in Franklin Schaffner's *Patton* (Original Screenplay by Francis Ford Coppola and Edmund H. North; based on *PATTON: ORDEAL AND TRIUMPH*, a book by Ladislav Farago, and *A SOLDIER'S STORY*, a book by Omar N. Bradley)

ALSO SEE: Choice-10; Fools-10; Future-2; Guns-11; Hanging-8; Hope-5; Lasts-4; Letters-12; Mad Act-11; Never-6; Parents-2; Poverty-4; Seasons-2; Similarities-4; Soul-9; Toasts-13; Wants-8.

TONGUE

1.
"I feel as though somebody stepped on my tongue with muddy feet."

—W. C. Fields making a liquid-refreshment stop in Edward Cline's *Never Give a Sucker an Even Break* (Screenplay by John T. Neville and Prescott Chaplin; based on an original story by Otis Cribblecoblis, a.k.a. W. C. Fields)

2.
"Are you remembering the time you wanted me to wear white? Are you? Well, until now, I never have. Cat got your tongue?"

—Bette Davis, contrite and dressed in white, stunning a newly married Henry Fonda in William Wyler's *Jezebel* (Screenplay by Clements Ripley, Abem Finkel and John Huston; based on the play by Owen Davis Sr.)

3.
"What's the matter? Cathouse got your tongue?"

—Robert Mitchum interrogating a brothel madam (Kate Murtagh) in Dick Richards's *Farewell, My Lovely* (Screenplay by David Zelag Goodman; based on the novel by Raymond Chandler)

4.
"I know you have a civil tongue in your head. I sewed it there myself."

—Whit Bissell reprimanding his creation (Gary Conway) in Herbert L. Strock's *I Was a Teenage Frankenstein* (Original Screenplay by Kenneth Langtry)

ALSO SEE: Together-2.

TOUGH

1.
"When I get in a tight spot, I shoot my way out of it. Why, sure! Shoot first and argue afterwards. You know, this game ain't for guys that's soft."

—Edward G. Robinson snarling out his trigger-happy credo to Douglas Fairbanks Jr. in Mervyn LeRoy's *Little Caesar* (Screenplay by Francis Edwards Faragoh; based on the novel by W. R. Burnett)

2.
"I met a lot of hard-boiled eggs in my life, but you—you're 20 minutes!"

—Jan Sterling giving Kirk Douglas a dubious compliment in Billy Wilder's *The Big Carnival* (Original Screenplay by Billy Wilder, Lesser Samuels and Walter Newman)

3.
"We think you're the softest hard-boiled egg in the world."

—Charlie McCarthy giving W. C. Fields a dubious compliment in George Marshall's *You Can't Cheat an Honest Man* (Screenplay by George Marion Jr., Richard Mack and Everett Freeman; based on an original story by Charles Bogle, a.k.a. W. C. Fields)

4.
"I'm not thin-skinned, Mr. Shannon."

—Deborah Kerr telling Richard Burton that her appearance is deceiving in John Huston's *The Night of the Iguana*

(Screenplay by An.
based on the play

5.
"Now, don't you Texian' now."

—Elizabeth Taylor that she can take a Stevens's *Giant* (Screenplay by Fre on the novel by Ea

6.
"Okay, Marlowe tough guy. You've beaten silly with you're as crazy a Now, let's see you like putting your

—Dick Powell com mare in Edward D (Screenplay by Joh MY LOVELY, a nove

—Robert Mitchum Richards's *Farewell* (Screenplay by Dai the novel by Raym

7.
(a) "Is that what great Marine! Be and be tough if y there and get tha can stop me is to (b) "That's ju

—(b) John Wayne walking into a possi Sands of Iwo Jima (Screenplay by Har Grant; based on a

8.
"Now, look, W tougher than you the pinch. You' Town because wants it and the

Blood, Toil, Tears and Sweat

The Speeches of
Winston Churchill

Edited and
with an Introduction by
DAVID CANNADINE



Houghton Mifflin Company • Boston • 1989

have had to hold out from time to time all alone, or to be the mainspring of coalitions, against a continental tyrant or dictator, and we have had to hold out for quite a long time: against the Spanish Armada, against the might of Louis XIV, when we led Europe for nearly twenty-five years under William III and Marlborough, and 150 years ago, when Nelson, Pitt and Wellington broke Napoleon, not without assistance from the heroic Russians of 1812. In all these world wars our Island kept the lead of Europe or else held out alone.

And if you hold out alone long enough, there always comes a time when the tyrant makes some ghastly mistake which alters the whole balance of the struggle. On June 22 1941, Hitler master as he thought himself of all Europe – nay, indeed, soon to be master of the world, so he thought – treacherously, without warning, without the slightest provocation, hurled himself on Russia and came face to face with Marshal Stalin and the numberless millions of the Russian people. And then at the end of the year Japan struck a felon blow at the United States at Pearl Harbor, and at the same time attacked us in Malaya and Singapore. Thereupon Hitler and Mussolini declared war on the Republic of the United States.

Years have passed since then. Indeed every year seems to me almost a decade. But never since the United States entered the war have I had the slightest doubt but that we should be saved, and that we only had to do our duty in order to win. We have played our part in all this process by which the evil-doers have been overthrown, and I hope I do not speak vain or boastful words, but from Alamein in October 1942, through the Anglo-American invasion of North Africa, of Sicily, of Italy, with the capture of Rome, we marched many miles and never knew defeat. And then last year, after two years' patient preparation and marvellous devices of amphibious warfare – and mark you, our scientists are not surpassed in any nation in the world, especially when their thought is applied to naval matters – last year on June 6 we seized a carefully selected little toe of German-occupied France and poured millions in from this

SPEAKING WITH DIFFERENT TONGUES

that the secrets of the atomic bomb should so far as possible not be imparted at the present time to any other country in the world. This is in no design or wish for arbitrary power, but for the common safety of the world. Nothing can stop the progress of research and experiment in every country, but although research will no doubt proceed in many places, the construction of the immense plants necessary to transform theory into action cannot be improvised in any country.

For this and for many other reasons the United States stand at this moment at the summit of the world. I rejoice that this should be so. Let them act up to the level of their power and their responsibility, not for themselves but for others, for all men in all lands, and then a brighter day may dawn upon human history. So far as we know, there are at least three and perhaps four years before the concrete progress made in the United States can be overtaken. In these three years we must remould the relationships of all men, wherever they dwell, in all the nations. We must remould them in such a way that these men do not wish or dare to fall upon each other for the sake of vulgar and out-dated ambitions or for passionate differences in ideology, and that international bodies of supreme authority may give peace on earth and decree justice among men. Our pilgrimage has brought us to a sublime moment in the history of the world. From the least to the greatest, all must strive to be worthy of these supreme opportunities. There is not an hour to be wasted: there is not a day to be lost.

It would in my opinion be a mistake to suggest that the Russian declaration of war upon Japan was hastened by the use of the atomic bomb. My understanding with Marshal Stalin in the talks which I had with him had been, for a considerable time past, that Russia would declare war upon Japan within three months of the surrender of the German armies. The reason for the delay of three months was, of course, the need to move over the trans-Siberian Railway the large reinforcements necessary to convert the Russian-Manchurian army from a defensive to an offensive strength. Three months was the time mentioned, and the fact that the German armies surrendered on 8th May, and the

125
488 3100

AR

Hepburn pining for that "somebody" in
ony's *The Rainmaker*
by N. Richard Nash; based on his

u to be a merry widower."

raw making a noble deathbed-request of
d in Arthur Hiller's *Love Story*
reenplay by Erich Segal)

Goals; Alone-1; Alone-2; Birds-3;
-2; Daughters-3; Drunken Rantings-
5; Fathers-8; Foolish-1; Gentleman-
Heart-23; Home-3; Illusions-3; Intel-
Jewels-1; Kindness-1; Kiss-19; Last
Money-13; Moon-2; Moon-4; Moth-
rs-5; Politics-2; Pride-2; Public Rela-
ection-8; Tough-8; Women-2; Wom-

WAR

l with the responsible leaders of the
ers—England, France, Germany,
hey're too intelligent to embark on
hich would mean the end of civiliza-
ow know it. You can take my word
e'll be no war!"

lles bluffing and blustering through a
is conference in Orson Welles's *Citizen*

reenplay by Herman J. Mankiewicz
Welles)

ee-dee. War, war, war. This war talk's
the fun at every party this spring. I
I could scream. Besides, there isn't
any war!"

gh putting things in improper perspec-
first words in Victor Fleming's *Gone*
nd
by Sidney Howard; based on the novel
Mitchell)

3.

"War? That's torn it! Bang goes the French am-
bassador. Oh, dear—well, who can I get to sit
between these two dreary old ladies?"

—Vivien Leigh finding her seating plans for dinner
unbalanced by war in Alexander Korda's *That*
Hamilton Woman
(Original Screenplay by Walter Reisch and R. C.
Sherriff)

4.

Be seated. Now, I want you to remember that
no bastard ever won a war by dying for his
country. He won it by making the other poor
dumb bastard die for his country. Men, all this
stuff you heard about America not wanting to
fight, wanting to stay out of the war, is a lot of
horse dung. Americans, traditionally, love to
fight. All real Americans love the sting of bat-
tle. When you were kids, you all admired the
champion marble shooter, the fastest runner,
the big-league ballplayer, the toughest boxer.
Americans love a winner and will not tolerate
a loser. Americans play to win all the time. I
wouldn't give a hoot in hell for a man who lost
and laughed. That's why Americans have
never lost—and will never lose—a war, be-
cause the very thought of losing is hateful to
Americans."

—George C. Scott addressing the audience like
troops with the first lines of Franklin Schaffner's *Pat-*
ton
(Original Screenplay by Francis Ford Coppola and
Edmund H. North; based on PATTON: ORDEAL
AND TRIUMPH, a book by Ladislav Farago, and A
SOLDIER'S STORY, a book by Omar N. Bradley)

5.

"And now I'm here to tell you that I have killed
for my country, or whatever, and I don't feel
good about it 'cause there's not enough reason,
man, to feel a person die in your hands or to see
your best buddy get blown away. I'm here to
tell you it's a lousy thing, man. I don't see any
reason for it. And there's a lot of shit that I did
over there that I find fucking hard to live with.
And I don't want to see people like you, man,
coming back and having to face the rest of your

lives with that kind of shit. It's as
I don't feel sorry for myself. I'm
smarter now than when I went.
telling you there's a choice to be

—Jon Voight deglamorizing the Vi
American high-school students in the
Ashby's *Coming Home*
(Screenplay by Waldo Salt and Robe
based on a story by Nancy Dowd)

6.

"We live in the trenches out the
We try not to be killed, but some
—that's all."

—Lew Ayres deglamorizing World V
man high-school students in Lewis M
Quiet on the Western Front
(Screenplay by Dell Andrews, Maxwe
and George Abbott; based on the nov
Maria Remarque)

7.

"For us, the Battle of the Atlantic
ing a private war. If you were in i
all about it. You knew how to kee
filthy nights, and how to go withou
how to bury the dead and how to
wasting anyone's time."

—Jack Hawkins characterizing life and
his ship in Charles Frend's *The Cruel S*
(Screenplay by Eric Ambler; based on
Nicholas Monsarrat)

8.

"Well, boys, I guess this is it: nucle
toe to toe, with the Rooskies!"

—Slim Pickens mounting his bomb as
bronc in Stanley Kubrick's *Dr. Strangel*
I Learned To Stop Worrying and Love
(Screenplay by Stanley Kubrick, Terry S
and Peter George; based on RED ALERT,
by Peter George)

9.

"Fried Jap coming down!"

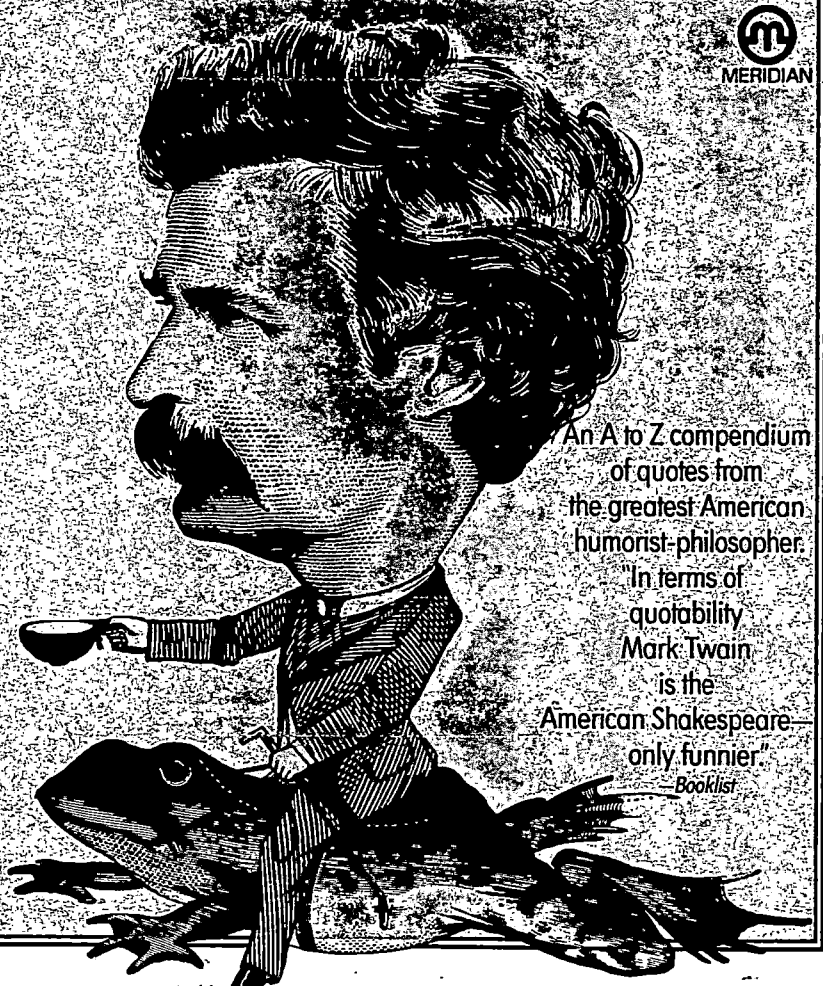
—George Tobias indelicately noting an er
in flames in Howard Hawks's *Air Force*
(Original Screenplay by Dudley Nichols,

THE
Wit and Wisdom
OF
MARK TWAIN

EDITED BY
ALEX AYRES



MERIDIAN



An A to Z compendium
of quotes from
the greatest American
humorist-philosopher.

In terms of
quotability
Mark Twain
is the
American Shakespeare—
only funnier.

—Booklist

Make money and the whole world will conspire to call you a gentleman.

—Attributed

Simple rules for saving money: To save half, when you are fired by an eager impulse to contribute to charity, wait and count forty. To save three-quarters, count sixty. To save it all, count sixty-five.

—*Following the Equator*, 1897, vol. 2, ch. 11

MORALS

Mark Twain often described himself as a "professional moralist." In a speech in London in June 1899, he told of the turning point in his moral development. It was one day in his youth when he stole a watermelon out of a farmer's wagon while the farmer was waiting on another customer: "'stole' is a harsh term, I withdrew—I retired that watermelon—and I retired with it." Much to his chagrin, the watermelon turned out to be unripe.

"The minute I saw it was green I was sorry, and began to reflect—reflection is the beginning of reform. . . . I said to myself: 'What ought a boy to do who has stolen a green watermelon? What would George Washington do, the father of his country, the only American who could not tell a lie? What would he do? There is only one right, high, noble thing for any boy to do who has stolen a watermelon of that class; he must make restitution; he must restore that stolen property to its rightful owner.' I said I would do it when I made that good resolution. I felt it would be a noble, uplifting obligation. I rose up spiritually stronger and refreshed. I carried that watermelon back—what was left of it—and restored it to the farmer, and made him give me a ripe one in its place."

Always do right. This will gratify some people, and astonish the rest.

—Note to the Young People's Society, 1901

The Moral Sense teaches us what is right, and how to avoid it—when unpopular.

—"The United States of Lyncherdom," essay, 1923

Helm

Beth Burrus. - Press Secretary
Statt Moore. - Political Director
John Hill.

✓ Carter Wren - Congressional Club.

L 919 850 - 0567

L mention Sellen Salmon.

- State Party

L Jerri Hawk - GOP Chairman

919 828 6423

Effie Purnell.

Helms for Senate
6/13/90 (Wednesday)

- Sally Seelman:

- Henry Gent v. Mike Easter (D.G.)
LBlaeh - Tues. Ste.

Acknowledgements.

- Gov. Martin (Jim) + Dottie

Congress - Cass Ballenger (R-NC)

✓ Alex McMillan

✓ Howard Cobb

- ~~Majority of Democrats in N.C.~~

- majority of Democrats in N.C.
- speech at: Merchandise Mart.

Charlotte

6:00/6:15.

Dinner.

10-12.

Helms

Beau - Legislative Affairs.

→ Crime + Drugs, Family Issues.

X - Clean Air, Foreign Policy
(China)

Bayo Hollingsworth:

Carter Wren

Stett Moore
919 850 0922

—

Legislative
Affairs.
2230 Blair
cm

Holms for Senate

6 1 13 1900.

Leader

Boyd
Hollingsworth

Don't
promise!

Don't
afford
Personal

Sally
Salmon

Political
Affairs
Inc. fund-
raiser.

- ① Big Issues in Campaign
- ② Relationship with the President ?)
- ③ Funny Stories / anecdotes
- ④ The Campaign