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Folder Title:
Third Presidential Lecture Series 6/3/91 [OA 8324]

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(Hinchliffe/Blymire)
May 29, 1991 5 p.m.
ANDREW Draft One

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: PRESIDENTIAL LECTURE INTERVIEW
June 3, 1991

[[1. What kind of a person was our seventh President, Andrew Jackson?]]

Andrew Jackson believed in democracy. He believed first and foremost in the right of the people to rule. You know, I really feel that he helped define the modern presidency.

He was a man of the people. They believed in him, and he knew it. They admired his inner strength and determination.

[[2. Why did you choose Andrew Jackson for the third program in your Presidential Lecture series?]]

Andrew Jackson was a pioneering President -- a reforming President. He symbolized the American spirit just as it was being shaped -- like his young country, he was exuberant, optimistic, energetic. The United States had established itself, and was beginning to achieve its potential as an economic power.

But most of all, he lived for the idea of democracy. It's about time he gets his due. He left us all quite a legacy.

[[3. As the "Hero of the Battle of New Orleans," Jackson enjoyed great popularity with the American people. Do you think this popularity made his job as President any easier?]]

Well, it certainly made getting elected easier -- the American people trusted "Old Hickory." But every President comes

in on a wave of popularity. The challenge is to earn that acceptance again every day of his term.

Jackson's was an era of considerable political passion. People would not let him survive simply on the strength of his battlefield heroics. He had to earn the public's continued respect.

It's amazing he was able to keep the power of the Presidency and the special bond between him and his people in the midst of all that turmoil. That just shows what an incredible man he was. A man of greatness.

[[4. Andrew Jackson was President during great expansion for the Union. Was this his greatest contribution?]]

Actually, I don't think so. Maybe his greatest contribution was that he managed to pay the national debt -- not with his own money of course, but paid it nonetheless.

But he made so many contributions. He was really the first modern president. The first president from the frontier. The first president who did not belong to one of the founding families. Andrew Jackson set a tone for a nation that was about to make its mark on the world.

[[5. Despite Jackson's zeal for expansion, he stepped back from annexing Texas rather than escalate the slavery issue. His first concern was always the good of the Union. Was his love for the Union one of his stronger attributes?]]

Oh, absolutely. Just look at the type of man Andrew Jackson was -- energetic, devoted, fiercely loyal. He loved the Union, and considered its preservation most important.

But, above all, he battled for the integrity of his office. You know, Presidents are the only people charged by the Constitution to swear that they will "preserve, protect, and defend" it. Jackson took that charge literally. By sheer force of personality, he fought Congress to reclaim the power that belonged, historically and legally, to the President.

[[6. As the seventh President of the United States, what was Jackson's greatest contribution to the development of the Office of the Presidency?]]

There's no question but that he brought the Presidency to the people. And he was the first in that office to claim leadership -- to refuse to be a subservient Prime Minister.

He really redefined the Presidency. After Jackson, it was simply accepted that the President would take charge, would lead Congress and the nation. That's not the job description he'd inherited.

Modern America really began with Andrew Jackson. His administration marked a transition. Previously, America had been an infant nation trying to define and wean itself -- the nation of the American Revolution. With Jefferson, it became a growing nation dynamized by the Industrial Revolution.

By returning to study his presidency, we can take a look at

ourselves. In many ways, our world is as thrilling and undefined as his. By studying Andrew Jackson, we can study the roots of our national character. That's his legacy to us.

# # # # #

(Hinchliffe/Blymire)
May 29, 1991 8 p.m.
JACKSON Draft Two

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: PRESIDENTIAL LECTURE SERIES
Monday, June 3, 1991 5:30 p.m.
State Floor

Members of Congress and of the Cabinet, and distinguished guests -- Barbara and I are pleased to welcome you to the White House for the third in our series of Presidential Lectures.

On other evenings, we listened as two of our finest social historians took us into the minds and hearts of Abraham Lincoln and Teddy Roosevelt. Tonight we turn our thoughts further back in this country's history -- to a time when the American spirit as we know it was born. We turn to the man who symbolized the spirit of a pioneering nation -- the rough-hewn, feisty frontiersman and war hero, Andrew Jackson.

[[You know, I remember reading that Jackson was twice wounded in duels. I didn't even realize that "Crossfire" was on the air back then.]]

Andrew Jackson, the son of an Irish linen weaver, was a 14-year-old soldier in the Revolutionary War when he became an orphan. He scrapped, he struggled, he survived -- and 50 years later he became President. Andrew Jackson established a whole set of "firsts": the first President born in a log cabin -- the first born west of the Alleghenies -- the first who was neither a Virginian nor an Adams.

Andrew Jackson was the President of the people. Tough "Old Hickory" was their hero but, more importantly, he was one of them. He knew how to campaign. He came onto steamboat decks and

train platforms to greet his crowds. He greeted crowds on the hustings -- and once elected, he tried to throw his office open to the people.

The Age of Jackson was the Age of the Possible -- when the 40-year-old nation felt freed from war and energized by change. America set out in search of its identity -- and Jackson was its pilot. He led it across mountains and onto frontiers. He challenged Americans to believe that they could carve out better lives for themselves. And Americans responded.

My two favorite stories about Jackson come from the moments that began and ended his Presidency. On his Inauguration Day in 1829, the streets of this city were jammed with crowds. People piled into Washington from all across the land. That day, at the moment he was sworn into the Presidency, Andrew Jackson bowed to what he called "the majesty of the people." The crowd, thrilled, went wild. That day, symbolically and practically, the "Presidential Palace" became the house of the people.

Remini p. 33

But things got a little out of hand. Thousands pushed into the White House -- climbed onto chairs, broke furniture, started fires, and cheered on fights in every room.

Later Presidents have been deeply concerned about the well-being of this building. That helps explain why we keep the press corps in the basement. \\\

The other story I like took place 8 years later, at the Inaugural of his successor, Martin Van Buren. As Old Hickory strode to the podium, the crowd went wild. Writer Thomas Hart

Benton described the moment: "For once the rising is eclipsed by the setting sun ... [with] a cry such as power never commanded, nor man in power received."

Our guide tonight to the spirit of this remarkable leader is the scholar and historical storyteller Robert Remini. Professor Remini, a history professor at the University of Illinois at Chicago, has won major awards for writing and teaching, and is our nation's foremost Jacksonian scholar. He's written ~~eight~~ lively and illuminating books about Jackson, including the definitive ~~two~~-volume biography that won the American -- now called the "National" -- Book Award for Nonfiction.

Professor Remini is a scholar and a storyteller. Tonight, he'll show off both skills, as he describes the life and times of our seventh President. I'm pleased to introduce the distinguished historian and biographer -- Robert Remini.

# # # # #

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Resume	Curriculum vitae of Robert V. Remini; personal information. (7 pp.)	n.d.	P-6, (b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File, Backup
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Third Presidential Lecture Series 6/3/91

Date Closed:	10/28/2004	**OA/ID Number:**	08324
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cc:LAURIE FIRESTONE

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

DATE: MAY 16, 1991

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SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS:

Carol, I am sending over a bit of information on our lecturer for the June 3 Presidential Lecture on Andrew Jackson. It will be Professor Robert Remini, as indicated in a recommedation to us from Jim Cicconi last year. Jim also included a list of the Professor's works on Jackson and also a bio on Professor Remini. I'm sure reviewing a copy of last year's remarks (May 6, Theodore Roosevelt) will give you an idea of what we are looking for. Many thanks.

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

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 7, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR LAURIE G. FIRESTONE

FROM: JAMES W. CICCONI

SUBJECT: Presidential Lecture Series

Last night's lecture was fantastic, and will be a tough act to follow. As we discussed, though, I wanted to pass along an idea for the next lecture -- whenever it is held.

Since, after two Republican Presidents, it is probably best to feature a Democrat, I'd like to suggest Andrew Jackson -- clearly the most extraordinary President between Jefferson and Lincoln, and one of the giants of our history.

Professor Robert Remini is perhaps the best living Jackson scholar in the U.S. I've read his 2-volume biography and found it outstanding. Also, according to both Don Wilson and Lynne Cheney, he's a marvelous lecturer. I spoke with Lynne about this, and she said she had reached the same conclusion and would be sending her recommendation shortly. (Some information on Remini is attached.)

Let me know if I can help further.

RCV BY:THE WHITE HOUSE ; 5-16-91 ; 4:59PM ; SOCIAL OFFICE→ 2024566218;# 2

No. 1.

ROBERT V. REMINI [marvelous lecturer]

Professor of History

Department of History
University of Illinois at Chicago
Chicago, IL 60680

Early National Period, Jacksonian Era

Martin Van Buren and the Making of the Democratic Party (1959)
The Election of Andrew Jackson (1963)
Andrew Jackson (1966)
Andrew Jackson and the Bank War (1968)
The Age of Jackson (1972)
The Revolutionary Age of Andrew Jackson (1976)
Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Empire, 1767-1821 (1978)
Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Freedom, 1822-1832 (1981)
Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Democracy, 1833-1845 (1984)
The Legacy of Andrew Jackson: Essays on Democracy, Indian Removal and Slavery (1988)

HANS L. TREFOUSSE

Professor of History

Department of History
Brooklyn College, CUNY
Bedford Ave. and Avenue H
Brooklyn, NY 11210

Civil War and Reconstruction, International Relations

Ben Butler, The South Called Him Beast (1957)
Benjamin Franklin Wade: Radical Republican From Ohio (1963)
The Radical Republicans: Lincoln's Vanguard for Racial Justice (1969)
The First Presidential Impeachment: Andrew Johnson, the Blacks and Reconstruction (1975)
Lincoln's Decision for Emancipation (1975)
Carl Schurz: A Biography (1982)
Pearl Harbor: The Continuing Controversy (1982)
Germany and America: Essays on Problems of International Relations and Immigration (1986)
Andrew Johnson: A Biography (1989)

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history. *Publ:* Auth, The Soviet Union and the evolution of the American Indochina policy, Madison Col Studies & Res, 3/73; Chernyshovsky and censorship, Va Soc Sci J, 10/73; Milovan Djilas: The transcendence of a revolutionary, In: Essays in Modern European Revolutionary History, Univ Tex, 77; Milovan Djilas: A Revolutionist as a Writer, Columbia Univ Press, 81; Chirnyshevsky on the role of the artist in a revolution: A definition from the nineteenth century, fall 78 & Partisan-German negotiations in Yugoslavia, March-May 1943, winter 80, Red River Valley Hist Jour. *Mailing Add:* Dept of Hist Univ of Tex Arlington TX 76019

REINHARZ, JEHUDA, b Haifa, Israel, Aug 1, 44; US citizen; m 67; c 2. MODERN JEWISH & EUROPEAN HISTORY. *Educ:* Jewish Theol Sem Am, BRE, 67; Columbia Univ, BS, 67; Harvard Univ, MA, 68; Brandeis Univ, PhD(Jewish hist), 72. *Prof Exp:* Asst prof Jewish hist, Univ Mich, 72-76, assoc prof, 76-81, prof, 81-82; RICHARD KORET PROF MOD JEWISH HIST, BRANDEIS UNIV, 82- *Concurrent Pos:* Sr res fel, Nat Endowment for the Humanities, 79-80. *Mem:* AHA; Asn Jewish Studies; Leo Baeck Inst; World Union Jewish Studies. *Res:* German Jewish history; history of Zionism. *Publ:* Auth, Fatherland or Promised Land, The Dilemma of the German Jew 1893-1914, Univ Mich Press, 75; ed, The Letters and Papers of Chaim Weizmann 1918-1920, Rutgers Univ Press, 77; co-ed, The Jew in the Modern World, Oxford Univ Press, 80; ed, Dokumente zur Geschichte des Deutschen Zionismus, J C B Mohr, Tuebingen, 81; co-ed, Mystics, Philosophers & Politicians, Duke Univ Press, 82; Israel in the Middle East, Oxford Univ Press (in press). *Mailing Add:* Dept of Near Eastern & Judaic Studies Brandeis Univ Waltham MA 02154

REINMUTH, HOWARD STUART, JR, b Minneapolis, Minn, Feb 19, 30. ENGLISH HISTORY. *Educ:* Univ Minn, Minneapolis, BA, 51, MA, 54, PhD(hist), 58. *Prof Exp:* From instr to asst prof hist, Drake Univ, 58-62; asst prof, Univ Utah, 62-66; ASSOC PROF HIST, UNIV AKRON, 66- *Mem:* AHA; Mediaeval Acad Am; Econ Hist Asn; Am Cath Hist Asn; Soc Span & Port Hist Studies. *Res:* Stuart England, social and economic history. *Publ:* Ed & contribr, Early Stuart Studies, Univ Minn, 70. *Mailing Add:* Dept of Hist Univ of Akron Akron OH 44325

REISCHAUER, EDWIN OLDFATHER, b Tokyo, Japan, Oct 15, 10; m 35, 56; c 3. HISTORY. *Educ:* Oberlin Col, AB, 31; Harvard Univ, AM, 32, PhD, 39. *Hon Degree:* DLitt, Oberlin Col, 57; numerous LLDs from US univs. *Prof Exp:* From instr to assoc prof Far Eastern lang, Harvard Univ, 38-50, prof Japanese hist, 50-63, dir Harvard-Yenching inst, 56-63; US Ambassador to Japan, 61-66; univ prof, Harvard Univ, 66-81. *Concurrent Pos:* Sr res analyst, US War Dept, 42-43; spec asst to dir off Far Eastern affairs, US Dept State, 45-46; chmn bd trustees, Harvard-Yenching Inst, 70- *Honors & Awards:* Japan Found Award, 75. *Mem:* Asn Asian Studies (pres, 55-56); Am Acad Arts & Sci. *Res:* Japanese and Chinese history; East Asian international relations. *Publ:* Auth, Wanted: An Asian Policy, 56, Beyond Vietnam: The United States and Asia, 67, Japan: The Story of a Nation, 70 & 74 & Toward the Twenty-first Century: Education for a Changing World, 73, Knopf; coauth, East Asia: Tradition and Transformation, Houghton, 73; Japan: The Story of a Nation, 74 & 81; Japan: Tradition and Transformation, Houghton, 77; auth, The Japanese, Harvard Univ, 77. *Mailing Add:* 863 Concord Ave Belmont MA 02178

REITAN, EARL AARON, b Grove City, Minn, May 3, 25. HISTORY. *Educ:* Concordia Col, BA, 48; Univ Ill, PhD, 54. *Prof Exp:* Asst prof hist, Pac Lutheran Col, 51-52; instr, 54-58, assoc prof, 58-65, chmn dept, 70-73, PROF HIST, ILL STATE UNIV, 65-, DIR, DOCTOR OF ARTS IN HIST, 73- *Concurrent Pos:* Clements Libr-Eli Lilly fel, 63; vis prof, Univ Ill, Urbana, 66; Nat Endowment for Humanities fel in residence, Univ NC, 78-79. *Mem:* AHA; Conf Brit Studies; Am Soc 18th Century Studies; AAUP; Midwest Soc 18th Cent Studies (co-pres, 81). *Res:* British politics, 1689-1832; British public finance and administration in the eighteenth century; The Gentleman's Magazine, 1731-54 and middle-class values. *Publ:* Ed, George III: Tyrant or Constitutional Monarch?, Heath, 64; auth, The civil list in eighteenth-century British politics, 66 & From revenue to civil list, 1689-1702, 70, Hist J; The civil list, 1761-77: Problems of finance and administration, Bull Inst Hist Res, 74; coauth, English Heritage, Forum, 78; auth, The civil list and the changing role of monarchy in Britain, 1782-1804, Proc Consortium on Revolutionary Europe, 81. *Mailing Add:* Dept of Hist Ill State Univ Normal IL 61761

REITHER, JOSEPH, b Brooklyn, NY. HISTORY. *Educ:* Univ VA, BS, 34, MA, 35. *Prof Exp:* Instr hist, Univ Va, 33-35, music, 34-35; from instr to prof, 38-72, EMER PROF HIST, NY UNIV, 72- *Concurrent Pos:* Lectr, Manhattan Sch Music, 49-54. *Mem:* AHA; Am Acad Polit & Soc Sci; Rachmaninoff Soc. *Res:* Modern Europe; the liberal tradition; modern Italy. *Publ:* Auth, World History; Masterworks of History; Rachmaninoff: Chronicle of Exile, Tempo; Introduction to World History, transl in six lang, McGraw. *Mailing Add:* 102 W 183rd St Bronx NY 10453

REITZEL, JOAN MARSH, b High Point, NC, May 1, 41. MEDIEVAL HISTORY. *Educ:* Wellesley Col, AB, 63; Univ Calif, Berkeley, MA, 64; Brown Univ, PhD(hist), 71. *Prof Exp:* Lectr hist & geog, Endicott Jr Col, 64-65; asst prof hist, Univ Calif, Santa Barbara, 71-79; ASST VPRES, SECURITY PAC NAT BANK, LOS ANGELES, 80- *Concurrent Pos:* Lectr, Santa Monica col & Univ Calif, Los Angeles Ext, 80- *Mem:* Medieval Asn Pac; Conf Brit Studies. *Res:* Secular university colleges; medieval hospitals. *Publ:* Auth, The medieval houses of Bons-Enfants, Viator, Vol II, 80. *Mailing Add:* 333 S Hope St Los Angeles CA 90071

REITZER, PAUL G, b Flint, Mich, Aug 11, 32. HISTORY, HIGHER EDUCATION. *Educ:* LeTourneau Col, BA, 54; Baylor Univ, MA, 55; Southern Sem, MDiv, 59; Fla State Univ, PhD(higher educ & hist), 66. *Prof Exp:* Assoc prof hist, Frederick Col, 61-65, chmn soc sci div & hist dept, 62-65; PROF HIST, BAPTIST COL CHARLESTON, 66-, CHMN SOC SCI DIV, 67-, ASST VPRES ACAD AFFAIRS, 73-, CHMN UNDERGRAD DEANS, CHARLESTON HIGHER EDUC CONSORTIUM, 80- *Concurrent Pos:* Extens instr, Col William & Mary, 64-65. *Mem:* Southern Hist Asn; Orgn Am Historians; Am Acad Polit & Soc Sci; Am Asn Higher Educ. *Res:* Renaissance; Reformation; history of Germany; international relations. *Publ:* Ed, German colonies along the Volga River, spring 73, The German colony at Norka (Russia), fall 73 & A genealogical profile of Germans from Russia, 9/74, J Am Hist Soc Germans from Russia; contribr, South Carolina and the Sea (2 vols), Charleston SC Bicentennial Comt, 76; An Ethnic History of South Carolina, Charleston County Pub Schs, 76. *Mailing Add:* 1515 Ashley River Rd Charleston SC 29407

REMAK, JOACHIM, b Dec 4, 20; US citizen; m 48; c 2. MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY. *Educ:* Univ Calif, Berkeley, BA, 42, MA, 46; Stanford Univ, PhD, 55. *Prof Exp:* Instr hist, Stanford Univ, 54-58; from asst prof to assoc prof, Lewis & Clark Col, 58-65, chmn dept, 62-63; assoc prof, 65-67, PROF HIST, UNIV CALIF, SANTA BARBARA, 67-, CHMN DEPT, 77- *Concurrent Pos:* Danforth fac res grant, 60; vis assoc prof, Ind Univ, 63-64; Guggenheim fel, 66-67; Humanities Inst grant, 68; dir, Nat Endowment for Humanities Sem for Col Teachers, 75 & 77-78. *Honors & Awards:* Bordan award, Hoover Libr, Stanford Univ, 60; Higby Prize, J Mod Hist, 70. *Mem:* AHA. *Res:* German history; diplomatic history; Southeastern Europe. *Publ:* Co-ed, Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918-1945, US Govt Printing Off, 49-51; auth, Sarajevo, Criterion, NY & Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 59; ed, The case of the fraudulent dust jacket, Harper's, 11/62; The emperor's old clothes, Yale Rev, 12/62; co-ed, The Gentle Critic, Theodor Fontane and German Politics, Syracuse Univ, 64; The Origins of World War I, Holt, 67; ed, Journey to Sarajevo, Commentary, 7/68; The Nazi Years, A Documentary History, 69 & The Origins of the Second World War, 76, Prentice-Hall. *Mailing Add:* Dept of Hist Univ of Calif Santa Barbara CA 93106

REMBERT, VIRGINIA PITTS, b Birmingham, Ala, Nov 15, 21; m 44. ART HISTORY, ART. *Educ:* Ala Col, BA, 42; Columbia Univ, MA, 44, PhD(art hist), 70; Univ Wis, MA, 59. *Prof Exp:* Teacher art, Montevallo Ala Pub Sch, 42-43; admin cartographer, Bechtel-McCone Airplane Modification Plant, 44; instr art, Beloit Col, Wis, 53-55; asst prof, Mass Col Art, 56-60; from asst prof to prof, Birmingam Southern Col, 60-73, chmn, 70-73; prof & chmn, Univ Ala, Birmingham, 74-75; Donaghey Distinguished prof art & art hist, Univ Ark, Little Rock, 75-81; PROF & CHMN ART & ART HIST, UNIV ALA, 81- *Mem:* Col Art Asn; Southern Col Art Conf (pres, 77-78). *Res:* Modern painting: Mondrian and followers; particularly Mondrian's last three years in America and his impact on American painting. *Publ:* Auth, Pie: Mondrian's New Reality, SECAC Rev, spring 76; Where Atlantis is Alice Baber's painting, Arts Mag, 2/78; Carl Holty and the American abstract artists, SECAC Rev, spring 78; Mondrian aesthetics as interpreted through his statements, 6/80, Paula Vazelay's Lines in Space and other works, 11/80 & Carl Holty, 12/80, Arts Mag; Ou se trouve l'Atlantide: Les printres d'Alice Baber, Opus Int, etc/81; Dorothy Gillespie's way: The past encountered, Arts Mag, 10/81. *Mailing Add:* Dept of Art Univ of Ala University AL 35486

REMELE, LARRY R, b Baltimore, Md, Apr 23, 43. AMERICAN HISTORY & LITERATURE. *Educ:* NDak State Univ, BS, 67; Univ NDak, MA, 69. *Prof Exp:* Instr soc sci & English, Univ Minn, Tech Col, 68-69; HISTORIAN & ED, STATE HIST SOC NDAK, 73- *Mem:* AHA; Orgn Am Historians; Am Asn State & Local Hist. *Res:* North Dakota history; Northern Plains political history; farmers organization history. *Publ:* Ed, NDak Hist: J Northern Plains, State Hist Soc NDak, 73-; auth, The North Dakota Farm Strike of 1932, NDak Hist, fall 74; The tragedy of Idealism: the National Nonpartisan League and American foreign policy, 1917-1919, fall 74 & The Nonpartisan League and the North Dakota Press: Organization period, 1915-1916, fall 76, NDak Quart; The North Dakota State Library Scandal of 1919, winter 77 & North Dakota's Forgotten Farmers Union, 1913-1920, spring 78, NDak Hist; The North Dakota Farmers Union and the Nonpartisan League: 1915-1920, NDak Quart, winter 78; The Nonpartisan League: Power for the People In: The North Dakota Political Tradition, Iowa State Univ Press, 81; William Langer, William Lemke, Gerald P Nye, Arthur C Townley In: Great American Reformers, H W Wilson Co, 82; Public industries to save the farm: Arthur C Townley's 1933 plan for diversifying the rural economy, Heritage of the Great Plains, spring 81; Sewage disposal and local politics at Jamestown, 1926-1929: A case study in North Dakota urban history, NDak Hist, 2-82. *Mailing Add:* Liberty Mem Bldg Bismarck ND 58505

REMINI, ROBERT VINCENT, b New York, NY, July 17, 21; m 48; c 3. AMERICAN HISTORY. *Educ:* Fordham Univ, BS, 43; Columbia Univ, MA, 47, PhD(hist), 51. *Prof Exp:* From instr to assoc prof hist, Fordham Univ, 47-65; chmn dept, 65-66, 67-71, PROF HIST, UNIV ILL, CHICAGO CIRCLE, 65- *Concurrent Pos:* Vis lectr, Columbia Univ, 59-60; Am Coun Learned Soc grant-in-aid, 60; Am Philos Soc grant-in-aid, 65-66 & 80; consult ed, Papers of Andrew Jackson, 72-; res prof humanities, Univ Ill, 77-; Guggenheim Mem Found fel, 78. *Honors & Awards:* Encaenia Award, Fordham Col, 63; Award of Merit, Friends of Am Writers, 77; Silver Circle Award for Excellence in Teaching, Univ Ill, Chicago Circle, 81. *Mem:* AHA; Orgn Am Historians; Southern Hist Asn. *Res:* American history, 1789-1877; early national period; Jacksonian era. *Publ:* Auth, Martin Van Buren and the Making of the Democratic Party, Columbia Univ, 59; Election of Andrew Jackson, Lippincott, 63; Andrew Jackson, Twayne, 66; Andrew Jackson and the Bank War, Norton, 68; ed, The Age of Jackson, Harper, 72; auth, The Revolutionary Age of Andrew Jackson, 76, Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Empire, 1767-1821, 78 & Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Freedom, 1822-1832, Vol II, 81, Harper & Row. *Mailing Add:* Dept of Hist Univ of Ill Chicago Circle Chicago IL 60680

RENFER, RUDOLF ALBERT, b Eureka, Calif, Jan 5, 11; m 35; c 3. HISTORY, THEOLOGY. *Educ:* Southern Methodist Univ, AB, 39, AM, 40; Dallas Theol Sem, ThM, 40; Univ Tex, PhD, 59. *Prof Exp:* Pastor, Dallas, Tex, 38-39; pastor, Floydada, 40-42; pastor, Austin, 46-49; prof church hist & missions & chmn dept, Dallas Theol Sem, 48-57; asst prof hist, Southern Methodist Univ, 59-60; asst dir extens, Wycliffe Bible Translators & Summer Inst Ling, 60-63, develop secy, 63-67; pres, Wycliffe Assoc, Calif, 67-69, mem bd dirs, 69-75; exec dir, 71-79, EXEC DIR EMER, INT LING CTR, INC, 79- *Mem:* Conf Faith & Hist; Evangel Theol Soc. *Res:* History of Dallas Theological Seminary. *Mailing Add:* 4521 Nashinwood Ln Dallas TX 75234

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U. of Ill. / Chicago
(312) 996-7000

Professor Remini @ home:
708-256-5698

at school on Mondays

--me: 7th president -- momentous era of changes -
- themost American of spirit -- wide and expansive, bold
and unconquerable (DO I have a quote about gbold?)
--led the period when "Americanism" as we know it really
being defi -- Age of Jackson was Age of Reform -- also Age
of Imagaion
--took over 40-year-oldnationlost ties of old, close tocmmunity
to burst through borders, over mountains, dynamic and industrial,
feeling it oats, flike achild grown up, gone throgh rebellion,
breathing ly of the air of change and unlimited poossibilities
anddecidngwhat it wants to b -- finding outwn identity
--enormous change -- full of excitement, contagious spirit
of "go ahead" -- children began to believe could make more
money , get better job and better life -- sons took off,
ambitious yearning in west -- all possibilities, break from
Euorpean mold of status quo for each generation -- "restless,
searachingdriving" ==
--GET QUOTES ON THE AMERICAN SPIRIT (both Bush and others)
-- defining articles of American fiath -- work; believe
in self; unlimited opportunities; hard work; expect nothing
but opportt;
--built free, indepentdent economy, finally;
--bright "go ahead" years of hope and promise --
--"converted US gov. from elitiest republic to representative
democaracy: , involved mosre common citizens than ever in
running ovrnmen;
--first itime in Pres. history -- claimed leadership --
(me -- as if on horse as larger-than-life war hero; believec
Am. people best served by strong presidenti leadership;
--redefined presidentcy in relationship to Con. and people
=-- acted as head of state -- no longer prime minister deferential
to Congress;
--his interpretation of Pres. became adccepted as fact by
Am. people; concept of strong president who takes charge
of gov., dfins issues, leads Congress and nation in achieving;
them; decide natioanl priorities; dramatically echanged presidential
veto powere it legisltiv tool; -- forever changed character
of preside
--"Jacsonian Democracy" is commitment to principal of popular
rule
-- established funamental poplitical practices and pattersnf
ro future;porepresented the political beginnings of modern
America; equality of opportunity for all was demanded; nothing
seeme4d impossible nothing beond grasp; age of promise and
hope; --on day he stepped down, Thomas Hart Benton wrote:
"For once the risin as eclipsed by the setting sun" (me-
- so power was his personality, hiks symbolism, his gift
to the natn -- the Am.ercian spirit) took to power podium
and with Vn Burne; "It was a cry such as power never commanded,
nor man inpower recieved. Itw as affection, gratitude and
admiration rorar from the crowd; --Inaugural Address, soon
after losii beloved wife; --
--Webster on crowds cheering him (on pre-inaug. trip, first
to come to deck of staeamboat to wave to crowds: Wesbster

said of crds: "they really seem tot hink the country is

rescued from some danger:" -- he bowed to "the maestyof t pweople: -- thrilled crowd, symbol; pledged Reform; pressed Bible to lips, bowed again to the poel e-- brokefree to swarm around him; to shake hands; --never before ordinary citizen spontaneously showed his admiiratio (p. 33 Riminit);
--first time "Presidential palace" became house of the people;

To Carol

Date 5/31 Time 12:00

WHILE YOU WERE OUT

M Mrs. Reminy

of

Phone says your home number
Area Code Number Extension

TELEPHONED		PLEASE CALL	
CALLED TO SEE YOU		WILL CALL AGAIN	
WANTS TO SEE YOU		URGENT	

RETURNED YOUR CALL

Message will be at home until 2:30, but husband can't be reached today because he's giving a speech;

Operator

AMPAD EFFICIENCY® 23-023 CARBONLESS

Capitol Hilton Sat.-Mon.

ANDREW JACKSON
--War of 1812, of Tennesse militia, has been fighting Creek Indian War, decisive fictory at Battle of Horsewhoe Bend ends Creek War
--led Battle of New Orleans, assidsted by French prirate Jean Lafitte, heavily outnumbered by British troops, didn't affect end of war, but became instant nation ahl hero
--1824 election, dednded Monroe's Era of Good Feeling, Gen. A.., senator of Tennesse, issues neglgected, poss personalities only subjef debate, slanderous charges; HOuse made decision (election inconclusive) -- Clay made "corrupe bargain" ("Judas of the West") Adams won, campaign of 1828 began immediately
--18328 -- even more fvicious campaign, J's revenge, called "murderer" -- duels and strixt martial law; scandal over wife Rachel, too (she was sick, died soon after election, enraged hi); --first Non-Virginian or Non-Adams President
--new American era began -- apparent with vote and Inaugural, large crowd of his rough-hewn western frotniersmen supporters crowded in DC; after inaugural address, hundreds stormed into WhiteHouse; muddybooted mob overturned chairs, left chaotic mess;
--beginning of Jacksonian democracy -- reformedvoting rules in the wesen states (property ownership no longer qualified to vote); -- this was not carefully articulated political agenda voiced by Pres., but a grassroots movement -- AJ was not a spokesman for the changing order, he was a siymbol.
--AJ embodied new Am. spirit -- orphan, frontiersman, horseracing man, Indian fighter, war hero, land speculator; became idol of jingoistic younger men who called selves Democrats --

--at its best, meant opening of political process to more; but also a land-frenzied greed.
--treated Indians harshly; --his democratic party was outgrowth of his personality and opinions rather than orthodoxy of modern par politics;
--popular (77% electoral vote in relection, 1832)
--personal platform: suspicion of upper classes and big business (typified by Bank of US, Jackson veoted; freedom of economic opportunit -- white expansion; increased voting rights; general of the political process to middle and lower classes; --
Whigs sprung up in opposition;
--CALL JIM CICCONI
(above: from Don't Know Much")

1001 THIGS:
--nicknmae after Creek War: "Sharp Knife"
--"Old Hickory" -- because of both physical and characterological toughness. Dates from days as Inidian fkgither during war of 1812. O--warhorse of the HErmitagea--
--Martin Van Buren on AJ: "I never knew a man more frree from conceit, or one to whom it was to a greater extent a pleasure, as well as a recognized duty, to listen patiently to what might be said to him upon any subject under consideration ... "

1767
14
1781 - orphaned

1828 - elected Pres
- 1781
47

Webster's American Biographies

J

Jackson, Andrew (1767–1845), seventh president of the United States. Born on March 15, 1767 to Irish immigrant parents in the Waxhaw settlement on the Carolina frontier—probably in what is now South Carolina—Jackson received little formal schooling. The back-country warfare during the Revolution, in which he took part, left him without a family at fourteen. In 1784 he began the study of law in Salisbury, North Carolina, was admitted to the bar in 1787, and the next year traveled across the Appalachians to the region that was to become Tennessee. He soon gained appointment as prosecuting attorney for the district, then part of North Carolina, and, with the collection of debts as his principal duty in that unsettled area, he became allied with the comparatively wealthy class. In 1791 he married Mrs. Rachel Robards, whose first, unhappy marriage they both mistakenly believed had been dissolved. A divorce on grounds of desertion and adultery was won by her first husband in 1793, whereupon she and Jackson were quietly remarried; the episode was a source of gossip and innuendo throughout Jackson's career. He engaged in land speculation, trade, and planting, and in 1795 established his home at The Hermitage, a plantation near Nashville. The following year he helped draft the constitution of the new state of Tennessee and was immediately elected to its one seat in the House of Representatives. In 1797 he was elected to the Senate but was forced by financial reverses at home to resign a year later; he was soon appointed to the state supreme court and he served there until 1804, when he resigned, again for financial reasons. In 1802 he had been elected major general of the state militia and from 1804 to 1812 this post was his only connection with public life; in 1812, with the outbreak of war with England, it ceased to be a largely honorary position. The next year he set out in command of a militia force to subdue the Creek Indians, allies of the British, who had perpetrated a massacre at Fort Mims in Mississippi, and at the battle of Horseshoe Bend (Tohopeka) in March 1814, he succeeded in wresting from the Indians a vast region in the Mississippi Territory and thus ended the Creek War. He proceeded to Pensacola, Florida, capturing it in November, and then hurried to New Orleans where he repulsed an attempted British invasion on January 8, 1815. News of his victory reached Washington shortly ahead of news that the war had been ended before the battle by the signing of the treaty of Ghent. Jackson—nicknamed "Old Hickory"—was by then a national figure and already was considered by many a potential president. He retained the major general's commission in the regular army that had been given him after his victory over the Creek, and he was made commander of the Southern district. In 1818 he was sent to put down the latest in a series of outbreaks (the Seminole Wars) by the Seminole Indians and in doing so invaded Spanish Florida; in capturing Spanish territory and in executing two British subjects, Alexander Arbuthnot and Robert Armbrister, for stirring up further Indian toubles, he raised a diplomatic and political storm in which John Quincy Adams was his staunchest supporter. By virtue of his frontier origins, his philosophy of expansionism, his exploits against the Indians and the British, and his obvious independence, Jackson was by now the hero of the West and South and, by association at least, was the representative of the growing democratic spirit in those sections. Although for a time he disavowed presidential aspirations, friends and supporters began preparing for the campaign of 1824; after a brief period as territorial governor of Florida in 1821 he retired to The Hermitage until he was elected to the Senate in 1823. At the end of the electoral balloting in the next year's presidential election he led three other candidates; the contest went to the House for decision and Adams was chosen. When Henry Clay, who had controlled the deciding votes, became secretary of state in Adams's cabinet the Jackson group raised the cry of "corrupt bargain." Organizing and campaigning began immediately for 1828, however, and that year Jackson defeated Adams decisively. Almost from the beginning his administration was beset by controversy; objections to his application of the spoils system were followed closely by the social ostracism of the wife of the secretary of war, who had Jackson's social backing, by other cabinet wives, an affair which began the split between Jackson and Vice-President John C. Calhoun, whose wife led in the ostracizing of Peggy O'Neale Eaton. Other problems followed from a continuing rivalry between officials of the executive branch and Jackson's personal advisers, who formed the "kitchen cabinet." The protective Tariff of 1828 became a crucial issue in the growing area of disagreement between the North and the South and Jackson and Calhoun had adopted clear and completely opposed positions by 1830; in 1832 South Carolina, with Calhoun's support, nullified the tariffs of 1828 and 1832. Jackson immediately and vehemently denounced the move and in March 1833 secured from Congress both the authority to use federal troops to insure the state's compliance with federal law and a reduction of the objectionable rates. South Carolina then withdrew its

47

earlier nullification pro
by nullifying Jackson's
clash over the states'-ri
poned. Meanwhile Jac
over Henry Clay—and
by Martin Van Burer
primarily on the issue
United States. Jackson h
ing the bank earlier in
inforced his popularity;
election and thereafter
against the bank by wi
posits of federal money
charter expired in 1836
had been distributed a
this action, combined v
same year of acceptin
payment for public land
panic in 1837, after Ja
as president by Van B
office in March 1837, th
movement of voters,
Southerners, that had
been transformed into
despite the fact that
sympathy for the mo
often allied himself wi
name became firmly a
many ways more the
living representative of
His rise from humble f
eminence, his success i
lished political powers
vigorous president all
optimistic young natio
of the democratic fro
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Georgia attempt to ann
set the stage for the In
Mississippi; and energe
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on June 8, 1845 at The
buried. He was elected
1910.

Jackson, Charles Thor
and geologist. Born in
on June 21, 1805, Jack
vately, then at Harvard
in 1829, and for three
which time he also pu
geology and other scie
voyage to the United S
at length with a fellow
Morse, on the possibilit
and on his own experi
practiced medicine in B
when he gave it up in
mineralogy, opening a
receiving commissions

earlier nullification proclamation but saved face by nullifying Jackson's Force Bill of 1833; the clash over the states'-rights issue was thus postponed. Meanwhile Jackson had been reelected over Henry Clay—and Calhoun had been replaced by Martin Van Buren—in a campaign based primarily on the issue of the Second Bank of the United States. Jackson had vetoed a bill rechartering the bank earlier in the year and thereby reinforced his popularity; he was vindicated in the election and thereafter continued his campaign against the bank by withdrawing from it all deposits of federal money. By the time the bank's charter expired in 1836 the government's money had been distributed among several state banks; this action, combined with the policy begun the same year of accepting only gold or silver in payment for public land, led directly to a financial panic in 1837, after Jackson had been succeeded as president by Van Buren. When Jackson left office in March 1837, the general but disorganized movement of voters, largely Westerners and Southerners, that had originally elected him had been transformed into the Democratic party; despite the fact that he had often had little sympathy for the movement and had in fact often allied himself with opposing interests, his name became firmly attached to it. He was in many ways more the accepted symbol than the living representative of "Jacksonian democracy." His rise from humble frontier origins to national eminence, his success in dealing with the established political powers, and his concept of a vigorous president all appealed to the restless, optimistic young nation. His policies were those of the democratic frontier: monetary inflation; expansionism—he attempted but failed to arrange for the annexation of Texas after its revolution; Indian removal—he refused to move to enforce a Supreme Court ruling in 1832 that voided a Georgia attempt to annex Cherokee land and thus set the stage for the Indians' relocation across the Mississippi; and energetic nationalism. Even more popular on leaving the presidency than he had been on entering it, he retired to his home and remained there in declining health until his death on June 8, 1845 at The Hermitage, where he was buried. He was elected to the Hall of Fame in 1910.

Jackson, Charles Thomas (1805–1880), chemist and geologist. Born in Plymouth, Massachusetts, on June 21, 1805, Jackson studied medicine privately, then at Harvard from which he graduated in 1829, and for three years in Europe, during which time he also pursued strong interests in geology and other scientific fields. On his return voyage to the United States in 1832 he conversed at length with a fellow passenger, Samuel F. B. Morse, on the possibilities of an electric telegraph and on his own experiments along that line. He practiced medicine in Boston from 1832 to 1836, when he gave it up in favor of chemistry and mineralogy, opening a laboratory and in 1837 receiving commissions from the states of Massachusetts and Maine to survey public lands. He was appointed the first state geologist of Maine in the same year and later held similar posts in Rhode Island, 1840, and New Hampshire, 1841–1844; his annual reports were competent, but his field studies revealed little that was new or significant. Except for a brief association with a federal survey of the Lake Superior region in 1847 Jackson remained thereafter mainly in Boston, teaching and working in his laboratory. When Morse patented his telegraph Jackson publicly claimed credit for the invention; while there was some basis for his claim it is clear that, in characteristically erratic fashion, he had failed to foresee the potential of the telegraph and to pursue his early experiments. Similarly, in 1846, after suggesting to William T. G. Morton the use of ether as an anesthetic during tooth extractions, he attempted to claim priority in the development of anesthesia and embarked on a long and bitter public controversy despite the fact that again he had himself made no effort actually to apply principles that were not at all unknown to science. Through an accident of publication, however, he was for a time widely honored in Europe for the discovery of the medical use of ether. He later also claimed credit for the invention of guncotton. Continual public dispute marked his later years; his mental condition worsened and he died on August 28, 1880, in the McLean Asylum in Somerville, Massachusetts.

Jackson, Helen Hunt (1830–1885), author. Born in Amherst, Massachusetts, on October 18, 1830, Helen Maria Fiske was the daughter of a professor of classics at Amherst College and from an early age was a close friend of Emily Dickinson. She married Edward B. Hunt, an army officer, in 1852, and his death in 1863 and that of her son in 1865 left her alone and without resources. She moved to Newport, Rhode Island, and with the encouragement of Thomas W. S. Higginson began contributing poems and prose sketches to various periodicals, principally the *New York Independent* and *Hearth and Home*. As an author she was successful from the outset, although throughout much of her career she signed little of her work, using instead of her own name such pseudonyms as "Saxe Holm" and "H. H." Her first book, a volume entitled *Verses*, appeared in 1870 and was followed by such popular but minor efforts as *Bits of Travel*, 1872; *Bits of Talk About Home Matters*, 1873; *Mercy Philbrick's Choice*, 1876; *Hetty's Strange History*, 1877; and *Nelly's Silver Mine*, 1878. From 1875, when she married William S. Jackson, she lived in Colorado Springs, Colorado, and her life in the West generated in her a deep sympathy for American Indians. She described the consistently shoddy and cruel treatment of Indians by the government in *A Century of Dishonor*, 1881, the considerable impact of which was greatly surpassed by that of her subsequent novel *Ramona*, 1884. While *Ramona* aroused something of a public outcry on behalf of the Indians, its great and lasting popularity

ANDREW JACKSON

General Information

7th President of the United States; born 1767, died 1845; Lawyer, country gentleman, Army General, President from 1829-1837; from the state of Tennessee; Democrat.

From: The President of the United States of America

He engaged in many brawls, and in a duel killed a man who cast an unjustified slur on his wife.

He was the first man elected from Tennessee to the House of Representatives, and he served briefly in the Senate.

A major general in the War of 1812, Jackson became a national hero when he defeated the British at New Orleans.

Jackson took the view that government duties could be so "plain and simple" that offices should rotate among deserving applicants. He decried officeholders who seemed to enjoy life tenure.

Jackson, unlike previous Presidents, did not defer to Congress in policy-making but used his power of the veto and his party leadership to assume command.

From The Book of Presidents, by Vincent Wilson

A child of the western frontier, Jackson was as rough-hewn as the log walls of his birthplace. From the time, at fourteen, when he fought in the Revolution, his life was largely one of struggle.

He was a champion of the people. The man who had been elected by a great popular majority -- and had himself risen from the people -- proved thirty years before Lincoln that American democracy could achieve government not only of the people and for the people, but by the people as well.

From Facts About the Presidents

Born in Waxhaw, SC; never attended college, was self-educated; Presbyterian; Scotch-Irish ancestry; He was almost 62 years old at his inauguration. He died in Nashville, and is buried at the Hermitage estate.

His father was a linen weaver in Ireland, and a farmer in the United States.

He was the third child in a family of three.

He was the first President born in a log cabin.

He was the first President born in South Carolina.

He was the first President to be born west of the Allegheny Mountains.

He was the first President to ride on a railroad train as President. (June 6, 1833)

From Presidential Trivia, by Braddock

He caused extensive damage to the White House by holding an inaugural reception for 20,000 guests.

His wife, Rachel, had a penchant for smoking a corncob pipe.

"One man with courage makes a majority." -- Andrew Jackson

From The Presidents: Tidbits and Trivia

They called Andrew Jackson "Old Hickory". Hickory is tough, and so was Andy.

Alfred was a retainer at Hermitage, Andrew Jackson's home. When Jackson died, Alfred was asked if he thought that his master had gone to heaven. "Well, that's where he always said he was going, and if the General said he was gonna go there, that's where he went."

ABOUT THE LECTURER

His name is Professor Robert Remini. He is now teaching at the University of Illinois, Chicago. He is not only the foremost scholar on Andrew Jackson, he is also a great professor. He won the Silver Circle Award for Excellence in Teaching, as well as an Award of Merit from Friends of American Writers. Other awards include: National Book Award(when he won it, it was called the American Book Award), Carl Sandburg Award for Non-Fiction, Chicago Foundation for Literature Awards for Non-Fiction, and the George Washington Medal of Honor.

His speech will most likely discuss the Jackson White House, and Jackson's relationship with the American people.

Professor Remini started out with a dissertation on Martin VanBuren, and then proceeded to work on Andrew Jackson. Fifteen years later, he's still doing it. He most recently did some work on Henry Clay, Jackson's arch-enemy. His next venue will be something along the lines of a multibiographical approach to party formation in the 19th Century.

Quotes to come... I think maybe an education quote to tie in as a segue from the Jackson section to the Remini section. What do you think?

Pros:

- 10 ft.
- Capitol
- Smithsonian

- Green Room; Big. Rec. Room; Library (one of its finest — at least 130 years old)

GWU
Cardiology
994-3777

4028

And I think of the man who, for the first tsime in PResidential history, claimed leadership. He redefined the presidency -- he refused to be a subservient Prime Minister. His interpretation of this office became the norm -- a strong president who takes charge, who leads the Congress and the nation. Modern America began with him. By returning to him -- we can re-discover -- and re-energize -- that spirit.

ANDREW JACKSON NOTES:

--3-5 minutes; introd. of Remini; talk about Jackson
--Monday, June 3, 1991, State Floor
--democratizing era -- 1829-1841
--Farewell Address
--aggressive conception of Presidential power
--added confidence in government to democratic creed
--popular goernment could turn from the servant into at last the rival, if not he master, of business (direct quote)
--Farewell Address -- new idea, Jeffersonians supposed taht government would inevitably abuse power, Jackson thought not, if in hands of patriotic people (quote)
--ultimate power has to reside in democratic policy
--personalization of Presidency -- "grand triumphal tour" of northereastern states, spring 1833, continuous experience of cheering crowds, booming cannon, popular frenzy -- Hero of New Orlenas -- "bnever before have I witnessed such a scene of

personal regard as I have ... ever since I left Washington."

appealing over the heads of Congress to the poeple;

--his Farewell Address -- testament to the people

McGroarty/Dooley
May 1, 1990
3:00 pm
[lecture]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: SECOND PRESIDENTIAL LECTURE
EAST ROOM
MAY 6, 1990
~~XXX~~ P.M.
5:00

Members of the Congress, and of my Cabinet. Lynn Cheney, Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities. Members of the Roosevelt family, and our many distinguished guests: It's my pleasure to welcome all of you to the White House, for the second in our series of Presidential Lectures.

Some of you were with us back in January, when we opened the series with our first lecture on the great Abraham Lincoln. // Tonight, our subject is a man who has always been a favorite of mine -- a man who helped shape the modern Presidency: **the inexhaustible TR -- Theodore Roosevelt.** //

We are, at this very moment, under TR's watchful eye. / The portrait that hangs here in the East Room -- painted by John Singer Sargent, captures the serious side of Theodore Roosevelt. It captures his decisiveness -- the quality he had that made him look as if he were in action -- moving forward -- even while standing still. // We have to put our imaginations to work, to **picture TR standing in this room** --watching his children roller skate on these parquet floors, or play hide and seek behind the potted plants and curtains.

That was TR. A man for whom the great political questions, the great discoveries and inventions of his day -- did not crowd

out the great joys of his children and the pack of playmates he called the White House Gang.

Theodore Roosevelt was at once a man of action -- and a man of intellect. A man of the outdoors -- America's first great conservationist -- and a man of quiet pursuits, who regularly read a book, or even two, per day -- and wrote 40 in his lifetime. A man of tremendous energy -- and a love of life as boundless as the continents he explored.

And he was an explorer in every sense of that word. At the age of 55, instead of licking his wounds after a losing presidential campaign, he headed for the uncharted wilds of Brazil -- to become the first to explore the Amazon's River of Doubt -- now named the Rio Roosevelt. //

He was the **first President to ride in an automobile.** First to fly in an **airplane.** First to sail in a **submarine.** Technology we've come to consider routine, but -- in TR's day -- inventions that were untested, fraught with excitment and danger. Try to imagine Teddy Roosevelt's fascination with **our new technologies.** JFK vowed to make America the first nation to put a man on the moon. TR // probably would have gone there himself.

Theodore Roosevelt was an athlete, who brought his love of sport and physical competition into the White House. He boxed -- sparred with some of the world's first-rate professional fighters. He practiced jujitsu. And those were just the sports he engaged in right here in the East Room. //

Let me add one final TR "first" -- and this one shows the **bravery involved in being a Roosevelt historian:** Teddy Roosevelt

was the first ~~and only~~ occupant of this White House to serve as President of the American Historical Association.

Tonight, of course, our guide to the life and times of TR is the renowned David McCullough. Mr. McCullough is the author of four books, including The Path Between the Seas -- the story of the creation of the Panama Canal -- and Mornings on Horseback, a biography of the young Theodore Roosevelt. Both have been awarded the National Book Award. The Second Presidential Lecturer is an expert on Theodore Roosevelt -- **and one of America's premier social historians.**

Over the next hour, Mr. McCullough will take us as far as we have time to go into the many-sided subject of Theodore Roosevelt -- a man once described by Secretary of State Elihu Root as "the greatest teacher of the essentials of popular self-government the world has ever known." And described by his young cousin Nicholas -- ~~one of the little boys of the White House Gang~~ -- in this way: "To be with him was to have fun -- if for no other reason than that he so obviously was having a good time himself."

Now, ladies and gentlemen: the second Presidential Lecture, on our 26th President, Theodore Roosevelt. It is my great honor to introduce distinguished historian and award-winning biographer -- David McCullough.

# # #

RESPONSES TO JACKSON QUESTIONS

1) Andrew Jackson was a man who believed in democracy -- believed in the right of the people to rule. He was one of the most extraordinary men in the history of America. He truly changed the times. His presidency heralds the beginning of democracy. He advocated democracy loudly and frequently. The American people believed in him, and he knew it. He considered himself the first representative of all the people, which didn't necessarily thrill the folks on Capitol Hill. He had many physical ailments, but had a strong inner strength and determination that kept him going.

2) The last two lecture topics, Abraham Lincoln and Teddy Roosevelt, were Republicans, and the social office thought it was time to do a democrat. This could work as a joke. We can gloss this over by saying that with the end of the Cold War, with countries all over the world building democracies from scratch, the President found it fitting to profile a man who believed so strongly in democracy and the right of the people to rule... blah, blah, blah.

3) Of course AJ's popularity made his job easier. The American people believed and trusted Jackson. They had a special bond of affection with him. The Battle of New Orleans was the beginning of greatness for AJ. It was here that he proved himself and really started to gain the public trust.

4) No. One of his greatest contributions was that he paid the national debt. Not with his own money of course, but paid it nonetheless. Other contributions: He is the first modern president, the first true head of state, and he considered himself the "first among equals".

5) Absolutely. Look at the type of man Andrew Jackson was. He loved the Union, and considered its preservation most important. [[Maybe we could mention the South Carolina thing here]] Once a state entered the Union, there was no getting out.

6) He brought the presidency to the people. He really strengthened the office of the presidency.

7) CUT THIS QUESTION

8) CUT THIS QUESTION

9) CUT THIS QUESTION

10) No. He warned that slavery would cost "oceans of blood and millions of dollars". How could anyone gain satisfaction from foreseeing that? CUT THIS QUESTION

The PRESIDENT'S HOUSE

A History

by
William Seale

White House Historical Association
with the cooperation of the
National Geographic Society
Washington, D.C.
1986

2/19/24

8

Democracy

The federal city awaited the arrival of Jackson. General Van Rensselaer, at 65, was soon to end his years of service in the House of Representatives, and he planned to retire at home in Albany. At the last minute he became concerned about the condition of the house that was to receive Andrew Jackson and took steps to improve it. The reason for his sudden interest can only be supposed. Intimate with many prominent New York Jacksonians, he was exposed to their exuberance over the recent victory. In glorifying their President, the White House was an obvious place to begin.

Preparing for the Hero

Van Rensselaer asked Charles Bulfinch to make a full report to the Committee on Public Buildings on the condition of the President's House. On receipt of the report in January 1829 the committee rendered an immediate verdict: What had been a palace for John Quincy Adams was too shabby and run down for the hero-president to occupy. Treasury clerks who came in every day from the country had been allowed by Adams to build horse stalls along the east fence of the President's garden. These, together with Ousley's shanty toolhouses, were eyesores in full view of the windows of the state rooms.

The stable at the end of the west wing was well ventilated, but its location below the windows of the State Dining Room was unfortunate. Its eight stalls were not nearly enough for Old Hickory's fine Tennessee stock. Cows were also housed in the west wing, being led during the

daytime to the low area beyond the south fence to graze. Late in the afternoon they were driven to the stalls in the west colonnade where they were milked, then, for fear of thieves, locked up for the night. Hog and cattle stealing were common crimes in the federal city.[1]

It should be remembered that at this time the house itself still appeared unfinished. The north portico described earlier had not been built; the place from which its pediment would project was a hole closed up with rough boards. Plaster had never been applied to the exterior walls of the wings. Raw lathing was exposed in the colonnades. When Van Rensselaer's committee located the original drawings of the White House at Hoban's, they ordered construction to begin at once on the north portico. Soon Hoban appeared before them with a plan including an elevation for a new stable and coach house at the end of the west wing. This the committee judged too large, for they feared it would cry out for a duplicate to balance it on the east. The proposal is of passing interest, for Leinster House had such a stable complex set to the right of the principal block. Hoban may well have turned again to his Irish model, after 40 years.

The stable plan was tabled when the committee decided to accommodate the livestock away from the house. Other projects received immediate attention: The East Room had never been properly furnished, though Monroe had bought some chairs and sofas for it; Adams acquired two small chandeliers and some chairs for the room, for which his political enemies had attacked him. It remained nevertheless a big, unpainted space. Van Rensselaer and his committee decided to have it done up in style for Andrew Jackson, so they obtained the necessary appropriation.

The Committee on Public Buildings was remarkably innovative in its work. It considered piping running water into the White House from the springs at Franklin Square. This was for fire protection, not convenience to the household; a fire engine, purchased by Monroe, was kept with the White House coaches. Another important effort of the committee was to try to light the White House, the Capitol, and Pennsylvania Avenue with gas. While gas lighting was rare in the United States in 1829, the best example in America could be seen on the streets of nearby Baltimore, so the members of the committee may have been familiar with it. Oil lamp light was less than efficient in the vast spaces defined by the buildings and streets of Washington. Street lamps on Pennsylvania Avenue were filled in the morning and lighted at dusk, after which they burned only four hours. Their light was dim and blinking; it took 20 gallons of oil each year to operate a single lamp.[2]

The increasing use of chandeliers at the White House was evidence

that lighting there was as much a problem as it was on the street. The need for overhead lighting was obvious in a house where crowds assembled often. Lamps were dangerous when crowds were thick, for unless they were set up on mantels or shelves, they were likely to be knocked over. Sconces and chandeliers were the obvious recourse, but their candles dripped hot wax, and oil fixtures smudged the wallpaper and ceilings. Gas was cleaner, safer, and burned more brightly. The committee authorized a temporary gas plant to be set up at the White House for experimental purposes, so that some idea could be gained about what gaslight would cost.[3]

Through January and early February the committee worked to arrange what it could, then inauguration fever took over. Most of the proposed projects, the gas system, plumbing, and others, were laid aside. Except for repairs in the great kitchen—new stew-holes for hot water, an extension of the range, whitewashing—nothing was done that could have disturbed Adams in his last weeks in the White House. The north portico was commenced within the month after Jackson's inauguration.

The Widower

The President-elect entered Washington quietly in a borrowed carriage on February 11, 1829, having spent the night before in Rockville, Maryland. Met by a committee of Washington citizens at the Western Market, several blocks from the White House, he was escorted up Pennsylvania Avenue to Gadsby's Hotel, where quarters had been prepared. The "national salute" planned to honor his arrival was canceled because the official counting of electoral votes was still before the Congress. When the counting was done and the Jackson victory proclaimed, the Washington Artillery was mustered on the Mall to fire a 21-gun salute in honor of the electoral college and Andrew Jackson.

For several months the city had been filling up with Jackson supporters from all over the nation. Many of them were viewed with contempt by the citizens of the federal city, and particularly by society, which felt it was out in the cold—or feared becoming so—now that the Era of Good Feelings was over. Washingtonians, however, have ever been fickle in their political affections. Once Jackson arrived, his presence became the fascination of the town. He was not unwelcome: Society was ready for a taste of the democratic court.

But there was to be no court, at least for the time. Jackson and his family circle were in deep mourning for Mrs. Jackson, who had died just before Christmas. Well-wishers could feel free to call at Gadsby's Hotel

between noon and three o'clock, and the general would be glad to receive them, but the black band around his arm was the signal that all interviews were to be brief. Margaret Bayard Smith wrote, "I never witnessed such a dullness, nay gloom as that which pervades society." On the one hand the old order was "sick and melancholy," and they had packing to do. The Jacksonians were bursting to crow, but in earshot of the grieving hero they hesitated to make much noise. "A party must be grave and sober," wrote Mrs. Smith, "to be à la mode." For a moment mourning became high style in the federal city.[4]

Struck hard by his wife's death, Jackson spent as much time as he could in seclusion. He and his wife had been the same age, 61, and had lived many happy years together. She had grown fat in the contented remoteness of her plantation, the Hermitage, near Nashville, Tennessee, but the politics of the campaign ended her peace and hastened her death. She and Jackson were dragged mercilessly through verbal mud over the shadowy circumstances of their marriage. Jackson's enemies hurled charges of bigamy and adultery at the couple, accusing them of being morally unfit for public position. The charges were not easily dismissed, so the pain was unrelenting.[5]

Daughter of a great pioneer family of Tennessee, Rachel Donelson Jackson had brought Jackson into the most powerful circles of that region in the late 18th century. They had worked hard, taken risks, and prospered; he had won fame. She knew much about crops, managing slaves, cooking, and remedies, but when presented with the prospect of going to the White House she had cried, " I would rather be a doorkeeper in the house of God than live in that palace at Washington."[6]

Her bereaved husband had laid her to rest in their garden on Christmas Eve 1828, vowing revenge on those who had slandered her. In Washington he would take part in no celebrations. The pale, thin General Jackson, clothed entirely in black, save for his white shirt, was a surprise to those who expected a strapping man. He stood one inch taller than six feet, but carried only 140 pounds. Those of his clothes that survive fit a man with a narrow chest and long skinny legs: They seem small, even allowing for shrinkage of the fabric over time. Portraits show a face sagging and furrowed by wrinkles framed by snow-white hair, which was long and brushed back so that it seemed to fly about him, iridescent in the light.

There was a military magnificence in his manner; he rallied with the expertise of a fine actor. Most of the time in public he covered his frail frame with a long full coat, ablaze with gilt buttons. Outdoors, a tall silk top hat concealed the stand of white hair. His voice was soft but

hypnotic, and could rise to Jovian thunder when he was angry. The monumentality of the man, however, lay less in these realities than in the legend he had become to the millions who had never seen him.

In private it was clear that Jackson's political rise had been planned and carried out by the advisers who surrounded him. He had a courtly manner, but little of the restraint that comes from political experience. Although capable of noble and manly acts of generosity, he could seldom raise his level of vision above personalities. He set great store by his private opinions of people, and he was often correct. But his frequent tirades kept his advisers hopping. For in large part they had created Andrew Jackson the President from Andrew Jackson the hero. But they would find soon enough that their President could not always be relied upon to do their bidding.[7]

President Adams sent a cordial note to Gadsby's regarding comforts and arrangements in the transfer of the White House, and the note went unanswered. Jackson insisted that if Adams had not personally insulted Mrs. Jackson, he had permitted his party to do so. A second note recommending Adams's steward, Antoine Michel Giusta, for employment was also ignored. Martin Van Buren was uncomfortable with Old Hickory's performance, but Jackson despised Adams, and that was that.[8]

By the last week in February 1829 President and Mrs. Adams had decided to remain in Washington. Wagons moved between the White House and a rented brick mansion on Meridian Hill, carrying their trunks and furniture and boxes of the President's papers. Late in the afternoon of March 3, the day before the inauguration, the Adams coach stopped before the north door, and all of the household but the President entered it and were driven to the new house. John Quincy Adams stayed behind to look over his garden as he customarily did at day's end, then, always a devoted walker, tramped down the road alone to join his family.

The Inaugural Reception

The President's House was abandoned to the Jacksonians. Like his father before him, Adams did not attend the ceremony that ended his Presidency. About three-quarters of a day passed before the new President arrived. Contrary to the legend that has him and his people rushing on the White House unannounced, the house was more than adequately prepared. The process of transfer was undoubtedly well along before Adams moved out, although Jackson's aides may have kept this from him, lest he fly into a rage over cooperation with his enemy.

Delicate tasks in the Jackson circle usually fell to either Major

William B. Lewis, Jackson's old friend and prime errand runner, or Andrew Jackson Donelson, who was Mrs. Jackson's nephew and who had been reared at the Hermitage. Which of these made the necessary arrangements is uncertain; Martin Van Buren called on Adams, with Jackson's permission, and he could have brought up the matter. Adams's letter of recommendation for his steward opened the door for dealing directly with Antoine Giusta, but it can hardly be imagined that Jackson's agents would have shown themselves at the White House without the President's permission.

Jackson's incoming staff—if such it could be called—knew nothing of managing so large an establishment, much less feeding thousands of people at one time. All of his servants were slaves who had worked under Mrs. Jackson's management probably for the better part of their lives. They were country folk. So for the time Adams's employees were kept on, including Giusta and Madame Giusta, the housekeeper. The work of preparing for the inaugural day reception was left to them.[9]

A look into the busy streets was enough to indicate that the callers at the White House after the inauguration would be numerous. Giusta set up three long tables for food in the East Room, not customary at the White House, but his intuition must have told him the State Dining Room would be too small. The steward mixed large quantities of lemonade and orange punch, which he flavored heavily with whiskey. Freezer after freezer of ice cream was produced, then transferred to metal containers and carried down long ladders into the cool depths of the icehouse in the west wing, where it was packed in ice and straw until the party began. Coal fired the range and the Rumford roasters in the fireplace walls for baking; the tin pans—which were on hand in the White House kitchen in almost unbelievable numbers—yielded cakes, pies, and breads.[10]

Inauguration day dawned hazy and intermittently misty. A slight chill sharpened the air, and coal fires warmed some of the rooms at the waiting White House. Early risers found Pennsylvania Avenue already a sea of people all the way to the Capitol grounds, where only the well-dressed and presentable were admitted beyond the gate. Those who passed inspection were numerous. The Capitol was jammed with people, its windows bristling, its terraces crowded, its parapet lined with the younger and more agile spectators.

Packed among the columns of the eastern portico were the Democrats' female luminaries, with their bright "drapery" and "waving Plumes." At last the hero was there. He walked bareheaded in a group of men who wore hats, his hair blowing in the wind. As he took his place

on the east portico, the sun suddenly burst through the clouds. Of that moment, Mrs. Smith wrote a week later that "the shout that rent the air, still resounds in my ears."[11]

When the speech was over, Jackson was escorted through the Capitol and down the hill on the west side to the gates that opened on Pennsylvania Avenue. There he could not move until a passage was hastily cleared through the crowd. He mounted his fine gray horse and began the slow procession toward the White House. The parade marshals surrounded him in a circle, two of them mounted, or there would have been no moving at all. Even so, the trek to the White House occupied the better part of an hour.

At the President's Park, the White House must have appeared to float on the mass of humanity. There were no big trees, those having been cut during the grading and improvement of the square and the White House yard; one wonders if John Quincy Adams's smaller trees survived the day. People had pushed open the iron gates and covered the grounds. They were noisy but orderly, and the sea happily parted to allow democracy's Moses to pass to his door.[12]

Jackson went to the oval saloon, where in Monroe's crimson and glitter he began receiving the congratulations of the cream of his Democratic followers and the officials of foreign nations. This seems to have continued for about an hour, with the numbers swelled by prominent ladies and gentlemen, some of whom had journeyed far to enjoy this day.

The weather turned warm. People had dressed against the cold that morning, but in the afternoon, having walked in the sun from the Capitol and stood in its glare in Lafayette Park and in the yard, they were hot. With apparent patience they awaited admission into the crowded and stuffy house. At White House receptions heretofore, the stream would have slowed and stopped after about an hour and a half. Not so this time, and it only seemed to increase. When the elite vanguard had passed, great numbers of people came who were readily termed at the time "rabble." They joined the push into a house that had once been forbidden to them.

Inside, the eager callers boldly roamed the shadowy interior seeking Andrew Jackson. Within an hour of his arrival the shuffling of so many feet could be felt in the trembling of the wooden floors. The crowd poured into the oval saloon through its one hall door; to leave the room one had to go out the windows onto the south portico or through the only other door, that into the adjoining parlor on the west, which led to the State Dining Room. The tendency of the stream was not to go out to the porch, but to remain inside. As the crowd thickened, it became more

unruly. In the oval drawing room, where he had retreated from his admirers, President Jackson was pressed against the wall and began gasping for want of air.

Jack Donelson and some others fought through to him and, locking arms, created a barrier, giving him room. Slowly they drew him back through a window on to the south portico, then hurried him down the stair to the ground. Lifted into a coach, President Andrew Jackson was rushed through the gates and off to his quarters at Gadsby's Hotel.

Few realized that the President had left. The marshals, who did know, no longer assumed responsibility, and no one had shown the foresight to call in a sufficient number of police. Masses of people continued to pour in from the streets. At about three o'clock Mrs. Smith and her party rose from their naps and, thinking that the inaugural crowd would be smaller, went to pay their respects. "But what scene did we witness!" she wrote, "The *Majesty of the People* had disappeared, and a rabble, a mob, of boys, negros, women, children, scrambling, fighting, romping. What a pity what a pity!"

To draw people from the congested house, Giusta sent the servants out from the basement with washtubs full of punch, which they set on the ground in the fresh air. Though a part of the crowd pushed through the open windows of the oval drawing room and down the south stairs, the state rooms were still crammed with people of every character and every class. When the last finally departed, and when the gates were closed behind them, is not known.

Three days later the local newspaper, the *Washington City Chronicle*, wrote: "We regret to say that the President's hospitality on this occasion was in some measure misapplied. The disorder was considerable, as many were admitted, perhaps unavoidably, that certainly ought not to have been there. There is something due to the dignity of the Presidency as well as the character of the nation on such occasions." The chief source, Margaret Bayard Smith—no admirer of Jackson—declared that "Ladies and gentlemen only had been expected at this Levee, not the people en masse. But it was the People's day, and the People's President and the People would rule . . . . The noisy and disorderly rabble in the President's House brought to my mind descriptions I had read, of the mobs in the Tuileries and at Versailles."[13]

Soon recovered from the brawling afternoon, the town settled back to normal. The White House seems to have needed mainly a hard scrubbing and cleaning; no damage was recorded. Jackson continued to live at Gadsby's and conducted business there for the better part of a week. He kept many business appointments and received many callers, but also

maintained his mournful solitude. Meanwhile such possessions as he had brought from home were unpacked at the White House. It was about March 10 when the President returned there to stay. From the wall over the mantel in the presidential bedroom upstairs, the portrait of a handsome, smiling Rachel Jackson gazed down at her husband, her dark hair veiled by a white mantilla embroidered with flowers.[14]

Old Hickory's House

After the boisterous send-off, the Jackson years in the White House were relatively calm. The house was presided over by Jack Donelson's petite, brown-eyed wife, Emily, who was his first cousin and also a niece of Mrs. Jackson's. She was only 20 when she assumed the duties of official hostess. It had been her wish to assist her Aunt Rachel. Standing beside Rachel's coffin, Jackson had asked her to take his wife's place in Washington. She rose to the challenge, and soon wrote to a friend that she was determined to make the White House a "model American home" for all women to emulate.[15]

Emily Donelson was an immediate success. Although old-timers like Mrs. Smith found her less than proficient in the "useages of good society," she matured in her position, and had enough Donelson push to more than get by. Reared on a plantation, and trained to perform as well as direct many kinds of domestic work, Emily saw that the house ran well. So much among people, she became a keen judge of them, helped, doubtless, by instruction from her shrewd husband. She played an important role in the Jackson White House not only as hostess but also as the object of the general's fatherly affections.[16]

The Adamses had encouraged the Giustas to stay at the White House because they might remain for many years on salaries higher than they could earn in private domestic service. Giusta remained for the duration of the first administration. He and his wife bore Andrew Jackson's tantrums, insults, and general peculiarities patiently, staying perhaps because of Emily Donelson. She was gentle and could work wonders with "Uncle." But the Giustas' loyalty to the Adamses was binding. Frequently on a Sunday they would walk out to Meridian Hill to pay a visit to their old employers. When Jackson learned that the Giustas were spending Sundays with the Adamses, it made him angry. That Madame Giusta sometimes carried gifts of breads and tarts made him furious. At the first confrontation Jackson conceded that it would be permissible for the Giustas to see the Adamses now and then. Later he ordered them never to go, charging them with disloyalty. Because the

posts of steward and housekeeper paid well, the Giustas kept silent.[17]

Time passed, and by degrees the house was cleared of the lower level servants left by Adams. Always hard up for money, the free-spending Jackson eventually realized that he could save money by replacing hired servants with slaves from home. In 1830 the U.S. Census showed 24 people as being attached to Giusta, including his wife, maids, cooks, porters, gardeners, stablemen, and the doorman. The number was about average for the 19th-century White House. By 1833 the hired staff was hardly more than one-third of the 1830 count, the balance being made up by slaves from the Hermitage.

Antoine Michel Giusta found the Negro slaves difficult to direct, for their master was always near and indulged them, never taking Giusta's side in a dispute. They shared his suspicions of the foreign steward. Like the other members of the household staff, those slaves who served wore the livery established for some time at the White House: blue coats with brass buttons, white shirts, and yellow or white breeches. Maids, who did not appear in the public rooms, used the long white apron, reaching to their hems at the floor. All the slaves lived in the house, most occupying dormitory rooms with two or three others in the basement or attic. Few of their names are known.[18]

The management of the house seems to have been left mostly to Giusta, although the long-established relationships between Jackson, the Donelsons, and the Tennessee slaves made discipline a continuing problem. Emily Donelson, nominally the mistress of the house, was either pregnant or busy with her social calling most of the time, so while she can be considered a strong hand in the management of the house, she often deferred to Giusta. There seems to have been little difference between Jackson's entertaining and that of his predecessor, except that neither the general nor his family ever seemed particularly comfortable with sophisticated social productions.

Dinner was abundant every evening, with usually a number of guests. Most of the French dishes were put aside in preference for American country fare. More than one guest recorded the presence of a servant for each person seated at the table. A Philadelphia man in later years described a cozy dinner at the White House, where he ate in the glow of many candles, with ample portions served of soup, beef bouille, wild turkey ("boned and dressed with brains"), fish, chicken, and tongue, salad, canvasback duck, and celery, partridges, sweet breads, and "old Virginia ham." This was mellowed by a liberal pouring of wine.[19]

For all the absence of details of Jackson's private life as President, one is left with rather distinct impressions—though few full pictures—of

what the White House was like in Old Hickory's time. The inhabitants used their rooms rather as apartments; doors to the corridors were kept closed. Bedrooms contained washstands, comfortable chairs, and small tables that could be used for dining. The family gathered on the main floor for meals, and guests came along. Official meals might require that guests have invitations. In the first few years, Jackson's days were fairly much divided between work and incapacity because of illness. He made a splendidly presidential appearance in public, but at home seems to have shown all his age and infirmities to those closest to him.

Surprisingly few details are known of daily life in the Jackson White House. No one in the household kept a journal. Jackson wrote numerous letters but did not keep a diary. Jack Donelson was too busy to chronicle White House life, being secretary to the President and head of a growing family. Here four of his children were born. The Donelsons occupied three rooms on the northwest of the second floor, across the hall from Jackson. They were protective of their and the President's privacy.[20]

Major Lewis wrote informative letters, but left only a few. He passed most of his time with the President, and the rest he spent outside, moving among the various political circles in Washington hearing and seeing and supposedly reporting back to Jackson. By virtue of long years of intimacy with Jackson, he knew many well-placed people, and he was also a born meddler. Since Mrs. Jackson's death, it had been assumed that he would live at the White House. His bedroom was on the north side looking out on the portico.

The Donelsons, Major Lewis, and Mrs. Jackson's great-niece, Mary Eastin, comprised the core of Jackson's circle in the White House. Many visitors came from Tennessee to stay for months at a time, most of them Mrs. Jackson's relatives. Their idea of decorum and costume sometimes seems to have embarrassed Emily Donelson.[21]

A more frequent visitor, and during long periods a member of the household, was the painter R.E.W. Earl. He had moved to the Hermitage many years before, after the death of his wife, Rachel Jackson's niece. Earl had painted Jackson and his intimates as they were rising to national political prominence. The portrait of Mrs. Jackson in Jackson's bedroom was by him. His flat, almost naive portraits, highly colored, evoke the frontier flavor of the Jackson age. Like the Hermitage, the White House had an "Earl's Room," on the north front, over the East Room, today's Queen's Bedroom. Here he slept and worked, taking advantage, as later artists would do, of the north light.[22]

Family and business life centered on the second floor. The large rooms that lined the south side provided drawing and sitting rooms, the

President's bedroom and his offices. In the center was the ladies' parlor or "Circular Green Room," where Emily Donelson normally received callers during the morning. Richly appointed with silk window hangings, it was used at night during parties as a room for women guests; maids were there to comb hair, mend torn garments, and perform other personal services. To the west of this was the general's sitting room, a comfortable family parlor; beyond it lay his bedroom and dressing room.

Besides the President's, the principal bedchamber was the guest room over the north door, known as the Yellow Room. This had been established by Monroe as a state bedroom, and existed as such until about 1850, when it was divided into two separate chambers, divided by a hall. The Yellow Room was elaborately done up in yellow silk, with handsome mahogany furniture. Its usual purpose was less as a bedroom than as a ladies' retiring room, on formal occasions an adjunct to the Circular Green Room across the hall. For this purpose it contained dressing room accoutrements, including washstands and a mahogany "close stool."[23]

The President's offices were also on the second floor, but when they were put there is uncertain. The inventory John Quincy Adams had made of the house after Monroe left names no office, although the room east of the upstairs oval room was furnished with a desk and may have served the purpose. Monroe did have iron bars fixed to some second-floor windows, possibly to his office rooms, yet it is known that he often used an office in the nearby Treasury building. The first mention made of an office upstairs was during the Adams administration, and it seems to have included one or perhaps two of the rooms on the south front, running east from the oval room.

Jackson's office comprised a suite of three rooms on the south front, including the rooms probably used by Adams. Each had windows protected by horizontal bars of iron. It can be described collectively over the years of Jackson's two administrations. Adjacent to the oval parlor, the first room was the large, nearly square "audience room," where the President received petitioners and other business callers. East of this room was Jackson's own office, today's Lincoln Bedroom. Here the Cabinet met at Jefferson's long table, amid his cabinets and bookcases. Maps hung over the wallpaper; an expensive rubber-faced oilcloth covered the floor, probably painted in a tile or carpet pattern; silk curtains at the windows were crowned by gilded-eagle cornices, which Jackson purchased. An iron "Russia" stove stood in a shallow sandbox, its pipe piercing a wallpapered board that covered the large fireplace opening.

The third and last room was a narrow chamber on the southeast corner of the house, containing within a small enclosure one of the two

White House water closets. Across the hall from this, Jack Donelson made his office in the northeast corner room, adjoining Earl's room. Secretive about his business, he kept his office locked at all times when he was away.[24]

Visitors waited to see Jackson or Donelson in the central corridor in full view of the family quarters. So offensive was this to the household that the President added glass doors to separate the office end of the hall from the family part on the west. Business callers used the stair off the entrance hall that Hoban had called the "back stair." The family and its guests had exclusive use of the grand stair, while the servants—and allegedly the famous "kitchen cabinet"—traveled the little service stair.

The East Room

Most of the details of the President's House fell to Major Lewis. A friend of Van Rensselaer's, he was quickly in touch with him about improvements inside and out. The north portico, commenced a few weeks after Jackson moved in, was completed in September 1829. On the various other projects, Lewis did not wish to wait. Van Rensselaer raised the money, and Lewis set himself to spending it. Wanting everything done in a hurry, the major bypassed Joseph Elgar, the commissioner of public buildings, and a Republican holdover. Elgar cannot have objected to so minor an affront, since he must have been delighted at being overlooked in the Democrats' purge of the bureaucracy.

The principal change that heralded the age of Jackson was the north portico. Even though it was planned much earlier, it blended with the newly fashionable Greek Revival in architecture, which bestowed on Jackson's age the temple theme of columns and chaste whiteness. It was by no means the first monumental portico on an American house, yet it may well have been the most influential. Even Jackson himself, in rebuilding the Hermitage after its gutting by fire October 13, 1834, gave it a colossal colonnade, replacing the generous two-deck porches that he and Rachel enjoyed.

Major Lewis addressed himself to the interior of the White House, taking personal charge of the decoration of the East Room. The completion of the great chamber was a matter of practical necessity. All the basic architectural work had been finished in 1818. The room was crowned by the frieze of mighty anthemia, with framing bands of smaller Grecian ornament, all combined into a heavy cornice with a deep cove. Some of these decorations had been gilded and accented with lampblack prior to being installed, but little else had been done toward decorating

the room. At the most the plaster walls were sealed with whitewash. The four fireplaces had temporary mantels of wood.

It was a large and lofty room with floor dimensions of 80 feet by 40, and a ceiling fully 22 feet high—so that it had been necessary to lift the upstairs floor level several feet to accommodate it (and this made the east end of the upstairs two or three steps higher than the central and western parts). Three tall windows admitted the south light, and three matching windows faced the north. On the east the great "Venetian" window was nearly as wide as three of the other windows combined, and one could pass through glass doors here and out onto the roof of the basement-level east wing.

Lewis meant to make the East Room modern. He took advantage of that relatively new convenience of the democratic age, the "furniture warehouse," as a store stocking everything necessary for interior decoration was called. Matters in the past had been more complicated. During the Monroe rebuilding and decoration Sam Lane had gone to individual upholsterers, cabinetmakers, and small manufacturers, and had even employed an upholsterer to set up shop in the White House until his part of the work was done. An American businessman living in France had shopped around Paris for Monroe's furnishings. Only a little more than ten years later, thanks to more modern business practices, Lewis—with certainly less experience than either Lane or Monroe in furnishing houses—made but one stop in fitting out the East Room.

He contacted a Philadelphia entrepreneur named Louis Veron, a cabinetmaker who had opened a warehouse in which he stocked tables, chairs, beds, sofas, bookcases, wallpaper, curtains, and cornices, all sorts of patent lamps, kitchen goods, stoves, carpets and carpeting, rods for stair runners, washbowls and pitchers. Much of his merchandise was gathered from Philadelphia manufacturers. What he did not have on hand, he assured his customers he could find on short notice.[25]

Louis Veron journeyed to Washington probably in August or September 1829 to survey the scene with Lewis. They devised a scheme for shifting furnishings about and adding touches here and there to give the Jackson White House a fresh look, without spending too much money. Andrew Jackson had made too great a campaign issue of presidential extravagance to risk similar accusations. The most money was to be spent on the East Room, with good reason, since its being unfinished had been criticized over several years.

The Brussels carpeting on the principal or state floor was pulled up; perhaps the inaugural crowds had hastened its ruin, as Mrs. Smith had predicted would happen. The ground outside had been muddy, the last

waves of guests were not used to the polite custom of pulling off boots inside the house and putting on thin slippers. Since big crowds would continue to visit, Veron suggested abandoning the loop Brussels for the more durable Wilton weave. Though more expensive, it would meet the test if rotated each year. Other modifications were agreed upon, Veron making recommendations to Lewis and doubtless pushing his own merchandise where possible.

The only room decorated anew was the East Room. Shown the great hollow space, Veron could only have found American analogies in hotel lobbies and ballrooms. When he finished his work, the East Room would be far different from all the other rooms, and not only for its opera house splendor. Even before the age had got going full swing, its character had a bluster unmistakably Jacksonian.

That Lewis actually selected furnishings for the East Room is unlikely. If he did pick them out, Veron must have had pictures or drawings or some sort of a catalogue to show him. Nothing was to be custom made; all was from Veron's stock, such as could be bought by any banker, steamboat captain, planter, saloon keeper, or merchant with the money to pay. As the room's interior decoration took form in Veron's mind, he completed his notes, then returned to Philadelphia to assemble the goods. He created a room not filled with cast-off imperial finery from France, but one of the sort a businessman from Bangor might want, on a smaller scale.

When it was finished, the East Room seemed oddly native, a heroic interior composed of materials from the mainstream of American life and enterprise. Its walls were covered in a lemon-colored paper, probably French, trimmed with cloth borders, probably of blue velvet. Four new mantelpieces replaced the old wooden ones, all of fashionable "Egyptian" marble, black with brindle veining. Plaster centerpieces were fixed to the ceiling in three places, designed like large sunflowers, and from them were suspended three great chandeliers of gilded brass and cut glass, each holding 18 oil peg lamps with glass shades.

Rows of "Bracket Lights," or sconces, holding five oil lamps each were attached to the walls, with astral and globe lamps provided for nearly every surface in the room. Long and wide "French plate" mirrors in gilded frames were hung on the four walls, directly across from each other, carrying the eye infinite distances into reflected depths. Silks colored imperial blue and sunflower yellow were combined at the windows in luxuriant Grecian drapery, falling from cornices adorned with the gilded eagles. This color scheme was repeated in the all-over carpet and border which, after all, was Brussels, not Wilton, probably as a measure

of economy. Three "Imperial rugs" were purchased to protect the carpet in times of heavy traffic.

The existing furniture, which had been made locally for Monroe and Adams—some 24 chairs and several sofas—was reupholstered and given white slipcovers for day-to-day protection. New furniture from Veron's supplemented these earlier pieces, including three mahogany tables with black marble tops on which stood identical gilded lamps with glass globes resting on classical figures of women. One of these rested beneath each chandelier. Marble-top pier tables were spaced along the wall, dividing lines of chairs and sofas. Twenty spittoons completed an impression of staccato rows and strict symmetry.[26]

The finished room must have seemed luxurious and appealing. In the daytime muslin curtains softened the glare of the sun, so that the martial boldness of the blues and yellows would not appear tawdry, and the light would not glare but shimmer in the watery glass of the chandeliers. At night, with the lamps lighted, what today would be only a glow looked bright indeed to the eyes of the time; under the hazy lamps, the brilliant colors were at their most effective. Surfaces of gilt metal, the sheen of the silk curtains, the bright swirls of the carpet, and the black marble against the yellow of the wallpaper with its flat tempera-like finish must have combined most handsomely.

Perhaps Lewis and Veron's success was nowhere more evident than in the ornamentation of the great arch to the transverse hall. With ready-made plaster decorations, they gave it a glamour usually reserved for Masonic temples. From the arch now blazed gilded sunrays, spreading spoke-like over the wallpaper. This heavenly spectacle was washed by a gentle rain of golden stars, which, with the rays, caught the glowing lamplight and seemed to shimmer, the perfect frame for the entrances of Old Hickory.

Rearrangements in the other state rooms bear little discussion. Lewis ordered new curtains; Simon Bolivar's portrait was hung in the Green Room, and Monroe's gilded furniture was moved there. Washington's portrait remained in the Yellow Parlor, the present-day Red Room, which came to be known for some years as the Washington Parlor. But these splendors were not enough to satisfy the visiting citizens, who all wanted to see the hero. It was customary for Presidents to allow themselves to be seen by the public whenever they could. Jackson, in contrast to his predecessors, appeared to be nearly a recluse. Again and again the doorman told tourists no, that the general was not well, or that he was sitting with his Cabinet and could not receive them.

Other Presidents had endured endless interviews with casual callers.

Andrew Jackson simply lacked the physical stamina to do so, although when he did see callers he received them with memorable courtesy. So gracious was he that the ladies and spinsters of the federal city made quite a rush on the White House in the first months of his administration, but soon learned that the widower planned to remain a widower. On his chest he carried in full view the miniature of Rachel, suspended by a black ribbon. At night he hung it on a table beside his bed.

To try to answer the public cry for a glimpse of Jackson, Lewis ordered his portrait painted. R.E.W. Earl very likely did the job. This huge and awkward rival to Stuart's Washington seems to have taken no longer to paint than from sunup to sundown. It was hung over the marble mantel on the west wall of the entrance hall. The hero was shown in military blue, draped in more braid and golden stars than the East Room itself. He was all symbol, and it was the symbol even most of Jackson's intimates really knew best, not the man.[27]

Society and Politics

Mrs. Smith believed that if the occupants of the White House wished to, they could "remain invisible and as much separated from social intercourse, as if on the other side of the mountains."[28] Presidents had learned early the dangers of this sort of isolation. On the other hand, involvement with the public also had its perils, if not carefully controlled. Trivial issues could become giant killers. The relationship between the White House and society, official life and private life, is sometimes delicate, as Andrew Jackson found in the "Peggy O'Neale Affair," or the "Petticoat War."

The political importance of this imbroglio was that it became the catalyst for bringing into the open serious animosities and questionable loyalties within the President's political family, culminating in the resignations of the Cabinet. The central figure in the affair—wherein the President rose to defend a woman's reputation—was Margaret O'Neale Timberlake, a rosy, brown-haired young woman, the daughter of Irishman William O'Neale, owner of one of the most prominent taverns serving Jackson's followers. O'Neale had begun his career in Washington hauling stone for the masons building the White House and later firewood for Jefferson's kitchen. His crowning moment had come in 1823, when Jackson had selected his tavern as his temporary domicile in Washington. Both General and Mrs. Jackson had taken a liking to Margaret.

By the time of Jackson's election, Peggy O'Neale Timberlake was a young widow with children and a reputation for loose morals. She was

not received either in society or at the White House, even though her husband had been a naval officer of good family. Jackson presumably knew nothing of her reputation, which had developed since his return to Tennessee. When his campaign manager, the widower John Eaton, a resident of O'Neale's, went in private to the Hermitage, concerned over gossip about himself and Mrs. Timberlake, Jackson encouraged him to return to Washington and marry the lady. The wedding took place at O'Neale's on New Year's Day 1829, before the news of Mrs. Jackson's death had crossed the mountains.[29]

Difficulties began soon enough when Eaton was appointed Secretary of War, giving his wife Cabinet rank in Washington society. Mrs. Eaton was ignored in the usual process of social calling among the women. In reaction she made a great show when entertained at the White House, bringing into full use her sharp tongue and considerable boldness. Often handed in to dinner by the President himself, she told him about the snubs she was suffering. "She is as chaste as a virgin," he declared, and drawing a parallel between her situation and that of his late wife, he became her champion.[30]

The more Mrs. Eaton pressed her case in public through insolent approaches to prominent women, the more she became the object of their scorn. At first the husbands seemed to be embarrassed, but official etiquette or not, their wives would not call on Peggy Eaton. Again and again Margaret Eaton laid her apparent heartbreak before Andrew Jackson. Angered, her defender put pressure on those closest to him, his Cabinet members, to right the situation. Their wives began to decline invitations to the White House. Under the cover of this controversy, pent-up political differences, subdued since before the campaign, began to surface among the men surrounding the President.

Meanwhile, a palace war was brewing. Next-door neighbors upstairs in the White House, across the hall from the President, the Donelsons and Major Lewis competed to be closest to Jackson. The Donelsons—like all Donelsons of Tennessee—felt that he was theirs. Emily Donelson, in a letter, referred to "that sycophant Lewis," and how she detested him for using "Uncle" as she believed he did. The opening cannon of the first battle was soon to sound. It happened that Lewis's late sister had been the first wife of John Eaton, and Lewis and Eaton shared brotherly closeness. Emily Donelson had not yet called on Mrs. Eaton. Lewis found in this a point of departure against Jack Donelson, and soon enough, probably at the urging of Mrs. Eaton, President Jackson asked Emily to call on the Eatons.[31]

Both Donelsons complied with Jackson's request, enduring a visit in

Mrs. Eaton's house, where, thinking she had them firmly in her hands, Peggy impetuously revealed herself and her motivations by ranting and raving, vowing revenge on those who had insulted her. She followed the Donelson visit with a letter in which she advised Emily on how a smart woman might conduct herself in the capital. The icy response may have been ghostwritten by Jack Donelson: "As you say I am young and unacquainted with the world, and therefore I will trouble myself as little as possible with things that do not concern me. . . ."[32]

Even as this was written, the President of the United States was sending out a stream of letters of his own in defense of the lady in distress, with Lewis fanning the fire. Mrs. Eaton called at the White House as often as she wished in the fall of 1829, reporting on the latest developments. Jackson was wholly absorbed in the issue, showing his liability to be influenced by those around him. He blamed Henry Clay, then turned closer to home on his Vice President, John C. Calhoun, whose wife had been particularly stubborn. With a Westerner's resentment of the ways of eastern society, he determined to confront Peggy's detractors face to face.

The meeting took place with the Cabinet in the office on September 10, 1829, at about the time Lewis and Veron were planning the decoration of the East Room below. It was 7 p.m. Outside, the columns of the north portico were partially built, rising section by section, stacked like stone checkers. Jackson laid before his Cabinet and several of Peggy's accusers the results of a private investigation he had made into Mrs. Eaton's moral character, aided by Lewis, who had checked hotel registers to find if the couple had traveled as man and wife before their marriage. The verdict of the President was that the lady's virtue was that of an angel. He preached almost unceasingly to the gathering. The Reverend John M. Campbell defended his own accusations, but the Cabinet members, both surprised and embarrassed by the President's immoderate conduct, remained quiet.[33]

The news spread quickly over Washington, and was met with disbelief. Peggy Eaton basked in dubious glory as, on a more significant level, heretofore concealed political conflicts within the Cabinet manifested themselves in hostility between Van Buren and Calhoun. Within the White House, at Jackson's elbow, the war between Lewis and Donelson intensified, with Lewis still decidedly in the saddle. Andrew Jackson piped the players ever closer to the fire: "An indignity to Major Eaton," he said, "is an indignity to me."[34]

Late in the spring of 1830, Lewis, ready for the kill, moved his daughter to the White House, into the stately Yellow Room. The coming of Mary Ann Lewis was offensive to the Donelsons, who accurately

regarded her as the major's candidate for Emily Donelson's job. Peggy Eaton, ever more brazen, warned Jack Donelson that if his wife did not mend her ways she would be sent home to Tennessee.

The showdown came at last when Mrs. Eaton declined a White House dinner, writing to the President that her being there would only give his relatives another opportunity "to make me the object of their censures and reproaches." Jackson ordered Emily to receive Peggy O'Neale Timberlake Eaton; Emily, with contempt for the bad-tempered and "meddlesome" woman, as well as heart for the feelings of the ladies of society, began packing and soon had gone to Tennessee with her little ones. The President's loneliness for her and her children made him melancholy, but she did not return for more than two years, when circumstances had changed and the Eatons were gone.[35]

Jackson's relationship with his Cabinet wholly changed after the session over Mrs. Eaton. Realizing that they were at odds with each other and not supporting his viewpoint, he turned elsewhere for counsel, gathering what became popularly known as the "Kitchen Cabinet," an informal group of intimates, including both Donelson and Lewis. They met as a sort of ad hoc cabinet, in the office on the second floor. In the spring of 1831, ostensibly over the Eaton affair, the members of the official Cabinet, including Eaton, began to resign in protest, the two final resignations being requested. At the advice of Van Buren, who had played his cards right and emerged on good terms with the President, Jackson then reorganized his Cabinet into a cohesive and effective body.

Arrangements and Rearrangements

With Jackson's political house in order, his health began to improve, and he settled into a comfortable pattern of living. The physical renaissance was remarkable, for those who were close to Jackson feared him often near death in his first few years in office. One source of his renewed vigor was his steady routine. At the White House he naturally had far less leisure than in his years on the plantation, where someone else, often his wife, had always taken care of the farm management while he did as he pleased. In his busy presidential years, he was forced to establish regular times for recreation.

What he enjoyed most were his horses. He was a graceful, well-seated rider; when he did not feel up to a ride, he took a drive in the light carriage or the coach, behind the prancing team of grays. When he rode, back straight as a board, he seemed to have burst from a portrait of equestrian correctness. He was impeccably dressed in a fine suit of black,

cobalt blue, or snuff brown, a touch of color perhaps on the vest. In cold weather or in rain, he wore the broad-brimmed hat and the full cape that were his trademark.[36]

Changed times were seen in White House activities. The levees were so large that some people neither saw the President nor got a glass of punch. To be a guest at these events required no invitation. One never knew who might appear. It was a time of colorful frontier characters, and such figures as Davy Crockett and Sam Houston were as likely as not to turn up shaking hands.

The Marine Band usually played, seated in the entrance hall beside the columns. Receiving lines were long, and even in winter the heat from such thick crowds made the rooms stuffy. Sometimes the President did not receive, but merely made an appearance. Before she left, Emily Donelson did receive in the Blue Room; after she returned from her self-imposed exile, Jackson and Donelson nearly always stood with her.

Levees may have been the most numerous public events, but there were other attractions. In the winter of 1835 great throngs lined the streets to witness the ceremonious arrival of a 1,400-pound cheese drawn by 24 gray horses. Draped in bunting and adorned with Jacksonian slogans, it was a gift of one of Jackson's supporters from Oswego County, New York. For two years the great cheddar shared glory in the entrance hall with Jackson's portrait; then, a few weeks before the hero left office in 1837, the public was invited in for a bite. The cheese was gone in two hours, but its odor and stain on the wide boards of the wooden floor are said to have remained for several years.[37]

At weekly "family" dinners Jackson conversed with the senators and congressmen, and Emily Donelson held drawing rooms in the old republican manner. A rare account of a small family dinner given by Jackson in December 1834 probably describes the usual occasion of its kind. Marine Lieutenant Robert C. Caldwell, son of a prominent Ohio judge, was sent letters of introduction by his father when he went to Washington. The young man presented himself at the White House, and his references were on a sufficiently high official level to gain a dinner invitation a few days later.

He arrived on the appointed day at three in the afternoon, the dinner hour. Ushered into the Washington Parlor, he conversed briefly with two other guests, until Jack Donelson and the President appeared. All were seated. After about 15 minutes the steward entered and announced dinner. The party crossed the hall into the family dining room, which had the blinds and curtains drawn against daylight and cold and was lighted by single oil lamps burning on each of two tables.

One table was for serving, and the other for seating the five diners. "What attracted my attention first," wrote Lieutenant Caldwell to his father, was not the rich table service but "the very nicely folded Knapkin on each plate, with a slice of good light bread in the middle of it."

President Jackson asked a blessing, then the servants closed in, said Caldwell, "one to every man." The first course was beef—"Will you have some roast beef? Some corn beef? Some boiled beef? Some beef stake?" When the beef was eaten, the plates were removed and new plates set for the fish course. That being done, "a new plate and then some other dish. Then a new plate and some other dish. Then a new plate and the pies—then the dessert." And all the while sherry, madeira, and champagne were poured constantly by the butler.

The wine drinking extended into after-dinner toasts around the table, after the crumb-covered cloth had been taken away. "Then after so long a time," Caldwell continued, "we rise from the table and retire again to the chamber whence we had come, where being seated and in conversation in high glee, in comes a servant with a dish of coffee for each of us." At seven the lieutenant rose: "With a hearty shake of the hand I bid the Gen. Adieu—then taking leave of the other gentlemen, I retired quite gratified at the hosppitality and friendship I had recd."[38]

Emily Donelson had not been in good health since her first childbirth. She bore four babies in the White House. The summer journeys by coach back to Tennessee were always wearing. But when she returned to her position as Jackson's hostess after the Eaton affair, she seemed worse off than ever. In 1834 it became clear that she was seriously ill. Eventually she was diagnosed as having tuberculosis, and she knew her days were numbered; she asked to be taken home to the fine Grecian mansion Jack Donelson had built for her near the Hermitage. Jackson was racked with anxiety, inquiring of every physician he saw, begging her to stay where the treatments might be more likely to save her. She did remain awhile, growing worse by the day. When she could no longer perform even the slightest social duty, she told Uncle she must go. Jack Donelson remained as secretary to the distraught President, seeing his wife when he could spare the three or four weeks it took to go to her in Tennessee. Emily Donelson died in 1836, and was buried near Rachel Jackson in the garden at the Hermitage.

Her departure from the White House in 1834 was a signal to the Giustas. There was no chance this time that the good lady would be returning, so they submitted their resignations. Neither of them liked Jackson, his black slaves, or his temper. On their own they remained in Washington and opened an oyster bar, so successful an endeavor that

they were able to retire after six years. To John Quincy Adams's delight they purchased a nearby farm where they lived long and peaceful lives.[39]

Meanwhile, Jackson found them impossible to replace, either because his humors had become too well known in the world of servants or because he offered too little money. Major Lewis thought in 1833 that he could flatter a hotel keeper named Brady into taking the job. But Brady protested that "neither he nor his wife has sufficient experience—particularly as it regards the furnishing and arranging the dinner table on large dining occasions." What was more, Lewis reported, Brady had three children and "before the end of your presidential term, he thinks he may have one or two more." That was too many children for the steward's basement quarters in the White House.[40]

A chef was engaged, and he took on most of the duties of steward. Joseph Boulanger, a Belgian, had a restaurant on G Street, and was known as a fine "confectioner." He apparently pleased Jackson on every count, but particularly with his desserts, for the President was known for his sweet tooth. The kitchen was extensively repaired to suit him, and its production for the table was better than the White House had known for many a year.[41]

The basement, with its long vaulted passage, had not changed much since Monroe's day. Its walls were still washed in white or yellow; in some places the brick floors had been replaced by wood, which was drier and easier on the feet. Service needs and servants' sleeping quarters absorbed all the rooms and extended into the east and west wings. Some of the personal servants slept in the warren of small rooms in the west end of the attic; these had steeply slanted ceilings and were lighted by dormer windows. Jackson's body servant slept on a pallet in his room, a custom that seems to have begun early in the administration, when the general was unwell. A slave nurse slept in the small corner room adjacent to the Donelsons' bedroom, and kept the little children.

Those who lived on the basement level were white "undercooks," laundry workers, and general-purpose house servants. The windowless oval room directly beneath the oval drawing room was the servants' waiting room. Here was a table with benches and chairs; built-in cupboards held supplies of all kinds; a glass door gave light through the arch beneath the south portico. Rows of spring-mounted bells connected to taut wires ran along the wall, and when a pull on some unseen cord or crank upstairs set one jingling, the particular servant hardly had to look, for by experience he recognized the sound.

Across the hall the kitchen was whitewashed over its grease at least once a year. It was well lighted, though not sunny, having large, barred

north windows. Clean-washed creek sand was sprinkled over the floor of brick pavers to cut the grease and absorb moisture. That the fire in the kitchen never went out was not in itself unusual, but it is interesting to contemplate the continuity of this kitchen fire over the long haul of history, as the Presidency passed from Monroe to Adams to Jackson, and on and on until the advent of gas cooking at the century's end, when fire could be ignited with the turn of a handle.

From the records it seems probable that Joseph Boulanger did not live at the White House. One can hardly imagine him not doing so, yet he was already well established in Washington, with living quarters above his restaurant. Because most of the servants were Jackson slaves who never had a steward at the Hermitage and were accustomed to dealing directly with the family, Boulanger's presence was not required on ordinary nights. His office was a large, square chamber in the basement which would one day gain fame as Roosevelt's and Churchill's Map Room. In it he had a desk and deep locked cupboards for storage.

The protection of the government's valuables—silver, silver-gilt, gilt-bronze, and china—was a worry to all Presidents in a house so much visited by strangers. For Jackson the problem was increased, because in 1833 he more than doubled the size of the silver tableware with the purchase of silver serving pieces from the estate of the Baron de Tuyll, late Russian minister to the United States. This French silver, together with the large quantity bought for Monroe in France, comprised quite a collection, much of which survives today. Traditionally the silver had been kept in the basement room where the steward slept.[42]

Probably both because Boulanger did not live at the White House, and because a doorman was on duty round the clock in the porter's lodge, to the west of the entrance hall, Jackson created a pantry on the main floor, called the "locked pantry" or "vault." It was on the northwest corner of the house, a narrow room built during Madison's administration by partitioning Jefferson's old state dining room. In the reconstruction it was made permanent, part of a two-room suite that served the President's secretary as living quarters. Jackson returned the larger of the two rooms to use as a dining room and made the smaller his pantry.[43]

When Boulanger was not at the White House, the keys were kept by the main doorkeeper, Jemmy O'Neil, a great favorite of Jackson's. His domain was the porter's lodge. With a window overlooking the north grounds, and a good perspective on the hall, he monitored the comings and goings of the public. The lodge, which has the appearance today of an office, was in Jackson's time fitted out with a bed, used by whoever was on the night shift.[44]

Beneath the State Dining Room, in the corner room where the Madisons had built the Pettibone heating system, was the wine cellar, which was greatly improved by Jackson. Barrel and bottle racks were built along the walls behind heavy wooden bars ("fences") which were painted black. The cellar was dark, with a brick floor. Only the steward had the keys to the outer door of the wine cellar and to the gates of the protective fences within. Wine for meals, hard liquor for punch, and beer for master and servant were kept here in great abundance.[45]

Despite the size of the White House, there was never enough space for service. Laundry, for example, was hung up to dry in the corridor of the basement, as propriety precluded its being hung outside, or even in the deep areaway on the north side. Except for the wine cellar, such storage rooms as coal house, meat house, milkhouse, and the like were pushed out into the wings. The gardener's living quarters in the east wing were taken over for such purposes under Jackson and replaced by a snug wooden gardener's cottage.

Because it was being used more extensively than ever before, the White House needed reorganization and expansion by 1833. The instigator of this program must have been Major Lewis. It began at the climax of Jackson's war against the Second Bank of the United States, at the commencement of his second term in office. Through the stormy battles of this war and the others waged against the American system, passersby saw busy scenes at the White House—painters balanced high on ladders wielding whitewash brushes; freshly painted green blinds being carried up to the south windows; canvas-covered vans arriving with wallpaper and furniture; open wagons with balled trees and crates of seedlings.

Two commissioners of public buildings took part in overseeing the work of 1833–35: Joseph Elgar, in office until February of 1834, and William Noland, a friend of Jackson's, who took his place. The commissioners found a capable lieutenant in Boulanger. He was a good manager who could supervise myriad projects; he knew best what was needed at the White House. In the summer of 1833 Lewis wrote to Jackson, who was resting at the Hermitage, "the Upholsterer has the House, at present, pretty much lumbered up, With carpets, curtains, &c &c."[46]

The work on the interior was extensive, but it seems not to have altered the appearance of the rooms drastically. There were new lamps, upholstery for some of the furniture, and some fresh carpeting. The color of the Washington Parlor, which had been yellow since Dolley Madison's day, was changed to blue, perhaps the rich bright Orleans blue that had risen to popularity with the fashions of Louis Philippe's France. Pink curtains of cambric with silk fringe were made for the windows and the bed in the Yellow Room upstairs, and 100 yards of silk fringe was sewn to the curtains in Jackson's room.

The upholsterers were gone by November, in time for the President's return. Boulanger, faced with storage areas crammed full of useless odds and ends, called in the auctioneers Howard and Shortent. When they saw what Boulanger wished to sell, they decided to make a production of the event. Renting a room on Pennsylvania Avenue, they fitted it with tables, which they covered with green baize, to receive the material from the White House. Boulanger checked off chairs, mattresses, curtain cornices and eagle ornaments, chandeliers, lamps, and a wide variety of table items, such as decanters, bowls, dishes, and pieces of silver plate which were badly worn or broken. To enhance the battered collection, the auctioneers fattened it in the age-old way, with innumerable items of their own. The sale was so successful that a second one, consisting largely of old window curtains, was held the following March.[47]

Running Water

Greater change took place in the grounds. Andrew Jackson put up a new stable building, added running water to the house, and at last undertook an extensive program of landscaping, building upon what John Quincy Adams had begun. Most of the work connected with these projects commenced late in the spring of 1833 and continued for well over a year. In the case of the garden, the work became such a favorite pastime with President Jackson that it continued through the remainder of his second administration.

The stable was a necessity. To house Jackson's fine horses required all the space in the west wing and overflow in wooden shanties along the western fence of the White House grounds. Accommodations were both cramped and too close to the house; odors drifted into the open windows of the State Dining Room. Elevations for the new stable were drawn by a Washington builder named William P. Elliott, apparently based upon plans sketched by someone else, perhaps Jackson himself. It was built outside the arched entrance gate on the southeast, and in full view of it, about where the General William T. Sherman statue now stands. Tall and wide, the stable nestled behind a brick fence in its own grassless yard. Constructed of bricks, it was stuccoed over, with Aquia stone trimming at the windows. Six round columns of plastered bricks, with stone bases, formed a porch on the south front; its ground-level floor of stone continued through a central hall. Stalls, feed room, tack room, and accommodations for two coaches and several smaller vehicles flanked

this hall and an ell to the side. On the second level was a hayloft and quarters for grooms and the coachman.[48]

The stable was finished in late September 1834, when the stucco was applied and painted. Once the transfer of horses and equipment had taken place, the old stable was quickly converted into service rooms by the addition of wooden flooring, new partitions, plastering, and heavy whitewashing. The whitewash helped kill the lingering odor of animals, which must have been strong.

In conjunction with the stable project, more suitable arrangements were made for the dairy cows and the storage of milk. Big herds were never kept at the White House, but throughout the 19th century the presidential household maintained anywhere from one to six milch cows. Enormous quantities of milk were used in cooking, as well as for butter, ice cream, drinking, and as a liquid base for various household cleaning formulas, paints, and the like.

The old "cow house" had been in the west wing as far back as the days of Jefferson. Now it was relocated, either in a part of the new stable or in a separate building within the stable yard—the sources on this point are unclear. There were two milkhouses, a main one which was part of the dairy, where a 25-foot marble water basin, carved by the aged Georgetown stonecutter Robert Brown, provided a shallow, tray-like cooler for the crocks of milk, and a smaller one beneath the floor of the north portico, in the shadowy vault that spanned the areaway. This last was just outside the kitchen, and it was a holding place of some sort where milk was kept immediately prior to its use.[49]

Discussions about putting running water in the White House had begun in the Madison administration before the house was burned. But in 1833, water was still provided by two original wells located in the breezeways between the house and the wings. Both were covered with low brick domes, upon which were mounted hand pumps.

In 1829 the Committee on Public Buildings had decided not to pipe running water to the White House, preferring to spend all of its appropriation on the north portico. Running water was a convenience known to most hotels of any size, particularly in their bathing rooms, and private mansions in the cities often had it in the kitchen, whether it was fed from a spring, a well, or a cistern. Many dining rooms, including that of the Madisons, had sizable cisterns equipped with brass or iron cocks; the convenience of these was not so much for drinking as for dishwashing, which was nearly always performed in the dining room, and for the cooling of wine.

A bubbling spring at Franklin Square was purchased in 1831 by the

commissioner of public buildings, with the idea of piping the water to the White House in "trunks," or wooden pipes made of drilled-out logs "for the purpose of supplying the President's House and public offices with drink and to fill reservoirs as security against fire." Not until the spring of 1833 did this intention take practical form. An engineer named Robert Leckie was given the work.

As early as the ground could be broken, in March that year, laborers were set to digging three reservoirs, one at the Treasury, one at the State Department, and the third at the White House itself. The completed reservoirs were large, orderly looking ponds curbed in brick; one was between Treasury and State on the east, and the others were between War and Navy on the west.

As the ponds were dug and the laying of pipe got under way, the engineer decided to substitute iron pipe for the wooden trunks. At the reservoirs, stonemasons set bulky platforms or "pedistals" where the pipes came to the surface. Water flowed freely through the pipes, which by means of grading were kept on a decline the whole way to the President's Park. At the pedestals the water formed spout-like fountains that shot directly into the pools. Situated on the pedestals were pumps made of iron and trimmed with brass, protected by ornamented pumphouses of wood that looked a bit like church steeples. From the pumps various iron pipes led to the several buildings.

Leckie's system, largely completed by the end of May 1833, worked this way: The motion produced by the splashing fountains kept the water in the reservoirs from stagnating. A deep bed of clean sand laid down before water was introduced was the filter through which the water passed in its movement within the pool. While it seems simple, the system was complicated enough to keep Leckie on the job for nearly a year, working out the problems. The pipes from the pools to the buildings were buried in the ground. Since the pipes had to carry water to great heights inside the house, hand pumps provided the necessary pressure. A pump attendant who took care of all three reservoirs worked the handles at intervals, filling the pipes as well as the small tin cisterns that had been installed to serve each hydrant.[50]

Initially the pipes reached only the lower levels, where they poked through the walls, each capped with a brass cock or hydrant. Theoretically, a turn of the handle brought the water forth, but this always depended upon the vigilance of the pump attendant, and the condition of the pumps, which were often out of repair. The Treasury and the State Department buildings had one hydrant apiece, in their basements. The White House had two, possibly three; one was in the basement corridor,

one in the main floor butler's pantry, where the dishes were washed in a marble sink, and perhaps one in the kitchen.[51]

The beauty of clean, potable water, and the wonder of having it available inside the house at the turn of a handle rather escapes late 20th-century sensibilities. There was something especially lovely about it in an age that hauled water in buckets, that drank from creeks and wells and, with good reason, feared bad water. As the pipes were being connected at the White House, Major Lewis wrote to the President, who was home in Tennessee, that the water system would be a "very comfortable thing." And comfortable indeed it proved to be, when the kinks were worked out.[52]

One luxury usually leads to another, even in the house of a chieftain of the common man. Very soon, either in late 1833 or early 1834, a bathing room was established in the east wing to take further advantage of the fine water supply. All that is known of the room is that it had a hot bath, a cold bath, and a shower bath. Coal fires under large copper boilers heated the water.[53]

Major work on the grounds began in the spring of 1833, and was carried on until 1835. Since there is no source to indicate anything else, it can be assumed that the plan generally followed the outlines set down by John Quincy Adams, whose concept, in turn, descended from Jefferson through Bulfinch. A good bit of the work under Jackson was accomplished while he was away at the Hermitage in the summer of 1833. The parties who conducted the work answered to Lewis, who, with his daughter Mary Ann, remained at the White House, with occasional absences in New York and Philadelphia.

The Garden

Andrew Jackson, farmer and horse breeder, shared the fascination of his age with horticulture. At the White House he seems to have been pleased with the work of the gardener John Ousley, first engaged by Adams, for Ousley stayed on. In the work of the early 1830s he also called in Jemmy Maher, public gardener of the city, who contributed not only his experience at managing large-scale works, but also a portion of his handsome annual appropriation. He attended to the earth-moving and to the planting of trees, while acting as purchasing agent for new plant material. Ousley, the flower gardener, remained in charge of the delicate plantings of flowers and shrubbery, the general maintenance of the grounds, and the flower garden southeast of the house.[54]

Until this time, Washington City was not noted for ornamental

gardening. The responsibility of the public gardener extended not much beyond the Capitol, the Mall, and Pennsylvania Avenue, where he primarily graded for drainage and planted trees. Most private houses had walled or fenced yards planted thickly with fruit trees, the earth beneath them packed hard and swept with brush brooms. The larger houses, such as the Van Ness mansion near the White House, had wooded parks where sheep grazed to keep the grass cut. Letters seldom refer to flowers, though often to vegetables and fruits. Within the White House in the 1830s the most conspicuous flowers were of wax, arranged in Monroe's porcelain urns and protected beneath large glass domes. Fresh flowers were the exception.

Jemmy Maher owned a nursery and also accepted a salary for his official post. A Jackson appointee, he had come to Washington from Ireland as a child, brought by his father, a refugee from the rebellion of 1798. Maher was a good businessman, owning in addition to the nursery, a saloon, which in the terminology of the time was known as a "grocery." He seems to have solved his labor problems by bringing young Irishmen to America, boarding them, and employing them on his various projects, including the public grounds. His household was of extraordinary size, having at one time 23 males between the ages of 20 and 40.

He worked hard, and often found relaxation in drink. Son of his rebellious father, he loathed the British and anything British, so the man who had beat the British at New Orleans was a natural hero to him; the hero found this gardener an amusing man to talk with. Now and then Maher's drinking and his boisterous companions irked the commissioner of public buildings, who complained to the President, who in turn confronted the public gardener. But Maher found it easy to make Jackson laugh, and always got off the hook.[55]

Work progressed through the summer of 1833 on both the north and the south grounds, even though the money proved not nearly sufficient. Between 61 and 65 laborers worked under Thomas Murray, one of Maher's tenants. "Graduating," or grading, was done on the south, and garden paths were laid out, topped with gravel. No plan survives to give us an exact description of the pattern of the walks, the location of shelters or seats. Information on that summer's work comes entirely from records of payment for materials and services.[56]

The chopping of the earth with hoes and the dragging of the ground with rakes made powdery clouds that dry summer. Draymen's carts and wheelbarrows contributed to the stifling, nearly nauseating dust that slid through the green louvres of the windows and annoyed the occupants of the White House. So frequent were the complaints by September, with

intense heat and no rain, that the work was called to a halt. But it was unquestionably the lack of money, more than the lack of rain, that really stopped the work. Most of the cost was borne by the public buildings appropriation, and this had been drained after the destruction of the Treasury building by fire in March 1833. So poorly did the new water system serve the fire fighters that the commissioner of public works, William Noland, channeled most of his money to improving the waterworks in the President's Park. Commissioner Elgar wrote: "the destruction of one of the offices for want of water seemed to inculcate the necessity of providing against a recurrence of the catastrophe with the least possible delay." By comparison, the work on the grounds seemed minor. The commissioner asked Maher and Ousley to arrive at a figure that would cover completion of the work in the next year.[57]

The main improvement to the White House that we know about for the summer of 1833 was on the north front. Noland commissioned a plan for a parapet wall with an iron railing. This was to run between the foremost four columns, along the perilous edge of the deep areaway—heretofore unfenced—and all around the lawn that spread between the two branches of the driveway. Andrew Jackson unrolled this plan, took his pencil, and made so many changes, Noland observed, that he had "more than doubled" the original cost. What Jackson wanted most was the straightening of the wavy, curving north fence built by Monroe. He also wanted the gates and piers moved wider apart—they must have seemed rather close company in so large a space. The commissioner completed the work as the President wished, even after the money ran out, explaining that he could not stop halfway or "all the cattle of Washington" would assault the grounds.[58]

The source of the new fencing near the house is not known. If it was not Paulus Hedl, who was still in business in New York, it was someone who made railing that closely approximated what Hedl had put on the east front of the Capitol in 1820. Low and heavy, made of wrought iron, the fence evoked the cornice in the East Room. It featured a row of bold anthemia seemingly outlined in iron, set within circles and running side by side, held together top and bottom by rails. This long Grecian border ran the full extent of the north facade, apparently underlining the White House in orderly black. The evenness of this line echoed the now perfectly straight iron fence along Pennsylvania Avenue.

When there no longer seemed a possibility of frost, in March of 1834, hoes and shovels again cut the ground. Now there were two White House gardeners. Ousley's time was given over entirely to ornamental planting, and William Whelan, a friend of Maher's, was engaged to tend

the vegetables. The division of responsibility suggests a broadening of the gardening program at the Jackson White House, a separation for the first time of ornamental and edible plantings. It may well also pin down the date when the old garden—which Jefferson had located on the southeast—was redesigned and elaborated, and new ground was broken southwest of the house for the kitchen garden.

Most of the grading was completed in May. The driveway on the north was placed in its present path, laid over with gravel and edged with paved walks. It became a wide horseshoe, bordered by paved footways. Within the north fence all the ironwork was painted black. The gate piers and all parapets were painted white, like the house. There was some further grading, because drainage had been a problem during the winter; sections of the parapet were cut open as outlets for ditches into Pennsylvania Avenue. The ground was turned up and grass seed scattered. Protective boxes were removed from Adams's trees on the north grounds, for now. The few that survived were of sufficient size to fend for themselves, even when sheep were turned in to crop the lawn.

The greatest advances were on the south side. By man, shovel, ox, and plow the surface was graded to seat the south portico on a carpet lawn flanked by slopes that hid the littered east and west colonnades, where in the warm months many homely household tasks were performed. The "circular road" was leveled and graveled, although no change seems to have been made in its path. The White House was not visible from the arched gate, but screened by trees as Jefferson had intended. Some of the trees had grown quite large. Beside the gate were two weeping willow trees which were in Jackson's day called "ancient," dating from "colonial times."[59]

Because the flower garden on the east and the kitchen garden on the west were fenced, the south driveway was segregated into its own open grassy area apart from either of them. Jefferson's high wall, albeit crumbling in places, was the barrier between this and what Fanny Kemble had called in 1833 "a desolate reach of uncultivated ground to the river." It was crossed in several spots by wooden stiles, which pedestrians could climb for an elevated look at the mansion. The popular pride of China, or chinaberry, trees were planted there in the spring of 1834.[60]

It may be that the celebrated Jackson magnolias, the mighty old trees that gnarl up today as high as the house and shade the President's bedroom windows, were planted near the west stairway to the south portico at about this time. No written record places these trees in Jackson's Presidency, but the legend began in the late 19th century. However, a photograph taken of the south front in 1846 does not show them;

surely they would have been sufficiently advanced from seedlings in 12 years to make their presence known.[61]

The work done on the grounds in the spring and summer of 1834 was the most extensive landscaping yet. Jackson's personal interest is difficult to gauge. He had once hired a gardener in Philadelphia for the Hermitage, an Englishman, William Frost, and as a planter he was professionally concerned with horticulture. An avid gardener, however, he seems not to have been. Van Buren, Vice President in Jackson's second term, was a gardening enthusiast, and in the early 1830s toured English country houses and gardens, making extensive notes. King William IV had shown him his garden and retreat at Windsor, saying he loved it far more than he did the palace. Possibly Van Buren encouraged the work on the White House grounds.

Various building projects were undertaken for the garden. Trellises, benches, fences, a hothouse were built in the fall of 1834 by Bryan & Wood, a local contracting firm specializing in garden construction. A "watch box" was built for a sentry, unquestionably in reaction to the attempt on Jackson's life made at the Capitol on January 30, 1835. The watch box was also a reminder that the south grounds, and particularly the flower garden at their eastern end, were for the exclusive use of the President and his household. One reason very few descriptions of the garden survive is that it was never open to public inspection.[62]

The acquisition of plant material was large, and Jemmy Maher seems to have acted on his own most of the time. His main sources were nurseries in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. He also attended estate sales when he learned that greenhouses were to be emptied and plant materials sold. The bills that passed into the records of William Noland's office provide a worthy, though general, overview of what Andrew Jackson planted in the White House garden.

Few bills in 1834, 1835, and 1836 are for vegetable seeds or roots. These were not difficult to find. Vegetable planting had been carried on at the White House for many years, beginning with the first Adams, and a part of the gardener's job was to assure a garden's progeny by taking seeds each season to root for the next. Cold frames were built for rooting, and glass bell jars were purchased in great number for the same purpose. In the winter one can imagine some of the south windows filled, as in any house of the day, with clay pots where seeds were rooting. At the White House this was William Whelan's responsibility. He occupied a a room in the west wing, where the stable had been, just adjacent to the vegetable garden which was his charge.

Flowers, shrubbery, and trees were personally selected by Maher

from the best nurseries in the United States, principal among which were the firms of William Prince & Sons and Bloodgood & Company in Flushing, New York. These were also the largest nurseries in the nation. They were examples of how Jacksonian enterprise, coupled with the advances in transportation since the War of 1812, had changed American business. Although both had begun as local merchants, they had expanded to become "national" businesses, with full catalogues supplying plant material to buyers as far away as Louisiana. Of the two, the Prince company sold more to the White House. At the Prince company Maher had bought elm trees to replace Thomas Jefferson's short-lived Lombardy poplars on Pennsylvania Avenue. In addition he ordered more trees for the White House: sugar maples, elms, American sycamores, European sycamores, red-twigged lindens, silver-leaf maples, oaks of all kinds, and the magnificent horse chestnuts, whose white, wisteria-like blossoms were for some years a Washington trademark. It was an age in which ornamental trees were beloved both for summer shade and as shields from the sometimes bitter winds of winter.

Although most of the grounds were planted heavily with trees, Maher's notes suggest that few were planted on the southeast, where the flower garden spread over some two acres within its board fence. Some trees stood at the edges of the garden, but none in positions to impede the southern sunshine. The open, level garden itself was crossed by graveled walks, which were flanked by grass borders. A daily duty of the gardener's assistants was to take the gravel rakes, made in Washington especially for the purpose, and pull the gravel neatly to the center of these walks. This process did improve the drainage, but, like plumping featherbeds to keep them mounded, it mainly testified to the ready availability of low-cost manual labor.

Some of the garden's numerous trellises were specified as being for roses. There was an arbor, the earliest mention of which is in an account of Maher's in the spring of 1835 for "running vine trainers for Arbours." The character of this arbor is not known, but the lone photograph of the old garden, taken in the late 1850s, shows a long, tunnel-like arbor of wood, painted white, and arched over a straight segment of graveled walk. Perhaps this was the same arbor of Jackson's time, or at least similar to it. Other means of training and supporting flowering shrubs and vines were also used. Bryan & Wood made "2 Espalier Frames for Rose Bushes" in the spring of 1834 and supplied more the next year.[63]

Only spotty records remain of the actual species of the flowers and shrubbery used in the garden. Altheas, single and double, were used in great profusion, and had been fixtures in the garden since the days of

John Quincy Adams. Dwarf rose trees were introduced under Jackson, as well as boxwood "edging." Bills exist for more than 1,000 "roots" purchased from the nurseries and at public estate sales. These could be either bulbs or tuber roots, in the terminology of the day.[64]

Many flowering plants were undoubtedly acquired at no cost through cuttings—people in that era of popular gardening liked to trade. John Quincy Adams had acquired many plants for the White House that way. When they pruned, gardeners might root portions of their clippings in the cold frame so that they could reuse them in their own gardens or trade them for other material.

Roses, the blossoms of fruit trees, such spring bulbs as hyacinths, narcissus, and tulips, were the flowers Andrew Jackson could see when he looked down from his office windows. That there were other flowers is certain. On visits to the White House, Senator Thomas Hart Benton used to take his daughter Jessie along to see the President, and the memory of flowers lingered throughout her life. "I have the beautiful recollection," she wrote years later, of "stands of camelias and laurestina banked row upon row, the glossy dark green leaves bringing into full relief their lovely wax-like flowers."[65]

In the garden an orangery surveyed the parterres through tall glass windows; it stood with its back toward Pennsylvania Avenue and the north wind. Very little is known of this structure, except that the shell of it was Latrobe's old Treasury fireproof vault, abandoned after the war and used for years as storage. It was turned by Jackson into a "hothouse," or orangery, in 1835, possibly to house a sago palm rescued at Mount Vernon that winter, when Washington's old orangery burned down. When the White House greenhouses burned in the late 1860s much was made over the loss of a sago palm that had belonged to Washington. Jackson had great affection for Washington relics, and he was the owner of the general's desk chair. He had modeled his driveway at the rebuilt Hermitage after that at Mount Vernon.[66]

The exact appearance of Jackson's orangery is unclear, for there is no detailed drawing. A photograph taken much later suggests that it was somewhat like the one that had burned at Mount Vernon. It had a similar tall central section for large tubbed plants—which appear constantly in the records—with low, flanking wings. The middle part, with its great arched window, is in fact the orangery; the photograph shows the wings as they were 20 years later, with glass roofs. Greenhouses were not in common use in Jackson's time, and these were built in 1853. The carpenters' and glaziers' bills of the Jackson tenure show that the orangery, from its first use in the fall of 1836, required constant repair. The

wood framing rotted in spots and glass panes were forever breaking. Latrobe's brick walls, however, and the lunettes, matching those on the east and west wings, remained sturdy until the entire structure was demolished in 1859.[67]

Pennsylvania Avenue

As early as 1832 the local newspapers had taken an interest in improving the public grounds, including those of the White House. The *National Intelligencer* suggested that the south wall be knocked down and the lawn extended to Tiber Creek. "Within that enclosure," continued the *Intelligencer*, "there might be a beautiful lake, or a handsome and ornamental canal formed . . . nature has done a great deal for that ground. The canal or lake could contain a beautiful island, directly in front of the house, which might be made, by the aid of art, a little paradise. The whole ground enclosed, from North to South, with an iron railing, and certain offices that are within the present enclosure removed at a distance not to be seen from the south front, would leave great room for improvement. We then, in reality, should have room to introduce ornamental as well as useful gardening within that enclosure on a grand and beautiful scale."[68]

Four years later, with Jackson's work on the garden nearly done, and the old Treasury a toppling skin of scorched brick, the Committee on Public Buildings met with the commissioner and representatives from the President's immediate circle. Before them was the question: Why rebuild the Treasury as it had been? All the old executive buildings were inadequate, hated by those who had to use them. Why not level them all and replace them with one building that would house everyone? The most convenient location for this executive pile might be either on Lafayette Park or on the grounds south of the White House.

It seems to have been Andrew Jackson himself who disposed of both plans. One alternative would have ruined the park; the other would have plugged the southward vista from the President's House. The President would have neither. Legend has it that he walked to the ruins of the Treasury, beyond the White House garden. He took long paces to the south and made a mark with his cane. "This," he is said to have pronounced, "is where it shall be." And there it stands.[69]

History has long abused the general for this act, claiming that he blocked the view of the White House from the Capitol, down Pennsylvania Avenue. The truth is, in locating the new Treasury he rescued the White House from a far worse fate, the crowding of its site by an

executive complex. He has also taken an unjust beating with regard to the view from the avenue. L'Enfant's idea for architectural terminations of the Pennsylvania Avenue vistas had died along with his presidential palace. General Washington had personally set the smaller house by Hoban to the north, pulling it to the very edge of the avenue's frame, where it was barely visible, and even so, seemed squat and unimportant. Jefferson's sensitivity was understandably offended by the way the White House shrank back wretchedly from the commanding axis, so he cut off what little view there was with a curving driveway and dense plantings.

In siting the new Treasury building, Jackson really sacrificed nothing, but corrected an old shortcoming by giving Pennsylvania Avenue at last its architectural terminus. Robert Mills's design for the new Treasury gave the avenue a colossal portico with mighty Ionic columns. Here was democratic grandeur of which one can suspect L'Enfant himself would have approved.

Old Ironsides

The hero of New Orleans was ready to go home in 1837. He rejoiced that Van Buren would succeed him, and from time to time, in anticipation of the terrible campaign, had considered resignation as a possibility for assuring a peaceful continuation of Jacksonianism. Van Buren consistently opposed this. At last the idea was dropped, and the general waited out the end of his time.

Strange and moving images linger of Jackson's personal experiences in the White House. Emily's death in 1836 had broken his heart. His adopted son, Andrew Jackson, Jr., married in 1831, and eventually brought to the White House his beautiful wife, Sarah Yorke. Jackson liked well-bred women; after Emily went back to Tennessee in 1834 Jackson grew very close to his daughter-in-law. The gentle Sarah Jackson and her children would be the light of an old age which might, without them, have been dark with melancholy and physical pain.

His health was poor. Most of the descriptions reveal an old man too weak to stand, at least for very long. A compelling glimpse of the general's feebleness comes from the summer of 1834, when a gallant man named Nicholas J. Ash announced that he would ascend into the sky in a balloon in honor of the President. When the day came, the Mall below the White House was crowded with spectators, but Jackson was too weak even to stand on the south portico. The curtains of his office were drawn back and he sat in the open window. As the balloon rose in the air, Nicholas Ash waved two flags from his place in the basket and shouted

huzzahs for Andrew Jackson. The hero could not hear him and could only see the flags when Major Lewis pointed them out.[70]

Few Americans had ever seen his face except in pictures, and few would have known him if they had seen him in person. Yet he was a rather familiar sight in the little city of Washington: He clipped through the early morning on his horse, riding with Van Buren; he was the host of three—not the usual two—great public receptions each year, the new one being January 8, a week after the first, to honor his own victory over the British at New Orleans. In the last years he could not stand and receive at these events, but sat in one of Monroe's golden chairs, with Sarah Yorke Jackson "in full court costume" close beside him, while the multitudes flowed by.[71]

March 4, 1837, he attended the inauguration of Van Buren and returned to the White House, which was torn up with packing. On March 6, seated in his chair, he listened to a touching farewell delivered to him by the mayor of Washington. This was a courtesy that had been accorded all Presidents since Jefferson, and the general had more to say in response than most of his predecessors, thanking the numerous delegation with great warmth.

That same day at about noon he climbed into his coach at the north portico to begin the 30-day journey to the Hermitage. The trip would be softened wherever possible by railroad cars and steamboats. On President Van Buren's order, over objections from Jackson, the surgeon-general was going along. The coach that now rolled that sunny day through thick crowds, down the White House drive and into Pennsylvania Avenue toward the railroad depot was a magnificent vehicle, presented to Jackson by the "Democratic-Republican Citizens of New York City." It was made of wood taken from the frigate *Constitution*, the "Old Ironsides" of the War of 1812.

Every detail of the coach was luxuriously finished, the trimmings silver plate. Its surface was polished to a lacquer gloss. On the doors bright paintings of the *Constitution*, full sail, combined with the inscription "*Patri victisque laudatus*." In this dramatic phaeton the hero departed the White House forever, sunk back against crimson satin cushions, white, thin, weak, but leaving behind him the image of a man as eternally virile and young as the image in iron, on the rearing horse, that would one day become the climax of Lafayette Park.[72]



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91 MAY 23 P4:18

May 23/91

TO: CHRISTINA MARTIN

PRESIDENTIAL LECTURE SERIES (Beth Hinchliffe)

THIS IS THE THIRD IN THE PRESIDENTIAL LECTURE SERIES, AND ONCE AGAIN I'VE RESISTED THE TEMPTATION TO HONOR MY FAVORITE PRESIDENT OF ALL -- MARTIN VAN BUREN.

I RECEIVED A PHONE CALL FROM SOMEONE WHO WAS THRILLED TO HEAR THAT I'D BE TALKING ABOUT PRESIDENT JACKSON, BUT I HAD TO TELL JESSE IT WAS ANDREW.

ANDREW JACKSON WAS [redacted] THE FIRST PRESIDENT BORN IN A LOG CABIN. I RECENTLY HEARD ABOUT A POLITICIAN WHO TRIED TO INVOKE THAT SAME FRONTIER SPIRIT, BUT SOMEHOW IT DIDN'T QUITE SOUND THE SAME WHEN HE TOLD AUDIENCES HE WAS BORN IN A LOG CONDO.

ANDREW JACKSON WAS TWICE WOUNDED IN DUELS. AND I DIDN'T EVEN REALIZE THAT "CROSSFIRE" WAS ON THE AIR BACK THEN.

AFTER PRESIDENT JACKSON WAS INAUGURATED, THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE WHO WERE ALLOWED INTO THE WHITE HOUSE CLIMBED ON CHAIRS, BROKE FURNITURE AND STARTED FIGHTS. NEEDLESS TO SAY, THE PRESS CORPS HAS BEEN KEPT IN THE BASEMENT EVER SINCE.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

- where in Jackson portrait?

★★★★★★★★ ★★★★★★★★

PRESIDENTIAL ANECDOTES

Paul F. Boller, Jr.

PENGUIN BOOKS

★★★★★★★★ SEVEN ★★★★★★★★

Andrew Jackson
1829–37

The Presidency of Andrew Jackson (1767–1845) got off to a raucous start. Thousands of Jacksonian enthusiasts—small farmers, rough backwoodsmen, old soldiers, Irish immigrants, city workers, small-town editors—poured into the nation's capital to see their hero inaugurated on March 4, 1829. "I never saw such a crowd here before," exclaimed Daniel Webster. "Persons have come five hundred miles to see General Jackson, and they really seem to think that the country is rescued from some awful danger!"[1] "It was like the inundation of the northern barbarians into Rome," wrote one eyewitness, "save that the tumultuous tide came in from a different point of the compass. The West and the South seemed to have precipitated themselves upon the North and overwhelmed it. . . . Strange faces filled every public place, and every face seemed to bear defiance on its brow."[2]

Jackson's inaugural address was mild enough; but when he was finished, the crowd went crazy. People swarmed past the police up the Capitol steps to reach the new President and shake his hand; and it was only with difficulty that he managed to reach his horse and set out for the White House, followed by a long line of admirers. The inaugural reception, from the beginning, was a brawl. People poured into the White House through windows as well as doors, upset waiters carrying trays of food, broke china and glassware, overturned tables, brushed bric-a-brac from mantels and walls, spilled whiskey and chicken and squirted tobacco juice on the carpets, and

stood with muddy boots on the damask-covered chairs in order to get a good look at "Old Hickory." Jackson finally escaped through the back door and returned to his hotel, while waiters succeeded in restoring order only by placing big tubs of punch on the White House lawn, luring people outside, and locking the doors behind them. Genteel Washingtonians were horrified. It was a "regular Saturnalia," according to one Congressman.[3] "I never saw such a mixture," exclaimed Justice Joseph Story; "the reign of KING MOB seemed triumphant."[4] But Amos Kendall, a Jacksonian editor from Kentucky, saw it differently. "It was a proud day for the people," he insisted. "General Jackson is *their own* president."[5] And Francis Scott Key, watching Jackson take the oath of office, exclaimed, "It is beautiful, it is sublime!"[6]

Jackson was by no means one of the masses himself when he became President. He was a well-to-do Tennessee planter owning hundreds of acres of land and a host of slaves. He had been born, it is true, to poverty in a log cabin on the Carolina frontier and orphaned at an early age. But during his long and colorful career as frontier lawyer, storekeeper, Indian fighter, and military commander, he had risen gradually to affluence; indeed, many of his habits and manners were those of an aristocrat. Nevertheless, he still displayed some of the rough-and-ready ways of his early frontier life; and it was not difficult for the Democrats who enticed him into presidential politics in the 1820's to present him to voters as a down-to-earth man of the people ("the Farmer of Tennessee") as well as the hero of the Battle of New Orleans ("Old Hickory"). Upper-class Americans, particularly in the Northeast, saw only the frontiersman; they regarded him as a crude, ignorant, and bellicose brawler who would probably shoot down White House visitors in cold blood if they said something he didn't like. During the 1828 campaign, the Whigs circulated a thick pamphlet entitled *Reminiscences; or an Extract from the Catalogue of General Jackson's Youthful Indiscretions, between the Age of Twenty-Three and Sixty,* which listed fourteen fights, duels, brawls, and shooting and cutting affairs in which Jackson "killed, slashed, and clawed various American citizens."[7] There was some truth in the charges. As a young man Jackson had been involved in a series of shooting matches. He seems to have taken seriously the advice his mother was said to have given him: "Never sue for assault or slander; settle them cases yourself."[8]

Jackson's fights usually involved his beloved wife Rachel. Rachel

was unhappily married when Jackson first met her in a Nashville boarding house; and when her first husband left her to seek a divorce, she and Jackson married. Two years later they learned that there had been no divorce after all and that Rachel's former husband was now suing for divorce on the ground that his wife had been living in sin for two years. As soon as the divorce came through, the Jacksons were promptly re-married; but there was much malicious talk around town about Rachel's "adultery." Jackson made it clear that he would defend his wife's honor to the death. "For the man who dared breathe her name except in honor," said James Parton, "he kept pistols in perfect condition for thirty-seven years."[9]

Jackson's first big fight, with John Sevier, Governor of Tennessee, came in 1803. Jackson and Sevier met one day on the street in Nashville, got into an argument, and when Jackson mentioned his services to the country, Sevier sneered: "Services? I know of no great services you have rendered the country, except taking a trip to Natchez with another man's wife." "Great God!" shouted Jackson, "do you mention *her* sacred name?" and the shooting began at once. Fortunately, no one was hurt; and a later Jackson-Sevier confrontation also ended bloodlessly.[10] But the Dickinson affair, which came three years later, had a tragic outcome. Charles Dickinson, a wealthy young Nashville dandy, was the best pistol shot in Tennessee, and when Jackson took him on he considered himself practically a dead man. But he did not flinch from what he considered his duty. When Dickinson, during a quarrel over a horse-race wager, profaned the "sacred name" of Rachel, Jackson challenged him to a duel. The two men met across the Kentucky line, and eight paces (twenty-four feet) were measured off. "Are you ready?" asked John Overton, the second. "I am ready," said Dickinson. "Fere!" called Overton, in his country accent. Dickinson raised his pistol quickly and fired; but because of the loose coat Jackson was wearing the bullet fractured a rib instead of piercing the heart. "My God!" exclaimed Dickinson, "have I missed him?" Jackson then raised his pistol slowly and squeezed the trigger; but the hammer stopped at half-cock. He drew it back, aimed again, and this time killed Dickinson. "I intended to kill him," he said afterward. "I would have stood up long enough to kill him if he had put a bullet in my brain."[11]

In 1813, in a fight with Thomas Hart Benton and his brother Jesse, Jackson received a bullet which remained in his left arm for years. When in 1832 he finally had a surgeon remove the bullet,

someone suggested giving it back to Benton, now a Senator from Missouri and a warm supporter of Jackson. Benton declined the offer, however, pointing out that twenty years' possession made the bullet Jackson's property. Told that it was only nineteen years, Benton said, "Oh, well, in consideration of the extra care he has taken of it—keeping it constantly about his person, and so on—I'll waive the odd year." Benton used to tell people: "General Jackson was a very great man. I shot him, sir."[12] "Yes," he liked to say, "I had a fight with Jackson. A fellow was hardly in the fashion who didn't."[13]

There were no shoot-outs after Jackson entered the White House, but his eight years as President were stormy. He took on the Second Bank of the United States, which he regarded as a dangerous monopoly inimical to the interests of the majority of Americans, vetoed a B.U.S. recharter bill in 1832, and, by withholding government deposits from the bank, succeeded in ruining it. He also took on South Carolina when it threatened to nullify a tariff law passed by Congress, and, by announcing he would use military force to secure compliance with the law, forced the nullificationists to back down. His confrontation with John C. Calhoun, his Vice-President but a leading nullificationist, was dramatic. Learning that the South Carolinian and other "nullies" were planning to use a Jefferson birthday dinner in Washington on April 13, 1830, as an occasion for promoting states'-rights sentiments, Jackson went to the banquet with feelings, it was said, more suitable "to the field of battle than to a festive board."[14] When he was called on to propose a toast, Jackson got up, lifted his wine glass, and, looking Calhoun straight in the eye, exclaimed: "OUR FEDERAL UNION: IT MUST BE PRESERVED!" Calhoun then raised his glass, his hand shaking, with some of the wine trickling down the side of the glass, and responded: "The Union: Next to our Liberty the most dear!"[15] Having taken on Calhoun, South Carolina, and the B.U.S., Jackson also defied the Supreme Court. When Chief Justice John Marshall rendered a decision favorable to the Cherokee Indians in Georgia, Jackson, an old Indian fighter, is said (with some exaggeration) to have cried: "John Marshall has made his decision. Now let him enforce it!"[16] And he refused to carry it out. Jackson may have been a man of the people; but his democratic sentiments included neither Indians nor blacks.

In foreign affairs as well Jackson was at times bellicose. In 1835 he took on the French. When France delayed paying some money it had agreed by treaty to pay the United States, Jackson ordered

the U.S. Navy to prepare for action and, in a belligerent message to Congress, urged the seizing of French property in the United States. The French were furious, and for a time the two nations seemed on the brink of war. But Britain offered to mediate the dispute, and in the end a peaceful settlement was reached. During the negotiations, Jackson refused to apologize to France, but he did say he hadn't meant to insult it, and, somewhat mollified, the French began making their payments. A cartoon of the time shows Jackson shaking his cane at the French King and saying, " 'Tis well you have paid me, or by the Eternal!" and the French King exclaiming, "Not another word of apology, dear General!"[17]

In 1833, Jackson toured New England. He made such a good impression in Boston that President Josiah Quincy of Harvard called a special meeting of the Board of Overseers to authorize the granting of an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws to the President. John Quincy Adams, one of the Overseers, objected strongly and asked Quincy if there was not some way Harvard could avoid giving the President this honor. "As the people have twice decided this man knows enough law to be their ruler," said Quincy, "it is not for Harvard College to maintain that they are mistaken."[18] The Overseers voted the degree, but Adams refused to attend the ceremony honoring Jackson. "I would not be present," he said, "to see my darling Harvard disgrace herself by conferring a Doctor's degree upon a barbarian who could scarcely spell his own name."[19]

The Harvard ceremony went swimmingly despite Adams's dissent, and Old Hickory was a great success with the students. Francis Bowen, leader of the Class of 1833, delivered a salutatory in Latin, on behalf of the students, which ended with the words "Harvard welcomes Jackson the President. She embraces Jackson the Patriot," which produced wild applause in the audience. Jackson turned to Levy Woodbury, his Secretary of the Navy, and asked for a translation. "You're a college man, Woodbury," he said. "My Latin is a little rusty. All I can make out is something about patriots." Woodbury quickly translated, and Jackson exclaimed: "A splendid compliment, sir, a splendid compliment; but why talk about so live a thing as patriotism in a dead language?" When the exercises were over, the students filed past the President to shake his hand and, "to the infinite edification and amusement of the grizzly old warrior," greeted him with his new title, "Doctor Jackson." Just before leaving,

Jackson told the students: "I shall have to speak in English, not being able to return your compliment in what appears to be the language of Harvard. All the Latin I know is *E pluribus unum.*" At this, Woodbury reported, "There was even louder and longer applause than that which greeted Mr. Bowen's happy phrase; but this was probably because the people could understand General Jackson's Latin better than they could Mr. Bowen's."[20] Not long afterward, someone made up a story of how a man in the audience interrupted a speech the President was making a few days later: "You must give 'em a little Latin, Doctor!" "*E pluribus unum,*" Jackson is supposed to have shouted back, "my friends, *sine qua non!*"[21]

Jackson's supporters applauded his forthrightness, fearlessness, generosity, decisiveness, and championship of the people. His enemies thought he was reckless, intolerant, wrong-headed, and dictatorial; and they blamed the Panic of 1837 on his financial policies. But everyone—friend and foe alike—agreed on one thing: when Jackson made up his mind to do something, he did it regardless of opposition. Before he died, according to a story that may or may not be true, someone asked Alfred, one of Jackson's slaves, whether he thought his master would get into heaven on Judgment Day. "If General Jackson takes it into his head to git to heaven," he exclaimed, "who's gwine to keep him out?"[22]

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Spartan Mother

Jackson, it was said, had a "Spartan mother." When he was about five years old, she saw him crying one day. "Stop that, Andrew," she ordered. "Don't let me see you cry again! Girls were made to cry; not boys!" "Well, then, mother, what are boys made for?" asked Andy. "To fight!" she told him. After that, Andy never cried again.

When Andy was about twelve and going to school one day, a fellow about eighteen or nineteen stopped him and gave him a severe thrashing. Andy's uncle wanted to have the young man arrested and prosecuted for assault and battery. "No, sir!" exclaimed Jackson's mother. "No son of mine shall ever appear as complaining witness in a case of assault and battery! If he gets hold of a fellow too big for him, let him wait till he grows some and then try it again!"[23]

Unconquerable

As a boy, Andy was good at running and riding, but he was too light to be a good wrestler. He remained unconquerable all the same. "I could throw him three times out of four," recalled one of his classmates, "but he would never *stay throwed.* He was dead game and never *would* give up." One day some of his friends gave him a gun to fire that was loaded to the muzzle. The recoil sent him sprawling to the ground. Instantly he jumped to his feet and blazed: "By God, if one of you laughs, I'll kill him!"[24]

Devil-ope-ment

Jackson always pronounced the word "development" as though it were written "devil-*ope*-ment," with the accent on *ope.* He may have learned this when he was a boy from a teacher named Waddell. Once when he was President he pronounced the word this way in conversing with a foreign minister who, though not English, had been educated in England and prided himself on his correct use of the English language. The ambassador lifted his eyebrows slightly and went out of his way to pronounce the word correctly in the conversation that followed. Jackson appeared not to notice the rebuke and a little later said "devil-*ope*-ment" again, whereupon the fastidious minister ventured once more to give the word its proper accent. "I repeat," continued Jackson, "this measure is essential to the devil-*ope*-ment of our resources." "Really, sir," replied the ambassador, "I consider the de-*vel*-opment of your country"—with a marked accent on the *vel.* Upon this, Jackson exclaimed: "Excuse me, sir. You may call it de-*vel*-opment, if you please; but *I* say devil-*ope*-ment, and will say devil-*ope*-ment as long as I revere the memory of good old Dr. Waddell!"[25]

Christmas Prank

When Jackson was living in Salisbury, North Carolina, he attended a dancing school, where he learned many of the social graces which he later displayed as President. But he also was something of a prankster. When the dancing school appointed him one of the managers of the Christmas ball, he sent invitations to two of the town's prostitutes, "to see what would come of it." On the evening of the

ball, the two women appeared on the dance floor in gaudy clothing, bringing the festivities to a startled halt. While all the ladies withdrew, giggling, to one side of the room, the two prostitutes were quickly ushered out. Taken to task for what had happened, Jackson apologized meekly and said he had never dreamed that the women would actually show up at the party.[26]

Celebration

"Andrew Jackson," said an old Salisbury resident, "was the most roaring, rollicking, game-cocking, horse-racing, card-playing, mischievous fellow, that ever lived in Salisbury." One evening young Andy and some of his buddies decided to celebrate in the local tavern. It was a hilarious evening. Toward midnight they decided to smash the glasses and decanters they had been using. Then they decided to destroy the table. Next they destroyed the chairs and other furniture in the room. Finally they ripped up the curtains and the clothes they were wearing, piled them up, and set fire to them. The room was a shambles when they staggered away in the wee hours of the morning. Many years later, when Jackson began to be mentioned for the Presidency, a Salisbury lady was shocked. "What! Jackson for President!" she cried. "*Jackson? Andrew* Jackson? The Jackson that used to live in Salisbury? Why, when he was here, he was such a rake that my husband would not bring him into the house! It is true, he *might* have taken him out to the stable to weigh horses for a race, and might drink a glass of whiskey with him *there.* Well, if Andrew Jackson can be President, anybody can!" Years later, Jackson admitted, "Yes, I lived at old Salisbury. I was but a raw lad then, but I did my best."[27]

The Dancing Wagoners

One day in 1809 when Jackson was riding along the lonely wilderness road between Nashville and Knoxville, he was stopped by two burly wagoners, who ordered him to get out of his carriage and dance for them. Pretending to be frightened, Jackson told them he couldn't dance without his slippers and that his slippers were in a trunk strapped behind his carriage. The wagoners told him to get the slippers. Jackson opened his trunk, took out a pair of pistols, and confronting the wagoners, shouted: "Now, you infernal villains, you

shall dance for me. Dance. . . . DANCE!" And a lively dance they did for him.[28]

To the Rescue

When Jackson's friend Patten Anderson got into trouble, which was often, Old Hickory always helped him out. On an afternoon in 1809, when Jackson was attending the races in Clover Bottom, Tennessee, Anderson got into a fight with a group of people at the end of a long table where dinner was being served. When someone remarked, "They'll finish Patten Anderson this time, I *do* expect," Jackson sprang to his feet, jumped atop the table, and started wading through the dishes to rescue his friend. As he neared the other end of the table, where the fighting was going on, he suddenly opened his tobacco box and then shut it with a loud click. "I'm coming, Patten," he roared. At this, some of the spectators began yelling, "Don't fire! Don't fire!" The sound of the tobacco box and the yells of "Don't fire" caught the ears of Anderson's enemies, who scattered at once, leaving Jackson's friend alone and unharmed.[29]

Jackson's Bacon

In August 1788, Colonel Waightstill Avery, an experienced older lawyer, opposed young Jackson in a suit before the Superior Court at Jonesborough, Tennessee. In an address to the court he teased Jackson for having quoted so much from Matthew Bacon's *Abridgement of the Law.* When he finished, Jackson cried angrily, "I may not know as much law as there is in Bacon but I know enough not to take illegal fees!" The courtroom became deadly still. Avery demanded to know whether Jackson was implying that he took illegal fees. "I do, sir," said Jackson. "It's false as hell!" shouted Avery. Jackson at once wrote out a challenge on the margin of a page in Bacon's *Abridgement,* tore it out, and handed it to the Colonel with a bow.

Avery didn't want to fight Jackson; in fact, he rather liked the short-tempered young lawyer. He had taken an unwarranted fee on one occasion, it is true; but he had returned it at once when he discovered his error. His reputation for probity was unquestioned in Jonesborough, so he saw no need to defend his honor. But Jackson was adamant. He was not accusing Avery of dishonesty, he told

people who tried to mediate the dispute; he was simply charging him with ignorance of the statute governing fees. But he had no alternative except to fight, he insisted, after what Avery had said to him in court.

The next morning Avery entered the courtroom without taking any notice of Jackson's challenge. Jackson then wrote out another challenge and sent it over to him. "My character you have injured," he wrote; "and further you have insulted me in the presence of a court and a large audience I therefore call upon you as a gentleman to give me satisfaction. . . ." Avery accepted Jackson's challenge this time, and the two met on a hill near the town at sunset. But by this time the peacemakers had succeeded in patching things up; Jackson and Avery both fired in the air, then shook hands. "Mr. Jackson," said Avery afterward, producing a package, "I feared that in the event of my wounding you mortally you would be inconsolable in your last moments without your beloved Bacon." Jackson unwrapped the package and found it contained smoked pork. Everyone laughed; though for a moment or two it looked as though Jackson was going to lose his temper again. He didn't; but it was a long time before he saw the humor in Avery's gesture.[30]

Judge Jackson

One of the most popular Jackson stories is about his encounter with a bully named Russell Bean when he was presiding judge in a little Tennessee village in 1798. Bean, according to this story, started parading before the courthouse one day, armed with pistol and bowie knife, cursing the judge, the jury, and everyone else assembled there in a loud voice. "Sheriff," cried Jackson, "arrest that man for contempt of court, and confine him." Out went the sheriff; but he soon returned with the news that he found it impossible to make the arrest. "Summon a posse, then," said Jackson, "and bring him before me." The sheriff went out again, but he was unable to assemble a posse, since Bean threatened "to shoot the first skunk that comes within ten feet of him." Jackson exploded. "Mr. Sheriff," he cried, "since you cannot obey my orders, summon me; yes, sir, summon me." "Well, Judge," said the sheriff, "if you say so, though I don't like to do it; but if you will try, why I suppose I must summon you." "Very well," said Jackson, getting up and walking toward the door, "I adjourn this court ten minutes." When Jackson got

outside, Bean was standing in the middle of a crowd of people, blaspheming at a terrible rate, flourishing his weapons, and vowing death and destruction to anybody who molested him. But Jackson walked calmly up to him, pistols in hand, and, eyes blazing, confronted him angrily. "Now," he roared, "surrender, you infernal villain, this very instant, or I'll blow you through!" Bean eyed Jackson a moment, then meekly surrendered. "There, Judge," he said, "it's no use, I give in." He was led away to jail. A few days later someone asked Bean why he had knuckled under to Jackson. "Why," he said, "when he came up, I looked him in the eye, and I saw shoot, and there wasn't any shoot in nary other eye in the crowd; and so I says to myself, says I, hoss, it's about time to sing small, and so I did."

In his old age, Jackson wrote out an account of what had happened, correcting the story in one important detail. He did not ask the sheriff to summon him, he declared; it was the sheriff who, unable to cope with Bean, summoned Jackson and two other judges as a posse, but only Jackson agreed to act.[31]

Christmas Dinner

Just before the Battle of New Orleans, British Admiral Cochrane declared, "I shall eat my Christmas dinner in New Orleans." Told of this, Jackson remarked, "Perhaps so; but I shall have the honor of presiding at that dinner."[32]

Elevation

During the Battle of New Orleans, it was said, Jackson strode through the powder smoke to see the effect of his artillery fire and gave the order: "Boys, elevate them guns a little lower!"[33]

Contempt Citation

At the time of the Battle of New Orleans, a local editor attacked Jackson in his newspaper. When the battle was over Jackson put him in jail. The editor appealed to federal judge Dominick A. Hall and obtained a writ of habeas corpus. Jackson then had the judge jailed, too. But as soon as Jackson lifted martial law, Hall returned to his bench and summoned Jackson before him on a contempt citation. Jackson appeared and paid a $1000 fine. As he left the courtroom, he was surrounded by an angry mob of people who were eager to avenge him. But Jackson stood up in his carriage and silenced them. "I have," he cried, "during the invasion, exerted every one of my faculties for the defense and preservation of the Constitution and the laws. . . . Considering obedience to the laws, even when we think them unjustly applied, as the first duty of a citizen, I did not hesitate to comply with the sentence you have heard, and I entreat you to remember the example."[34]

Jackson and Cartwright

One Sunday in October 1816, when Methodist evangelist Peter Cartwright was preaching in Nashville, General Jackson entered the church, walked slowly up the aisle, and then, since all the seats were taken, leaned against a pillar to listen. At Jackson's appearance, one of the other preachers, Brother Mac, tugged at Cartwright's coat and whispered, "General Jackson has come in—General Jackson has come in!" Indignantly, Cartwright cried aloud, "Who is General Jackson? If he don't get his soul converted, God will damn him as quick as he would a Guinea negro!" The congregation laughed at this, and so did Jackson. But after the service, Brother Mac rushed over to Jackson's hotel to apologize for Cartwright's remarks. An hour or two later Jackson ran into Cartwright on the street in front of the hotel and with a big smile held out his hand and cried: "Mr. Cartwright, you are a man after my own heart. I am very much surprised at Mr. Mac, to think he would suppose that I would be offended at you. No, sir; I told him that I highly approved of your independence; that a minister of Jesus Christ ought to love everybody and fear no mortal man. I told Mr. Mac that if I had a few thousand such independent, fearless officers as you were, and a well drilled army, I could take old England!"[35]

Jackson's Blessing

After Rachel joined the Presbyterian church, Jackson, in deference to her wishes, asked a blessing before each meal. One day the Jacksons were entertaining guests at the Hermitage, their plantation in Tennessee, and Jackson began telling a battle story with great animation, interlarding it with a profusion of expletives. Rachel interrupted to

say, "Mr. Jackson, will you ask a blessing?" Jackson stopped at once, pronounced a reverential blessing, and then resumed his story in the same tone and language as before.[36]

Sailing with Jackson

In the summer of 1833, when President Jackson was sailing down Chesapeake Bay in an old steamboat and the waves were high, an elderly gentleman began expressing fears for their safety. "You are uneasy," noted Jackson; "you never sailed with *me* before, I see."[37]

Vote Enough

A man called on President Jackson to plead the case of a soldier who had lost his leg on a battlefield and needed to retain a small postmastership in order to support his family. "But I must tell you," he said frankly, "that he voted against you." "If he lost a leg fighting for his country," said Jackson, "that is vote enough for me."[38]

Better Office

A clergyman called on President Jackson several times seeking a federal appointment. "Are you not a Christian minister?" Jackson finally asked him. "I am." "Well," said Jackson, "if you discharge the duties of that office, which is better than any I can confer, you will have no time for any other."[39]

The General's Pipe

A Congressman whose heart was set on a foreign mission had tried for some time without success to get the appointment. At length he decided to use more indirect tactics. One day he called on the President, who, as usual, was smoking his pipe. "General Jackson," he said, "I am about to ask you a favor—a favor, sir, that will cost you nothing, and the government nothing, but will gratify me exceedingly." "It's granted, sir," said Jackson. "What is it?" "Well, General," said the Congressman, "I have an old father at home who has as great an esteem for your character as one man can have for another. Before I left home, he charged me to get for him, if possible, one of General Jackson's pipes, and that is the favor I

now ask of you." "Oh, certainly," said Jackson, laughing and ringing the bell. When the servant came, he told him to bring two or three clean pipes. "Excuse me," said the Congressman, "but may I ask you for that very pipe you have just been smoking?" "This one?" said Jackson. "By all means, if you prefer it." He began to empty it of ashes, but the Congressman interrupted him again. "No, General," he said, "don't empty out the tobacco. I want that pipe, just as it is, just as it left your lips." When Jackson obligingly handed it to him, he put it carefully in a piece of paper, thanked Jackson for the precious gift, and left the room with the air of a man who had just achieved his highest ambition. Three weeks later he got his appointment and departed on a mission to one of the South American countries.[40]

Furriner

When the new minister from Lisbon arrived in Washington, Secretary of State Louis McLane made an appointment for him to be presented to the President. The hour was set, and McLane expected the man to call at the State Department. But the Portuguese diplomat misunderstood McLane's French and proceeded to the White House instead. When he rang the bell, the door was opened by the Irish porter, Jimmy O'Neill. "Je suis venu voir Monsieur le President," said the minister. "What the deuce does he mean?" muttered Jimmy to himself. "He says President, though, and I suppose he wants to see the General." Jimmy ushered him into the green room where Jackson was smoking his corncob pipe with great composure. The minister made his bow to the President and addressed him in French. "What does the fellow say, Jimmy?" asked Jackson. "De'll knows, sir," said Jimmy, "I reckon he's a furriner." "Try him in Irish, Jimmy," suggested Jackson. Jimmy tried a bit of this, but the minister only shrugged his shoulders and said, "Plait-il?" "Och!" exclaimed Jimmy, "he can't go Irish, sir. He's French to be sure!" "Send for the French cook," said Jackson, "and let him try if he can find out what the gentleman wants." The cook was hurried out from the kitchen, sleeves rolled up, apron on, and carving-knife in hand. The Portuguese minister, seeing the cook with his knife, rushed for the door, but Jimmy blocked his way. At Jackson's order, the cook began questioning the minister in French and relaying his answers to Jackson in English. At this juncture Secretary McLane arrived

and at once presented the man formally to the President. Ever after, it is said, Jackson resented any allusion to the incident.[41]

The Eaton Malaria

For a time the Jackson administration was plagued by what Martin Van Buren called the "Eaton malaria." Jackson's Secretary of War, John Eaton, took up with an attractive brunette named Peggy O'Neale, daughter of a Georgetown tavern-keeper; and when her husband, a navy purser who spent most of his time at sea, committed suicide, Jackson advised Eaton to marry her. Eaton told Jackson that Peggy's reputation was none too good in Washington. "Well," said Jackson philosophically, "your marrying her will disprove these charges, and restore Peggy's good name."

Eaton married Peggy; but her name remained unrestored. Clergymen denounced her as a wicked woman, and the wives of Jackson's Cabinet members refused to have anything to do with "that hussy." Vice-President John C. Calhoun, whose wife was foremost among the Washington ladies blackballing Peggy, said that "the quarrels of women, like those of the Medes and Persians, admitted of neither inquiry nor explanation." Actually, he knew better; with political ambitions of his own, he was using his wife to disgrace Eaton, whose influence with Jackson he deeply resented.

Jackson remembered the slights to his beloved Rachel (who had died shortly after his election in 1828). Roused to wrath (particularly against the Calhouns) by the way Mrs. Eaton was being snubbed, he determined to stand by his "little friend Peg" to the end. "Mrs. Jackson," he told one of Peggy's critics, "to the last moment of her life, believed Mrs. Eaton to be an innocent and much injured woman." And he added: "Female virtue is like a tender and delicate flower; let but the breath of suspicion rest upon it, and it withers and perhaps perishes forever."

When two clergymen criticized the Eatons, Jackson invited them to a Cabinet meeting to discuss the subject. He opened the meeting by saying that Christians must constantly war against the meanness of calumny, then asked the ministers what they had to say. When the clergymen admitted there was no evidence to convict Eaton of improper conduct, Jackson snapped, "Nor Mrs. Eaton, either." "On that point," said one of the ministers, "I would rather not give an opinion." "She is as chaste as a virgin!" exclaimed Jackson angrily

(leading Daniel Webster to remark, when he heard of this statement, "Age cannot wither her, nor time stale her infinite virginity").

Things reached an impasse. The ladies of Washington flatly refused to attend White House receptions where "Pothouse Peg," as they called her, was present. Emily Donelson, wife of Jackson's secretary (who became hostess for Jackson after Rachel's death), also refused to have anything to do with her and was sent packing. Only Martin Van Buren, a widower, and the British and Russian ministers, both bachelors, attended White House parties in honor of Mrs. Eaton. Finally Secretary of State Van Buren solved Jackson's problem by persuading Eaton to resign from the Cabinet, then resigning himself. The rest of the Cabinet (which included Calhoun men whom Jackson wished to get rid of) had to follow suit. Jackson then formed a Cabinet of loyal Jacksonians and made Eaton governor of Florida territory and Van Buren minister to England. "It is odd enough," Webster told a friend perspicaciously, "that the consequences of this dispute in the social and fashionable world are producing great political effects, and may very probably determine who shall be successor to the present Chief Magistrate." In 1832, Van Buren replaced Calhoun as Jackson's Vice-President; in 1837 he succeeded Jackson as President.[42]

Jackson in Florida

Jackson liked to boast that his foot "had never pressed foreign soil" and that, "born and raised in the United States, he had never been out of the country." One day when he made this boast, Mrs. Eaton said mischievously, "But how about Florida, General?" "That's so," admitted Jackson (who had invaded Florida in 1818 in pursuit of some Indians and had hoisted the American flag at St. Marks). "I did go to Florida when it was a foreign country; but I had quite forgotten that fact when I made the remark." "I expect, General," said Mrs. Eaton, "you forgot that Florida was foreign when you made the trip!" "Yes, yes, maybe so," said Jackson. "Some weak-kneed people in our own country seemed to think so." "Oh, well, General, never mind," said Mrs. Eaton. "Florida didn't stay foreign long after you had been there!" This little exchange with Mrs. Eaton was a favorite anecdote of Jackson's. Whenever he told it he would add: "Smartest little woman in America, sir; by all odds, the smartest!"[43]

Deserves Credit

When Congress assembled on December 7, 1829, Jackson sent in his first annual message, which attracted a great deal of attention. Meeting his old friend General Robert Armstrong the next day, Jackson said, "Well, Bob, what do the people say of my message?" "They say," replied Armstrong, "that it is first-rate, but nobody believes that you wrote it." "Well," said Old Hickory good-naturedly, "don't I deserve just as much credit for picking out the man who could write it?"[44]

Important Exceptions

In 1833, Jackson consulted a doctor in Philadelphia for pains in his side and bleeding of the lungs. "Now, Doctor," he told the physician after describing the symptoms, "I can do any thing you think proper to order, and bear as much as most men. There are only two things I can't give up; one is coffee, and the other is tobacco."[45]

Premeditated Madness

During the winter of 1833 and spring of 1834, friends of Nicholas Biddle, director of the Second Bank of the United States, and delegations of businessmen from various cities called on Jackson to protest his anti-Bank policy and tell him how damaging it was to the nation's economy. Jackson became weary of such callers and finally staged a dramatic outburst to discourage further visitations. When a delegation of businessmen from Philadelphia came to tell him they were insolvent, Jackson pretended to go into a towering rage. "Insolvent, do you say?" he yelled, jumping to his feet. "What do you come to me for, then? Go to Nicholas Biddle. We have no money here, gentlemen, Biddle has all the money. He has millions of specie in his vaults, at this moment, laying idle, and yet you come to *me* to save you from breaking. I tell you, gentlemen, it's all politics!" Shocked by Jackson's vehemence, the delegation quickly left the room, thinking he had lost his mind. When they were gone, Jackson settled back in his chair, reached for his pipe, and started chuckling. "They thought I was mad," he said contentedly. Commented an intimate associate of Jackson for forty years, "No man knew

better than Andrew Jackson when to get into a passion and when not."[46]

Visitors from Baltimore

Some frightened Congressmen came running to the White House one day with rumors that a group of people from Baltimore were threatening to camp on Capitol Hill and stay there until Jackson restored government funds to the Bank of the United States. "Gentlemen," thundered Jackson, "I shall be glad to see this mob on Capitol Hill. I will fix their heads on the iron palisades around the square to assist your deliberations. The leaders I will hang as high as Haman to deter forever all attempts to control the legislature of the Congress by intimidation and design." Exit Congressmen in a hurry.

No mob laid siege to the Capitol; but a delegation of Baltimoreans did call on the President to protest his bank policy. "General," said the chairman of the group, "the committee has the honor to be delegated by the citizens of Baltimore, without regard to party, to come to you, sir, the fountain head, for relief. . . ." "Relief, sir!" cried Jackson. "Come not to me, sir! Go to the monster [Bank of the United States]! It is folly, sir, to talk to Andrew Jackson." "Sir," said the man, "the currency of the country is in a dreadful situation." "Sir, you keep one-sided company," retorted Jackson. "Andrew Jackson has fifty letters from persons of all parties daily on this subject. Sir, he has more and better information than you, sir, or any of you." "The people, sir . . .," interposed the man. "The people!" cried Jackson. "The people, sir, are with me!"[47]

Jackson and the Nullies

When a South Carolina Congressman tried to explain the position of the nullificationists in his state, Jackson told him bluntly: "Tell them that they can talk and write resolutions and print threats to their hearts' content. But if one drop of blood be shed there in defiance of the laws of the United States, I will hang the first man of them I can get my hands on to the first tree I can find." Afterward, South Carolina Senator Robert Hayne expressed doubt that Jackson would really hang anyone, but Senator Thomas Hart Benton sharply

disagreed. "I tell you, Hayne," he said, "when Jackson begins to talk about hanging, they can begin to look for the ropes."[48]

As High as Haman

Once, toward the end of Jackson's life, Dr. Edgar, Presbyterian minister in Nashville, asked him: "What would you have done with Calhoun and the other nullifers if they had kept on?" Jackson's response was immediate. "Hung them, sir, as high as Haman! They should have been a terror to traitors to all time, and posterity would have pronounced it the best act of my life." A few days later, Jackson began reminiscing about his Presidency and suddenly asked Edgar: "What act in my Administration, in your opinion, will posterity condemn with the greatest severity?" Edgar suggested it might be the removal of deposits from the Bank of the United States. "Oh, no," cried Jackson. "Then it may be the specie circular?" "Not at all!" insisted Jackson. "What is it, then?" asked Edgar. "I can tell you," said Jackson, rising in his bed, with his eyes flashing, "I can tell you; posterity will condemn me more because I was persuaded not to hang John C. Calhoun as a traitor than for any other act in my life!"[49]

Slayer of Abel

Visiting the United States in the 1830's, British writer Harriet Martineau heard about a New England Sunday School teacher who asked her class the name of the slayer of Abel. "General Jackson," piped up one of her pupils.[50]

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Martin Van Buren

1837–41

While the electoral votes for the eighth President of the United States were being counted in the presence of the two Houses of Congress, Senator Henry Clay remarked politely to Vice-President Martin Van Buren: "It is a cloudy day, sir!" Replied Van Buren: "The sun will shine on the 4th of March, sir!"[1] He was right. On inaugural morning, March 4, 1837, the sun shone brightly; there wasn't a cloud in the sky. But Van Buren, handpicked by Andrew Jackson to succeed him in the White House, was completely overshadowed by his predecessor at the inauguration. People listened respectfully to Van Buren's inaugural address, but when they caught sight of Jackson afterward, they gave him a tremendous ovation. "For once," remarked Senator Thomas Hart Benton, "the rising sun was eclipsed by the setting sun."[2]

Van Buren (1782–1862) was never a popular leader like Jackson. In New York, where he rose to political prominence, and in Washington afterward, he was primarily a party organizer, a political strategist, a manipulator of men, and a skilled wheeler-dealer, not a charismatic public figure like Old Hickory. Genial, suave, tactful, good-humored, and something of a dandy, he carefully avoided Jackson's forthrightness in public; and the moral obdurateness of John Quincy Adams was utterly foreign to his spirit. He came, in fact, to be known as a waffler; and the adjective "van-burenish" was coined to describe the kind of political evasiveness which he seemed

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THE HOME BOOK OF AMERICAN QUOTATIONS

SELECTED AND ARRANGED BY

BRUCE BOHLE

DODD, MEAD & COMPANY
NEW YORK
1967

freedom of thought and the right of private judgment in matters of conscience direct their course to this happy country as their last asylum.

SAMUEL ADAMS, Speech, Philadelphia, 1 Aug., 1776.

1
Westward the course of empire takes its way;
The first four acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day;
Time's noblest offspring is the last.

BISHOP GEORGE BERKELEY, *On the Prospect of Planting Arts and Learning in America.* Inspired by the author's unfulfilled project to found a college in Bermuda where young Indians might be trained as missionaries. The first line is often misquoted as "Westward the star of empire takes its way . . ."

2
Here the free spirit of mankind, at length,
Throws its last fetters off; and who shall place
A limit to the giant's unchained strength,
Or curb his swiftness in the forward race?

W. C. BRYANT, *The Ages.*

3
Most Americans are born drunk. . . . They have a sort of permanent intoxication from within, a sort of invisible champagne. . . . Americans do not need to drink to inspire them to do anything.

G. K. CHESTERTON. (*New York Times Magazine,* 28 June, 1931)

4
Here [in America] individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men.

MICHEL GUILLAUME JEAN DE CREVECOUR, *Letters from an American Farmer,* Let. 3 (1782).

5
I feel that you are justified in looking into the future with true assurance, because you have a mode of living in which we find the joy of life and the joy of work harmoniously combined. Added to this is the spirit of ambition which pervades your very being, and seems to make the day's work like a happy child at play.

ALBERT EINSTEIN, *New Year's Greeting,* 1931.

6
America means opportunity, freedom, power.

EMERSON, *Public and Private Education.*

7
While European genius is symbolized by some majestic Corinne crowned in the capitol at Rome, American genius finds its true type in the poor negro soldier lying in the trenches by the Potomac with his spelling book in one hand and his musket in the other.

EMERSON, *Books.*

8
America is a country of young men.

EMERSON, *Society and Solitude: Old Age.*

The youth of America is their oldest tradition. It has been going on now for three hundred years.

OSCAR WILDE, *A Woman of No Importance.*

9
In America, the geography is sublime, but the men are not; the inventions are excellent, but the inventors one is sometimes ashamed of.

EMERSON, *Conduct of Life: Considerations by the Way.*

10
I esteem it a chief felicity of this country that it excels in women.

EMERSON, *Essays, Second Series: Manners.*

11
Bring me men to match my mountains;
Bring me men to match my plains,—
Men with empires in their purpose,
And new eras in their brains.

SAM WALTER FOSS, *The Coming American.*

12
I have often and often in the course of the Session, and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that behind the President without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting. But now at length I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting Sun.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Report of the Constitutional Convention, 17 Sept., 1787. Franklin was referring to the emblem —a sunburst—on the President's chair; as the last members of the convention signed the Constitution, he was sure of a "rising sun."

13
This was the basic heritage of America—a heritage of tolerance, moderation, and individual liberty that was implanted from the very beginnings of European settlement in the New World. America has quite rightly been called a nation that was "born free."

J. W. FULBRIGHT, Address in Washington, D.C., 5 December, 1963.

14
Our country has liberty without license and authority without despotism.

JAMES, CARDINAL GIBBONS, Address in Rome, 25 March, 1887.

15
Ours is the only country deliberately founded on a good idea.

JOHN GUNTHER, *Inside U.S.A.*

16
Power may justly be compared to a great

river which, while kept within its due bounds is both beautiful and useful; but when it overflows its banks, it is then too impetuous to be stemmed, it bears down all before it and brings destruction and desolation wherever it comes. If this then is the nature of power, let us at least do our duty, and like wise men use our utmost care to support liberty, the only bulwark against lawless power. . . . The question before the court and you gentlemen of the jury is not of small nor private concern; it is not the cause of the poor printer, nor of New York, alone; . . . It is the cause of liberty . . . the liberty both of exposing and opposing arbitrary power by speaking and writing Truth.

ANDREW HAMILTON, arguing the case of John Peter Zenger, New York, 4 Aug., 1735. Zenger was on trial for criticizing William Cosby, colonial governor of New York, in Zenger's New York *Weekly Journal*. His acquittal, the first milestone in the fight for a free press in America, established truth, as well as the fact of publication, as a matter for jury determination in libel cases.

1

Emerson says that the Englishman of all men stands most firmly on his feet. But it is not the whole of man's mission to be found standing, even at the most important post. Let him take one step forward,—and in that advancing figure you have the American.

T. W. HIGGINSON, *Americanism in Literature.*

2

We are the Romans of the modern world—the great assimilating people.

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table* (1858).

3

America is the only place where man is full-grown!

O. W. HOLMES, *The Professor at the Breakfast-Table.*

4

To embody human liberty in workable government, America was born.

HERBERT HOOVER, Speech at Republican national convention, Cleveland, 10 June, 1936.

5

This will never be a civilized country until we expend more money for books than we do for chewing-gum.

ELBERT HUBBARD, *The Philistine,* vol. XXV.

6

The almighty dollar, that great object of universal devotion throughout our land, seems to have no genuine devotees in these peculiar villages.

WASHINGTON IRVING, *The Creole Village.* (*Knickerbocker Magazine,* Nov., 1836)

It is true that America produces and consumes more cars, soap, and bathtubs than any other nation, but we live among these objects rather than by them. Americans build skyscrapers; Le Corbusier worships them. Ehrenburg, our Soviet critic, fell in love with the Check-O-Mat in American railway stations, writing home paragraphs of song to this gadget—while deploring American materialism. When an American heiress wants to buy a man, she at once crosses the Atlantic. The only really materialistic people I have ever met have been Europeans.

MARY MCCARTHY, *Perspective* (1953).

7

My God! how little do my countrymen know what precious blessings they are in possession of, and which no other people on earth enjoy!

THOMAS JEFFERSON, Letter to James Monroe, 17 June, 1785.

8

Equal and exact justice to all men, . . . freedom of religion, freedom of the press, freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus; and trial by juries impartially selected,—these principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, First Inaugural Address, 4 March, 1801.

9

I am a free man, an American, a United States Senator, and a Democrat, in that order.

I am also a liberal, a conservative, a Texan, a taxpayer, a rancher, a businessman, a consumer, a parent, a voter, and not as young as I used to be nor as old as I expect to be—and I am all these things in no fixed order.

I am unaware of any descriptive word in the second paragraph which qualifies, modifies, amends, or is related by hyphenation to the terms listed in the first paragraph. In consequence, I am not able—not even the least interested in trying—to define my political philosophy by the choice of a one-word or two-word label. This may be against the tide, but, if so, the choice is deliberate.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON, *My Political Philosophy,* originally published in 1958 as a copyrighted article in *The Texas Quarterly* of the University of Texas.

10

First, I believe every American has something to say and, under our system, a right to an audience.

Second, I believe there is always a national answer to each national problem, and, believing this, I do not believe that there are necessarily two sides to every question.

Third, I regard achievement of the full potential of our resources—physical, human, and otherwise—to be the highest purpose of governmental policies next to the protection of those rights we regard as inalienable.

Fourth, I regard waste as the continuing enemy of our society and the prevention of waste—waste of resources, waste of lives, or waste of opportunity—to be the most dynamic of the responsibilities of our Government.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON, *My Political Philosophy,* originally published in 1958 as a copyrighted article in *The Texas Quarterly* of the University of Texas.

1
I am a yes man for everything that is American. I am a yes man for anything that will aid in the defense of this republic. I am a yes man to the Commander-in-Chief, as every good soldier should be in time of emergency.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON. (BOOTH MOONEY, *The Lyndon Johnson Story.*) The statement was made, during Johnson's unsuccessful campaign for the Democratic nomination for U.S. Senator from Texas in 1941, in reply to opponents' charges that he was a "yes man" to President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

2
In short, we must be constantly prepared for the worst and constantly acting for the best —strong enough to win a war and wise enough to prevent one.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON, State of the Union Message, 8 Jan., 1964.

3
My most fervent prayer is to be a President who can make it possible for every boy in this land to grow to manhood by loving his country—instead of dying for it.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON, Address in Washington, D.C., 24 Mar., 1964.

4
The Great Society asks not how much, but how good; not only how to create wealth but how to use it; not only how fast we are going, but where we are headed. It proposes as the first test for a nation: the quality of its people.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON, State of the Union message, 4 Jan., 1965. For the first use of "Great Society" by Johnson, see SOIETY.

5
For this is what America is all about. It is the uncrossed desert and the unclimbed ridge. It is the star that is not reached and the harvest that's sleeping in the unplowed ground.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON, Inaugural Address, 20 Jan., 1965.

6
The promise of America is a simple promise. Every person shall share in the blessings of this land. And they shall share on the basis of their merits as a person. They shall not be judged by their color or by their beliefs or by their religion or by where they were born or the neighborhood in which they live.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON, News Conference, Washington, D.C., 13 Mar., 1965.

7
And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country. My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man.

JOHN F. KENNEDY, Inaugural Address, 20 Jan., 1961.

8
America is a tune. It must be sung together.

GERALD STANLEY LEE, *Crowds,* bk. v, iii, 12.

9
Intellectually I know that America is no better than any other country; emotionally I know she is better than every other country.

SINCLAIR LEWIS, Interview in Berlin, 29 Dec., 1930.

10
What constitutes the bulwark of our own liberty and independence? It is not our frowning battlements, our bristling sea coasts. . . . Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us. Our defense is in the spirit which prized liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands everywhere.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, Speech in Edwardsville, Ill., 13 Sept., 1858.

11
America is the last abode of romance and other medieval phenomena.

ERIC LINKLATER, *Juan in America.*

12
The soil out of which such men as he are made is good to be born on, good to live on, good to die for and to be buried in.

J. R. LOWELL, *Among My Books: Second Series: Garfield.*

13
It is my earnest hope—indeed the hope of all mankind—that from this solemn occasion a better world shall emerge out of the blood and carnage of the past. A world founded upon faith and understanding, a world dedicated to the dignity of man and the fulfillment of his most cherished wish for freedom, tolerance and justice. . . . Let us pray that peace be now restored to the world and that

God will preserve it always. These proceedings are now closed.

GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR, Statement on accepting the Japanese surrender aboard the U.S.S. Missouri, 2 Sept., 1945.

1

There are those, I know, who will say that the liberation of humanity, the freedom of man and mind, is nothing but a dream. They are right. It is. It is the American dream.

ARCHIBALD MACLEISH. (*The Reader's Digest*, Feb., 1961)

2

You can not spill a drop of American blood without spilling the blood of the whole world. . . . We are not a nation, so much as a world.

HERMAN MELVILLE, *Redburn*.

3

I believe in the United States of America as a government of the people, by the people, for the people; whose just powers are derived from the consent of the governed; a democracy in a republic; a sovereign nation of many sovereign states; a perfect union, one and inseparable; established upon those principles of freedom, equality, justice, and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes. I therefore believe it is my duty to my country to love it, to support its constitution, to obey its laws, to respect its flag, and to defend it against all enemies.

WILLIAM TYLER PAGE, *The American's Creed*. (Accepted by the House of Representatives, 3 April, 1918.)

4

Looking forward beyond my stay on earth, I can see our country becoming richer and more powerful. But to make her prosperity more than superficial, her moral and intellectual development should keep pace with her material wealth.

GEORGE PEABODY. Inscription beneath his bust, Hall of Fame, New York.

5

I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, and ill-nourished.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, Inaugural Address, 20 Jan., 1937. The phrase "one-third of a nation" became synonymous with American economic ills during the 1930's. It was the title of a noted "Living Newspaper" production of the Federal Theatre Project in 1938, which dramatized ills in housing.

Americans today enjoy the highest standard of living in the history of mankind. But for nearly a fifth of our fellow citizens, this is a hollow achievement. They often live without hope, below minimum standards of decency. . . . We cannot and need not wait for the gradual growth of the economy to lift this forgotten fifth of our nation above the poverty line.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON, Economic Report to Congress, 20 Jan., 1964.

6

Four freedoms . . . The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world. The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world. The third is freedom from want . . . everywhere in the world. The fourth is freedom from fear . . . anywhere in the world.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, Message to Congress, 6 Jan., 1941, proposing the lend-lease program. The substance of these aims, termed essential to the post-war world, was included in the Atlantic Charter, Aug., 1941.

7

The first requisite of a good citizen in this republic of ours is that he shall be able and willing to pull his weight.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, Address in New York, 11 Nov., 1902.

8

There can be no fifty-fifty Americanism in this country. There is room here for only 100 per cent Americanism, only for those who are Americans and nothing else.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, Speech at Republican Convention, Saratoga, N.Y. Also in *Foes of Our Own Household*.

Some Americans need hyphens in their names because only part of them has come over.

WOODROW WILSON, Address in Washington, D.C., 16 May, 1914.

Hyphenated Americans.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, *Metropolitan Magazine*, Oct., 1915. Referring to divided allegiance.

9

Always the path of American destiny has been into the unknown. Always there arose enough of reserves of strength, balances of sanity, portions of wisdom to carry the nation through to a fresh start with ever-renewing vitality.

CARL SANDBURG, commenting, 19 Nov., 1959, on the 96th anniversary of Lincoln's Gettysburg address.

10

In what sometimes looks like American greediness and jostling for the front place, all is love of achievement, nothing is unkindness; it is a fearless people, and free from malice, as you might see in their eyes and

gestures, even if their conduct did not prove it.

GEORGE SANTAYANA, *Character and Opinion in the U.S.*

1
America is a "happy-ending" nation.

DORE SCHARY, Address to the Harvard Club of Los Angeles. (Quoted as foreword in Louis Kronenberger, *Company Manners*)

2
The American people never carry an umbrella. They prepare to walk in eternal sunshine.

ALFRED E. SMITH, Article, 1931.

3
You must obey this, now, for a law—that "he that will not work shall not eat."

JOHN SMITH, *The Generall Historie of Virginia.*

4
In the United States there is more space where nobody is than where anybody is. This is what makes America what it is.

GERTRUDE STEIN, *The Geographical History of America.*

5
The reason American cities are prosperous is that there is no place to sit down.

ALFRED J. TALLEY, Interview following his return to the United States from Europe.

6
At once three outstanding characteristics of the American mind are apparent—equalitarianism, love of freedom, and bounding energy. But the most deep-seated, I am sure, is energy.

STEPHEN JAMES LAKE TAYLOR (BARON TAYLOR OF HARLOW), *Deep Analysis of the American Mind; New York Times Magazine,* 23 Feb., 1964.

7
Since many [Western Europeans who settled in America] were escaping from tyranny . . . it is not surprising that the Americans do not love the machinery of government. So they have deliberately created a system of government which will permit each of them to do what he likes to a degree unknown elsewhere in the world.

STEPHEN JAMES LAKE TAYLOR (BARON TAYLOR OF HARLOW), *Deep Analysis of the American Mind; New York Times Magazine,* 23 Feb., 1964.

8
To the impartial observer the Americans seem to enjoy themselves as much as any people on earth, and more than most. But they are the victims of insatiable curiosity. They like knowing what makes things tick, including themselves.

STEPHEN JAMES LAKE TAYLOR (BARON TAYLOR OF HARLOW), *Deep Analysis of the American Mind; New York Times Magazine,* 23 Feb., 1964.

9
The next Augustine Age will dawn on the other side of the Atlantic. There will perhaps be a Thucydides at Boston, a Xenophon at New York.

HORACE WALPOLE, Letter to Sir Horace Mann, 24 Nov., 1774.

10
Liberty has still a continent to live in.

HORACE WALPOLE, Letter, 17 Feb., 1779.

11
Let our object be, our country, our whole country, and nothing but our country. And, by the blessing of God, may that country itself become a vast and splendid monument, not of oppression and terror, but of wisdom, of peace, and of liberty, upon which the world may gaze with admiration forever.

DANIEL WEBSTER, Speech in Charlestown, Mass., 17 June, 1825, at laying of cornerstone of Bunker Hill Monument.

12
I shall know but one country. The ends I aim at shall be my country's, my God's, and Truth's. I was born an American; I live an American; I shall die an American.

DANIEL WEBSTER, Speech, 17 July, 1850.

13
O America because you build for mankind I build for you.

WALT WHITMAN, *By Blue Ontario's Shore.*

14
America lives in the heart of every man everywhere who wishes to find a region where he will be free to work out his destiny as he chooses.

WOODROW WILSON, Speech in Chicago, 6 April, 1912.

15
The interesting and inspiring thought about America is that she asks nothing for herself except what she has a right to ask for humanity itself.

WOODROW WILSON, Speech in New York, 17 May, 1915.

16
Just what is it that America stands for? If she stands for one thing more than another, it is for the sovereignty of self-governing people.

WOODROW WILSON, Speech in Pittsburgh, 29 Jan., 1916.

17
America is not anything if it consists of each of us. It is something only if it consists of all of us; and it can consist of all of us only as our spirits are banded together in a common enterprise. That common enterprise is the enterprise of liberty and justice and right.

WOODROW WILSON, Speech in Pittsburgh, 29 Jan., 1916.

1
Americanism consists in utterly believing in the principles of America.
WOODROW WILSON, Address in West Point, 13 June, 1916.

2
The right is more precious than peace.
WOODROW WILSON, Address to Congress, 2 Apr., 1917.

3
I tell you, fellow citizens, that the war was won by the American spirit. . . . You know what one of our American wits said, that it took only half as long to train an American army as any other, because you had only to train them to go one way.
WOODROW WILSON, Speech in Kansas City, Mo., 6 Sept., 1919.

4
Sometime people call me an idealist. Well, that is the way I know I am an American. America is the only idealistic nation in the world.
WOODROW WILSON, Speech in Sioux Falls, S. Dak., 8 Sept., 1919.

5
The fabulous country—the place where miracles not only happen, but where they happen all the time.
THOMAS WOLFE, *Of Time and the River.*

The Melting Pot

6
America! half brother of the world!
With something good and bad of every land.
P. J. BAILEY, *Festus: The Surface.*

7
There were human beings aboard the Mayflower,
Not merely ancestors.
STEPHEN VINCENT BENÉT, *Western Star,* bk. i, p. 133.

8
Remember that when you say
"I will have none of this exile and this stranger
For his face is not like my face and his speech is strange,"
You have denied America with that word.
STEPHEN VINCENT BENÉT, *Western Star,* bk. i, p. 180.

9
I was made by a Dago and presented to the American people on behalf of the French Government for the purpose of welcomin' Irish immigrants into the Dutch city of New York.
O. HENRY, *Sixes and Sevens: The Lady Higher Up,* referring to the Statue of Liberty.

10
Not merely a nation but a nation of nations.
LYNDON B. JOHNSON, Speech in Washington, D.C., 11 May, 1965, upon designating Ellis Island, port of entry for millions of immigrants, as part of the Statue of Liberty National Monument in New York harbor.

11
A Nation of Immigrants.
JOHN F. KENNEDY, Title of Book, published posthumously (1964).

12
Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed, to me:
I lift my lamp beside the golden door.
EMMA LAZARUS, *The New Colossus.* These lines are inscribed on the Statue of Liberty.

13
She of the open soul and open door,
With room about her hearth for all mankind!
J. R. LOWELL, *Commemoration Ode.*

14
Races didn't bother the Americans. They were something a lot better than any race. They were a People. They were the first self-constituted, self-declared, self-created People in the history of the world.
ARCHIBALD MACLEISH, *A Time to Act.*

15
You who have been born in America, I wish I could make you understand what it is like not to be an American—not to have been an American all your life—and then suddenly, with the words of a man in flowing robes, to be one, for that moment, and forever after. . . . One moment, you belong with your fathers to a million dead yesterdays. The next, you belong with America to a million unborn tomorrows.
GEORGE M. MARDIKIAN, *Song of America* (1956). The author, an Armenian immigrant, describes his feelings upon becoming a U.S. citizen.

16
America is God's Crucible, the great Melting Pot where all the races of Europe are melting and re-forming! . . . God is making the American.
ISRAEL ZANGWILL, *The Melting-Pot.*

Supreme Court Decisions

17
To hold that a state cannot consistently with the First and Fourteenth Amendments utilize its public school system to aid any or all religious faiths or sects in the dissemination of their doctrines and ideals does not . . . manifest a governmental hostility to religion or religious teachings. A manifestation of such hostility would be at war with our national tradition as embodied in the First

Amendment's guaranty of the free exercise of religion. For the First Amendment rests upon the premise that both religion and government can best work to achieve their lofty aims if each is left free from the other within its respective sphere. Or . . . The First Amendment has erected a wall between Church and State which must be kept high and impregnable.

HUGO L. BLACK, speaking for the majority in the U.S. Supreme Court decision, McCollum vs. Board of Education of School District No. 71, Champaign County, Ill., 8 March, 1948. This historic decision declared unconstitutional the use of released time in which churches teach religion in public schools.

1
Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does.

CHIEF JUSTICE EARL WARREN, Opinion in U.S. Supreme Court case, Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, Kan., 17 May, 1954. The unanimous decision in this historic case was the pioneer ruling in establishing the unconstitutionality of racial segregation in public schools (segregation based on "separate but equal" facilities).

2
While it may not be possible to draw Congressional districts with mathematical precision, that is no excuse for ignoring our Constitution's plain objective of making equal representation for equal numbers of people the fundamental goal for the House of Representatives.

HUGO L. BLACK, speaking for the majority in a U.S. Supreme Court decision, 17 Feb., 1964. It held that the Constitution requires that Congressional districts within each state be substantially equal in population. The court in this case (Wesberry vs. Sanders) found the existing apportionment of Congressional districts in Georgia unfair to city voters. The case climaxed a growing controversy over alleged discrimination against urban areas in the apportionment of seats in the House of Representatives. This and the Supreme Court ruling of 15 June, 1964, ordering the apportionment of both houses of state legislatures on a basis of population only, are paraphrased: "One man, one vote."

3
Thus we consider this case against the background of a profound national commitment to the principle that debate on public issues should be uninhibited, robust, and wide-open, and that it may well include vehement, caustic, and sometimes unpleasantly sharp attacks on government and public officials. . . . Criticism of their official conduct does not lose its constitutional protection merely because it is effective criticism and hence diminishes their official reputations. . . . the pall of fear and timidity imposed upon those who would give voice to public criticism is an atmosphere in which the First Amendment freedoms cannot survive.

WILLIAM J. BRENNAN, JR., speaking for the majority in a Supreme Court decision, 9 Mar., 1964. The court reversed an Alabama judgment against the New York *Times*, which was based on the contention of Alabama city and state officials that they had been libeled by publication of an advertisement criticizing the officials' conduct during racial unrest in 1960. The case marked the first occasion in which the Supreme Court had found an ordinary civil libel action in conflict with the guarantees of speech and press freedom in the Bill of Rights.

III—America: The Union

4
E Pluribus Unum. (One from many.)

Motto for seal of the United States, proposed originally 10 Aug., 1776, by a committee made up of Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson, and adopted 20 June, 1782. This motto appeared on the title page of the *Gentleman's Journal* of Jan., 1692.

5
I never use the word "Nation" in speaking of the United States; I always use the word "Union," or "Confederacy." We are not a Nation, but a Union, a confederacy of equal and sovereign States.

JOHN C. CALHOUN, Letter to Oliver Dyer, 1 Jan., 1849.

6
The Constitution, in all its provisions, looks to an indissoluble Union composed of indestructible States.

SALMON P. CHASE, Decision in Texas vs. White, 7 Wallace, 725.

7
We join ourselves to no party that does not carry the flag and keep step to the music of the Union.

RUFUS CHOATE, Letter to Whig Convention, Worcester, Mass., 1 Oct., 1855.

8
I have heard something said about allegiance to the South. I know no South. no North, no

East, no West, to which I owe any allegiance.

HENRY CLAY, Speech in U.S. Senate, 1848.

1

The gentleman speaks of Virginia being my country. The Union, sir, is my country.

HENRY CLAY, Speech in U.S. Senate, 1848.

2

They talk defensively of "states' rights" when they and we well know that there can be no such thing as a state's right to default on a national duty.

LEROY COLLINS, Address before Greater Columbia (S.C.) Chamber of Commerce, 3 Dec., 1963. Collins, himself a Southerner, was assailing in particular extremist Southern politicians.

3

The North! the South! the West! the East!
No one the most and none the least,
But each with its own heart and mind,
Each of its own distinctive kind,
Yet each a part and none the whole,
But all together form one soul;
That soul Our Country at its best,
No North, no South, no East, no West,
No yours, no mine, but always Ours,
Merged in one Power with lesser powers,
For no one's favor, great or small,
But all for Each and each for All.

EDMUND VANCE COOKE, *Each for All.*

4

Then join hand in hand, brave Americans all,—
By uniting we stand, by dividing we fall!

JOHN DICKINSON, *Liberty Song.* (First published in the Boston *Gazette,* 18 July, 1768.)

A song for our banner! The watchword recall
Which gave the Republic her station:
"United we stand, divided we fall!"
It made and preserves us a nation!
The union of lakes, the union of lands,
The union of States none can sever,
The union of hearts, the union of hands,
And the flag of our union forever!

GEORGE P. MORRIS, *The Flag of Our Union.*

5

This glorious Union shall not perish! Precious legacy of our fathers, it shall go down honored and cherished to our children. Generations unborn shall enjoy its privileges as we have done; and if we leave them poor in all besides, we will transmit to them the boundless wealth of its blessings!

EDWARD EVERETT, Speech at Union Meeting, Faneuil Hall, Boston.

6

Yes, we must, indeed, all hang together, or, most assuredly, we shall all hang separately.

Attributed to BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, in replying to John Hancock. The latter, just before the signing of the Declaration of Independence, had addressed the Continental Congress as follows: "It is too late to pull different ways; the members of the Continental Congress must hang together."

7

I am not a Virginian, but an American.

PATRICK HENRY, Speech in the Continental Congress, 5 Sept., 1774.

8

One flag, one land, one heart, one hand,
One nation, evermore!

O. W. HOLMES, *Voyage of the Good Ship Union.*

9

Our federal Union, it must be preserved.

ANDREW JACKSON, Toast, offered at a banquet in Washington, D.C., 13 April, 1830, on Jefferson's birthday.

10

The cement of this Union is the heart blood of every American.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Writings,* vol. xiv.

11

When any one State in the American Union refuses obedience to the Confederation by which they have bound themselves, the rest have a natural right to compel obedience.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Writings,* vol. xvii.

12

These are the United States—a united people with a united purpose. Our American unity does not depend upon unanimity. We have differences but now, as in the past, we can derive from those differences strength, not weakness; wisdom, not despair.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON, Address to joint session of Congress, 27 Nov., 1963—his first major speech after his accession to the presidency.

13

This, then, is the state of the union: free and restless, growing and full of hope. So it was in the beginning. So it shall always be, while God is willing, and we are strong enough to keep the faith.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON, State of the Union message, 4 Jan., 1965.

14

Let us now join reason to faith, and action to experience, to transform our unity of interest into a unity of purpose. For the hour and the day and the time are here to achieve progress without strife, to achieve change without hatred; not without difference of opinion, but without the deep and abiding divisions which scar the Union for generations.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON, Inaugural Address, 20 Jan., 1965.

1
This government, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, Speech at first Republican state convention in Illinois, 1856. Also quoted by Theodore Roosevelt at Ohio constitutional convention, 1912.

2
Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!

DANIEL WEBSTER, Speech, 26 Jan., 1830.

3
Let us then stand by the constitution as it is, and by our country as it is, one, united, and entire; let it be a truth engraven on our hearts; let it be borne on the flag under which we rally in every exigency, that we have one country, one constitution, one destiny.

DANIEL WEBSTER, Speech in New York, 15 March, 1837.

4
It [the Civil War] created in this country what had never existed before—a national consciousness. It was not the salvation of the Union; it was the rebirth of the Union.

WOODROW WILSON, Memorial Day Address, 1915.

5
Let us keep our eyes and our hearts steadily fixed upon the old flag of our fathers. . . . It has a star for every State. Let us resolve that there shall be a State for every star!

ROBERT C. WINTHROP, Speech in Boston, 22 Aug., 1862.

IV—America: America and the World

6
America, in the assembly of nations, since her admission among them, has invariably, though often fruitlessly, held forth to them the hand of honest friendship, of equal freedom, of generous reciprocity. She has uniformly spoken among them, though often to heedless and often to disdainful ears, the language of equal liberty, equal justice, and equal rights.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, Address, 4 July, 1821.

7
It is hardness and materialism, exaggeration and boastfulness; in a false smartness, a false audacity, a want of soul and delicacy.

MATTHEW ARNOLD, *Discourses on America*, 1884.

8
Oh mother of a mighty race,
Yet lovely in thy youthful grace!
The elder dames, thy haughty peers,
Admire and hate thy blooming years.
With words of shame
And taunts of scorn they join thy name.

BRYANT, *Oh Mother of a Mighty Race.*

9
A dirty chimney on fire.

THOMAS CARLYLE, Letter, referring to the American Civil War.

He was probably fond of them, but he was always able to conceal it.

MARK TWAIN, *My First Lie.* The reference is to Carlyle's expressed dislike of Americans.

10
The American never imitates the Englishman in simply taking for granted both his own patriotism and his own superiority.

G. K. CHESTERTON, *Generally Speaking.*

11
The world is not a big Red sea in which this country is being scuttled, but a vast arena of political upheaval, in which the quest for freedom, ever stronger, has overthrown the colonial empires of the past. It isn't a tidy world, nor is it a secure one. But it is one for which the United States set the revolutionary example.

FRANK CHURCH, Speech in the U.S. Senate, 12 Jan., 1965.

12
We recognize and accept our own deep involvement in the destiny of men everywhere.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, Second Inaugural Address, 21 Jan., 1957.

13
To be effective in the nation's rightful role as a Free World leader, our people and their government should always, in my view, display a spirit of firmness without truculence, conciliation without appeasement, confidence without arrogance.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, *The White House Years: Mandate for Change 1953–1956.*

14
The character and strength the United States brings to world councils can only reflect the inner courage, strength and wisdom we have developed as a nation. This is national morale, and it is my unshakable conviction that morale, even more than sheer power, is the deciding factor in the fate of a nation.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, *Let's Be Honest with Ourselves; The Reader's Digest,* Dec., 1963.

15
In dealing with the communists . . . I believe we should keep reminding ourselves that *the basic conflict between their system and ours is a moral one.* Our form of government is based on the deep-rooted spiritual values spelled out in the familiar phrases of the Declaration of Independence. . . . The

communists see our moral precepts as a direct threat to their ideology.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, *Let's Be Honest with Ourselves; The Reader's Digest,* Dec., 1963.

Here is our difference with the Communists —and our strength. They would use their skills to forge new chains of tyranny. We would use ours to free men from the bonds of the past.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON, Message to Congress, 14 Jan., 1965. He was contrasting the systems' goal in foreign aid.

1
The less America looks abroad, the grander its promise.

EMERSON, *Lectures: Character.*

2
That is the point which decides the welfare of a people; *which way does it look?* If to any other people, it is not well with them. If occupied with their own affairs and thoughts and men . . . they are sublime.

EMERSON, *Letters and Social Aims: Social Aims.*

3
We are confronted with a complex and fluid world situation and we are not adapting ourselves to it. We are clinging to old myths in the face of new realities and we are seeking to escape the contradictions by narrowing the permissible bounds of public discussion, by relegating an increasing number of ideas and viewpoints to a growing category of "unthinkable thoughts."

J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, Address in U.S. Senate, 25 Mar., 1964. In this controversial address, the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee called for a more flexible foreign policy. He cited as "old myths" U.S. policy toward the Communist bloc in general, and in particular with regard to Cuba, the war in Vietnam, and the controversy over U.S. rights in Panama.

4
I cannot conclude without mentioning how sensibly I feel the dismemberment of America from this empire, and that I should be miserable indeed if I did not feel that no blame on that account can be laid at my door, and did I not also know that knavery seems to be so much the striking feature of its inhabitants that it may not in the end be an evil that they will become aliens to this kingdom.

GEORGE III OF ENGLAND, Letter to Shelburne, 10 Nov., 1782.

5
Note how perverse is the attitude of the weak toward their benefactors. They feel generosity as oppression; they want to retaliate. They say to their benefactors, "May the day come when you shall be weak and we will send bundles to America."

ERIC HOFFER, *The Passionate State of Mind* (1954), p. 29.

6
Thou, O my country, hast thy foolish ways,
Too apt to purr at every stranger's praise!

O. W. HOLMES, *An After-Dinner Poem.*

7
The fact is that the Americans are not a thoughtful people; they are too busy to stop and question their values.

DEAN W. R. INGE. (MARCHANT, *Wit and Wisdom of Dean Inge,* No. 217.)

8
I fought in Korea so I would not have to fight on Main Street in Wichita.

MAJOR JAMES JABARA of Wichita, Kan., on returning home from combat. This statement by one of the heroes of the Korean war was quoted, not long after it was first spoken, by Eleanor Roosevelt in a speech before the Democratic national convention in Chicago, 23 July, 1952.

9
Europe, the great American sedative.

HENRY JAMES, *The Wings of the Dove.*

10
Peace and friendship with all mankind is our wisest policy, and I wish we may be permitted to pursue it.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, Letter to C. W. F. Dumas, 1786.

11
Peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations,—entangling alliances with none.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, First Inaugural, 4 Mar., 1801.

12
We owe gratitude to France, justice to England, good will to all, and subservience to none.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Writings,* vol. ix.

13
The less we have to do with the enmities of Europe the better. Not in our day, but at no distant one, we may shake a rod over the heads of all, which may make the stoutest tremble. But I hope our wisdom will grow with our power, and teach us that the less we use our power the greater it will be.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Writings,* vol. xiv.

14
The day is not distant when we may formally require a meridian of partition through the ocean which separates the two hemispheres, on the hither side of which no European gun shall ever be heard, nor an American on the other.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Writings,* vol. xv.

15
We must meet our duty and convince the

world that we are just friends and brave enemies.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Writings*, vol. xix.

1

Our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe. Our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cis-Atlantic affairs.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, Letter to James Monroe, 24 Oct., 1823. This letter was instrumental in the adoption of the Monroe Doctrine. See also Monroe in this section.

2

The people in this country have more blessed hopes than bitter victories. The people of this country and the world expect more from their leaders than just a show of brute force. And so our hope and our purpose is to employ reasoned agreement instead of ready aggression, to preserve our honor without a world in ruins, to substitute if we can understanding for retaliation.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON, Address in Washington, D.C., 24 Mar., 1964.

3

We have voted as many, but tonight we must face the world as one.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON, Speech in Austin, Tex., 4 Nov., 1964. This call for unity was sounded in the early-morning hours following election night, when tabulations showed him a winner by a landslide over Barry M. Goldwater in the contest for the presidency.

4

We aspire to nothing that belongs to others. We seek no dominion over our fellow man, but man's dominion over tyranny and misery.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON, Inaugural Address, 20 Jan., 1965.

5

I am willing to love all mankind, except an American.

SAMUEL JOHNSON. (Boswell, *Life*, iii, 290.)

6

In these circumstances it is clear that the main element of any United States policy toward the Soviet Union must be that of a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies.

GEORGE KENNAN, *The Sources of Soviet Conduct*, in *Foreign Affairs*, July, 1947. This was the first use of "containment" as a label for the American policy pursued throughout the Truman administration—and thereafter under different names. Later in the article Kennan described "containment" more fully: "a policy of firm containment, designed to confront the Russians with unalterable counter-force at every point where they show signs of encroaching upon the interests of a peaceful and stable world." The article was published anonymously, as written by "X." Subsequently the author acknowledged it as his work, and the editors of *Foreign Affairs* further confirmed the authorship in a letter to the compiler.

I would suggest that we have begun to move beyond the policy of containment; that the central trend of our times is the emergence of what, for lack of a better label, might be called a policy of cease-fire, and peaceful change. I would suggest, further, that we may be approaching something close to a world consensus on such a policy.

No analogy is ever perfect, but if the policy of containment stands for "limited war," then the policy of cease-fire perhaps stands for "limited peace." I believe this mutation is occurring simply because the H-bomb has made "limited" war too dangerous.

ADLAI E. STEVENSON, Dag Hammarskjöld Memorial Lecture, Princeton University, 23 Mar., 1964.

7

At what point then is the approach of danger to be expected? I answer if it ever reach us it must spring up amongst us; it cannot come from abroad. If destruction be our lot, we must ourselves be its author and finisher. As a nation of free men, we must live through all time or die by suicide.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, *Perpetuation of Our Political Institutions*.

8

For some reason or other, the European has rarely been able to see America except in caricature. . . . We do not ask to be sprinkled with rosewater, but may perhaps fairly protest against being drenched with the rinsings of an unclean imagination.

J. R. LOWELL, *On a Certain Condescension in Foreigners*.

9

We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those [European] powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace and safety.

JAMES MONROE, Message to Congress, 2 Dec., 1823, stating the Monroe Doctrine.

10

You cannot conquer America.

WILLIAM PITT, Address in the House of Commons, 18 Nov., 1777.

AMERICA

1
The desire for riches is their ruling passion.
DUC DE LA ROCHEFOUCAULT-LIANCOURT, *Travels Throughout the United States of North America*, 1798.

2
To rouse their [Americans'] eager interest, their distinguished consideration and their undying devotion, all that is necessary is to hold them up to the ridicule of the rest of the universe. Dickens won them to him forever by merciless projections of typical Americans as windbags, swindlers and assassins.
BERNARD SHAW, in reacting to the Nobel prize award to Sinclair Lewis, 1931.

3
Why is it, whenever a group of internationalists get together, they always decide that Uncle Sam must be the goat?
BERTRAND H. SNELL, Interview, 7 May, 1931.

4
President Johnson has directed me to affirm to this Assembly that there will be no "Johnson policy" toward the United Nations—any more than there was a "Kennedy policy." There was—and is—only a United States policy, and that . . . outlasts violence and outlives men.
ADLAI E. STEVENSON, Address to United Nations General Assembly, 26 Nov., 1963 (four days following the assassination of President John F. Kennedy).

5
Gigantic daughter of the West
We drink to thee across the flood. . . .
For art not thou of English blood?
ALFRED TENNYSON, *Hands All Round.*

6
The Soviet Union and the United States are both unpopular today. In Western eyes, the Soviet Union is aggressive and oppressive. The United States, however, takes obvious pains to avoid committing these sins—so why is she unpopular, too? . . . The big, strong and rich are always unpopular with the small, weak and poor. . . . When a smaller dog finds itself boxed up with a larger dog, the smaller dog is inclined to snarl and bristle. This is not only dog nature, it is human nature.
ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE, *Again Nationalism Threatens; New York Times Magazine*, 3 Nov., 1963.

7
'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances, with any portion of the foreign world.
GEORGE WASHINGTON, *Farewell Address*, 17 Sept., 1796.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, . . . the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government.
GEORGE WASHINGTON, *Farewell Address*, 17 Sept., 1796.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor or caprice?
GEORGE WASHINGTON, *Farewell Address*, 17 Sept., 1796.

8
Amerita can not be an ostrich with its head in the sand.
WOODROW WILSON, Address in Des Moines, Ia., 1 Feb., 1916.

Every time Europe looks across the Atlantic to see the American eagle, it observes only the rear end of an ostrich.
H. G. WELLS, *America.*

There is a small articulate minority in this country which advocates changing our national symbol which is the eagle to that of the ostrich and withdrawing from the UN.
ELEANOR ROOSEVELT, Speech before the Democratic national convention in Chicago, 23 July, 1952.

9
The best way to help mankind is to begin at home and put our own house in order. . . . Internationalism, as it is practised, is another name for money juggling and the operations of bankers. . . . I am ready and eager for Uncle Sam to turn over the job of being catspaw for the world to someone else.
W. E. WOODWARD, *Money for Tomorrow.*

V—America: Famous Historical Sayings

See also Constitution, Democracy, Politics, War

10
All other sovereignties, united as one strength, shall compel the submission and performance of the sentence, with damages to the suffering party, and charges to the sovereignties that obliged their submission.
WILLIAM PENN, *Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe* (c. 1670). This is a pioneer statement of the policy of collective security. It proposed an annual General Assembly of governmental delegates having the power to settle international disputes, by employing collective force against aggression if necessary.

1
Taxation without representation is tyranny.
JAMES OTIS, Argument on the illegality of the Writs of Assistance before the Superior Court of Massachusetts, Feb., 1761. Historians now contend that the exact wording of Otis' famous statement is uncertain; it existed originally only in some notes made by John Adams, and these were revised by Adams some fifty years after the speech was delivered. In a letter to William Tudor, biographer of Otis, dated 9 June, 1818, Adams recalled this key part of the famous speech as follows: "And here he gave reins to his genius, in declamation . . . against the tyranny of taxation without representation." On 1 Oct., 1963, British Foreign Secretary Lord Home (later Prime Minister Sir Alec Douglas-Home) made a new paraphrase: "no representation without taxation" in the United Nations. Addressing the U.N., he said it was intolerable for members to demand voting rights without paying assessed shares of U.N. costs.

2
Caesar had his Brutus; Charles the First, his Cromwell; and George the Third ["Treason!" cried the Speaker]—*may profit by their example.* If *this* be treason, make the most of it.
PATRICK HENRY, Speech in the Virginia Convention, 29 May, 1765.

3
Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!
PATRICK HENRY, Speech in the Virginia House of Delegates, 23 Mar., 1775.

4
Listen, my children, and you shall hear,
Of the midnight ride of Paul Revere,
On the eighteenth of April, in Seventy-five;
Hardly a man is now alive
Who remembers that famous day and year.
LONGFELLOW, *Paul Revere's Ride.*

5
One if by land and two if by sea.
LONGFELLOW, *Paul Revere's Ride.* This refers to the signals given to Revere by lantern from the tower of North Church, Boston, 18 Apr., 1775.

6
What a glorious morning is this!
SAMUEL ADAMS, upon hearing the sound of gunfire in Boston, 19 Apr., 1775.

7
Stand your ground. Don't fire unless fired upon, but if they mean to have a war let it begin here.
CAPTAIN JOHN PARKER, addressing his men on Lexington Green at the outset of the Revolutionary War, 19 Apr., 1775.

8
In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress.
ETHAN ALLEN, demanding the surrender of Fort Ticonderoga, 10 May, 1775. According to Allen's own account, he gave this reply to Captain de la Place, commander of the garrison there, when the latter asked in whose name Allen demanded the surrender.

9
Men, you are all marksmen—don't one of you fire until you see the white of their eyes.
ISRAEL PUTNAM, at the Battle of Bunker Hill, 17 June, 1775. Frothingham's *History of the Siege of Boston* is among the authorities supporting Putnam's claim to the statement quoted, which is ascribed by others to Colonel William Prescott.

10
The Spirit of '76.
ARCHIBALD M. WILLARD, Title of painting, first shown at the Centennial Exhibition, Philadelphia, 1876. The original title was "Yankee Doodle." The three familiar figures in the painting are an old man beating a drum, a soldier of the Continental army blowing a fife, and a boy in uniform, also drumming.

11
Don't give up the ship! You will beat them off!
CAPTAIN JAMES MUGFORD, of the schooner *Franklin,* 19 May, 1776. These were his dying words during a British attack in Boston Harbor.

Keep the guns going! Fight her till she strikes or sinks! Don't give up the ship!
CAPTAIN JAMES LAWRENCE, commander of the American frigate *Chesapeake,* 1 June, 1813. Lawrence is said to have repeated these words until his death, after being mortally wounded early in the action against the British *Shannon.* The quotation is attributed also to Benjamin Russell, editor of the Boston *Centinel;* some authorities claim that Russell coined it in his account of Lawrence's death.

Don't give up the ship!
Signal floated at the masthead of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry's flagship *Lawrence,* 10 Sept., 1813, during the battle of Lake Erie.

1
There, I guess King George will be able to read that.

JOHN HANCOCK, on signing the Declaration of Independence, 4 July, 1776. He was referring to the boldness of his handwriting. The term "John Hancock" has become synonymous with "signature" from this.

2
Every kind of service, necessary to the public good, becomes honorable by being necessary.

NATHAN HALE, 10 Sept., 1776. This statement was made to Hale's friend Captain William Hull, when the latter protested against Hale's entering the British lines as a spy.

3
I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country.

NATHAN HALE, spoken at the gallows in New York, 22 Sept., 1776, just before he was hanged by the British as a spy.

Witness to the world that I die like a man.

MAJOR JOHN ANDRÉ, 2 Oct., 1780. The statement was made just before he was hanged as a spy.

4
Don't tread on me.

Motto of the first flag of the American Revolution. The design was that of a pine tree with a rattlesnake coiled at its foot. The flag was flown from John Paul Jones's ship *Alfred* in 1776.

5
These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands it *now,* deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph.

THOMAS PAINE, *The Crisis* (intro., Dec., 1776).

6
It is the object only of war that makes it honorable. And if there was ever a just war since the world began, it is this in which America is now engaged. . . . We fight not to enslave, but to set a country free, and to make room upon the earth for honest men to live in.

THOMAS PAINE, *The Crisis* (1776).

7
Put none but Americans on guard to-night.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, derived from his circular letter to regimental commanders, dated 30 Apr., 1777, regarding recruits for his bodyguard: "You will therefore send me none but natives." The order was prompted by an attempt by a deserter from the British army, Thomas Hickey, to poison Washington.

8
There, my boys, are your enemies, red-coats and Tories. You must beat them—or Molly Stark is a widow to-night.

Attributed to COLONEL JOHN STARK, 16 Aug., 1777, at the battle of Bennington.

9
I have not yet begun to fight.

JOHN PAUL JONES, 23 Sept., 1779, when his surrender was demanded by the opposing British, and when his ship *Bonhomme Richard* was sinking under him.

10
Put Watts into 'em, boys! Give 'em Watts!

Attributed to REVEREND JAMES CALDWELL, 23 June, 1780. He is said to have shouted this while giving American troops hymnbooks to serve as wadding. The reference is to Isaac Watts (1674–1748), noted English hymn writer.

11
A National debt, if it is not excessive, will be to us a national blessing.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, Letter to Robert Morris, 30 Apr., 1781.

At the time we were funding our national debt, we heard much about "a public debt being a public blessing"; that the stock representing it was a creation of active capital for the aliment of commerce, manufactures, and agriculture.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, Letter to John W. Epps, 6 Nov., 1813.

12
He defeated the Americans with great slaughter.

UNKNOWN, Inscription on the tomb of Lord Cornwallis, Westminster Abbey. It was Cornwallis' own surrender at Yorktown, 17 Oct., 1781, that virtually ended the Revolutionary War.

13
The Government of the United States of America is not, in any sense, founded on the Christian religion.

UNKNOWN, Treaty with Tripoli, 1796.

14
Millions for defense but not a cent for tribute.

ROBERT GOODLOE HARPER, Toast, 18 June, 1798, at dinner in Philadelphia given by Congress in honor of John Marshall following his return from France. Harper was a member of Congress from South Carolina. Marshall's trip to France, as U.S. envoy, was aimed at stopping French attacks on U.S. shipping. By "tribute," Harper explained, he had in mind shipping losses through plunder,

not the payment of a bribe. (See below)

No, no; not a penny!

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY, 26 Oct., 1797. This was in reply to a demand made to Pinckney, in his role as American ambassador to France, for the payment of $250,000, the price necessary (it was said) to secure Pinckney and other U.S. envoys an audience with the French Directory in their effort to halt French attacks on American shipping. The demand was made by a secret agent named Hottenguer on behalf of Talleyrand, French foreign minister.

1

We give up the fort when there's not a man left to defend it.

CAPTAIN GEORGE CROGHAN, 1 Aug., 1813. This was his reply to the British General Proctor at Fort Stephenson, Lower Sandusky, Ohio.

2

No ill luck stirring but what lights upon Uncle Sam's shoulders.

UNKNOWN, Editorial, Troy (N.Y.) *Post*, 7 Sept., 1813. This is the first known use of the term "Uncle Sam."

3

Uncle Sam and John Bull.

UNKNOWN, Editorial, *Columbian Centinel*, Dec., 1814.

4

We must consult Brother Jonathan.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, referring to his Revolutionary War secretary and aide-de-camp, Col. Jonathan Trumbull. "Brother Jonathan" became synonymous with America.

5

Yankee Doodle, keep it up,
Yankee Doodle, dandy;
Mind the music and the step,
And with the girls be handy.

EDWARD BANGS, *The Yankee's Return to Camp*. This is the chorus of the first version of the song, attributed to Bangs by Dr. Edward Everett Hale, though some authorities credit it to Dr. Richard Shuckburg, an officer in the British army during the French and Indian War. The music dates back at least to the reign of Charles II.

6

We have met the enemy and they are ours —two ships, two brigs, one schooner and one sloop.

OLIVER HAZARD PERRY, Dispatch to General William Henry Harrison, 10 Sept., 1813, announcing Perry's victory in the battle of Lake Erie.

7

General Washington set the example of voluntary retirement after eight years. I shall follow it. And a few more precedents will oppose the obstacle of habit to any one who after a while shall endeavor to extend his term.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Writings*, vol. xi.

8

Our country! in her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong!

STEPHEN DECATUR, Toast, Apr. 1816, at a dinner in his honor in Norfolk, Va. (MACKENZIE, *Life* of Decatur)

I hope to find my country in the right; however, I will stand by her, right or wrong.

JOHN J. CRITTENDEN, Congressman from Kentucky, Speech in Congress, May, 1846. The statement was prompted by a message from President Polk relating to war with Mexico.

Our country, right or wrong! When right, to be kept right; when wrong, to be put right!

CARL SCHURZ, Speech in U.S. Senate, 1872.

"My country, right or wrong," is a thing that no patriot would think of saying except in a desperate case. It is like saying, "My mother, drunk or sober."

G. K. CHESTERTON, *The Defendant*.

9

The Era of Good Feelings.

BENJAMIN RUSSELL, Title of article on Monroe's administration in the *Columbian Centinel*, Boston, 12 July, 1817.

10

This bill is an attempt to reduce the country south of Mason and Dixon's line to a state of worse than colonial bondage.

JOHN RANDOLPH, of Roanoke, Va., Speech in Congress, 15 Apr., 1824, referring to the Missouri Compromise. The Mason-Dixon line, separating the free state of Pennsylvania and the then slave states of Maryland and Virginia, came to be regarded, by extension, as the boundary beyond which slavery should not be permitted.

11

Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish, I give my heart and my hand to this vote.

DANIEL WEBSTER, Eulogy on John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, 2 Aug., 1826. It introduced a speech supposedly made by Adams in favor of adoption of the Declaration of Independence. The phrase was derived from records of a conversation between Adams and Jonathan Sewall in 1774: "I answered that the die was now cast; I had passed the Rubicon. Sink or swim, live or die, survive or

perish with my country, was my unalterable determination."

1
I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch AND I WILL BE HEARD.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, *Salutatory, The Liberator*. Vol. i, No. 1, 1 Jan., 1831.

2
I will be as harsh as truth and as uncompromising as justice.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON. *The Liberator*, 1831.

3
He who dallies is a dastard; he who doubts is damned.

Attributed to GEORGE MCDUFFLE, of South Carolina. It was quoted by Gov. James Hamilton of South Carolina in 1831, during the nullification period; by J. C. S. Blackburn, of Kentucky, in Congress, Feb., 1877, during the Hayes-Tilden controversy; and by Henry Watterson in his *Courier-Journal*, Louisville, in supporting Tilden.

4
Our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions.

JOHN L. O'SULLIVAN, *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, vol. xvii, July–Aug., 1845. The quotation is from an editorial against opposition to the annexation of Texas. This was the first published use of the famous phrase "manifest destiny." (J. W. PRATT, *American Historical Review*, xxxii, 795)

It is our manifest destiny to lead and rule all other nations.

JAMES GORDON BENNETT, Editorial, New York *Herald*, 3 Apr., 1865.

That word, "manifest destiny," which is profanely used, signifies the sense all men have of the prodigious energy and opportunity lying idle here.

EMERSON, *Journals*, 1865.

5
If I were a Mexican, I would tell you, "Have you not enough room in your own country to bury your dead men? If you come into mine, I will greet you with bloody hands and welcome you to hospitable graves."

THOMAS CORWIN, Speech, U.S. Senate, 11 Feb., 1846, delivered against entrance of the United States into the Mexican War, and in reply to Lewis Cass's assertion, "We want room."

6
Our country: whether bounded by the St. John's and the Sabine, or however otherwise bounded or described, and be the measurements more or less;—still our country, to be cherished in all our hearts, to be defended by all our hands!

ROBERT C. WINTHROP, Toast, 4 July, 1846, at dinner in Faneuil Hall, Boston. He referred to the annexation of Texas.

7
A little more grape, Captain Bragg.

Attributed to GENERAL ZACHARY TAYLOR, 22 Feb., 1847, at the battle of Buena Vista. The "Bragg" was Captain Braxton Bragg, of Taylor's command. This famous quotation has been denied by a number of authorities, including Ethan Allen Hitchcock, Inspector General of General Winfield Scott's army in Mexico.

8
Captain Bragg, it is better to lose a battery than a battle.

Attributed to GENERAL ZACHARY TAYLOR, 22 Feb., 1847, at the battle of Buena Vista. This is said to have been his response to Captain Braxton Bragg, when the latter reported he would have to fall back or lose his battery.

9
General Taylor never surrenders.

THOMAS L. CRITTENDEN, 22 Feb., 1847, battle of Buena Vista. This reply, on behalf of General Zachary Taylor, was in response to a demand for surrender, made by General Santa Ana, the Mexican commander. It became the slogan of Taylor's successful presidential campaign of 1848.

10
I shall defer my visit to Faneuil Hall, the cradle of American liberty, until its doors shall fly open upon golden hinges to lovers of Union as well as lovers of liberty.

DANIEL WEBSTER, Letter, Apr., 1851, to friends who had invited him to speak in Boston, but who had been denied use of Faneuil Hall by the mayor and alderman, who presumably were reacting to a famous Webster speech of 7 March, 1851.

11
Go West, young man, go West!

JOHN L. B. SOULE, Editorial, Terre Haute (Ind.) *Express*, 1851.

Go West, young man.

HORACE GREELEY, Letter to W. H. Verity, 1854.

Go West, young man, and grow up with the country.

HORACE GREELEY, *Hints Toward Reform*.

1
Cotton is King; or Slavery in the Light of Political Economy.
DAVID CHRISTY, Title of book, 1855.

You dare not make war on cotton. Cotton is king.
JAMES H. HAMMOND, Speech, March, 1858, U.S. Senate.

2
An irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces.
WILLIAM H. SEWARD, Speech, 25 Oct., 1858. The forces were freedom and slavery.

3
Den I wish I was in Dixie! Horray! Hooray!
In Dixie's land we'll took our stand,
To lib an' die in Dixie!
DANIEL DECATUR EMMETT, *Dixie* (1859).

To arms! To arms! To arms, in Dixie! . . .
For Dixie's land we take our stand,
And live or die for Dixie!
ALBERT PIKE, *Dixie* (1861).

4
If any one attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot.
GENERAL JOHN A. DIX, Telegram, 29 Jan., 1861. Dix, Secretary of the Treasury, wired from Washington to William Hemphill Jones, a Treasury clerk who had been sent to New Orleans, ordering the arrest of Captain Breshwood, commander of the revenue cutter *McClennand,* when it was feared Breshwood would turn over the craft to Confederate authorities.

5
All we ask is to be let alone.
JEFFERSON DAVIS, Inaugural Address, as President of the Confederate States of America, 18 Feb., 1861.

6
Say to the seceded States: "Wayward sisters, depart in peace!"
WINFIELD SCOTT, Letter to W. H. Seward, 3 March, 1861.

7
I have been unable to make up my mind to raise my hand against my native state, my relatives, my children, and my home.
ROBERT E. LEE, Statement upon resigning his commission in the U.S. Army at the time of Virginia's secession from the Union, Apr., 1861.

8
On to Richmond!
FITZ-HENRY WARREN, Headline, New York *Tribune,* June, 1861.

9
A rich man's war and a poor man's fight.
UNKNOWN, Slogan that appeared in the Confederacy in 1861, protesting against laws favoring wealthy slave owners.

10
All quiet along the Potomac to-night.
ETHEL LYNN BEERS, *All Quiet along the Potomac.* The words were attributed to General George B. McClellan, commander of the Army of the Potomac, and undoubtedly helped to decrease his popularity in the North, which was impatient for progress in the war.

11
There is Jackson standing like a stone wall!
BRIGADIER GENERAL BARNARD E. BEE, at the Battle of Bull Run, 21 July, 1861. He was referring to General Thomas Jonathan Jackson, thereafter known as "Stonewall," though Jackson himself said that Bee had signified Jackson's brigade by the remark.

12
Yell like furies when you charge!
GENERAL THOMAS JONATHAN (STONEWALL) JACKSON, at the Battle of Bull Run, July, 1861.

13
No terms except an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works.
U. S. GRANT, 16 Feb., 1862, in reply to General Simon B. Buckner at Fort Donelson, Ky. (BADEAU, *Military History of U. S. Grant.*)

14
In times like the present, men should utter nothing for which they would not willingly be responsible through time and in eternity.
ABRAHAM LINCOLN, Message to Congress, 1 Dec., 1862.

15
The Father of Waters again goes unvexed to the sea.
ABRAHAM LINCOLN, Letter to James C. Conkling, 26 Aug., 1863. With the capture of Vicksburg, the Mississippi River had come entirely into the control of Union forces.

16
I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer.
U. S. GRANT, 11 May, 1864, to General Henry W. Halleck.

17
Damn the torpedoes!
DAVID GLASGOW FARRAGUT, 5 Aug., 1864, at the battle of Mobile Bay.

18
Hold the fort, for I am coming!
Attributed to GENERAL WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN, 5 Oct., 1864, as a message to General Corse, signaled from the top of Kenesaw Mountain, when Corse was attacked at Allatoona. Through constant usage, this has become the accepted version. The actual message was, "Hold out; relief is coming."

1
Now he belongs to the ages.
EDWIN M. STANTON, upon the death of Abraham Lincoln, 15 Apr., 1865.

2
Fellow-citizens: Clouds and darkness are around Him; His pavilion is dark waters and thick clouds; justice and judgment are the establishment of His throne; mercy and truth shall go before His face! God reigns and the Government at Washington lives.
JAMES A. GARFIELD, Address, Apr., 1865, from the balcony of the New York Custom House to a throng, following the assassination of President Lincoln.

America is the place where you cannot kill your government by killing the men who conduct it.
WOODROW WILSON, Address in Helena, Mont., 11 Sept., 1919. He was referring to the assassination of Lincoln; at the same time he cited James A. Garfield's address to the crowd in New York following the tragedy.

3
The way to resumption is to resume.
SALMON P. CHASE, Letter to Horace Greeley, 17 May, 1866.

4
The solid South.
GENERAL JOHN SINGLETON MOSBY, Letter, 1876, to a former Confederate comrade.

5
Waving the bloody shirt.
OLIVER P. MORTON, U.S. Senator from 1867 to 1879, is the man to whom this expression is attributed, as it applies to American politics. It was used to describe the Republicans' post-Civil War practice, in election campaigns, of citing their party's record in saving the Union and of denouncing the Democrats for bringing on the war.

It is a relief to remember that this phrase [waving the bloody shirt] is no invention of our politics. It dates back to Scotland three centuries ago. After a massacre in Glenfruin, not so savage as has stained our annals, two hundred and twenty widows rode on white palfreys to Stirling Tower, bearing each on a spear her husband's bloody shirt.
ROSCOE CONKLING, Speech in New York, 17 Sept., 1880. The phrase appears in English literature in the works of Sir Philip Sidney and Edward Gibbon.

6
I am thankful I have lived to see the day when the greenback can raise its right hand and declare "I know that my Redeemer liveth."
R. G. INGERSOLL, Speech, 1 Jan., 1879, from the sub-Treasury steps in Wall Street, upon resumption of specie payments.

7
Well, isn't this a billion dollar country?
Attributed to CHARLES FOSTER, Secretary of the Treasury under Harrison, in reply to the Democratic gibe about a "billion dollar Congress" [the 51st]. The quotation is also attributed to Thomas B. Reed, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

8
I have considered the pension list of the republic a roll of honor.
GROVER CLEVELAND, 5 July, 1888, in veto of Mary Ann Dougherty's pension.

9
We want no war of conquest. . . . War should never be entered upon until every agency of peace has failed.
WILLIAM MCKINLEY, Inaugural Address, 4 Mar., 1897.

10
Remember the Maine!
Slogan widely heard in the Spanish-American War. The U.S. battleship *Maine* was destroyed by a mine in the harbor of Havana, 15 Feb., 1898. The slogan was reminiscent of the rallying cry of the Texan war of independence from Mexico, "Remember the Alamo!," referring to the famous battle of the Alamo in Texas. And it was the pattern for the World War II slogan "Remember Pearl Harbor!," which referred to the Japanese attack on 7 Dec., 1941.

11
Please remain. You furnish the pictures and I'll furnish the war.
WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST, Telegram, March, 1898. (JOHN K. WINKLER, *W. R. Hearst.*) The message was sent to the artist Frederic Remington when the latter expressed a desire to return to the United States from Cuba, where he had been sent by Hearst to supply illustrations of the war with Spain for Hearst's newspapers. Remington complained that there was no war—and thus no material for him.

12
You may fire when you are ready, Gridley.
ADMIRAL GEORGE DEWEY, 1 May, 1898. Gridley was the captain of Dewey's flagship at the battle of Manila.

13
Don't cheer, boys; the poor devils are dying.
CAPTAIN JOHN WOODWARD PHILIP, 4 July, 1898. The skipper of the U.S. battleship *Texas* was referring to the burning Spanish ship *Vizcaya* at the battle of Santiago. (LODGE, *War with Spain.*)

1
The open door.
JOHN HAY, 2 Jan., 1900. As Secretary of State, Hay was announcing the successful completion of negotiations designed to assure equality of trade with China for all nations. The phrase "open door" was used to describe the new policy.

2
I took Panama without consulting the Cabinet.
THEODORE ROOSEVELT, *Memoirs*. The reference is to the revolution of 1 Nov., 1903, by which Panama became a republic.

3
We want Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead.
JOHN HAY, Cablegram, 22 June, 1904, to the American consul to Morocco. Ion H. Perdicaris, an American citizen, had been kidnapped by Raisuli, a Moroccan bandit, and held for ransom. The book *AP, The Story of the News* declares that the famous terse statement was suggested to Secretary of State Hay by Edwin M. Hood, an Associated Press reporter in Washington, for use in place of the lengthy dispatch Hay had prepared.

4
Remember, my son, that any man who is a bear on the future of this country will go broke.
J. PIERPONT MORGAN, quoted by his son in a speech at the Chicago Club, 10 Dec., 1908. J. P. Morgan was paraphrasing his father, Junius Spencer Morgan.

5
We shall not, I believe, be obliged to alter our policy of watchful waiting.
WOODROW WILSON, Message to Congress (relating to Mexico), 2 Dec., 1913.

6
We must be impartial in thought as well as in action. The United States must be neutral in fact as well as in name.
WOODROW WILSON, Proclamation, 19 Aug., 1914.

7
Hold the Imperial German Government to strict accountability.
WOODROW WILSON, Note to the German Government, 10 Feb., 1915.

8
Our whole duty, for the present, at any rate, is summed up in the motto: America first.
WOODROW WILSON, Speech in New York, 20 Apr., 1915. In World War II, the expression "America first" became the rallying cry of non-interventionists.

9
There is such a thing as a man being too proud to fight.
WOODROW WILSON, Speech in Philadelphia, 10 May, 1915. In his *Fighting Years*, Oswald Garrison Villard declares: "I supplied the President through Tumulty with a phrase which brought down upon him a storm of abuse and denunciation. The words 'too proud to fight' were mine."

10
Out of the trenches and back to their homes by Christmas.
HENRY FORD, stating the purpose of his peace ship *Oscar II*, Dec., 1915. Ford abandoned this ill-fated project well before its completion.

11
Keep the home fires burning, while your hearts are yearning,
Tho' your lads are far away they dream of home.
LENA GUILBERT FORD, *Keep the Home Fires Burning*. The theme was suggested by Ivor Novello, who set the words to music; the song was published in 1915.

12
You have laid upon me this double obligation: "We are relying upon you, Mr. President, to keep us out of war, but we are relying upon you, Mr. President, to keep the honor of the nation unstained."
WOODROW WILSON, Address in Cleveland, 29 Jan., 1916.

He kept us out of war!
MARTIN H. GLYNN, Keynote Speech, Democratic national convention, St. Louis, 15 June, 1916. This statement, referring to Woodrow Wilson, became the party's slogan in the ensuing campaign.

13
A little group of wilful men.
WOODROW WILSON, Statement, 3 Mar., 1916. His reference was to eleven Senators who, by filibustering, had prevented the passage of a bill to authorize the President to arm U.S. merchantmen.

14
Wake up America.
AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER, Speech, 16 Oct., 1916.

15
The world must be made safe for democracy.
WOODROW WILSON, War Address to Congress, 2 Apr., 1917.

16
We have five hundred thousand and one lampposts in America, and that is where the German reservists will find themselves if they try any uprising.
JAMES W. GERARD, U.S. ambassador to Germany, in reply to the German foreign minister, Zimmermann, who had predicted an uprising by 500,000 German reservists in America if the United

States entered World War I. (GERARD, *My Four Years in Germany.*)

1
Over there, over there, send the word, send the word over there!
That the Yanks are coming, the Yanks are coming,
The drums rum-tumming ev'rywhere:
So prepare, say a pray'r,
Send the word, send the word to beware!
We'll be over, we're coming over,
And we won't come back till it's over, over there.

GEORGE M. COHAN, *Over There* (1917). This song, which became an official marching song of the U.S. Army, won for Cohan a public expression of thanks from President Woodrow Wilson.

2
Lafayette, we are here.

COLONEL C. E. STANTON, Address, 4 July, 1917, at the grave of Lafayette in the Picpus Cemetery, Paris. This is often mistakenly attributed to General John J. Pershing, who himself cited Stanton as its author. (PERSHING, *My Experiences in the World War.*)

3
Come on, you sons of bitches! Do you want to live forever?

GUNNERY SERGEANT DANIEL DALY, U.S. Marine Corps, 4 June, 1918, at Lucy-le-Bocage, on the fringe of Belleau Wood. Daly later declared his actual words were, "For Christ's sake, men, come on! Do you want to live forever?" The first version, however, is the one that has gained popular acceptance through repeated usage. A similar quotation is attributed to Frederick the Great at Kolin, 18 June, 1757.

4
The legend, "Heaven, Hell, or Hoboken by Christmas," on a tent near General Headquarters of our Expeditionary Force in France reflected the spirit of the whole American Army.

GREGORY MASON, *How America Finished,* Paris, 7 Dec., 1918.

5
How'ya gonna keep 'em down on the farm,
After they've seen Paree?

SAM M. LEWIS and JOE YOUNG, Title and refrain of song (1919) with music by Walter Donaldson.

6
America's present need is not heroics but healing; not nostrums but normalcy; not revolution but restoration; . . . not surgery but serenity.

WARREN G. HARDING, Speech in Boston, May, 1920.

7
Profitless prosperity.

A. W. SHAW, *The Underlying Trend of Business.* (*Magazine of Business,* Nov., 1927.)

8
Era of wonderful nonsense.

WESTBROOK PEGLER, Newspaper Column. The reference was to the stock-market speculation of 1929, but the phrase was often used later to typify the 1920's in general.

9
Wall Street Lays An Egg.

SIME SILVERMAN, Headline in *Variety,* referring to the stock-market crash of 1929.

10
Brother, can you spare a dime?

E. Y. HARBURG, Song title and refrain (1932).

11
The only thing we have to fear is fear itself.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, First Inaugural Address, 4 Mar., 1933.

12
In the field of world policy, I would dedicate this nation to the policy of a good neighbor.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, First Inaugural Address, 4 Mar., 1933.

13
If I were asked to state the great objective which church and state are both demanding for the sake of every man and woman and child in this country, I would say that that great objective is a more abundant life.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, Address to the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ, 6 Dec., 1933. The phrase "a more abundant life" figured prominently in a number of subsequent Roosevelt speeches.

14
Every man a king.

HUEY PIERCE LONG, Title of autobiography (1933). LONG also used this as the slogan of his share-the-wealth movement.

15
Share the wealth.

HUEY PIERCE LONG, Name of the political movement launched by him in Louisiana in 1934. Long, nicknamed "the Kingfish," described its purpose as the elimination of poverty through the redistribution of wealth.

16
Okie use' to mean you was from Oklahoma. Now it means you're scum.

JOHN STEINBECK, *The Grapes of Wrath,* referring to the great migration of the 1930's.

17
The former allies have blundered in the past by offering Germany too little, and offering

even that too late, until finally Nazi Germany has become a menace to all mankind.

ALLAN NEVINS, *Germany Disturbs the Peace.* (*Current History,* May, 1935.) David Lloyd George used the words "too late, or too little, or both . . . the road to disaster" in addressing the House of Commons in March, 1940, the day after Finland's fall.

1

It seems unfortunately true that the epidemic of world lawlessness is spreading. When an epidemic of physical disease starts to spread, the community . . . joins in a quarantine of the patients in order to protect the health of the community against the spread of the disease.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, Address in Chicago, 5 Oct., 1937. This famous "quarantine speech" called for, in effect, a quarantine of aggressors, or collective security.

2

South America becomes very quisling conscious.

Time, 24 May, 1940. This pioneer use of "quisling" as synonymous with collaboration with the enemy derived from the case of Vidkun Quisling, leader of the Norwegian Nazi party, who headed the Nazi-sponsored government after the German invasion of Norway in April, 1940. He was executed as a traitor in 1945.

3

The hand that held the dagger has struck it into the back of its neighbor.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, Address, 10 June, 1940. The reference was to Italy's declaration of war on France.

4

And while I am talking to you mothers and fathers, I give you one more assurance. I have said this before, but I shall say it again and again and again. Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, Speech in Boston, 30 Oct., 1940. This was delivered just before his re-election to a third term. SAM ROSENMAN wrote, in his *Working With Roosevelt:* "Every time the President had made this statement before Boston—and every time thereafter—he added to it the words he himself had so carefully added to the foreign policy plank: 'Except in case of attack.' I suggested that he add the same words this time but he suddenly got stubborn about it—I could not understand why. 'It's not necessary,' he said. 'If we're attacked it's no longer a foreign war.'"

5

We must be the great arsenal of democracy.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, Radio Address, 29 Dec., 1940.

6

First, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or otherwise. Second, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT and WINSTON CHURCHILL, *The Atlantic Charter,* formulated on the U.S.S. *Augusta,* 14 Aug., 1941.

7

Yesterday, December 7, 1941—a date that will live in infamy—the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, Message to Congress, 8 Dec., 1941, in which he asked for a declaration of war.

8

A bloody monument to divided responsibility.

COLONEL HIGH J. KNERR, referring to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, 7 Dec., 1941. (*American Mercury,* June, 1942.)

9

Praise the Lord and pass the ammunition.

LIEUTENANT COMMANDER HOWELL FORGY, U.S. Navy Chaplain, to a chain of men passing ammunition aboard the cruiser *New Orleans,* Pearl Harbor, 7 Dec., 1941. This is also attributed to Fleet Chaplain William B. Maguire, who denied it. The quotation became the title of an inspirational song.

10

We are now in this war. We are in it—all the way. . . . We are going to win the war, and we are going to win the peace that follows.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, Radio Address, 9 Dec., 1941.

11

The militarists of Berlin and Tokyo started this war, but the massed angered forces of common humanity will finish it.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, Address before joint session of Congress, 6 Jan., 1942.

12

Sighted sub. Sank same.

DONALD FRANCIS MASON, Radio Message to U.S. Navy Department, 26 Feb., 1942.

13

I shall return.

GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR, to his fellow officers when he departed from the Philippine Islands for Australia, 11 Mar., 1942.

1
I shall keep a soldier's faith.
GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR, upon his arrival in Melbourne, Australia, Mar., 1942. (CONSIDINE, *MacArthur the Magnificent.*)

2
Bataan has fallen, but the spirit that made it stand—a beacon to all the liberty-loving people of the world—cannot fall!
LIEUTENANT NORMAN REYES, Radio Report, of the fall of Bataan, 9 Apr., 1942. This was sent from a tunnel in the fortress of Corregidor. (ROMULO, *I Saw the Fall of the Philippines,* p. 302.)

3
Scratch one flat-top.
LIEUTENANT COMMANDER ROBERT E. DIXON, Radio Message to his aircraft carrier after sinking a Japanese carrier off Misima Island during the battle of the Coral Sea, 7 May, 1942. (JOHNSTON, *Queen of the Flat-Tops,* p. 181.)

4
I claim we got a hell of a beating. We got run out of Burma, and it is humiliating as hell. I think we should find out what caused it and go back and retake it.
GENERAL JOSEPH W. STILWELL, Statement, May, 1942.

5
We shall attack and attack until we are exhausted, and then we shall attack again.
MAJOR GENERAL GEORGE S. PATTON, JR., to his troops before they sailed for North Africa, 15 Nov., 1942.

6
Take her down.
COMMANDER HOWARD W. GILMORE, Order to the crew of his submarine, *Growler,* during action against the Japanese in the South Pacific, Feb., 1943. He gave the order while lying on her deck, mortally wounded, knowing that the delay involved in getting him safely inside might mean the submarine's destruction.

7
America's Holy Grail lies on Corregidor.
GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR, Statement, on the first anniversary of the surrender of the fortress, Manila Bay, 8 May, 1943.

8
Hell, we haven't started to fight. Our artillery hasn't been overrun yet.
GENERAL TERRY ALLEN, at the invasion of Sicily, July, 1943.

9
The Grumlin does the same job of sabotage on the home front that the Gremlin does to the airplanes of our pilots fighting the Axis.
SAM RAYBURN, Speech at East Texas State Teachers College, 5 Aug., 1943. The term "Gremlins" was applied to the perverse imps that caused unforseen, and often unexplainable, mechanical difficulties. The first one was supposed to have been born in a beer bottle in 1923. (See *Newsweek,* 7 Sept., 1942.)

10
God Is My Co-Pilot.
ROBERT L. SCOTT, JR., Title of his book based on World War II action.

11
The Seabees are always happy to welcome the Marines.
LIEUTENANT BOB RYAN, greeting Marines as they landed at Segi, New Georgia, Sept., 1943. Although the Seabees were supposed to land simultaneously with the Marines, or shortly thereafter, they had arrived first.

12
G. I. Joe.
Name popularly used during World War II to identify American soldiers, especially infantrymen. The initials stand for "government issue."

13
Kilroy was here.
UNKNOWN. There are many theories about the origin of this very popular saying, which was scrawled by American service men on walls and other surfaces wherever they penetrated during World War II. "Kilroy" became synonymous with each of them.

14
Hurry up and wait.
UNKNOWN. This was an often-heard service men's lament about military practice as it affected their daily routine in World War II.

15
The difficult we do immediately. The impossible takes a little longer.
Motto, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. Other branches of the armed forces also employed this, paraphrasing slightly.

16
Suppose you're a sergeant machine-gunner, and your army is retreating and the enemy advancing. The captain takes you to a machine gun covering the road. "You're to stay here and hold this position," he tells you. "For how long?" you ask. "Never mind," he answers, "just hold it." Then you know you're expendable. In a war anything can be expendable—money or gasoline or equipment or most usually men. They are expending you and that machine gun to get time.
W. L. WHITE, *They Were Expendable,* p. 3.

17
The eyes of the world are upon you. The

hopes and prayers of liberty-loving people everywhere march with you.

GENERAL DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, Message to his troops at the invasion of Normandy, 6 June, 1944.

1

People of the Philippines, I have returned.

GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR, Radio Address, 20 Oct., 1944, upon landing on Leyte.

2

Nuts!

GENERAL ANTHONY C. MCAULIFFE, Retort to a German demand for surrender at Bastogne, Belgium, 22 Dec., 1944. In a letter to the compiler, General McAuliffe reported:

"'Nuts' was the reply. I received a surrender demand addressed to 'The American Commander' and signed 'The German Commander.' It threatened heavy shelling and bombing and suggested that I consider the effects on the Belgian civilians in the town. After reading it, I commented 'Nuts' and went out to visit the troops. Upon my return to the C.P., I was told that the German envoys still remained at the 327th Infantry regimental C.P., were still blindfolded and were asking for an official reply to their official communication. My staff suggested that my first crack would be appropriate, so I said: 'Write it up.' They typed: 'To the German Commander. Nuts. (signed) The American Commander.' The English-speaking German officer did not understand. Our Colonel Harper said: 'It means the same as "Go to Hell." You understand that, don't you?' He did."

3

Expedience and justice frequently are not even on speaking terms.

ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, Speech in U.S. Senate, 8 Mar., 1945. He referred to the ceding of eastern Poland to the Soviet Union, as decided at the Yalta conference of Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin.

4

Sixteen hours ago an American airplane dropped one bomb on Hiroshima. . . . It is a harnessing of the basic power of the universe. The force from which the sun draws its powers has been loosed against those who brought war to the Far East.

HARRY S TRUMAN, Statement on the first use of the atomic bomb in combat, 6 Aug., 1945.

5

A shadow has fallen upon the scenes so lately lighted by the Allied victory. From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent.

WINSTON CHURCHILL, Address at Westminster College, Fulton, Mo., 5 Mar., 1946. The use of "iron curtain" in this sense dates from Churchill's speech. An earlier use occurs in H. G. WELLS's *The Food of the Gods,* bk. iii, ch. 4, pt. 1 and pt. 3 (1904): "Redwood had still imperfectly apprehended the fact that an iron curtain had dropped between him and the outer world." The phrase was used in a sense closer to its present one in GEORGE M. CRILE's *A Mechanistic View of War and Peace,* ch. 4, p. 69 (1915): "Mexico . . . with a deep rooted grievance, and an iron curtain at its frontier."

6

We are here to make a choice between the quick and the dead.

BERNARD M. BARUCH, Statement to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission, 14 June, 1946.

7

Cold war.

HERBERT BAYARD SWOPE. Mr. Swope, in a letter to Burton Stevenson, editor of *The Home Book of Quotations* and *The Home Book of Verse,* declared: "I have been using the phrase 'cold war,' as B. M. Baruch and others will confirm, since 1945, several months before the death of President Roosevelt. I put it in writing in one or two letters in 1946. . . . I put it in a speech that Baruch made to the South Carolina legislature . . . 16 April, 1947." The speech marked the first public use of the phrase.

Let us not be deceived—we are today in the midst of a cold war.

BERNARD M. BARUCH, Speech before the South Carolina Legislature, 16 Apr., 1947.

In the interview, which was brief, Baruch said he was the first person to use the phrase "cold war." He said it was suggested to him by Herbert Bayard Swope, former editor of the defunct New York *World.*

Interview with Bernard M. Baruch, Boston *Globe,* 1 Apr., 1949.

8

Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos. . . . At this critical point in history, we of the United States are deeply conscious of our responsibilities toward the world. We know that in this trying period, between a war that is over and a peace that is not yet secure, the destitute and oppressed of the earth look chiefly to us for sustenance and support until they can again

face life with self-confidence and self-reliance.

GEORGE CATLETT MARSHALL, Address at Harvard University, 5 June, 1947, outlining the European Recovery Program, the system of postwar economic assistance that became known as the Marshall Plan.

I had referred to the idea [European Recovery Program] as the "Marshall Plan" when it was discussed in staff meetings because I wanted General Marshall to get full credit for his brilliant contributions to the measure which he helped formulate.

HARRY S. TRUMAN, *The Truman Memoirs, Pt. II* (1956).

1

In the face of this victory of United Nations arms the Communists committed one of the most offensive acts of international lawlessness of historic record by moving without any notice of belligerency elements of alien Communist forces across the Yalu River into North Korea and massing a great concentration of possible reinforcing divisions with adequate supply behind the privileged sanctuary of the adjacent Manchurian border.

GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR, Communiqué No. 11, 6 Nov., 1950.

United Nations forces are now being attacked from the safety of a privileged sanctuary.

HARRY S. TRUMAN, Statement, 15 Nov., 1950. (Quoted by FRAZIER HUNT in *The Untold Story of Douglas MacArthur,* p. 482. According to Hunt, "It was the first time that the phrase 'privileged sanctuary' had been used in a public document.")

2

Retreat, hell! We're just fighting in another direction.

GENERAL O. P. SMITH, U.S. Marine Corps, Retort at Changjin Reservoir, North Korea, 1950. *Retreat, Hell* became the title of a film based on the Korean War.

3

When I joined the army, even before the turn of the century, it was the fulfillment of all my boyish hopes and dreams. . . . I still remember the refrain of one of the most popular barracks ballads of that day, which proclaimed most proudly that old soldiers never die; they just fade away. And like the old soldier of that ballad, I now close my military career and just fade away.

GENERAL OF THE ARMY, DOUGLAS MACARTHUR, Address before a joint session of the U.S. Congress, 19 Apr., 1951. The ballad referred to stemmed from a hymn, *Kind Words Can Never Die,* written about 1855 by "Sister" Abby Hutchinson and set to music by Horace Waters. When Miss Hutchinson's group of evangelists toured Civil War camps of the Union Army, the song was adapted for army use. British soldiers also sang a version of it in World War I.

4

In war there is no substitute for victory.

GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR, Address to joint session of Congress, 19 Apr., 1951.

5

It is fatal to enter any war without the will to win it.

GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR, Speech, Republican national convention, 7 July, 1952.

Of all the campaigns of my life, twenty major ones to be exact, the one I felt most sure of was the one I was deprived of waging. I could have won the war in Korea in a maximum of ten days, with considerably fewer casualties than were suffered during the so-called truce period, and it would have altered the course of history.

GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR. Quoted by Bob Considine of the Hearst newspapers in an interview granted 27 Jan., 1954, but not published until 8 Apr., 1964, three days after MacArthur's death, in keeping with his stipulation that it not be released during his lifetime.

6

Let's face it. Let's talk sense to the American people. Let's tell them the truth, that there are no gains without pains, that we are now on the eve of great decisions, not easy decisions, like resistance when you're attacked, but a long, patient; costly struggle which alone can assure triumph over the great enemies of man—war, poverty, and tyranny—and the assaults upon human dignity which are the most grievous consequences of each.

ADLAI E. STEVENSON, Acceptance Speech, Democratic national convention, 26 July, 1952.

7

When I was in Paris last week, I said that . . . the United States would have to undertake an agonizing reappraisal of basic foreign policy in relation to Europe. This statement, I thought, represented a self-evident truth.

JOHN FOSTER DULLES, Address to National Press Club, Washington, D.C., 22 Dec., 1953.

8

Local defense must be reinforced by the further deterrent of massive retaliatory power.

JOHN FOSTER DULLES, Speech before the

Council of Foreign Relations, 12 Jan., 1954. The instrument of this policy, aimed at deterring international aggression, became known popularly as "massive retaliation."

Our capacity to retaliate must be, and is, massive in order to deter all forms of aggression.

JOHN FOSTER DULLES, Speech in Chicago, 8 Dec., 1955.

1

You have to take chances for peace, just as you must take chances in war. Some say that we were brought to the verge of war. Of course we were brought to the verge of war. The ability to get to the verge without getting into the war is the necessary art. If you cannot master it, you inevitably get into war. If you try to run away from it, if you are scared to go to the brink, you are lost. We've had to look it square in the face—on the question of enlarging the Korean War, on the question of getting into the Indo-china war, on the question of Formosa. We walked to the brink and we looked it in the face. We took strong action.

JOHN FOSTER DULLES. Quoted by JAMES SHEPLEY, chief of the *Time-Life* Washington bureau, in *How Dulles Averted War, Life,* 16 Jan., 1956. This quotation was the key part of an article that aroused international controversy and caused Dulles' critics to coin the term "brinkmanship" in describing his policy as Secretary of State. On 17 Jan., 1956, at a news conference, Dulles verified the "substance" of the quotations "specifically attributed to me" in the article.

The art of diplomacy, especially in this atomic age, must lead to peace, not war or the brink of war.

ADLAI E. STEVENSON, Statement in Chicago, 14 Jan., 1956, referring to the "brink of war" statement by John Foster Dulles in the then-current issue of *Life.*

If we ever get suckered into World War III it will be because we appear to be weak. . . . I believe that the Eisenhower-Dulles program of what we call brinkmanship, the retaliation effect in the maintaining of a strong military, is essential in keeping peace in the world today.

BARRY M. GOLDWATER, U.S. Senator from Arizona, Radio Address to a Franklin Square, N.Y., high-school history class, broadcast from his home in Washington, 8 Nov., 1963, via his own amateur transmitter.

After all, brinkmanship is absolutely necessary in this troubled world of ours to keep the peace. But it must be used intelligently and not recklessly.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, Statement during filmed television program, *Conversation at Gettysburg,* made by Eisenhower and Barry M. Goldwater at Gettysburg, Pa., and shown nationally 22 Sept., 1964, during the presidential campaign.

2

With all deliberate speed.

U.S. Supreme Court Decision, 31 May, 1955. This historic ruling made unconstitutional "separate but equal schools" for Negroes, and directed integrated schooling "with all deliberate speed."

There has been entirely too much deliberation and not enough speed. The time for mere "deliberate speed" has run out and that phrase can no longer justify denying these Prince Edward children their constitutional rights to an education equal to that afforded by the public schools in the other parts of Virginia.

HUGO L. BLACK, Majority Opinion, U.S. Supreme Court, 25 May, 1964. On this date the court ordered reopening, on an integrated basis, of the schools in Prince Edward County, Va. In 1959, faced with an order to integrate at once, the county (alone among all those in the state and throughout the rest of the nation) had shut down its public schools rather than operate them on an integrated basis.

3

Whenever normal agencies prove inadequate to the task and it becomes necessary for the Executive Branch of the Federal Government to use its powers and authority to uphold Federal Courts, the President's responsibility is inescapable.

In accordance with that responsibility I have today issued an Executive Order directing the use of troops under Federal authority to aid in the execution of Federal law at Little Rock, Arkansas.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, Address to the nation, 24 Sept., 1957, explaining the dispatch of troops under the command of Major General Edwin A. Walker, to enforce integration of the races at Central High School.

4

Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans—born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage—and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed, and to

which we are committed today at home and around the world.

JOHN F. KENNEDY, Inaugural Address, 20 Jan., 1961.

1

To our sister republics south of our border, we offer a special pledge—to convert our good words into good deeds—in a new alliance for progress—to assist free men and free governments in casting off the chains of poverty.

JOHN F. KENNEDY, Inaugural Address, 20 Jan., 1961.

2

We intend to bury no one—and we do not intend to be buried.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON, State of the Union Message, 8 Jan., 1964. The reference is to the highly controversial statement by Nikita Khrushchev: "We will bury you."

Whether you like it or not, history is on our side. We will bury you.

NIKITA S. KHRUSHCHEV, Statement at Kremlin diplomatic reception, Moscow, 18 Nov., 1956.

Our firm conviction is that sooner or later capitalism will give way to socialism. No one can halt man's forward movement, just as no one can prevent day following night.

NIKITA S. KHRUSHCHEV, Statement in Leipzig, 9 Aug., 1957. (In *Conquest Without War,* an anthology of speeches by Khrushchev, compiled and edited by N. H. Mager and Jacques Katel, p. 49.)

My life would be too short to bury every one of you if this were to occur to me. . . . I said that in the course of historical progress and in the historical sense, capitalism would be buried and communism would come to replace capitalism.

NIKITA S. KHRUSHCHEV, Statement in Tatabanya, Hungary. Reported in *Pravda,* 9 Apr., 1958. (In *Conquest Without War,* an anthology of the speeches of Khrushchev, compiled and edited by N. H. Mager and Jacques Katel, p. 49.)

Capitalism is a worn-out old mare while socialism is new, young, and full of teeming energy.

NIKITA S. KHRUSHCHEV, Statement in Tatabanya, Hungary. Reported in *Pravda,* 9 Apr., 1958. (In *Conquest Without War,* p. 49.)

The words "We will bury capitalism" should not be taken literally as indicating what is done by ordinary gravediggers who carry a spade and dig graves and bury the dead. What I had in mind was the outlook for the development of human society. Socialism will inevitably succeed capitalism.

NIKITA S. KHRUSHCHEV, Statement to civic authorities, Los Angeles, 19 Sept., 1959. (In *Conquest Without War,* p. 49.)

The revisionists are producing their own opposites and will be buried by them. This is an inexorable law.

UNKNOWN, from a lengthy polemic transmitted by the official New China News Agency, broadcast by Peking radio and reproduced in *People's Daily* and the Chinese theoretical journal *Red Flag,* 3 Feb., 1964. (Reported in the New York *Herald Tribune,* 4 Feb., 1964.) The polemic was typical of the Communist Chinese attacks on the Soviet Union during this period, which invariably blamed Moscow "revisionists," notably Nikita S. Khrushchev, for the prevailing split in international Communist ranks. In this case the Soviet leadership in general was described as "the greatest splitters of our time."

We face in Communist hostility and expansionism a formidable force, whether Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Mao Tse-tung pull together or apart. They disagree so far only on whether capitalism should be peacefully or violently buried. They are both for the funeral.

ADLAI E. STEVENSON, *The Hard Kind of Patriotism; Harper's Magazine,* July, 1963.

3

This Administration here and now declares unconditional war on poverty in America.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON, State of the Union Message, 8 Jan., 1964.

ANCESTRY

See also Posterity

4

Three generations from shirtsleeves to shirtsleeves.

Attributed to ANDREW CARNEGIE. A verifiable quotation from his published work is the following, contained in a letter: "Even in Yorkshire the proverb is, 'Three generations from clogs to clogs.'" (HENDRICK, *Life,* vol. ii)

5

The pride of ancestry increases in the ratio of distance.

GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS, *Prue and I,* ch. 6.

6

The pedigree of honey
Does not concern the bee;

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William J. Pearce
President

May 22, 1991

By FAX

Mr. Bruce Zanca
Assistant to the Assistant
to the President
for Special Events & Initiatives
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Bruce:

What a pleasure meeting with you and the White House staff was yesterday. Thank you very much for the time and help you gave our little group to plan the next President's lecture on June 3.

I sincerely hope you can prevail upon the President to grant 7 or 8 minutes to get a few personal thoughts from him about Andrew Jackson by way of an interview - in whatever location you and he choose. Here follows a list of proposed questions. Please change as you see fit. I'll call to see if they're okay.

RR 1) What kind of a person was our 7th President, Andrew Jackson?

social office → 2) Why did you choose Andrew Jackson for the 3rd program in your Presidents series?

RR 3) As the "Hero of the Battle of New Orleans", Jackson enjoyed great popularity with the American people. Do you think this popularity made his job as President any easier?

RR 4) Andrew Jackson was President during great expansion for the Union. Was this his greatest contribution?

RR 5) Despite Jackson's zeal for expansion, he stepped back from annexing Texas rather than escalate the slavery issue. His first concern was always the good of the Union. Was his love for the Union one of his stronger attributes?

RR 6) As the 7th President of the United States, what was Jackson's greatest contribution to the development of the Office of the Presidency?

RR7) What did Jackson do to improve the White House? cut

RR8) How important was Jackson's nullification of South Carolina's attempted secession?

RR9) Would you consider Jackson a Union man? cut

RR10) After the nullification crisis, Jackson predicted that slavery would be the next great crisis for the Union. Do you think he would have gotten any satisfaction out of being right?

cut!

Again, Bruce, many thanks. We are all busy following up on the assignments we received yesterday.

Sincerely,

Bill

William J. Pearce

WJP:mmg
cc: Mark Leonard

1) ~~strong, man of enormous strength.~~
Man who believed in democracy
right of people to rule
One of the most extaord men in Am. hist.
Ad the times
heralds the beginning of democracy
advocated it loudly & frequently
Am. people ad him
they believed in him & he knew it.
1st rep. of all the people
-had many phys. ailments, but had inner strength & will

3) yes. they believed & trusted him
had board of affxn
Battle of N.O. was the beginning, proved himself

4) no. Greatest conts.
paid the national debt (not w/ his own debt)
he's the 1st modern POTUS
1st head of the govt.
1st among equals

5) absolutely. look to the type of man.
loved the Union
preservation is most important

6) people
strengthened the office

7) his people
destroyed it
Δd it a great deal
brought running H_2O to it
Δd it architechturally

8) very important
the lang he uses to SC IS treason
Lincoln took this view in his mang.
the Union is indivisible.
1st time a POTUS has argued once you're
entered too bad, you're stuck
like a marriage

9) yes

10) no. he warned it would cost oceans of blood
& millions of $.