(Grossman/Smith)
October 4, 1991
Draft Two
QA

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: LECTURE SERIES Q&A
EAST ROOM
MONDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1991

1) **What is there about President George Washington that you admire most?**

We remember Washington as Father of our Country. Few men could have confronted the challenges of the birth of a nation with his quiet strength and insight. He used his executive powers wisely. He made the conduct of foreign policy a presidential priority. He set the standard of leadership for future Presidents to follow.

2) **Thomas Jefferson wrote of President Washington, "[His mind] was slow in operation... but sure in conclusion." Could Washington, known for his deliberate prudence, function in today's world?**

The world of 1776 was far different than any of us can even imagine. A simple trip from New York to Philadelphia took three days. Imagine how long it took for a diplomatic response to cross an ocean. Today, information and communications travel at the speed of light. Decision-making requires the ability to respond to events -- not be controlled by them. Of course, Washington might not be able to answer all his mail the way he liked to \ but I believe his deliberation and prudence would serve him well.

3) **In his farewell address, Washington urged caution when dealing with foreign nations. In fact he warned against becoming politically involved to any degree. Does Washington's "Great rule" hold any lesson for us today?**

Again, the world that witnessed the American Revolution was different place our world. As Washington was helping mold a young and fragile democracy, the clouds of conflict were gathering in Europe. Washington feared that American involvement in the storm could only threaten her "sacred flame of liberty." Americans have always been wary of involvements where our interests are not at stake. But as we emerged as the world's preeminent power, we also understood the responsibility that comes with strength.

Washington also wrote: "Our cause is noble, it is the cause of mankind!" I believe he understood that the ideals for which America stands cannot be locked within borders. I believe he understood the universal implications -- and

responsibilities -- that flowed from America's great experiment.

4) **Washington was disturbed by the growth of conflicting political parties. In fact he tried to discourage their growth. Washington believed unity was the main pillar of our independence. Obviously today, political parties thrive and conflicting influences flourish. Do you see any threat to our "main pillar"?**

President Washington led as Americans built that "main pillar." Today we enjoy a security in our consensus on the values of our Founding Fathers. Remember, at the end of the Revolution, there were voices demanding the institution of an American monarchy. Much of the America we now take for granted was still in the making. But history has proven the American experiment successful. We do not tolerate diversity merely because America is strong -- America is strong because we tolerate diversity.

5) **Let's talk about Washington's military achievements. Although he was slow to decide political issues, Washington was a tenacious military commander. He was one of the first American leaders to consider using force against the British crown to "maintain liberty." He was our first commander in chief. How would you gauge his military record?**

America's revolutionary soldiers didn't have superior weapons or fancy brass-buttoned uniforms. But they **did** have the most essential military resource -- a great leader. His command showed great tenacity and faith in his troops and his cause. His troops fought -- and won -- against the odds. He was called the Fox, as a tribute to his wily, calculated tactics. And while lack of equipment and training often defeated his troops in battles, his determination and commitment that helped us win a war. Washington was motivated not by the promise of booty or decorations, but by a belief in the cause of liberty, writing, "..that no man should scruple, or hesitate to use arms in defense of so valuable a blessing.."

6) **In the colonies the idea of independence was not widely accepted. There was a general distrust of the leaders of the Congress. Yet Washington became the chief symbol in our revolution against the King. Why was that?**

The movement to break with the British crown was not a popular one. The delegates attending the Continental Congress were not popularly elected. But even as the majority of colonists respected the King's authority, Washington was emerging as a figure of broad appeal and near-legendary accomplishment. His war record as a frontier commander lionized him in the eyes of early Americans; and his fifteen year record as a Virginia legislator was respected and admired.

7) **What lessons can we today draw for ourselves given our world of independence movements?**

First, the American revolution was not waged to preserve any particular boundary or to impose dominance over a neighbor. Rather, our revolution defended a universal value: "the right of people to make and to alter their constitutions of government." Secondly, while our founders -- and residents of various colonies -- disagreed on particular aspects of our Constitution, all agreed on the necessity of unity amidst diversity. "E Pluribus Unum" had to be made real, if the American experiment was to be made successful.

8) **In his Farewell address Washington wrote "...the habits of thinking in a free Country should inspire caution in those entrusted with its administration..." As the first president, Washington gave shape to the office of the Presidency. How would you describe that shape?**

Washington did two great things as the nation's first President. First, he defined the separation of powers. Washington believed that the President, Congress and Supreme Court should be responsible for their respective constitutional spheres. He could have opposed that concept and set the country on an entirely different course.

Second, Washington deeply believed in democracy. He welcomed the advice of his cabinet. He developed the concept of Cabinet meetings which allowed the Executive branch to fashion effective policies.

9) **You're the 41st President. Has the evolution of this office retained the spirit of Washington's words?**

Yes. I think our country has survived and grown stronger because we have respected the constitutional separation of powers. Each President puts his own stamp on the office, but we have all understood and adhered to the guiding principles of Washington.

10) **Education was a key ingredient in Washington's philosophy. He wrote in 1796, "Promote...institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge...it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened." Would you consider him our first education president?**

Washington believed in education because he knew that education was important in a democracy. Knowledge is strength. Shared knowledge is shared strength. Washington believed that what he called the "diffusion of knowledge" would keep our government honest.

cc: PRESS OFFICE
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Bill - PROGRAM COPY
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NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

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PRESIDENTIAL

INFO. FOR OCT 7 LECTURE ON GEORGE WASHINGTON

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

GEORGE WASHINGTON

Born February 11, 1732, on the south bank of the Potomac, George Washington became a surveyor, soldier, planter, and the first President of the United States. In spite of his presence on our stamps and currency, and in the names of our places and institutions, Washington remains a distant, austere figure for most Americans. Paintings and statues present him as solemn and impassive, often in the garb of a Roman statesman or god. The best-known stories--from cutting down the cherry tree to throwing coins across the Potomac--are unfounded legends that help sustain the image of someone without human failings.

Widely known as a man of unimpeachable character, Washington was the unanimous choice for military and political leadership. He led the ill-supplied, ill-equipped, often unpaid Continental Army through victory and defeat. The low point came during the hard winter of 1777 at Valley Forge. It was feared that the ill-clad, ill-fed, unpaid soldiers would mutiny. When Washington heard that the soldiers were holding a secret meeting, he attended. Such was Washington's standing that he was immediately elected to chair the meeting. There was no mutiny. They followed Washington all the way to Yorktown, where he trapped and captured the British army.

Like Cincinnatus in old Rome, Washington surrendered his army to the civilian authorities and retired to private life. Elected to the Constitutional Convention in 1787, Washington was unanimously chosen chairman. The very presence of Washington had a silent impact on deliberations. The idea of a strong federal union did not seem so risky if Washington was going to be at the helm. The new Constitution created a strong federal union, and Washington was unanimously elected President and unanimously reelected. At the end of eight years, he had firmly established the authority of the new government, the credibility of the United States among nations, and the permanence of the first democracy to endure. Once again, he gave up power and returned to Mount Vernon. Having heard that Washington was to return to private life, King George III was reported to have remarked, "If he does that, he will be the greatest man in the world."

Washington the man may be hard to know, but some insight is lent through his own description of himself as a man who "always walked on a straight line, and endeavored as far as human frailties and perhaps strong passions would enable him, to discharge the relative duties to his Maker and fellow-men, without seeking any indirect or lefthanded attempts to acquire popularity." He died at Mount Vernon in 1799, but not before knowing that the new capital of the new nation was to be named for him.

GEORGE WASHINGTON NOTES

DM

--portrait saved from burning White House by ~~Abigail~~ Adams

--White House Anniversary coming up

--was a strong president

--he governed during a defining moment of American history, just as he was to governance was to define the office

LANG FRAG

--Washington's legacy very much present in the nation's capital, in its name, in its monuments, in its spirit

--I suppose that every succeeding President, at one time or another, measures himself against Washington's standard. I tried that too. But then I learned that he personally reviewed **all** executive mail. \ I gave up. It takes a full time staff just to review Millie's mail. \ But then again, I suppose our first President never mastered a word processer.

--GW: "Preservation of the sacred flame of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are staked on the experiment entrusted to the American people."

--Washington's likeness has been preserved on coins, in portraits, on monuments, and ____, but his greatest mark has been on the legacy of democracy, and the spirit of the American people.

--***he waged and won the world's only permanent revolution -- The American Revolution.

--After the Revolution was won, some Americans proposed that Washington be made a king.

--Washington took his oath for the Presidency in Federal Hall on **Wall Street**, in New York.

--Like many of his contemporaries, Washington found the idea of political parties repugnant He expected to be "President of all the people" and was disappointed when by the end of his first administration two parties began to develop.

--GW saw a kind of divine predestination in his many near-escapes from death during his battles

--The Father of his Country could never satisfy Mom: George's mother, Mary Ball Washington, often nagged and quarreled with her son. Washington, in turn, treated her with formal love, but little genuine affection, often keeping her at arm's length.

--From Presidential Anecdotes: "..he had an eye for good-looking women, with whom he liked to flirt. He had an earthy sense of humor, growing out of his experiences as a Virginia farmer-planter, and was not put off by the subject of sex. He also liked good food and wine, enjoyed card-playing, horse-racing, and fox-hunting, and had a great passion for theater."

--(ibid) "But Washington's teeth eventually did him in. Later in life he suffered from toothaches; finally he had his teeth pulled and a plate made for him by a silversmith. But his first dentures were so ill-fitting that he could barely close his lips when wearing them, and it was extremely difficult for him to smile."

I AM of opinion, that, in the democratic ages which are opening upon us, individual independence and local liberties will ever be the produce of artificial contrivance; that centralization will be the natural form of government.

THUS the progress of centralization amongst a democratic people depends not only on the progress of equality, but on the manner in which this equality has been established.

THE government centralizes its agency whilst it increases its prerogative—hence a twofold increase of strength.

THEY had sought to be free in order to make themselves equal; but in proportion as equality was more established by the aid of freedom, freedom itself was thereby rendered of more difficult attainment.

AMERICANS are so enamored of equality that they would rather be equal in slavery than unequal in freedom.

THE nations of our time cannot prevent the conditions of men from becoming equal; but it depends upon themselves whether the principle of equality is to lead them to servitude or freedom, to knowledge or barbarism, to prosperity or to wretchedness.

◖ GEORGE WASHINGTON (1732-1799) ◗

WHEN is the time for brave men to exert themselves in the cause of liberty and their country, if this is not? Should any difficulties that they may have to encounter at this important crisis, deter them? . . . but we must bear up against them, and make the best of mankind as they are, since we cannot have them as we wish.

To Major General Philip Schuyler, December, 1775

IT is a maxim founded on the universal experience of mankind that no nation is to be trusted farther than it is bound by its interest.

Letter to Henry Laurens, 1778

OUR cause is noble, it is the cause of mankind! And the danger to it is to be apprehended from ourselves.

Letter to a Friend, March 31, 1779

THE administration of justice is the firmest pillar of government.

Letter to Randolph, 1789

To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace.

First Annual Address, January, 1790

THERE can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation.

Farewell Address, September, 1796

◖ RICHARD M. WEAVER (1910-1963) ◗

IT is not an unknown thing to have the very vices one is denouncing slip up on one from the rear in some pleasing disguise.

"Roots of the Liberal Complacency,"
National Review, June 8, 1957

ONE of the chief directives of Liberalism is to deny the existence of either-or choices.

Ibid.

DESPITE these occasional disturbances to his peace, the Liberal feels most of the time that he is protected by an invincible dogma, which is that everyone today must be a Liberal.

Ibid.

THE assumption is that Liberalism represents a new level of consciousness, which will never be given up.

Ibid.

IF Liberalism stemmed out of some deeply anchored and coherent philosophy of life, if it expressed some compelling vision of existence, we might not apply the term complacency to its habit of mind. But with its non-committal attitude toward all the positive issues of life, it cannot rise to the dignity of a phi-

GEORGE WASHINTON

Item #12

ANNOUNCER

IN THE WORDS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON....

JAMES STEWART

THE TIME IS NEAR AT HAD WHICH MUST PROBABLY DEFINE WHETHER AMERICANS ARE TO BE FREEMEN, OR SLAVES...THE FATE OF UNBORN MILLIONS WILL NOW DEPEND, UNDER GOD, ON THE COURAGE AND CONDUCT OF THIS ARMY.

MARY TYLER MOORE

I HAVE RESOLVED NOT TO BE FORCED FROM THIS BATTLEGROUND WHILE I STILL HAVE LIFE...

BILLY DEE WILLIAMS

PRESERVATION OF THE SACRED FLAME OF LIBERTY, AND THE DESTINY OF THE REPUBLICAN MODEL OF GOVERNMENT, ARE STAKED ON THE EXPERIMENT ENTRUSTED TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

INTO BARRY BOSTWICK

GEORGE WASHINTON CONT.

BARRY BOSTWICK

ON JULY FOURTH, 1930,-- SIXTY ONE YEARS AGO TODAY, THE BEGINNING OF AMERICA'S SHRINE OF DEMOCRACY WAS UNVEILED HERE, AT MOUNT RUSHMORE. A BUTTON WAS PUSHED, AND AN IMMENSE AMERICAN FLAG SLOWLY REVEALED THE MAJESTIC COUNTENANCE OF OUR NATION'S FIRST PRESIDENT.

LIKE A GREEK OR ROMAN HERO, GEORGE WASHINGTON'S NAME AND LIKENSS HAVE BEEN COMMEMORATED FOR DECADES ON PLAQUES--IN PAINTINGS, ON CURRENCY AND COINS. BUT THIS PORTRAIT, SCULPTED OUT OF ROCK AND TOUCHING THE SKY, RE-AWAKENED OUR PATRIOTISM, AND appreciation FOR WASHINGTON'S LEGACY, AS NO OTHER TRIBUTE EVER HAD BEFORE.

A MOUNTAIN SCULPTED BY WIND, INTO A SHRINE SCULPTED FOR DEMOCRACY. IT WAS A MIRACULOUS TRANSFORMATION--A METAMORPHOSIS THAT MIRRORS THE UNLIKELY EVOLUTION OF WASHINGTON HIMSELF--FROM A QUIET, VIRGINIA PLANTER AND SURVEYOR, TO A HEROIC COMMANDER, AND OUR NATION'S FIRST LEADER.

AS A GENTLEMEN FARMER, WASHINGTON APPRECIATED THE PROMISE OF THE WILDERNESS, AND STUDIED THE RECLAMATION OF PRECIOUS LAND. BUT NOTHING IN THIS PASTORAL LIFE POINTED TO HIS GIFT OF LEADERSHIP INSPIRED BY THE CALL TO INDEPENDENCE.

--THE MOMENT WASHINGTON TOOK COMMAND OF THOSE FIRST 17,000 MEN

WASHINGTON CONT.

IN THE CONTINENTAL ARMY, HE WAS SEEN AS MORE THAN A MILITARY LEADER. THROUGH HIM OUR PEOPLE BEGAN TO SENSE THEIR ONENESS--THEIR NEW NATIONALITY. WASHINGTON BECAME THEIR EAGLE, THEIR FLAG,--THEIR LIVING SYMBOL OF LIBERTY. AND TO HIS SUCCESS, CONGRESS ENTRUSTED THEIR LIVES, THEIR FORTUNES--THEIR HOPE FOR DEMOCRACY.

WE HAVE ALL HEARD THE STORIES OF WASHINGTON'S HEROIC COMMAND.... THE CANNON OF TICONDEROGA, THE STORY OF CROSSING THE DELAWARE, THE VIGIL AT VALLEY FORGE. THE MIRACLE WAS NOT THAT HE WON THE REVOLUTION, BUT THAT HE ENDURED THE MOMENTOUS ODDS AGAINST HIM.

AFTER THE WAR, TO HIS RESERVED DISMAY, THIS COUNTRY WORSHIPPED HIM WITH A GOD-LIKE VENERATION. HE PRESIDED OVER THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, AND AT 57 WAS ELECTED TO LEAD THE NEW NATION. IT WAS UNANIMOUS. THERE WERE NO DISSENTING VOTES.

PRESIDENT WASHINGTON KNEW THAT LIBERTY COULD NOT SURVIVE WITHOUT UNION. WISELY, HIS FIRST MISSION WAS TO VISIT EACH OF THE 13 STATE LETTING THE PEOPLE KNOW HIM AS A LEADER, NOT A KING. HE DID NOT WANT TO RUN THE COUNTRY ALONE--BUT WOULD CHOOSE THE BEST PEOPLE TO HELP HIM. DURING THAT THREE MONTH JOURNEY HE BECAME KNOWN AS "THE MAN WHO UNITES ALL HEARTS." AS ONE CITIZEN OF THE DAY DESCRIBED IT, "AT LAST WE HAD ONE COMMON MIND, ONE COMMON LEADER, ONE COMMON HEART. WE WERE UNITED. ~~AT LAST WE FELT SAFE.~~"

WASHINGTON CONT.

GEORGE WASHINGTON'S IDEALS HAVE ENDURED THROUGH THE AGES. STEADFASTNESS, PATIENCE, ENORMOUS RESOLVE. THE QUALITIES HE POSSESSED HAVE HELPED DEFINE OUR NATIONAL CHARACTER.

TODAY, AT THE FOOT OF THIS RUGGED MOUNTAIN SHRINE, HIS NOBLE VISAGE ONCE AGAIN SPEAKS OF GREATNESS. FROM EVERY STATE, IN EVERY DIRECTION, HIS EXAMPLE BRINGS US TOGETHER--AMERICANS STILL UNITED IN LIBERTY, IN THIS LAND WE CALL HOME.

* * * * * *

President Bush (continued)

AND WE NOTE THE INTERNATIONAL IMPORTANCE AND APPEAL OF

GEORGE WASHINGTON - WHO IMBUED THE NEW ELECTED OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENCY WITH GREATNESS AND DIGNITY. THANKS TO THE EXAMPLE HE SET, THAT OFFICE HAS SURVIVED THE TEST OF TIME TO BECOME ONE OF THE MOST POSITIVELY INFLUENTIAL IN HISTORY ...

THOMAS JEFFERSON - WHO PROVIDED NOT ONLY AMERICA - BUT ALL THE WORLD - WITH THE TENETS OF MODERN DEMOCRACY. IT IS THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, MORE THAN ANY OTHER DOCUMENT, THAT HAS SERVED AS A MODEL FOR FUNDAMENTAL DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES IN OTHER NATIONS...

THEODORE ROOSEVELT - WHO, AS A DRIVING FORCE BEHIND THE PANAMA CANAL, SERVED AS AN ARCHITECT OF COMMERCE AND COMMUNICATION WITH IMMEASURABLE INTERNATIONAL IMPACT...

AND ABRAHAM LINCOLN. TO A WORLD WATCHING IN OUR NATION'S DARKEST HOUR, WONDERING IF THE "GREAT AMERICAN EXPERIMENT" WOULD FAIL, HE PROVED THAT A NATION "CONCEIVED IN LIBERTY" CAN AND WILL ENDURE.

AND SO, AS AMERICANS, WE ARE MINDFUL NOT ONLY OF WHAT MOUNT RUSHMORE MEANS TO US, BUT ALSO HOW AND WHY IT STRIKES A RESPONSIVE CHORD IN DISTANT LANDS ...

continued...

!R! CASS 1; EXIT;

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

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: SECOND PRESIDENTIAL LECTURE
EAST ROOM
MAY 6, 1990
X:XX P.M.

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. / Here to my right, moved to the East Room for this occasion, the portrait that hangs in the Roosevelt Room. Teddy Roosevelt, rough-rider, on horseback -- advocate of what he called "the strenuous life." // Our second portrait, on permanent display 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 56, 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.

# # #

Finally, rural America does believe in liberty and democracy. Freedom-loving people everywhere are following the news reports from behind what used to be called the Iron Curtain. In fact, I read that the first thing to sell out in West Berlin on the day the Wall came down wasn't TV's or denim jeans. It was fresh fruit. In Romania, citizens knew freedom had arrived because for the first time in many years they saw food on the grocery store shelves. We reap what we sow, says the Bible, and what a bountiful harvest we are witnessing. It is a harvest of joy and opportunity that we will continue to support and encourage every step of the way. And let me add: this harvest is not just happening in Eastern Europe. Let's help the countries to our south so that this hemisphere will be the first totally democratic hemisphere in the entire world.

I know I don't have to tell you this, but let me just tell you from the bottom of a grateful heart that I am mighty proud of our courageous fighting men who have helped Panama. And the joy shown by the people of Panama says it all, right there in the streets of Panama City.

And so, as I conclude my comments to the Farm Bureau, I can tell you I am optimistic about the coming decade, for I believe in the wisdom of our policies; I believe in the providence of the Almighty; and most importantly, I believe in the tough resiliency and the moral strength of the American people. Throughout our history, farmers—many in this room—have weathered disaster; and each time, like steel forged in a white-hot furnace, you are stronger with each testing by fire.

In the "Dirty Thirties" swirling clouds of dust ruined hundreds of farmsteads on the Great Plains. Many of the Dust Bowl farmers stayed on the land, and today their descendants have invented conservation techniques to catch and preserve the winter snows and the spring rains to carry their crops through the hot plains summer—a triumph of human courage and ingenuity. In the 1970's, an unheard-of disease, the southern corn leaf blight, swept through the fields of the Midwest. In a few days, the tall, green, tasseled corn was devastated, as if someone had taken a blowtorch to it. Over that winter, scientists and farmers developed resistant corn varieties in time for the next spring planting. A national food disaster was stopped dead in its tracks—a triumph of faith, science, and inventiveness.

And today, at the daybreak of the new decade, I want rural America to share in the promise and prosperity of our great nation. And in the months and years to come, as we approach the horizon of the new century, may we all share in the opportunity and optimism of a world at peace.

Thank you, and God bless the United States of America. Thank you very, very much.

Note: The President spoke at 10:47 a.m. in Hall D of the Orange County Convention/ Civic Center. Following his remarks, he toured the Land and the Living Seas Pavilions at EPCOT Center and then returned to Washington, DC.

Remarks Introducing the Presidential Lecture Series

January 7, 1990

Professor Donald and Mrs. Donald; Mr. Chief Justice and Mrs. Rehnquist; Chief Justice Burger, I understand, is here; Secretary Cheney and the Honorable Lynne Cheney; distinguished Members of the Congress; General Powell, let me welcome you to the White House. And Barbara and I are very pleased to have you here. It's a privilege.

We're proud to host this lecture on the Presidency of the United States. And this is the first in a series of lectures on the men who have held this office. And it seeks to make them come alive: What were they like? How did they live? How was history, the history of America's house, molded by their dreams? To occupy this office is to ask those questions and certainly to feel a kinship with those who have gone before, for each in his own way sought to do right and thus achieve good. And each felt a sacred trust with every American and often wondered, I suspect, how they could be worthy of that trust.

Perhaps no President had greater doubts or more brilliantly resolved them than the subject of this inaugural lecture: Abraham Lincoln, of Illinoi
abolished slavery,
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tested before or si
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did; we revere hi
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and humility. He
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Tonight we have
man who undoubt
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Professor of Ame
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Illinois, where he
Lincoln scholar J.D
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America's 16th Pre

Earlier, I spoke
David Donald wo
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down to the Linc
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two of his generals
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Lincoln, of Illinois. As President, Lincoln abolished slavery, and he saved the Union. Perhaps no leader has been so severely tested before or since. And yet we remember Abe Lincoln not merely for what he did; we revere him for what he was. Lincoln was a strong man—an arm wrestler, a rail splitter—and yet also a mix of kindness and humility. He was at once a hard and gentle person, a man of grief and yet of humor; for he knew, as he told Secretary of State Seward, that if he did not tell stories, he felt his heart would break.

Tonight we have with us a distinguished man who undoubtedly will tell stories. His name is David Donald, the Charles Warren Professor of American history at Harvard University. A native of Mississippi, Mr. Donald graduated from the University of Illinois, where he was a student of the great Lincoln scholar J.D. Randall. He has taught at some of America's greatest universities and has written eight books about Lincoln and the Civil War, twice receiving the Pulitzer Prize in biography. Moreover, our guest is now working on a new biography of America's 16th President.

Earlier, I spoke of kinship. Well, I'm sure David Donald would agree any President's kinship with Lincoln is perhaps the most personal of all. So often Barbara and I go down to the Lincoln bedroom, which then served as Lincoln's cabinet room and office. And on his desk, to the left of the fireplace, is an original copy of the Gettysburg Address, written in his hand, which you will see in the East Room. And on the mantel is a plaque marking an equally noble legacy—here the great unifier signed the Emancipation Proclamation.

Yet perhaps nowhere do we learn more about Lincoln even now than in a portrait that I talked about last month off the coast of Malta before meeting Chairman Gorbachev. It is, as this one is, by George Healy and hangs on the wall of my office upstairs. And in it you see the agony and the greatness of a man who nightly fell on his knees to ask the help of God. The painting shows two of his generals and an admiral meeting near the end of a war that pitted brother against brother. And outside at the moment a battle rages. And yet what we see in the distance is a rainbow—a symbol of hope, of the passing of the storm. The painting's name: "The Peacemakers." And for me, this is a constant reassurance that the cause of peace will triumph and that ours can be the future that Lincoln gave his life for: a future free of both tyranny and fear.

One hundred twenty-nine years ago, leaving Springfield to assume the Presidency, Lincoln addressed his home people at Great Western Railroad Station. And he told them, "All the strange checkered past seems to crowd now upon my mind." Even now, the memory of Abraham Lincoln crowds upon our minds. It's a great privilege then to introduce a man who has devoted his lifetime to the study of its tragedy and its glory, one of the great scholars of perhaps our greatest President, Professor David Donald. And thank you, sir, for being with us.

Note: *The President spoke at 5:30 p.m. in the State Dining Room at the White House. In his opening remarks, he referred to Secretary of Defense Richard B. Cheney; Lynne V. Cheney, Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities; and Gen. Colin L. Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The remarks were released by the Office of the Press Secretary on January 9, 1990.*

Remarks at a Signing Ceremony for the Martin Luther King, Jr., Federal Holiday Proclamation

January 9, 1990

Well, let me salute Dr. Hooks, the able head of the NAACP. And I see our Director, Bill Bennett, here, and many others. Connie Newman is here somewhere. I see Dorothy Height, Art Fletcher, and Josh Smith, and others. But I want to welcome you to the White House—pardon the slight delay there—and bemoan the fact that some of the young people that were to be here couldn't make it because of the bus schedules and the weather.

This is an event that celebrates the greatness of a man whose life and legacy helped set America free. I refer, of course, to Dr. Martin Luther King. He would have been 61 years old next Monday. Since 1986 this

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George Washington

1789–97

Nineteenth-century Americans apotheosized George Washington (1732–99); many people regarded him as little short of divine. Mason Locke ("Parson") Weems, Washington's first biographer, called him a demigod and insisted that he possessed all the virtues. "It is hardly an exaggeration," wrote Weems in 1800, "to say that Washington was pious as Numa; just as Aristides; temperate as Epictetus; patriotic as Regulus; in giving public trusts, impartial as Severus; in victory, modest as Scipio; prudent as Fabius; rapid as Marcellus; undaunted as Hannibal; as Cincinnatus disinterested; to liberty firm as Cato; as respectful of the laws as Socrates."[1] In February 1832, during the centennial celebration of Washington's birthday, John Quincy Adams heard a sermon which, he thought, "exalted the character of Washington perhaps too much. There were close approaches to the expression of the belief that there was something supernatural in his existence. There seemed little wanting to bring out a theory that he was a second Savior of mankind. That he had a charmed life, and was protected by a special Providence, was explicitly avowed as a belief."[2]

When William Thackeray used Washington as a character in *The Virginians* (1857–59), many Americans were horrified. "Mr. Thackeray," said one critic, "should never have ventured upon bringing Washington into his story further than to permit him to cross the stage and be seen no more."[3] Another critic was appalled that Thack-

eray had portrayed Washington "like other men" in his novel. "Why, this is the essence of falsehood," he exclaimed. "Washington was not like other men; and to bring his lofty character down to the level of the vulgar passions of common life, is to give the lie to the grandest chapter in the uninspired annals of the human race."[4] Horatió Greenough's huge marble statue of Washington, presenting him as an old Roman, stripped to his waist, with a toga draped over his knees, balancing a sword, and sitting on a Roman chair, raised an even greater storm than Thackeray's novel when it was unveiled in the Capitol Rotunda in 1841. "Our people," said architect Charles Bulfinch, "will hardly be satisfied with looking on well-developed muscles when they wish to see the great man as their imagination has painted him. I fear that this [statue] will only give the idea of entering or leaving a bath. If I should give my advice, it would be to send the statue to Athens, to be placed in the Parthenon with other naked great men." The statue was not sent to Athens; but eventually it was put away in the basement of the Smithsonian Institution, where it could embarrass the nation no longer.[5] Nathaniel Hawthorne was amused by all the commotion. "Did anybody ever see Washington nude?" he asked playfully. "It is inconceivable. He had no nakedness, but I imagine he was born with his clothes on, and his hair powdered, and made a stately bow on his first appearance in the world."[6]

Even Americans who did not deify Washington were awed by his presence. In 1787, when the Constitutional Convention was meeting in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania's Gouverneur Morris boasted to Alexander Hamilton that "he could be as familiar with Washington as with any of his other friends." Hamilton replied, "If you will, at the next reception evening, gently slap him on the shoulder, and say, 'My dear General, how happy I am to see you look so well,' a supper and wine shall be provided for you and a dozen of your friends." Morris accepted the challenge. On the evening agreed upon a large number of people were present when Morris entered the room, bowed, shook hands with Washington, laid his left hand on the latter's shoulder, and said, "My dear General, I am very happy to see you look so well!" Washington, according to one report, "withdrew his hand, stepped suddenly back, fixed his eye on Morris for several minutes with an angry frown, until the latter retreated, abashed, and sought refuge in the crowd. The company looked on in silence." At the supper to which Hamilton treated him afterward,

Morris said ruefully: "I have won the bet, but paid dearly for it, and nothing could induce me to repeat it!"[7] It is not surprising that when Chief Justice John Marshall, no sentimental filiopietist like Parson Weems, came to write a serious biography of the Father of His Country, it turned out to be "a Mausoleum," as John Adams put it, "100 feet square at the base, and 200 feet high." No wonder Gertrude Stein said: "She is very sleepy. George Washington."[8]

Washington was dignified enough, and certainly worthy of the highest respect. As Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army during the American Revolution, he performed heroically to overcome heartbreaking difficulties in furtherance of the American cause; he was probably indispensable to the winning of American independence from Britain in 1783. His stern refusal to seize power in the chaotic period toward the end of the war, despite suggestions that he do so, was important to the triumph of civilian government in America. His presence at the Constitutional Convention of 1787 and his firm support of the Constitution that emerged from it were crucial to the experiment in republican government that was launched in 1789. And as first President of the United States, he showed a great deal of common sense, pursuing policies that enabled the new republic to get off to a good start. He made mistakes, of course, both as Continental Commander and as President. But most of the time he showed sound judgment; and his devotion to the public good in all exigencies was unwavering. Even Thomas Jefferson (who disagreed with him politically) and John Adams (who was irked by his fame and popularity) could not help being impressed by him.

Washington was impressive all right; but he was never as stiff, formal, cold, aloof, and impersonal as legend has pictured him. As a young man, he engaged in derring-do like any romantic hero; he was eager to prove himself as a fighter and so was careless of his own safety in the midst of battle. All his life, moreover, he had an eye for good-looking women, with whom he liked to flirt. He had an earthy sense of humor, growing out of his experiences as a Virginia farmer-planter, and was not put off by the subject of sex. He also liked good food and wine, enjoyed card-playing, horse-racing, and fox-hunting, and had a great passion for the theater. At his wife Martha's tea parties, he circulated with obvious pleasure among the ladies and impressed John Adams's wife Abigail as being "polite with dignity, affable without familiarity, distant without haughtiness, grave without austerity, modest, wise, and good."[9]

But Washington's teeth eventually did him in. Later in life he suffered frequently from toothaches; finally he had his teeth pulled and a plate made for him by a silversmith. But his first dentures were so ill-fitting that he could barely close his lips when wearing them, and it was extremely difficult for him to smile. When portraitist Gilbert Stuart came to paint him, he emphasized the severe lines on Washington's mouth produced by his false teeth—perhaps deliberately. Washington did not enjoy sitting for portraits, with the result that he and Stuart seemed not to hit it off very well. At one point, in an effort to put Washington at ease, Stuart remarked, "Now, sir, you must let me forget that you are General Washington and I am Stuart the painter." But Washington's mild and apparently well-intentioned reply—"Mr. Stuart need never feel the need for forgetting who he is and who General Washington is"—irritated him. As a result, Stuart, possibly out of sheer pique (according to biographer James Thomas Flexner), accentuated the distortions of Washington's mouth in his famous portrait, thereby distorting Washington the man in the eyes of future generations of Americans.[10] For Washington was far from being the stiff, awkward, glum, square-jawed stuffed shirt who peers at us from Stuart's portrait. The anecdotes which follow (except for Parson Weems's goody-goody fabrications) show him to be a many-sided individual possessing kindliness as well as reserve, playfulness as well as dignity, and passionate feeling as well as prudent restraint.

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George's Apple

One morning in the fall of 1737, according to Parson Weems, Mr. Washington took little George by the hand and led him and his cousin to a nearby orchard whose trees were laden with apples. "Now, George," said his father, "look here, my son! don't you remember when this good cousin of yours brought you that fine large apple last spring, how hardly I could prevail on you to divide with your brothers and sisters; though I promised you that if you would but do it, God Almighty would give you plenty of apples this fall." Poor George, says Weems, could not say a word; but "hanging down his head, looked quite confused, while with his little naked toes he scratched in the soft ground." Then, lifting his eyes, "filled with

shining moisture," to his father, he softly said, "Well, Pa, only forgive me this time; see if I ever be so stingy any more."[11]

The Cherry Tree Story

When George was about six years old, Parson Weems tells us, he was made "the wealthy master of a *hatchet!*" of which, like most boys, he was immoderately fond; he was constantly going about chopping everything that came his way. One day, he unluckily tried the edge of his hatchet on the body of a beautiful young English cherry tree, which he "barked so terribly" that he ruined it. The next morning, George's father discovered what had happened to his tree and was filled with sorrow and anger. Presently George and his hatchet made their appearance. "George," said Mr. Washington sternly, "do you know who killed that beautiful little cherry-tree yonder in the garden?" This, says Weems, was a *tough question,* and George staggered under it for a moment; but quickly recovered himself, and, looking at his father "with the sweet face of youth brightened with the inexpressible charm of all-conquering truth," he bravely cried out: "I can't tell a lie, Pa; you know I can't tell a lie. I did cut it with my hatchet." "Run to my arms, you dearest boy," cried his father in transports, "run to my arms; glad am I, George, that you killed my tree, for you have paid me for it a thousand fold. Such an act of heroism in my son, is worth more than a thousand trees, though blossomed with silver, and their fruits of purest gold."[12]

The Coonskin

The story of George and the coonskin is no more probable than the apple and cherry-tree stories, but it provides a welcome relief from Parson Weems's fables. One day, the story goes, Washington, a young surveyor in the employ of Lord Fairfax, walked into a tavern and demanded a dram of whiskey. The liquor was placed before him, but when he went to pay for it, he found he had no money. Undismayed, he drew a coonskin from his bag; the innkeeper accepted this in payment for the drink and returned 158 rabbit skins in change. George was so pleased—by both the drink and the change the inn-keeper gave him—that he proceeded to treat everybody in the tavern and kept on treating them until the last rabbit skin had been returned over the bar.[13]

The Charm of Bullets

In August 1754, the *London Magazine* quoted young Washington's remark after a skirmish with the French and Indians at Great Meadows: "I heard the bullets whistle, and, believe me, there is something charming in the sound." Commented King George II dryly: "He would not say so, had he been used to hear many." Years later, when someone asked Washington whether he had said he found charm in the whistling of bullets, he is supposed to have replied: "If I said so, it was when I was young."[14]

Apology

In 1754, when Washington was a colonel stationed with his men in Alexandria, there was an election for members of the Virginia Assembly, and a man named William Payne opposed the candidate supported by Washington. At one point, according to a popular story, Washington got into a heated argument with Payne about the election and said something extremely offensive to him. In a fury, Payne knocked Washington to the ground. But when Washington's men came running up, determined to avenge their commander, Washington intervened and persuaded them to return peacefully to the barracks. Early the next morning he sent Payne a note requesting his presence at the local tavern as soon as possible. Payne went to the tavern expecting a duel. To his surprise, he saw wine and glasses instead of pistols. Washington rose to meet him and, smiling, offered his hand. "Mr. Payne," he said, "to err is nature; to rectify error is glory. I believe I was wrong yesterday; you have already had some satisfaction, and if you deem that sufficient, here is my hand—let us be friends." From then on, ends the story, happily enough, Payne was an enthusiastic admirer of Washington.[15]

The Sorrel Story

When Washington was a boy, according to Martha's grandson, G. W. P. Custis, his mother owned a blooded brood stallion with a fierce and ungovernable nature. Several people had tried without success to ride him. Washington determined to master the horse. Aided by some friends, he bridled him and leaped astride him. The furious horse tried to unseat the young rider, but Washington clung

tightly to his seat. A long and stormy struggle ensued. Finally, says Custis, "the gallant horse, summoning all his powers to one mighty effort, reared, and plunged with tremendous violence, burst his noble heart, and died in an instant." A little later, at breakfast, Mrs. Washington asked about the horse. "Your favorite, the sorrel, is dead," Washington told her regretfully. "Dead!" she exclaimed, "Why, what has happened?" Washington then told her what had taken place. His mother was silent for a moment, then said: "It is well; but while I regret the loss of my favorite, *I rejoice in my son, who always speaks the truth.*"[16]

Continental Commander

In June 1775, a few weeks after the skirmish at Lexington and Concord, John Adams got up in the Continental Congress, meeting in Philadelphia, to nominate a Commander-in-Chief for the Continental forces. John Hancock, who as president of Congress was in the chair, thought that Adams intended to name him, so he listened with mounting satisfaction as Adams outlined the superior qualifications needed by the new commander. "Gentlemen," exclaimed Adams finally, "I know these qualifications are high, but we all know they are needful in this crisis in this chief. Does any one say they are not to be obtained in this country? In reply, I have to say they are; they reside in one of our own body—" At this point, Hancock could scarcely conceal a smile. But when Adams went on to say, "—and he is the man whom I now nominate—George Washington," Hancock's face fell with a sudden thud. Adams said afterward that he had never seen anyone's expression change as quickly as Hancock's did that day. Washington himself was apparently startled at Adams's choice, for he jumped up and left the room in a hurry. Later on, after Congress voted unanimously to accept Adams's nomination, Washington, "with a tear glistening in his eye," told Patrick Henry: "This will be the commencement of the decline of my reputation."[17]

Out of His Depth

While Washington was out riding one day with his aide-de-camp, Colonel David Humphreys, the latter, knowing how proud the General was of his riding, offered him a bet that he would not follow him over a tall hedge. Washington accepted the challenge. Hum-

phreys led the way and took the leap boldly, but, to his consternation, discovered that he had mistaken the spot and was deposited on the other side, up to his horse's girth, in a quagmire of mud. Washington either knew the ground better or had suspected something, for, following at an easy pace, he reined up at the hedge and, looking over at his engulfed aide, exclaimed: "No, no, Colonel, you are too *deep* for me!"[18]

Receiving Fire

One evening, as Washington sat at the table after dinner, the fire behind him flared up, leading him to say that it was too hot and he'd better move. When someone said it behooved a general to stand fire, Washington retorted that it didn't look good for a general to receive it from behind.[19]

The Valley Forge Prayer

One of the most delightful of all the fanciful anecdotes narrated by Parson Weems has to do with the Quaker who abandoned his pacifism after hearing Washington pray. In the winter of 1777, Weems tells us, while Washington, with the American army, lay encamped at Valley Forge, "a certain good old FRIEND, of the respectable family and name of Potts, if I mistake not, had occasion to pass through the woods near headquarters. Treading his way along the venerable grove, suddenly he heard the sound of a human voice, which, as he advanced, increased on his ear; and at length became like the voice of one speaking much in earnest. As he approached the spot with a cautious step, whom should he behold, in a dark natural bower of ancient oaks, but the commander in chief of the American armies on his knees in prayer! Motionless with surprise, friend Potts continued on the place till the general, having ended his devotions, arose, and, with a countenance of angelic serenity, retired to headquarters. Friend Potts then went home, and on entering his parlour called out to his wife, 'Sarah! my dear Sarah! all's well! all's well! George Washington will yet prevail!' 'What's the matter, Isaac?' replied she, 'thee seems moved.' 'Well, if I seem moved, 'tis no more than what I really am. I have this day seen what I never expected. Thee knows that I always thought that the sword and the gospel were utterly inconsistent; and that no man could be a

soldier and a Christian at the same time. But George Washington has this day convinced me of my mistake.' Friend Potts then related what he had seen, and concluded with this prophetical remark: 'If George Washington be not a man of God, I am greatly deceived—and still more shall I be deceived, if God do not, through him, work out a great salvation for America.' "[20]

Washington at Monmouth

In July 1778, British forces left Philadelphia and started northward through New Jersey toward New York. Washington followed and, on the twenty-eighth, forced them to fight at Monmouth. The Americans might have won except for the blundering of General Charles Lee. Instead of attacking, as Washington had ordered, Lee gave several confusing commands and then retreated. Washington was furious when he saw his men retreating; riding up to Lee, he cried, "What is the meaning of this, sir?" Lee did not reply, and Washington again exclaimed, "I desire to know the meaning of this disorder and confusion!" Lee then angrily said that "the American troops would not stand the British bayonets," and Washington snapped back, "You damned poltroon, you have never tried them!" In the end, Washington managed to halt the retreat and save the day for his army, but the opportunity to destroy a large part of the British force was lost. After the battle, Lee was suspended from his command for a year. Lafayette, who witnessed the exchange between Washington and Lee, said later that it "was the only time I ever heard General Washington swear" and that his fury at Lee's behavior was terrible to behold.[21]

Quarrel with Hamilton

In February 1781, Alexander Hamilton, one of Washington's aides since 1777, had a quarrel with the Commander-in-Chief that led to his resignation. "The General and I passed each other on the stairs," Hamilton recalled; "he told me he wanted to speak to me. I answered that I would wait on him immediately. . . ." He then went downstairs to give Tench Tilghman, a fellow aide, a letter he was waiting for; as he was about to go up to Washington, he was stopped on the stairs by Lafayette, and they "conversed together a minute." When he finally came into Washington's room, Washington

exclaimed angrily, "Colonel Hamilton, you have kept me waiting at the head of the stairs these ten minutes. I must tell you, sir, you treat me with disrespect!" "I am not conscious of it, sir," replied Hamilton, "but since you have thought it necessary to tell me so, we part." "Very well, sir," returned Washington, "if it be your choice."

An hour later Washington sent Tilghman to Hamilton to tell him he was sorry the outburst had occurred and that he was willing to forget it. But Hamilton refused to reconsider his resignation; the most he would do was agree to stay on until Washington found a replacement for him. Hamilton was too ambitious to be satisfied as a mere aide-de-camp; he was also anxious for active duty. In the end, Washington, who had great affection for Hamilton, overlooked his young aide's rudeness and gave him an active command. Hamilton served at Yorktown.[22]

Yorktown

When General Charles Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown in October 1781, Washington insisted that "the same honors shall be granted to the surrendering army as were granted to the garrison of Charleston." He was thinking of the humiliation General Henry Clinton had inflicted on American forces when General Benjamin Lincoln surrendered Charleston, South Carolina, to the British in 1780 and his refusal to accord them "the honors of war" at the surrender ceremony. The minute Cornwallis heard of Washington's decision, he announced that he was ill and would send Brigadier General Charles O'Hara in his place. At the ceremony, O'Hara tried to hand his sword over to the French rather than to the Americans, but Washington thereupon refused to accept it. He also forced O'Hara to surrender to General Lincoln, the officer whom Clinton had insulted at Charleston. After all, if Cornwallis was to be represented at the surrender by a deputy, the American commander would be too![23]

Yorktown Toasts

After the British surrender at Yorktown, Washington invited Cornwallis and his officers to dinner. "The United States!" toasted French commander Rochambeau. "The King of France!" toasted Washington. "The King!" toasted Cornwallis. To which Washington is said to have added: "Of England! Confine him there and I'll drink him a full bumper!"[24]

Franklin's Toast

Benjamin Franklin, as American minister to France, attended a diplomatic dinner in Paris shortly after Yorktown. The French foreign minister, Vergennes, opened the dinner by toasting his King in champagne: "His Majesty, Louis the Sixteenth, who, like the moon, fills the earth with a soft, benevolent glow." The British ambassador then rose to give his toast: "George the Third, who, like the sun at noonday, spreads his light and illumines the world." Then the aging Franklin rose and exclaimed: "I cannot give you the sun nor the moon, but I give you George Washington, General of the armies of the United States, who, like Joshua of old, commanded both the sun and the moon to stand still, and both obeyed."[25]

Refuses a Crown

Conditions in America after the victory at Yorktown were far from reassuring. Inflation was rampant, and the expression "not worth a Continental," referring to paper money issued by the Continental Congress, began circulating. Army pay was months in arrears and, since Congress seemed incapable of meeting its financial obligations, many soldiers faced the prospect of returning to civilian life, upon the disbanding of the army, without money or jobs. Overcome by the apparent hopelessness of the situation, Colonel Lewis Nicola of Pennsylvania wrote Washington a letter on May 22, 1782, in which he proposed that the Commander-in-Chief seize power with the help of the army, make himself king or dictator, and establish a strong, stable government able to meet its financial obligations. "Republican bigots," said Nicola, would undoubtedly consider his plan as "meriting fire and fagots" if they got wind of it, but he trusted Washington to keep it in strict confidence until the time came to act.

Washington did keep Nicola's scheme in strict confidence; but he also rejected it at once with scorn and contempt. "With a mixture of great surprise and astonishment," he told Nicola, "I read with attention the sentiments you have submitted to my perusal. Be as-

sured, Sir, no occurrence in the course of the War, has given me more painful sensations than your information of there being such ideas existing in the Army as you have expressed, and I must view [them] with abhorrence and reprehend with severity. . . . I am much at a loss to conceive what part of my conduct could have given encouragement to an address which to me seems big with the greatest mischiefs that can befall my Country. If I am not deceived in myself, you could not have found a person to whom your schemes were more disagreeable. . . . Let me conjure you then, if you have any regard for your Country, for yourself or posterity, or respect for me, to banish these thoughts from your Mind, and never communicate, as from yourself, or any one else, a sentiment of like nature."

That was the end of Nicola's scheme. In a state of extreme agitation, Nicola dashed off a letter of apology to Washington for having made such proposals. Then, worried lest this letter had been too confused, he sent off another imploring Washington to clear him of "every suspicion of harbouring sinister designs." Still reeling from the impact of Washington's reply, he wrote again to disavow the ideas he had advanced in his first letter. He took no part in the Newburgh crisis which developed a few months later.[26]

The Newburgh Crisis

During the winter of 1782–83, as the American people awaited the final conclusion of peace with Great Britain, the officers at Washington's headquarters in Newburgh, N.Y., became increasingly restless. Despite considerable pressure, Congress still had not raised money to pay their salaries; it also showed signs of going back on its promise to give them pensions when they left the service after the peace treaty was signed. The situation at Newburgh was potentially explosive and Washington knew it. Instead of going to Mount Vernon for a few weeks, as he had originally planned, he decided to remain in Newburgh that winter.

Washington's fears turned out to be well-founded. On March 10, 1783, anonymous papers began circulating in the Newburgh camp, calling for a mass meeting of the officers to discuss their grievances and plan strong action of some kind. Washington denounced the proceedings as "irregular and disorderly" and called a meeting of his own for Saturday, March 15, at noon. When he met with his officers on that day, he faced, for the first time in his career, a

sullen and hostile audience. In his address, he did his best to bring his men to their senses. He promised to do everything humanly possible to see that they received their just dues from their civilian superiors in Congress. He also urged continued patience with Congress which, he explained, moved slowly, like all deliberative bodies. "By thus determining and thus acting," he said in conclusion, the officers would "afford occasion for posterity to say, when speaking of the glorious example you have exhibited to mankind, 'had this day been wanting, the world had never seen the last stage of perfection to which human nature is capable of attaining.' "

But the officers were unmoved by Washington's plea. The chill in the room was unmistakable. Then, remembering that he had brought with him a letter from a Congressman promising speedy action on the officers' grievances, Washington took it out of his pocket to read. At this point, he seemed bewildered, paused for a moment as though he were having difficulty with the letter, and then reached into his pocket again and took out a pair of eyeglasses. Apologizing for the interruption, he remarked quietly: "I have already grown gray in the service of my country. I am now going blind." His remark stunned the officers. "Never, through all the war, did his Excellency achieve a greater victory than on this occasion," said General Philip Schuyler afterward. "The whole assembly were in tears at the conclusion of his address." According to David Humphreys, it was "a proud day" for the army; Washington appeared "unspeakably greater" on this occasion "than ever he did before." After Washington left, the officers voted unanimously to follow his advice. "I have ever considered," wrote David Cobb, one of Washington's aides, many years later, "that the United States are indebted for their republican form of government solely to the firm and determined republicanism of General Washington at this time."[27]

Resigns Commission

After the signing of the peace treaty with Britain, Washington had a farewell meeting with his officers in New York and then went to Annapolis to surrender the commission he had accepted from Congress eight years before. At noon on December 23, 1783, he entered the Hall of Congress, crowded with spectators, civilian and military, and took the place assigned him. After a brief pause, Thomas Mifflin, president of Congress, announced that Congress was ready to receive

his communication. Washington thereupon rose and began reading his prepared address: "The great events on which my resignation depended, having at length taken place, I now have the honor of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them, to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country." With increasing emotion, he continued for a few brief paragraphs, paused for a moment to regain his composure, then concluded simply: "Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and, bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life." Delivering his commission to the president, he returned to his place and received, standing, the response of Congress, delivered by Mifflin. After listening quietly to some words of praise, he left. The next morning he hastened down to Mount Vernon. "The scene is at last closed," he wrote Governor Clinton of New York. "I feel myself eased of a load of public care. I hope to spend the remainder of my days in cultivating the affections of good men, and in the practice of the domestic virtues."[28]

The Ragged Boys

Once, after the Revolution, it is said, Washington was staying in an inn in Boston where General Howe had once lodged. He supposedly got into a conversation with a little girl there. "You have seen the soldiers on both sides," he said; "which do you like best?" The little girl said she liked the redcoats best. Washington laughed and said: "Yes, my dear, the redcoats do look the best, but it takes the ragged boys to do the fighting."[29]

Washington Makes Up His Mind

Shortly after the Revolution, young Albert Gallatin (later Jefferson's Secretary of the Treasury) went to Virginia to buy some land in the western part of the state. While there he attended a meeting to select a pass for a road through the Allegheny Mountains, presided over by Washington. Gallatin was impressed by the care with which the former Revolutionary commander interrogated the settlers and hunters in the region, but he was put off by Washington's delay in

settling on what was clearly the best route to follow. Suddenly he pointed impatiently to the only pass on the map that seemed practicable and cried: "Oh, it is plain enough!" The room became silent. Washington himself paused, laid down his pen, and, obviously offended, looked up sternly at the young Frenchman for a moment. Then he resumed his inquiries. But after a few minutes he stopped abruptly, threw down his pen, and, looking at Gallatin, announced: "You are right, sir!" Reflected Gallatin later: "It was so on all occasions with General Washington. He was slow in forming an opinion, and never decided until he knew he was right."[30]

Royal Gift

In 1786, the King of Spain presented Washington with two high-born jackasses. One died en route to America, but the other, an enormous creature of pure Andalusian breed which Washington named Royal Gift, was taken to Mount Vernon, where a large harem of mares awaited him for breeding mules. But when a mare was placed in Royal Gift's paddock, he sniffed at her gingerly and then turned away. After exposing him to a long succession of mares without rousing his passions, Washington began wondering whether the jackass was impotent, too "full of Royalty to have anything to do with a plebeian race" of Americans, or, like the Spanish King himself, too old to react speedily to "female allurements." But at length he discovered a way of tricking Royal Gift into performing. He introduced him to "the excitements of a female ass"; then, when the royal beast began to "evidence desires to which he [had] seemed almost a stranger" before, he quickly removed the donkey and substituted a mare.[31]

National Defense

When the Constitutional Convention got around to discussing the power of Congress to raise an army, one of the delegates moved "that the standing army be restricted to five thousand men at any time." Washington was amused by the motion, but as chairman could not offer a motion himself. Instead, he whispered to one of the delegates sitting near him that they had better amend the motion so as to provide that "no foreign army should invade the United States at any time with more than three thousand troops."[32]

Cooling Things

After his return from France, Thomas Jefferson asked Washington at breakfast one morning why the Constitution-framers had agreed to a second chamber in Congress at the 1787 convention. "Why did you pour that coffee into your saucer?" Washington asked him. "To cool it," said Jefferson. "Even so," said Washington, "we pour legislation into the senatorial saucer to cool it."[33]

The First Inauguration

At sunrise on April 30, 1789, thirteen guns sounded at the southern end of Manhattan; a little later Washington rose and began preparing for the day's festivities. He had his hair powdered, donned a brown suit with buttons decorated with spread eagles, and put on white silk stockings and shoes with silver buckles. He also got out his dress sword. By the time he had eaten breakfast, church bells were ringing and people were gathering before his house.

A few minutes after noon, a delegation from Congress arrived to escort the President-elect to Federal Hall. Washington bowed, shook hands, entered a grand coach drawn by four fine horses, and, at twelve-thirty, started off amid cheering crowds. At Federal Hall he got out of the carriage, walked through the ranks of militiamen lined up outside, entered the building, and was escorted to the Senate Chamber, where the Senators, members of the House of Representatives, foreign diplomats, and other dignitaries awaited him. Vice-President–elect John Adams formally welcomed him, then announced: "Sir, the Senate and the House of Representatives are ready to attend you to take the oath required by the Constitution. It will be administered by the Chancellor of the State of New York." "I am ready to proceed," replied Washington. Adams bowed and led him into a small half-enclosed portico overlooking Wall and Broad streets. In front of him was a small table draped in red on which lay a large Bible on a crimson velvet cushion. The streets below were crowded with people; so were the windows and rooftops of all the adjoining buildings.

As Washington appeared on the portico, a great shout went up. Washington bowed three or four times, put his hand on his heart, and finally sat down in an armchair next to the table. A moment later he arose, moved to the railing where he could be seen by as

many people as possible, and prepared to take the oath of office. The crowd became suddenly still. The Secretary of the Senate raised the Bible, and Chancellor Robert R. Livingston came forward to administer the oath. Washington put his hand on the Bible, and Livingston asked: "Do you solemnly swear that you will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and will, to the best of your ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States?" "I solemnly swear," replied Washington, repeating the oath and adding "So help me God," then bent forward to kiss the Bible. "It is done," announced Livingston; turning to the crowd below, he shouted: "Long live George Washington, President of the United States!" The crowd echoed his cry, the flag was raised on the cupola of Federal Hall, thirteen guns sounded on the Battery, and church bells began tolling. After bowing several times to acknowledge the congratulations of the spectators, Washington re-entered the Senate Chamber, took his seat on the dais there, and waited for people to resume their places. As he rose to read his inaugural address, all the spectators rose with him; and after he bowed, they sat down again.

In his inaugural address, which he delivered in a deep, low, tremulous voice, Washington called on "that Almighty God who rules over the universe" to help the American people find "liberties and happiness" under "a government instituted by themselves" and urged a spirit of moderation in the years ahead. "This great man," observed Pennsylvania Senator William Maclay, "was agitated and embarrassed more than ever he was by the leveled cannon or pointed musket. He trembled, and several times could scarce make out to read. . . ." His face, according to another observer, was "grave almost to sadness" throughout. While Washington was speaking, he moved his manuscript nervously from his left to his right hand, put several fingers of his left hand in the pocket of his breeches, and, at one point, made a flourish with his right hand which "left a rather ungainly impression." Maclay, disappointed at Washington's delivery, "felt hurt that he was not first in everything." But most people were deeply moved by the address. "It seemed to me," said the famous orator Fisher Ames afterward, "an allegory in which virtue was personified, and addressing those whom she would make her votaries. Her power over the heart was never greater."

After his inaugural, Washington walked with other public officials to St. Paul's Chapel to hear services performed by the Chaplain of

Congress. After church he dined at home and in the evening joined friends in observing the illumination of the city and the display of fireworks. After it was all over he wrote his friends: "I greatly fear that my countrymen will expect too much from me."[34]

First Reception

After he became President, Washington began holding three kinds of official receptions: "levees" on Tuesdays for men only; Martha's tea parties for both men and women on Fridays; and official dinners on Thursdays. At the first levee, David Humphreys, Washington's aide, arranged for the guests to assemble in what he called the "presence chamber," and then he took Washington to the door, threw it open, and shouted: "The President of the United States!" According to Jefferson, Washington was so unnerved by Humphreys's ceremonial arrangements that he felt ill at ease throughout the reception. When it was over he told his aide angrily: "Well, you have taken me in once, but by God, you will never take me in a second time!" After that, the receptions were not so ceremonious, though they never became informal.[35]

On Time

When Washington invited people to his official dinners, he expected them to be on time. Once a Congressman arrived late and found everyone at the table. "We are obliged to be punctual here," Washington told him. "My cook never asks whether the company has arrived, but whether the hour has."[36]

Advice and Consent

On Saturday, August 22, 1789, Washington went to the Senate Chamber with Secretary of War Henry Knox and announced that he had called to receive "advice and consent" on some provisions in a treaty with the Creek Indians. He handed Vice-President Adams some papers, and Adams read from them to the Senators. Unfortunately, carriages driving by outside made him almost inaudible; and when he had finished, Robert Morris asked that the papers be read again. Adams at once obliged, then asked: "Do you advise and consent?" There was a moment of silence. Then William Maclay said that

the Senate needed more information and asked for additional documents. Washington "wore an aspect of stern displeasure" while Maclay was speaking. The Senate decided to postpone the first article of the treaty and move on to the others. After more debate Morris moved that the treaty be referred to a committee. Washington "started up in a violent fret" at this and cried: "This defeats every purpose of my coming here!" But he finally agreed to postponing the discussion until Monday and withdrew "with a discontented air."

On Monday Washington returned to the Senate Chamber. He was now "placid and serene, and manifested a spirit of accommodation." But a long, tedious debate on two of the treaty's provisions left him completely frustrated. Leaving the chamber, he reportedly exclaimed that "he would be damned if he ever went there again!" He never did. Though the Senate eventually approved the treaty with only minor revisions, Washington stopped trying to consult personally with the Senators about treaties. Instead, he sent the Senate written messages. Subsequent Presidents have followed his precedent.[37]

Pacifism

When Philadelphia Quaker Warner Mifflin visited the President to discuss slavery with him, he was treated with "kindness and respect" and reported afterward that Washington showed some understanding of the Friends' pacifist policy during the Revolution. "Mr. Mifflin," Washington asked at one point, "will you please to inform me on what principle you were opposed to the revolution?" "Yes, friend Washington," replied Mifflin, "upon the same principles that I should be opposed to a change in this government—all that ever was gained by revolutions are not an adequate compensation to the poor mangled soldier for the loss of life or limb." After a moment's pause, Washington declared: "Mr. Mifflin, I honor your sentiments; there is more in that than mankind have generally considered."[38]

Poses for Life Mask

Once Washington posed for a life mask by the young American artist Joseph Wright. "He oiled my features over," Washington recalled, "and, placing me flat upon my back upon a cot, proceeded

to daub my face with the plaster. Whilst in this ludicrous attitude, Mrs. Washington entered the room, and seeing my face thus overspread with the plaster, involuntarily exclaimed. Her cry excited in me a disposition to smile, which gave my mouth a slight twist or compression of the lips that is now observable in the busts which Wright afterwards made."[39]

Loses His Temper

In November 1791, an American army under General Arthur St. Clair operating in the west was ambushed by Indians and cut to pieces. Washington had warned St. Clair against surprise, and the news came as a terrible blow. He was entertaining guests at dinner when a messenger arrived with a dispatch. He left the table, read it and then returned without any signs of agitation. When the guests moved to the drawing room, he "spoke courteously to every lady in the room, as was his custom"; afterward, alone with his secretary, Tobias Lear, he still struggled for self-control. He "walked backward and forward for some minutes" without speaking; then he "broke out suddenly in bitter lamentations." In a renewed effort at self-control, he "walked about the room several times, agitated but saying nothing," then "stopped short and stood still a few seconds, when his wrath became terrible." In a paroxysm of anguish, he struck his fists against his forehead and "hurled imprecations upon St. Clair." He then sat down, remaining still for a few moments; and finally, having gained control of his emotions, said quietly: "This must not go beyond this room." After another pause, he said: "General St. Clair shall have full justice." Later on, he expressed sympathy for St. Clair in his terrible "misfortune."[40]

Controls Temper

Washington's "features," said painter Gilbert Stuart, "were indicative of the strongest and most ungovernable passions. Had he been born in the forests, he would have been the fiercest man among the savages." Talking one day to General "Light Horse Harry" Lee, Stuart happened to remark that Washington had a terrible temper but held it under wonderful control. General Lee reported the remark to the Washingtons at breakfast a few days later. "I saw your portrait the other day, a capital likeness," said Lee, "but Stuart says you

have a tremendous temper." "Upon my word," said Mrs. Washington, coloring, "Mr. Stuart takes a great deal on himself, to make such a remark." "But stay, my dear lady," said General Lee, "he added that the President had it under wonderful control." With something like a smile, Washington remarked, "He's right."[41]

Recommendation

In the summer of 1797, the French revolutionist Constantin Volney visited Mount Vernon at the beginning of a tour of the United States; before leaving he asked Washington for a general letter of recommendation to the American people. Anxious to avoid any controversy over the Frenchman, who was a freethinker, Washington simply wrote on a sheet of paper: "C. Volney needs no recommendation from Geo. Washington."[42]

Fireman

Washington, it is said, was an enthusiastic fireman. He began running to fires when he was a boy and was still running to them in his old age. Only a few months before his death, he was riding down King Street in Alexandria when a fire was discovered near the market. He stopped his horse at once and yelled to some men who stood idly by: "It is your duty to lead in such matters! Follow me!" Throwing his reins to his servants, he leaped to the ground and began pumping the engine, into which a few boys were languidly dumping buckets of water. Cheering citizens rushed to aid him, and within a few minutes the old engine was throwing the highest stream that had ever gushed from its pipe.[43]

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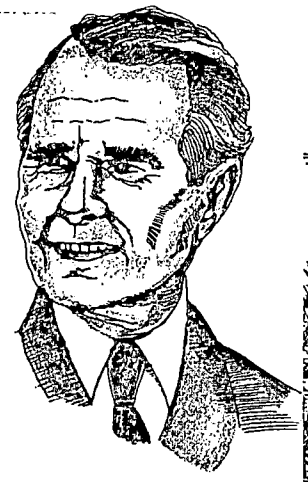

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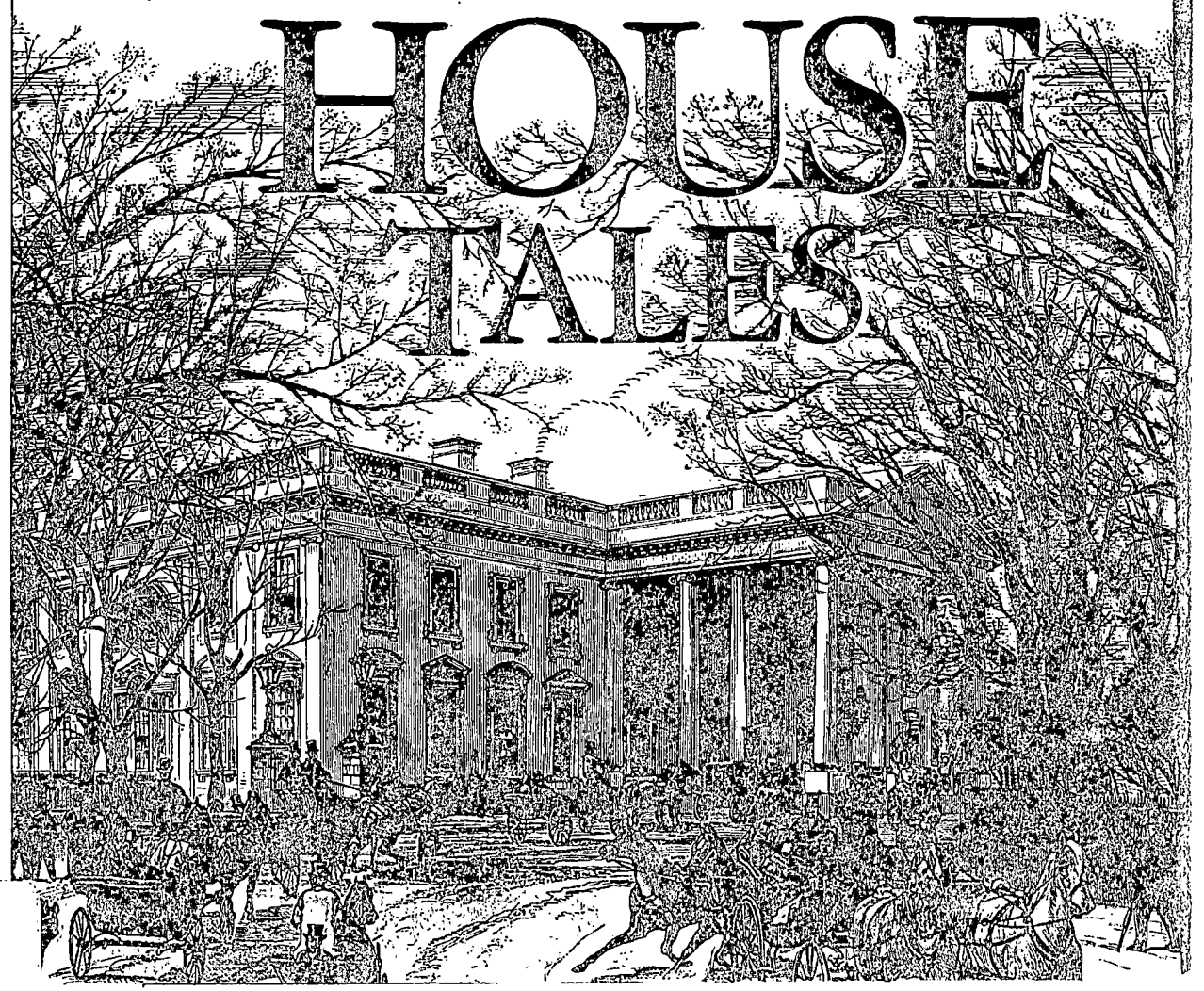
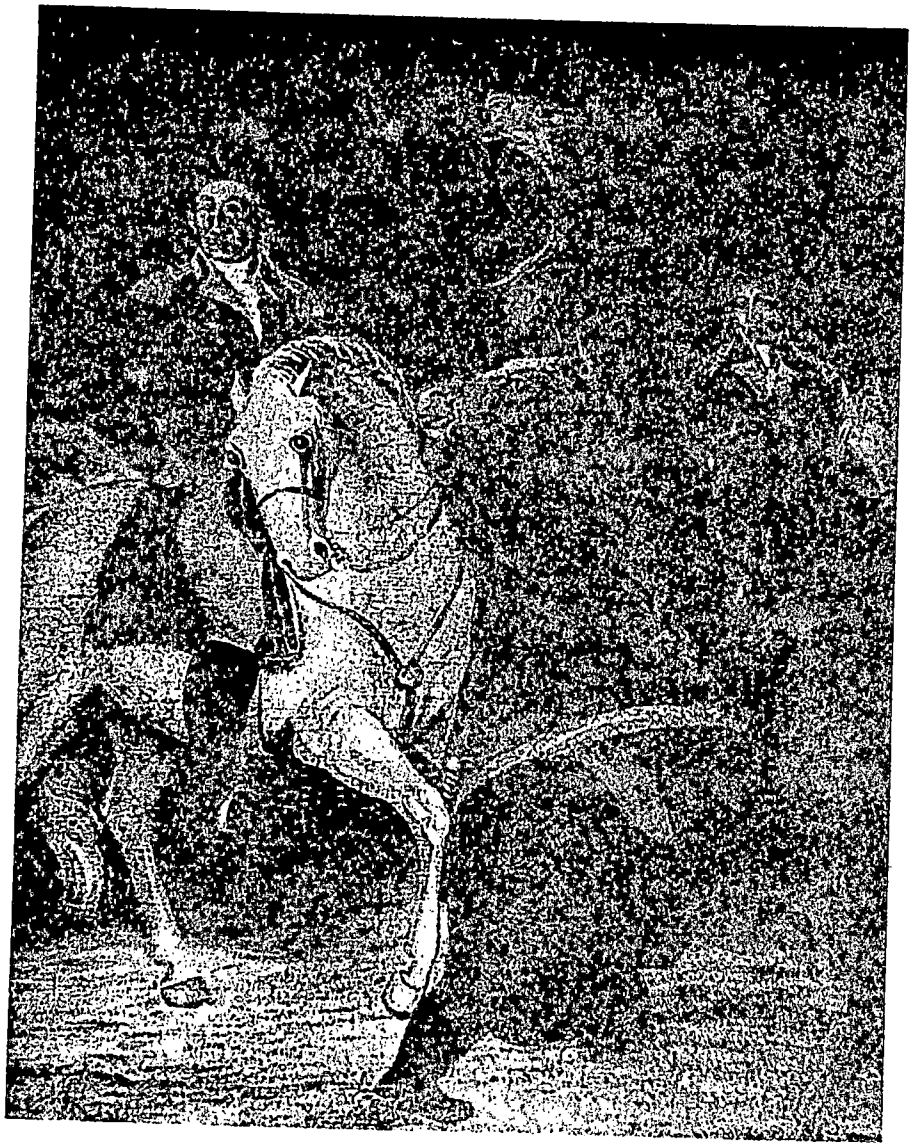




Primitive painter Edward Hicks captured George Washington's famous cocked hat and big white horse on canvas in 1776. [NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY]

CHAPTER

1

Miraculous Escapes Led George Washington to See Himself as "Special"

December 23, 1753, found a tall "district adjutant" slowly making his way toward "the forks of the Ohio," where Pittsburgh is now situated. Wearing what he called "an Indian dress," twenty-two-year-old George Washington, who had volunteered for the mission, pushed deeper into French-controlled territory every day.

Not yet a soldier, his mission was that of messenger empowered to deliver to the French an ultimatum demanding that they stop encroaching upon English-held territory.

At Will's Creek on the Potomac, Washington had recruited Christopher Gist to serve as his guide. With an interpreter and four frontiersmen, they pushed across the ridges of the Alleghenies where, writing to Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia, the young adjutant reported in November that "Waters were quite impassible without swimming our Horses."

Swollen rivers forced the tiny party of Englishmen to build a crude raft on which they hoped to float to French-held Fort Le Boeuf. When the raft turned over in icy waters, Washington was the only man in the party who could not swim. However, although thrown into ten feet of ice-filled water in the Allegheny River, he somehow escaped unhurt.

Later in the same expedition an Indian employed by Washington as a guide turned out to be allied with the French. Suddenly he ran fifteen paces ahead, then turned to fire at the tall Virginian. Historian James T. Flexner writes that "the bullet moved through utter emptiness without changing the history of the world."

Twice saved from death "by the grace of God and the skin of the teeth," the grateful young adventurer pondered the meaning of his strange deliverances. The first volume of his writings includes reflec-

tions that exclaim, "See the wondrous works of Providence! The uncertainty of human things!"

May 1754 saw the man who had survived against great odds volunteer to lead a company of men to establish an outpost against the French. Commissioned a lieutenant colonel, Washington led a surprise attack upon the enemy. During the sharp skirmish, one man close to him was killed; several others were wounded. Having deliberately exposed himself to enemy fire, Washington jubilantly wrote to his brother, "I have heard the bullets whistle, and, believe me, there is something charming in the sound."

Two months later, British Colonials under Edward Braddock, with Washington as second in command, met the French head-on in the battle of Fort Duquesne. In the thick of fighting Washington's attention was caught by a firm yank upon his coat. Looking down, he found that the garment had been ripped by French bullets.

Still, he tried to persuade Braddock to let him lead their men forward and fight the enemy Indian style. Braddock shook his head but signaled that officers were to ride ahead of the tiny band of enlisted men. As they rode, Braddock was shot from the saddle, Washington's hat was knocked from his head by a bullet, and his horse was shot from under him.

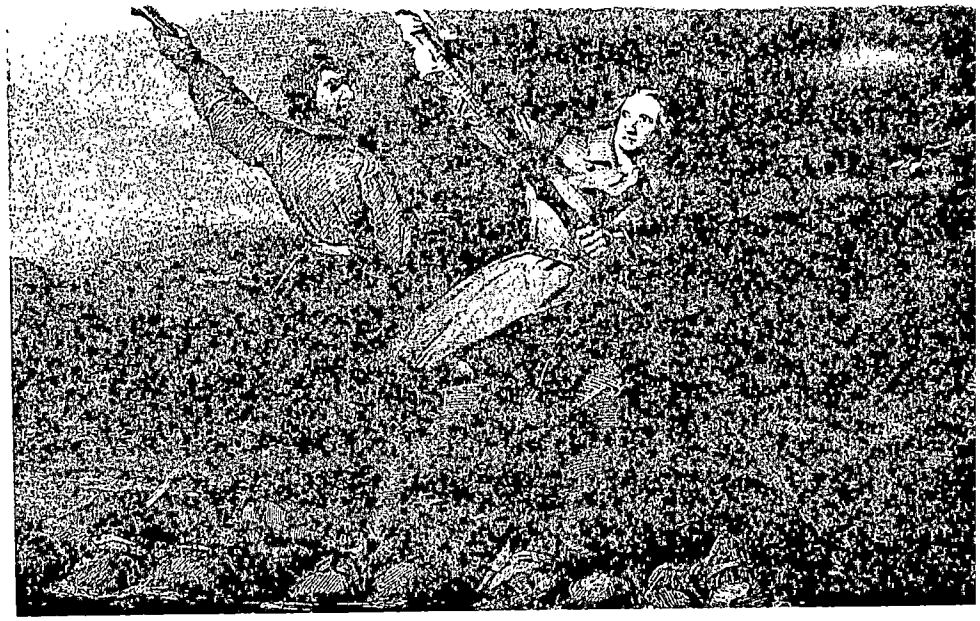
When General Braddock died, Washington ordered him buried in the center of the road. Then he had wagons run back and forth over the grave to prevent the Indians from discovering it. Though unhurt during the campaign, Washington had to jump from the saddle twice when horses were shot from under him, and he counted at least four bullet holes in his clothing.

Rumor said that Washington had been killed, but when the twenty-three-year-old heard it, he wrote to his brother to deny the report.

Washington's awe and delight never became stale. Thirty years later, near the end of the American Revolution, he was still incredulous at "the miraculous care of Providence, that protected me beyond all human expectation."

Fighting in mid-September 1755, Washington's green troops turned and ran without firing a shot at the French and their Indian allies. Soon he was alone in a crossroad, with about fifty enemy soldiers advancing at a run from a distance of approximately eighty yards. Washington sat calmly, looking at them, until aides galloped up, seized the bridle of his horse, and hurried him from what appeared to be certain death.

While leading a rescue party on the same expedition, he was caught directly in the line of fire. His men were firing upon troops they



"Washington Crossing the Allegheny River," (Denison Kimberly engraving, 1842). Artist incorrectly depicted young Washington as accompanied on the raft only by Christopher Gist. [LIBRARY OF CONGRESS]

thought to be enemies, but Washington heard a familiar voice and realized that the targets were members of his own Virginia regiment.

Immediately, their leader dashed on foot between the two bands of men and used his sword to knock firearms upward. Bullets whizzed about his head so rapidly that before he made the two groups understand what they were doing, fourteen lay dead and twenty-four were wounded.

George Washington, who had been in the center of fire from both directions, had nary a scratch.

Ironically, Washington never knew of his most bizarre escape from death. In the 1940s Major Reginald Hargreaves spent many years "prowling through vast mazes of uncatalogued material in London's Public Record Office." When he turned his attention to "an especially dusty corner," Hargreaves uncovered a document that tells the story of that escape. Early American accounts of the Revolution include only a tantalizing hint about this, buried in volume four of John Andrews' *History of the Late War* (1786).

Heading mostly still raw recruits, Washington went on reconnaissance on September 7, 1776. He wanted to know whether units at Chad's Ford on Brandywine Creek would be able to stop British

troops. In characteristic fashion, he mounted his easily recognized horse and with only one aide rode out to check his advance units.

British companies were encamped just four miles from the vital ford. Early on the morning of Washington's foray, three Redcoats were on patrol far ahead of their own lines.

Major Patrick Ferguson, in charge of the British band, was a famous sharpshooter, as well as the renowned inventor of a light breech-loading rifle. While demonstrating his weapon for King George III, Ferguson had hit the bull's-eye at 100 yards—lying flat upon his back. According to Ferguson's meticulously written account, the British spotted two Americans. One of the riders was recognized to be a man of great importance because he wore "a remarkably large cocked hat" such as no enlisted man or petty officer would be permitted to use.

Patrick Ferguson signaled to his men to shoot them as soon as they came in range. Suddenly and unaccountably, he changed his mind, stepping out and shouting a demand for surrender. At the sound of the Englishman's voice, the rider wearing the big cocked hat wheeled his horse and raced for cover.

"I could have lodged half a dozen balls in him," Ferguson wrote, "but it was not pleasant to fire at a man's back, so I let him alone."

George Washington, who did not recognize the peril, rode back to camp to continue his long uphill fight for American freedom.

Collectively, Washington's incredible deliverances had a powerful influence upon his life. Pondering the meaning of these incidents, he concluded that his marvelous escapes from death meant that Providence had special plans for him.

As a consequence, his diaries and letters are liberally sprinkled with comments about the way in which "Providence has saved us in a remarkable manner"—plus references to "the hand of Providence" and "the finger of Providence."

Never a devout churchman, Washington nevertheless said of his own leadership of the emerging United States, "At best I have only been an instrument in the hands of Providence." He even went so far as to register his belief that Americans fighting for independence were brought to "an awful crisis" so that the work of Providence in effecting deliverance would be more conspicuous.

Could George Washington have led untrained colonial troops to victory against seasoned veterans in British ranks if he had lacked a sense of having been especially chosen for divine guidance and protection?

That question—not subject to an unqualified answer—is seldom raised. But it is central to the story of the fight for American independence.

CHAPTER

2

Andrew Jackson's Skinny Body and Loose Coat Saved His Life

"Your conduct and expressions, relative to me of late, l been of such a nature and so insulting, that it requires shall have my notice," began a formal letter penned on May 22, 1

Gen. Thomas Overton, an intimate friend of Andrew Jackson, man who had written the words, hand delivered the message to sw buckling young Charles Dickinson of Nashville, Tennessee.

Dickinson's insults—earlier directed largely against Rachel J son—"must be noticed and treated with the respect due a gentlen although in the present instance you do not merit it," continued message from the future president.

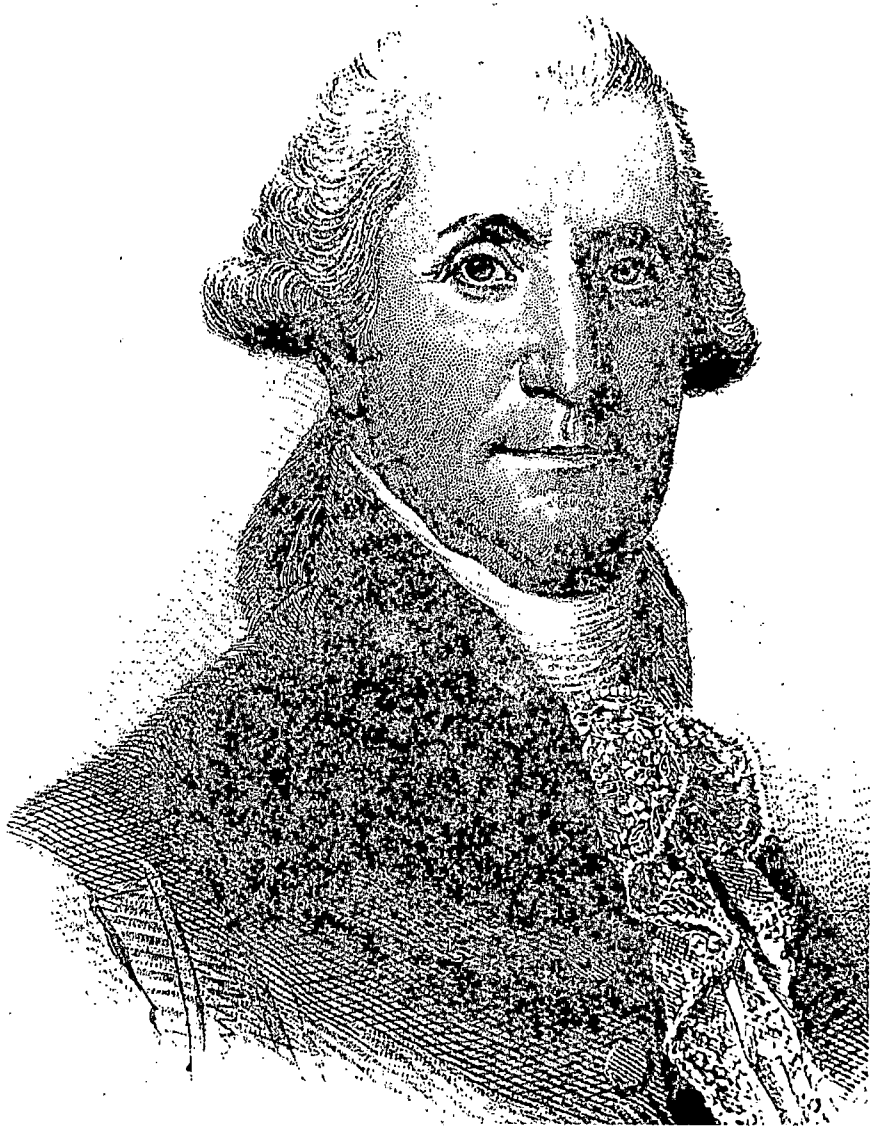
"I hope, sir, that your courage will be an ample security to me tl will obtain speedily that satisfaction due me for insults offered."

On what was then the brawling southwestern frontier of the Ur States, *satisfaction* meant only one thing: pistols at dawn.

Dickinson had hoped for weeks that his prodding would lead challenge. At age twenty-five—a dozen years younger than Jacks he was rated an expert with the pistol. A recent lengthy visit to Orleans had reputedly been spent largely in practice with hand g

Back in Nashville, Dickinson had picked up the *Impartial Re* newspaper and in it read a letter from Jackson to Thomas Sw Challenged by Swann, the man destined to become the hero o battle of New Orleans had refused to fight. Swann was not a tleman, he said; hence, he was not eligible for an affair of hono

Admitting that he had caned Swann, Jackson wrote that he d because the youth was "the puppet and lying valet for a worth drunken, blackguard scoundrel"—his father-in-law, Charles E who purportedly had given Jackson worthless notes in paymen losses in a horse race.



George Washington.

CHAPTER

16

The Father of His Country Could Not Satisfy His Own Mother

Mary Ball Washington, mother of George, is sometimes depicted as "an American madonna." Such a portrayal overlooks the fact that in 1743 she sent her fatherless boy of eleven away from home and spent much of the rest of her life quarreling with him. As a result she got respect, but little love, from her son who was destined to become "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

Joseph Ball, grandfather of George Washington, came from England as a young man and sired a large family. When Mary was three her father died and left her 400 acres of land, fifteen cattle, three slaves and enough feathers to be made into a bed.

As other relatives died and left money, land, or both to her, the young woman accumulated "a very tidy estate." She rode on a silk plush saddle, but didn't marry until age twenty-three, long past the prevailing age for Virginia brides of her time.

Augustine Washington, known to his friends as Gus, was a widower with four children when he married Mary Ball in 1730. George, first of six children from the new union, made his arrival at 10:00 A.M. on February 11, 1732, according to the calendar then in use. He was born in a brick farmhouse in Westmoreland County, Virginia.

Gus Washington, who died when young George was eleven, had accumulated a substantial amount of property, which he carefully divided among his many children.

Little George got Ferry Farm and a tract of unimproved land, ten slaves, three lots in Fredericksburg, and a few miscellaneous bequests. It would be more accurate to say that he was supposed to get those items; actually, his mother took control and refused to part with them. George did not gain possession of Ferry Farm for nearly thirty years.

Then, and for the duration of his life, George Washington's dealings with his mother constituted "the most serious problem in his personal relations," according to historian–biographer James T. Flexner. Although in the new nation she was idealized as the perfect American mother, actually, says *The American Heritage Pictorial History of the Presidents*, "she was querulous and illiterate, and resented George's success because she felt that he neglected her."

A childhood playmate of the future first president remembered, "I was ten times more afraid of her than I ever was of my own parents."

Careful study of family documents reveals that George's mother tried to prevent him from doing anything that she didn't consider likely to benefit her. That is regarded as a major reason for her stubborn refusal to participate in any "big event" in George's life.

Some of George's moments of special triumph Mary Washington bypassed were: her son's appointment as adjutant general of Virginia (1752); his elevation to formal command of Virginia forces protecting the frontier against the French and Indians (1755); his seating in the Virginia House of Burgesses (1758); his seating in the First Continental Congress (1774); his elevation to rank of commander-in-chief of the colonial army (1775); and, finally, his inauguration as president of the United States (1789).

From early childhood, George Washington reacted to his mother very sharply. During his career as soldier and first president, he was constantly in conflict with her.

During the thirty years of her son's marriage to Martha Custis, Mary Ball Washington never visited Mount Vernon, perhaps because she was never invited to do so.

George Washington's letters, papers, and account books fill many printed volumes. But this voluminous material includes few references to his mother that fail to reflect impatience, bitterness, or outright anger at her.

A letter written in May 1749 to his half-brother Lawrence complains that he is unable to travel from Ferry Farm—legally owned by him, but actually controlled by his mother—because he doesn't have money to buy corn for his horse.

It was Lawrence who bought the estate destined to be a national monument. George Washington first occupied Mount Vernon as a tenant, paying his half-brother's widow annual rental of 15,000 pounds of tobacco. He didn't purchase the property until 1775.

Four years earlier, his mother had finally left Ferry Farm and moved into Fredericksburg. George rented some land from her, and "when he paid her what he owed for rent, he carefully noted in his account book the name of the witness in whose presence the payment was made."

Invariably, Washington's letters to his mother address her as "Honour'd Madam" and end with "Yr. most Dutiful and Obedt. Son." Actually, he was anything but dutiful and obedient. Had he been, the story of this nation—and of the world—might have been different.

Mrs. Washington violently resisted her son's decision to take part in the French and Indian War. When he donned his uniform over her protests, her nagging letters followed him along the frontier. Once, in 1755, he wrote from camp to say he couldn't provide her with either a "Dutch man" to oversee her plantation, or with butter, "for we are quite out of that part of the country where either are to be had, as there are few or no Inhabitants where we now lie Encamp'd, and butter cannot be had here to supply the wants of the Camp."

Late in 1755 the Virginia Assembly offered Washington the rank of colonel and the command of a regiment. He took the post in spite of "a hundred objections" from his mother, then curtly wrote her that "the eternal dishonour" of refusing such a post would give her greater uneasiness than his "going in an honourable Command."

Years later, instead of rejoicing at George's prominence in the American Revolution, Mary Washington remained stubbornly uncomplimentary about her son's leadership. She was so critical that many who knew her regarded her as a Tory, a supporter of the British cause.

While George was busy fighting the British, his mother greatly embarrased him by asking the Virginia Assembly to give her a pension. He learned of the matter in 1781 and wrote to Virginia lawmakers: "Before I left Virginia, I answered all her calls for money, and since that period I have directed my Steward to do the same. Whence her distress arises, therefore, I do not know."

Washington did not like to engage in a face-to-face confrontation with his mother. Hence, he often used his brother John Augustine, four years his junior, as go-between. The death of the mediator in January 1787 led to a direct clash of personalities. Like many other skirmishes between Mary Washington and her famous son, trouble erupted over money.

Initially, she had written to George asking for cash. He sent her fifteen guineas and said it was all he had available. Then he reminded her of her ingratitude for the way he had looked after her needs. Actions of his mother caused him "to be viewed as a delinquent son, and considered, perhaps by the world, as unjust and undutiful."

Mary Ball Washington seems again to have hinted that she would like to come to Mount Vernon, for her son and daughter-in-law were thrown into a state of near panic. After they had talked at length, he wrote his mother a long letter.

Even while on his death bed, George Washington was unable to forget his mother's ill temper and continued demands for money.

"Candor requires me to say that [my house] will never answer your purpose in any shape whatever," he began. Then he proceeded to list the many reasons she would find life at Mount Vernon wholly unsatisfactory. His own household situation, insisted Washington, would force his mother to do one of three things: "First be always dressing to appear in company; second to come into the room in dishabille; or, third, to be as it were a prisoner in your own chamber."

Since no alternative was satisfactory, his letter concluded it was simply out of the question even to think of having her under his own roof.

As death approached the iron-willed woman, she couldn't forget that, after all, George was both her first child and her oldest son. So in her last will and testament she dictated, "I give to my son, General George Washington, all my land in Accokeck Run, in the County of Stafford, and also my negro boy George. Also my best bed, bedstead, and Virginia cloth curtain, my quilted blue-and-white quilt, and my best dressing gown."

History does not record what George Washington did with the items he received as bequests. But the weight of evidence suggests that he may have handled them much as he did a letter his mother wrote him seven years earlier acknowledging that she "gott the 2 five ginnes you was soe kind to send me."

The man who led his countrymen to freedom didn't even acknowledge his mother's communication. He simply endorsed it, "From Mrs. Mary Washington 13 Mar. 1782," and put it away.

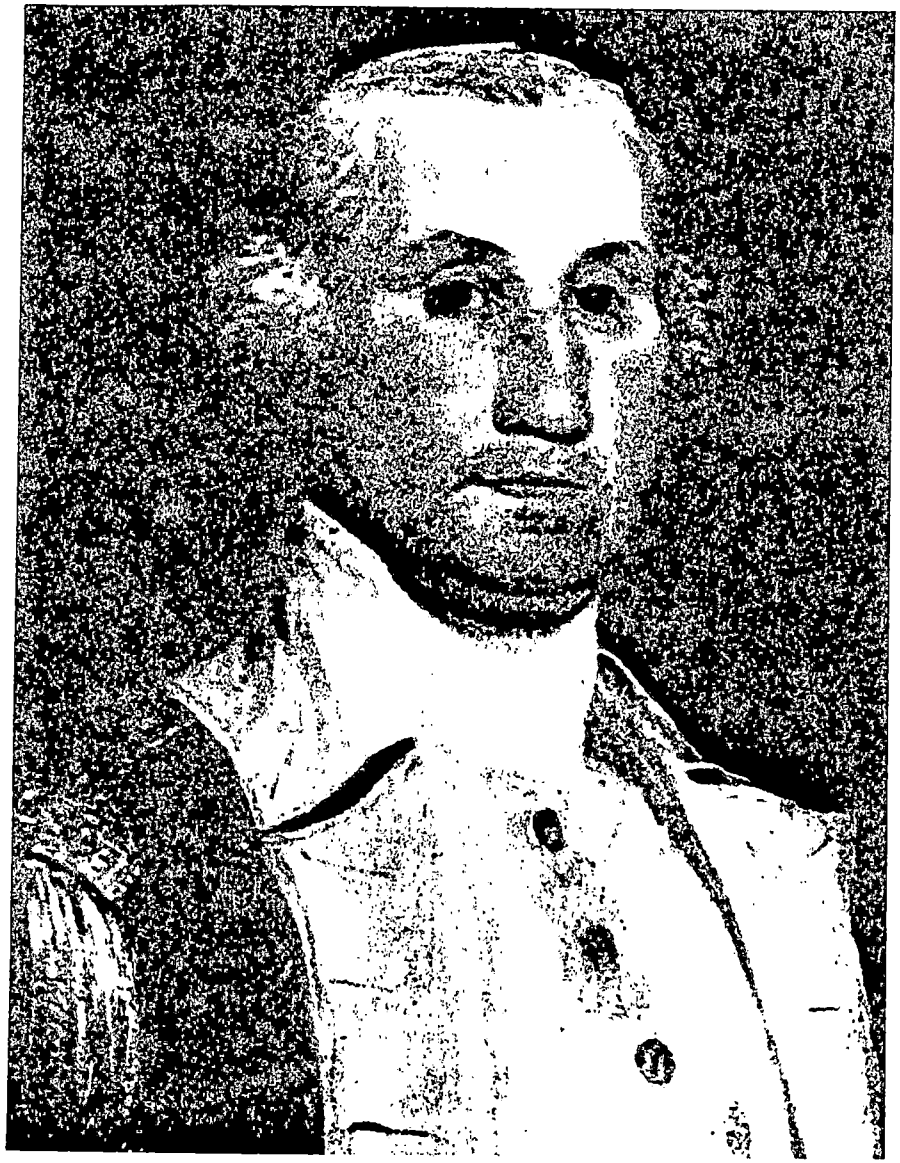
Years earlier, though, George Washington's strong-willed and illiterate mother had an impact far greater than either she or he realized at the time.

When George was fourteen, his half-brother Lawrence sent him word that Captain Green of the British Royal Navy was in need of a midshipman. A naval career offered a great many advantages, Lawrence pointed out. So George responded with eager interest, hoping soon to join His Majesty's Navy as a midshipman, the first step of a lifelong career, if just one hurdle could be crossed.

That hurdle was his mother.

Mary Washington pondered the plan, briefly seems to have come close to approval of it, then "hardened her opposition" to the idea of sending her firstborn to sea. Eventually, she flatly refused to give George permission.

Had the decision of his mother been different in 1746, the outbreak of the American Revolution might have found George Washington fighting against his countrymen as a career officer of the British Navy.



George Washington angrily refused to become King George I.

CHAPTER
25

Having Defeated the British, George Washington Refused to Become King

The defeat of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown in October 1781 left Americans victorious, but in deep trouble. There was no central government, simply a loose confederation of former colonies. In Philadelphia the situation was desperate, for the Continental Congress in session was unable even to collect customs duties.

Historian James T. Flexner calls the lawmaking body of the nation that was coming into being "as helpless as a turtle that had been turned over on its back." There was no real central authority; each former colony continued to operate independently.

Military grievances were numerous, widespread, and deep-seated. Many men had not been paid for months and there was no certainty that they ever would collect what was owed to them since many now-independent colonies were deeply in dept.

Former Continental Congressman William Duer of New York surveyed the future and saw "a prospect of obscurity if not of actual want" for men who had fought through the Revolution as officers.

Although there was widespread talk about forming a strong republic, no machinery existed for choosing a head of such a nation. Every European nation then was ruled by a sovereign, not an elected official, and most Americans had spent their lives in the British tradition, where a monarchy was taken for granted.

Hence the period just after the Revolution was perhaps the most dangerous hour of what was to become the United States of America. As yet, there was no nation and no guidelines for forming one.

However, ideas were quickly being formed about what kind of head the new nation should have. Col. Lewis Nicola, a former officer held in high esteem by General Washington, sent his commander-in-chief a seven-page document. It pointed out that veterans had little hope of being properly rewarded by the Continental Congress. Hence 65-year-

old Nicola, who had found backing among both military leaders and civilians, offered a way out of the political and economic quagmire.

His "scheme" for obtaining the just dues of the army—his primary objective—was simple. America, he believed, should be organized as a monarchy, with the commander-in-chief of military forces serving as king. Washington, he suggested, should take the title of George I.

It was a popular, but not original, idea. Baroness Riedesel, wife of a captured Hessian general, complained about being kept awake all night by singing Americans shouting, "God save great Washington! God damn the King!" That song indicated that many persons had already accepted, in principle, the substitution of George Washington for England's King George III.

Alexander Hamilton had gone on record as supporting the idea of "a limited monarchy." Baron von Steuben, a revered veteran of the Revolution, wanted a king for the nation he had helped to liberate.

Bands of patriots in New York City had earlier made known their desire to put George Washington upon a throne. General Benjamin Tupper, an outspoken advocate of a king, had warned that a republic could easily fall apart, while a monarchy would be stable.

In this climate, George Washington took quick and decisive action. On May 22, 1782, the day he received Nicola's proposal, he sent a formal reply. He considered his response so important that when it was sealed, fellow officers signed their names to a statement that it had been sent. This was the only time during the entire Revolution that Washington insisted upon written witnesses of this sort.

He told Nicola that he read the proposal "with a mixture of great surprise and astonishment." No event of the long war, he said, brought him more pain than learning "of there being such ideas existing in the Army as you have expressed."

He scolded Nicola for having communicated these ideas and said he viewed the entire proposal with abhorrence. What's more, he promised that he would keep the entire matter confidential. He wanted no one to hear of it who was not already a part of the plan.

"Let me conjure you then," he told his subordinate, "if you have any regard for your Country, concern for yourself or posterity, or respect for me, to banish these thoughts from your Mind, and never communicate, as from yourself, or any one else, a sentiment of like Nature."

Long ago, historian Benjamin J. Lossing pointed out that "the annals of the nations cannot present a parallel" to George Washington's refusal to let followers and admirers make him a king. His quick response put a stop to any military plan to stage a coupe.

Yet the man destined to become an elected president instead of a king was keenly aware that the liberated colonies were "on the road to

Along the route that Washington took to his first inauguration, people insisted upon making preparations "suitable for a monarch."

dictatorship." In the chaos of new-found liberty, multitudes were eager to follow anyone who seemed to offer strength and stability.

Years after Washington's refusal to become a king, there still was strong support for estabishment of an American monarchy. Such views were not limited to veterans and ordinary citizens; they were held by top elected delegates to conventions and congresses. Washington himself confessed that "even respectable characters speak of a monarchial form of Government without horror."

As late as 1788 memories of the Nicola offer were still alive, although Washington said he'd "quite forgotten about it" by then and could not "recall it to mind without much difficulty."

Even those who drafted the document that welded once-separate colonies into a coherent nation leaned in favor of a powerful chief executive. For a time it appeared that this person would be formally addressed as Excellency; the title of president of the United States was adopted only after long and heated debate.

During the two centuries in which the Constitution has been in force, the powers of the chief executive have been defined and solidified many times. Frequently, as a result of an audacious move by a daring leader, but also as an effect of what many analysts term "institutional hardening," the never-ceasing power struggle between Congress and the president has more often than not been lost by lawmakers.

Hence, additional tales in this section deal with dramatic and long-lasting events whose net effect has been to give the president of the United States vastly more power than that now exercised by such monarchs as those who hold titular authority over Great Britain and Japan. If George Washington could analyze the office he helped to create, he would find it hard to believe what has taken place.

CHAPTER

26

The First President Also Was the First to Flex His Muscles

Indignantly refusing even to consider the idea of becoming King George I, George Washington had no competitor when the nation chose its first chief executive. President Washington spent eight years in the capitals—New York and Philadelphia—and exercised his constitutional authority to the limit. In addition, he managed to do some highly significant things for which he had no legal authority.

In the spring of 1794, the chief executive signed an act of Congress that placed a new excise tax upon liquor. Money from that fresh source was badly needed to reduce the national debt.

However, especially in four counties of western Pennsylvania, sturdy Scotch-Irish farmers did not look kindly upon edicts from the new capital. For decades they had been converting their rye into whisky and selling it untaxed. That excise tax upon domestic distilled liquors was an affront; they did not intend to see it collected.

Therefore, when officers were sent to enforce the new law, resistance swelled to the level of riots, and then of armed rebellion, against the federal government. Meanwhile, citizens of neighboring sections of Virginia had joined in the violent protest.

With Congress not in session, President Washington called upon Governor Mifflin of Pennsylvania to put down the disturbances. Mifflin haughtily refused. So George Washington issued a proclamation demanding that the insurgents obey the new law. Simultaneously, he sternly called upon the governors of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia to provide armed forces to number at least 13,000 men.

When the chief executive got word that men involved in the Whisky Rebellion numbered about 16,000, he called for 2,000 more soldiers to meet them in battle, if necessary.

Gen. Henry Lee of Virginia, placed in command of the federal body, marched toward the troubled region. At many points he found

liberty poles erected; some had placards reading "Liberty! and no Excise!" George Washington had been burned in effigy at some population centers.

Although they had talked a strong fight, leaders of the internal rebellion capitulated when George Washington's army began pouring into their section. They were forced to accept the federal statutes, unmodified, and to swear their fidelity to the laws of the land.

Washington had led colonial forces that fought against British taxation; to him, it was a different matter entirely when his own citizens threatened to fight a tax of which he had approved. His actions, taken without congressional approval, effectively crushed the first major challenge to the authority of the federal government.

Once the Whisky Rebellion collapsed, the first president again took matters into his own hands. He issued a blanket pardon to the rebels on July 10, 1795, again without having consulted Congress except in unofficial ways. Lawmakers were highly insulted; they created such turmoil that George Washington was forced to appear before them in person to explain his actions and to ask for their approval after the fact.

Although the cost of putting down the Whisky Rebellion was estimated at $1,500,000, the president's actions with respect to it could be interpreted by his admirers as having been within the "reasonable power of the chief executive."

Not so his undercover dealings by which he managed to locate the new capital almost exactly where he wanted it. Powerful industrial and banking interests wanted the federal government to remain in what is now the Northeast. Members of the New York legislature thought they had gained a big advantage over competitors when in 1783 they offered to Congress "a separate district for the Honorable Congress": one square mile within the town limits of Kingston.

Annapolis, Maryland, made a similar offer and then New Jersey offered a blank check, a free site "anywhere in the colony."

Few persons in places of influence were unaware that George Washington had his heart set on establishing the permanent capital in his home state of Virginia. Even that location was not sufficiently precise to suit him. He would be satisfied with nothing less than a site on the Potomac River, which flowed past his own Mount Vernon estate.

Almost certainly prodded by the president, tobacco barons of Virginia made an offer that topped all earlier ones. They would cede to the federal government the town of Williamsburg and would contribute £100,000 toward building the capital.

Richard Lee led much of the southern assault, with New Yorkers his strongest and most vocal opponents. They seemed to be approach-

ing stalemate when George Washington, says oral tradition, had an inspiration.

It was well known that Alexander Hamilton had advanced fiscal measures that seemed to be extreme, so far out that they had little chance of passage. But Hamilton was admired and revered throughout the Northeast. What if the Secretary of the Treasury could be persuaded to put his personal influence behind a southern site for the capital, in exchange for votes that would ensure enactment of fiscal measures he proposed?

It was this undercover swap that simultaneously ended what threatened to become two deadlocked sets of proposals. Hamilton parlayed in New York and New Jersey; in return, many southern leaders came out in favor of his fiscal proposals.

George Washington personally negotiated terms under which nineteen landed proprietors ceded their rights to the federal government on March 30, 1791. This land was added to 600 acres previously ceded by Virginia to form the District of Columbia, carved from Virginia and straddling the Potomac River.

When the site of the capital city was selected on the banks of the Potomac River, precisely as the president wished, his fervent admirers insisted that it be named Washington City in his honor. He is said to have assented to this proposal "with decorum and due modesty."

Having effectively demonstrated that when the president of the United States flexes his muscles things are likely to happen, he turned his attention to intensely personal matters. During his years of leadership he had generated what, for the time, was an immense quantity of documents.

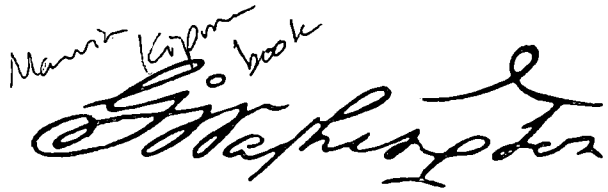
Except for personal letters written when he was not on the nation's payroll or its expense account, all of these papers had been produced at the expense of taxpayers. Logically, they were the property of the federal government.

But a president who has strong ideas is not always influenced by logic. George Washington calmly took personal possession of all the papers he could amass and treated them as his own property.

Early in his administration, he had said, "Many things which appear of little importance in themselves and at the beginning may have great and durable consequences from their having been established at the commencement of a new general government." That is, precedent can become so fixed that it is more powerful than either logic or law.

It was President Washington's extralegal appropriation of documents pertaining to his leadership that set a still-standing precedent. Every succeeding president who has cared to do so has taken personal possession of papers generated during his years in the White House. All existing presidential libraries, most of which require immense

amounts of money paid to the federal government by taxpayers, owe their precise character to the fact that George Washington not only wanted government documents; he seized and kept his own documents.



FIRST PRESIDENT 1789-1797

GEORGE WASHINGTON, as generations of school children have been taught, was the Father of his Country, and, in the words of Henry Lee, "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." Olympian among Presidents, Washington even in his own lifetime was almost obscured as a person by the awe-inspiring legend enveloping him. But behind the legend stands an impressive human being who, foremost among that gifted coterie of Founding Fathers, wrought a new United States and guided it through its first years.

Decades of training prepared Washington for his leadership in the Revolution and the establishment of the new Republic. Born in 1732 into a planter family in Virginia, Washington received from his parents and half brothers schooling in the morals, manners, and body of knowledge requisite for an 18th-century Virginia gentleman. His birthplace at Wakefield is commemorated with a reconstructed brick mansion on the original plantation site in Westmoreland County. It is now a national monument.

In his youth, Washington pursued two intertwined interests that gave direction to much of his life—military arts and western expansion. War was almost a normal condition of affairs in those days, as the rivalry between England and France erupted intermittently into lengthy conflict. Washington's half brother Lawrence served in an expedition against Cartagena in Colombia, one of the possessions of the French ally, Spain, and named his estate on the Potomac in honor of the commander, Adm. Edward Vernon. In time, Washington acquired the property and retained the name, Mount Vernon.

At 16 Washington helped survey Shenandoah lands for Thomas, Lord Fairfax. Thereafter he spent much of his life in the saddle, surveying or soldiering in the wilderness.

In 1753, when French soldiers trespassed on lands claimed by Virginia in the Ohio country, Governor Robert Dinwiddie sent the 21-year-old Washington to warn them away. The following year, commissioned a lieutenant colonel, he fought the first skirmishes in what grew into the French and Indian War. The French defeated Washington and his force of about 300 men, and in 1755 surrounded and routed the British regulars under Gen. Edward Braddock. Washington, who served as an aide to Braddock, escaped injury, although four bullets ripped his coat and two horses were shot from under him.

ENGRAVING BY G. R. HALL FROM A PAINTING BY F. O. C. DARLEY, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Young Washington holds a surveying instrument while his companion pays out chain to fix distance. At 14 Washington surveyed his neighbors' fields. At 16 he plotted Lord Fairfax's lands, sleeping under "one thread Bear blanket with double its Weight of Vermin...." His boyhood home, Ferry Farm, near Fredericksburg, Virginia, is open to the public. Wakefield, the farm on which Washington was born in 1732, is now a national monument.

Giant of his time, Washington stood six feet two and weighed 200 pounds. Gilbert Stuart's portrait is the only object in the White House that has been there since its occupancy in 1800. Dolley Madison in 1814 delayed her flight from the invading British until she safeguarded the canvas.

Painting by Gilbert Stuart, White House Collection

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For several years thereafter, as a colonel commanding a force of only 300 Virginians, he undertook the difficult task of defending a 350-mile frontier against Indian raids.

From 1759 to the outbreak of the American Revolution, Washington enjoyed a placid life, managing his lands around Mount Vernon and serving in the Virginia House of Burgesses. Married to a widow, Martha Dandridge Custis, he devoted himself to a busy but happy round of life among his stepchildren and friends, enlivened by fox hunts and much entertaining. He played hard, but he worked hard also. Supervising his estates called for managerial skill.

Like his fellow planters, Washington felt himself exploited by British merchants and hampered by British Government regulations. His experiences both as a planter and as a military leader made him increasingly dissatisfied with the Crown.

As the quarrel between the colonists and the mother country grew increasingly acute, Washington moderately but firmly voiced his resistance to British restrictions. He warned, "... more blood will be spilt ... if the ministry are determined to push matters to extremity, than history has ever yet furnished instances of in the annals of North America."

Washington and his fellow Virginians were of no temper to stand by while British troops stifled liberty in the colonies. He was elected a delegate to the Se
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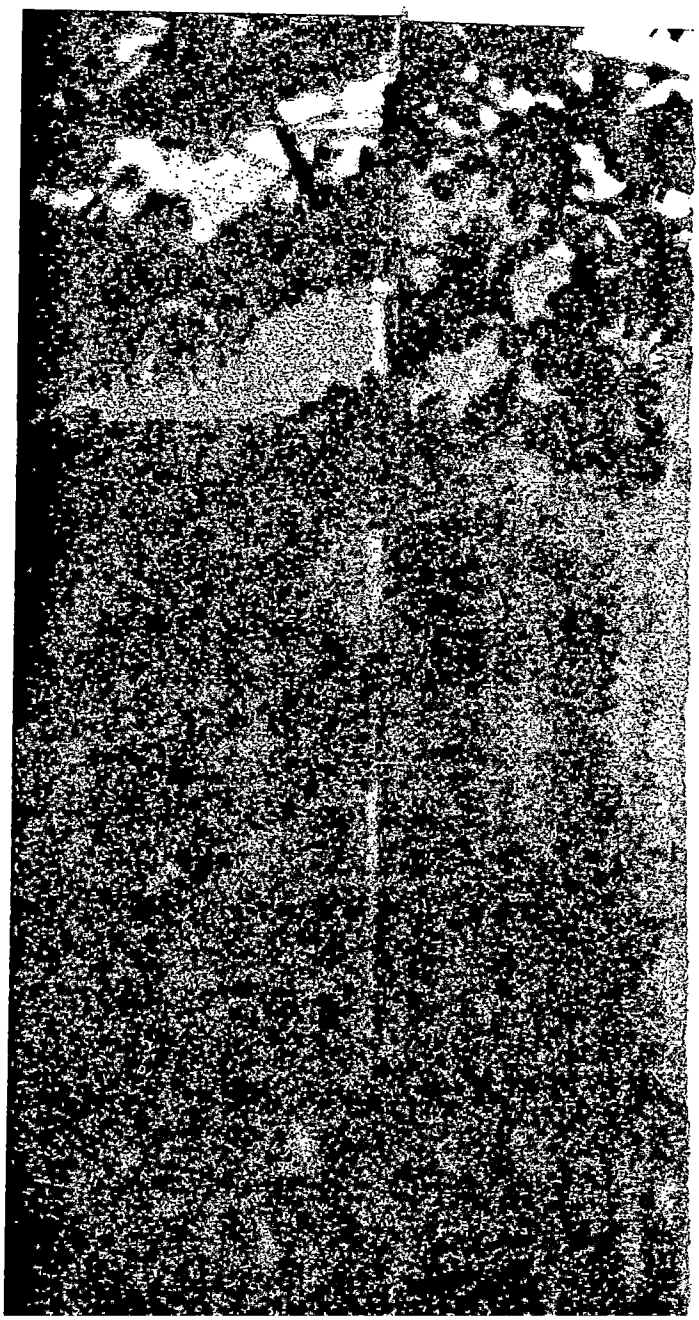

Rebuilt stockade and storehouse revive Fort Necessity near Union (now Uniontown), Pennsylvania. Washington built the fort in 1754 while leading an expedition against the French. His march out to surprise a French detachment touched off the French and Indian War. When he returned to Fort Necessity, a 900-man French force attacked. After a day's fighting in a driving rainstorm, he surrendered and returned to Virginia with his disarmed men. The defeat—Washington's only formal surrender—induced Great Britain to send an expedition to Virginia under Gen. Edward Braddock. Washington joined him as an aide.

Washington reads the burial service over General Braddock. Ignorant of frontier warfare, Braddock rejected the idea of fighting French and Indians with their own guerrilla tactics. As he advanced on Fort Duquesne (Pittsburgh) in 1755, he and half his men fell in battle. Retreating wagons ran over Braddock's grave to obliterate all signs lest Indians dig up the body for its scalp.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

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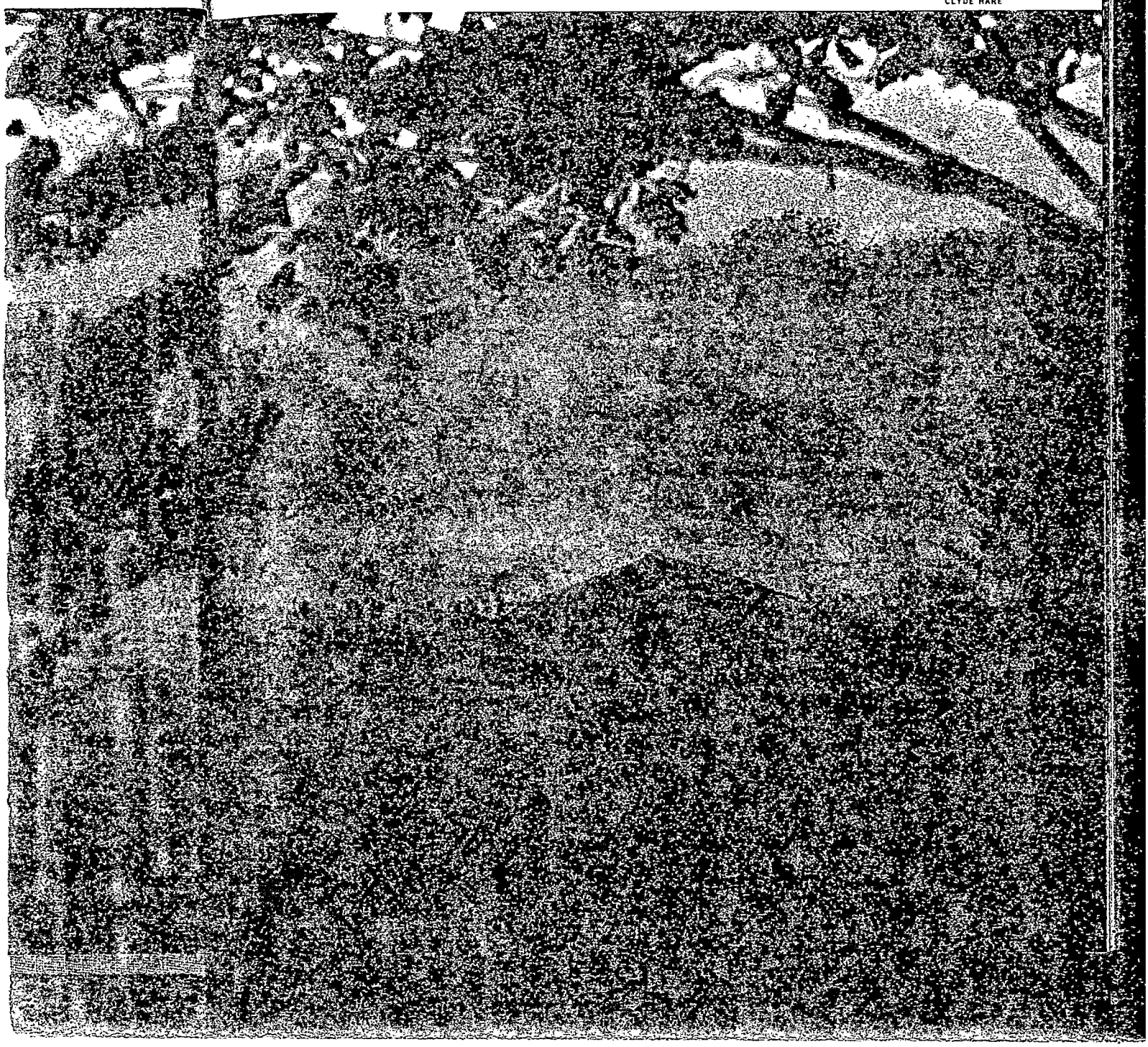
a delegate to the Second Continental Congress. By the time it assembled in Philadelphia in May, 1775, the battles at Lexington and Concord had taken place. Now a southerner was needed to command the minutemen assembled at Cambridge. Such a leader would bring the backing of all the colonies to the struggle thus far confined to New England. Of all the delegates to the Continental Congress, Washington was most imposing in his chosen blue uniform as a Virginia militia commander, and Congress elected him commander in chief.

On July 3, 1775, at Cambridge, Massachusetts, Washington assumed command of the ill-trained army and embarked upon a war that was to last six grueling years. The unwillingness of the British Government to grant concessions soon made apparent to Washington that this must be a war for independence—a viewpoint Congress confirmed on July 4, 1776.

Washington faced discouraging obstacles. The new state governments were usually lukewarm in their support, and Congress, often suspicious of Washington's military power, seldom gave him the men and supplies he needed. Washington, far from assuming dictatorial powers, was compliant with the orders of Congress, even, at times, when they went against his military judgment.

Working such long hours that biographers

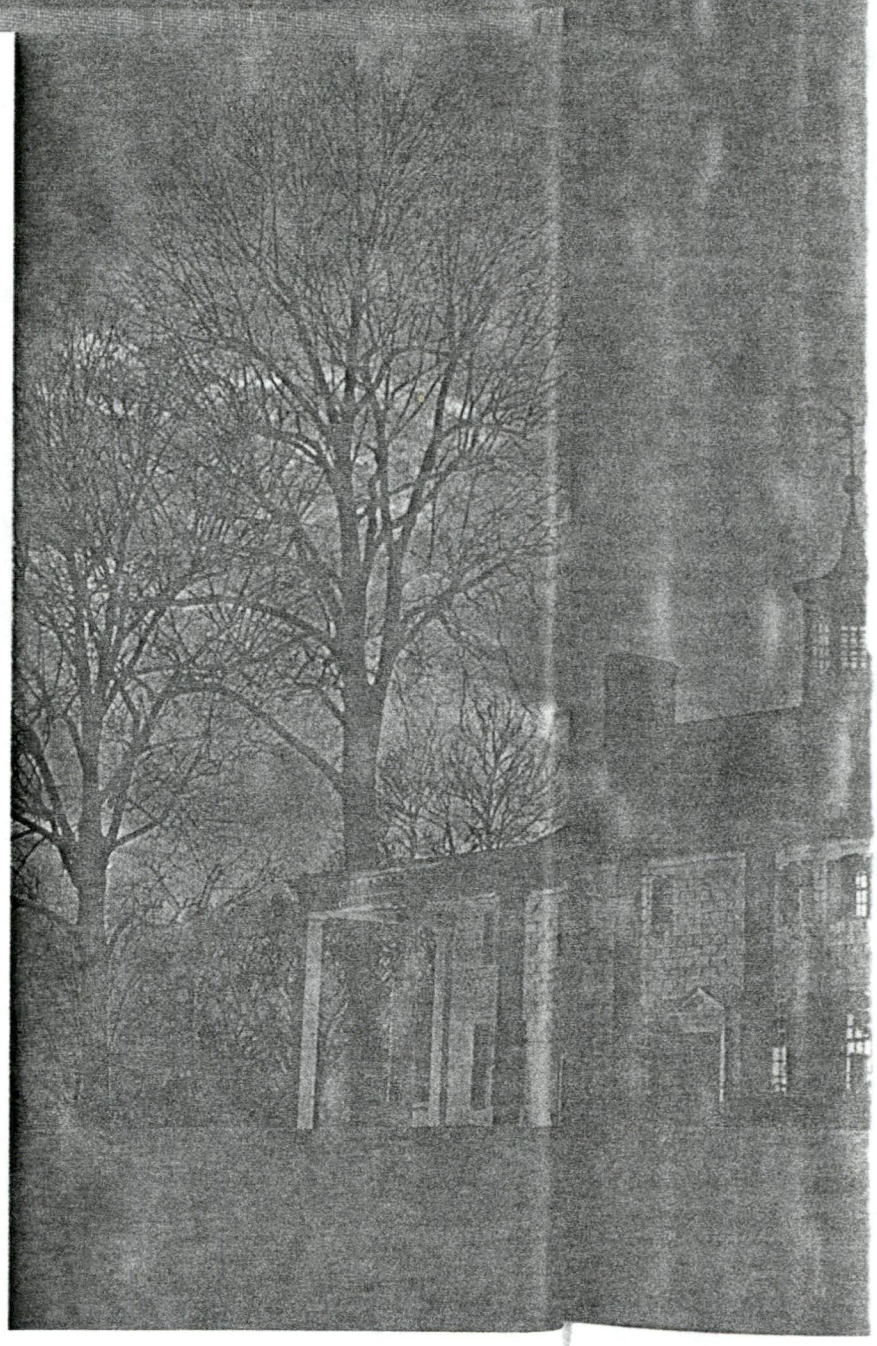
CLYDE HARE



THE MOUNT VERNON LADIES' ASSOCIATION

First First Lady. Martha Washington paid $28 to Charles Willson Peale to paint this miniature in 1776, when she was 45. Later she described herself as an "old-fashioned Virginia house-keeper, steady as a clock, busy as a bee, and cheerful as a cricket."

Mount Vernon yearly receives more than a million visitors, who respond to Washington's own invitation: "I have no objection to any sober or orderly person's gratifying their curiosity in viewing the buildings, Gardens, &ca. about Mount Vernon." He felt "No estate in United America is more pleasantly situated" than his Potomac-side home.



have wondered when he found time to sleep, he somehow managed to build and maintain an army. He realized early that the best strategy for his weak, inexperienced troops was to harass the British rather than risk an all-out assault. He reported to Congress that "we should on all Occasions avoid a general Action, or put anything to the Risque, unless compelled by a necessity, into which we ought never to be drawn."

In ensuing years, from time to time he fell back slowly before superior British forces, then struck unexpectedly. It was sound strategy, and while Washington has seldom been ranked among the most skillful generals, he was an able commander.

Above all, he demonstrated his singular organizing talents and his unparalleled fortitude in the face of adversity. It was this fortitude that carried him through the bleak winter of 1777-78 at Valley Forge, where the State of Pennsylvania has restored his camp with its log huts and one-room hospital. The same steadfastness also carried him through later discouragements, even after—with the aid of French allies—he had forced Cornwallis to surrender in 1781 at Yorktown, where earthworks still bristle with cannon.

Yorktown ended the active fighting, but the Continental Army remained unpaid and restless. To Washington's acute dismay, one of the colonels proposed making him king.

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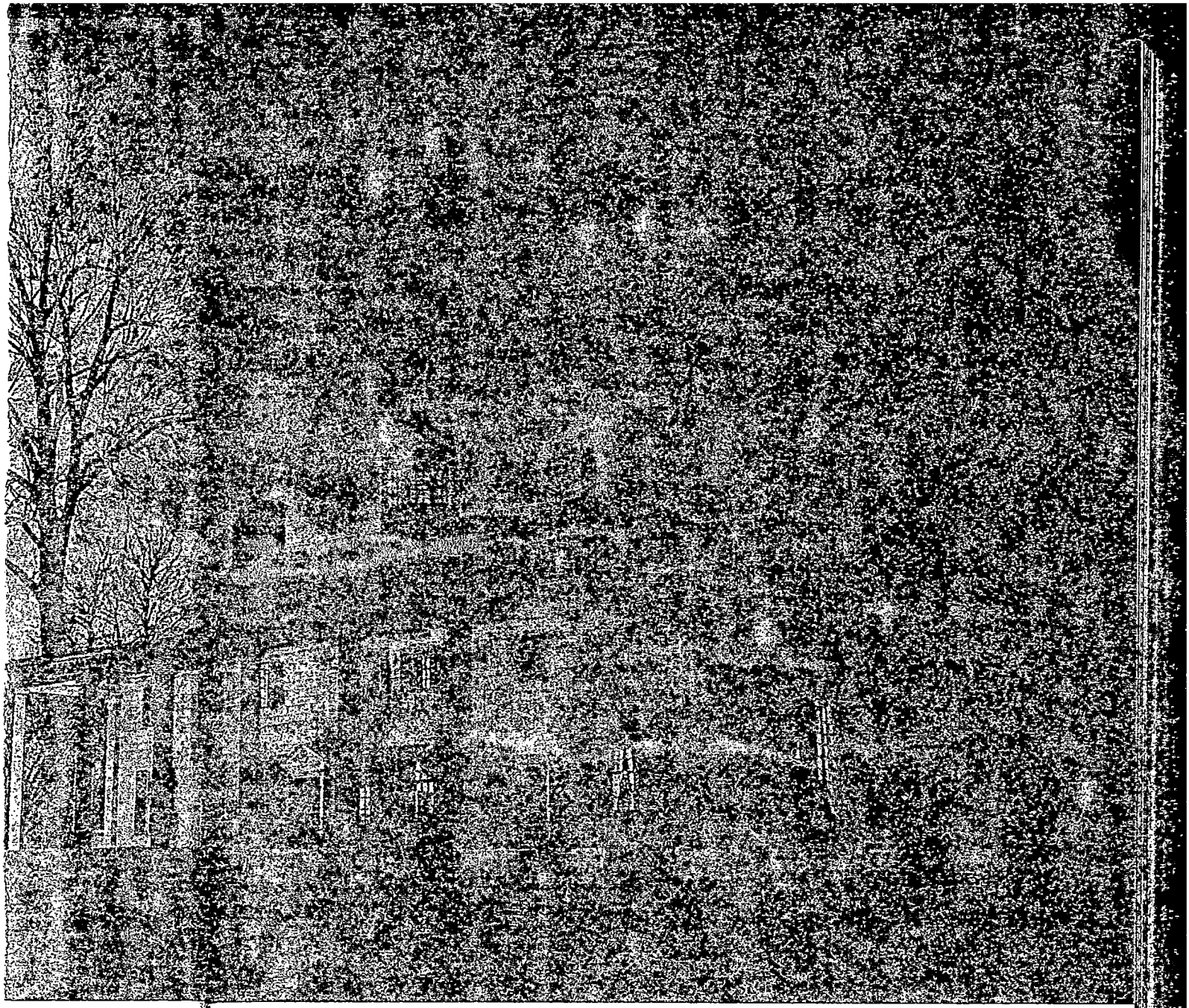

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC PHOTOGRAPHER THOMAS NEBBIA

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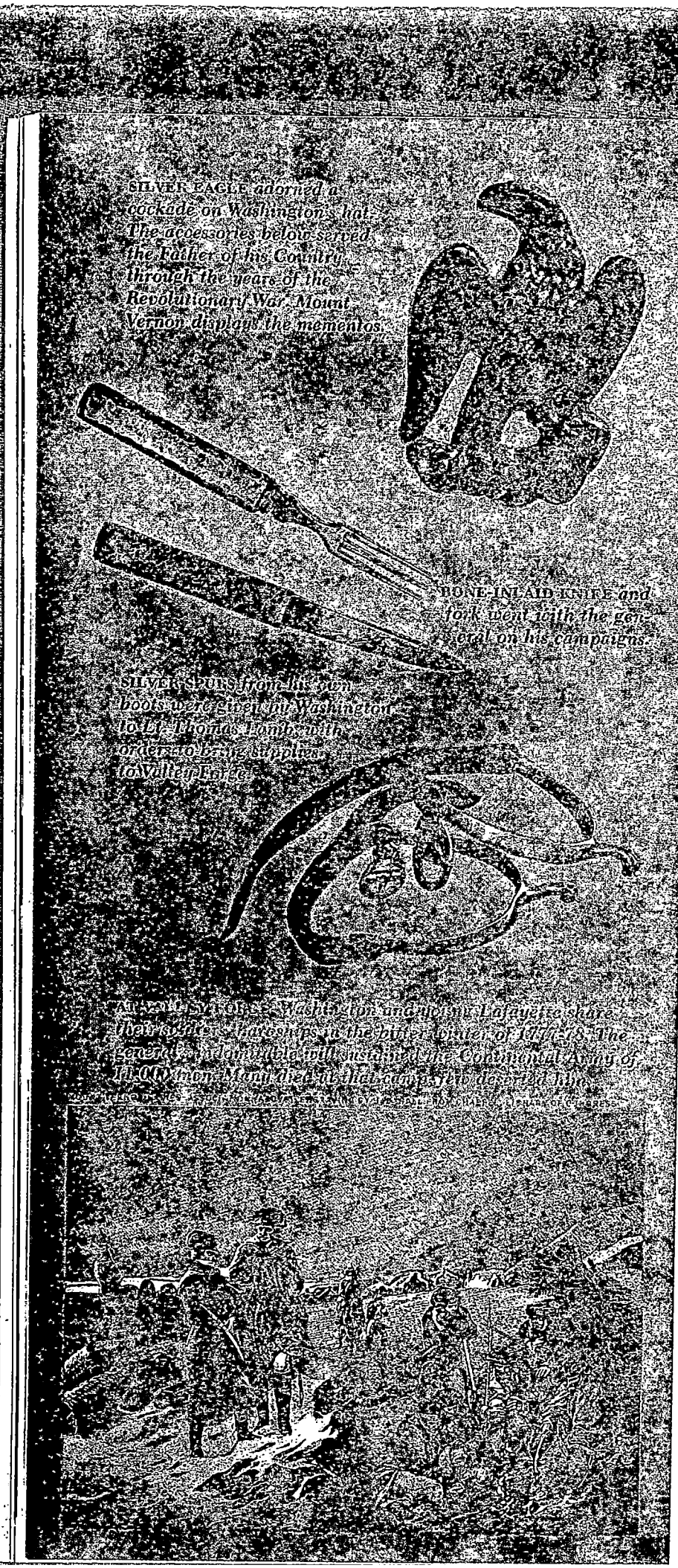
But, like his Roman model Cincinnatus, he wished upon the conclusion of peace in 1783 to retire to his fields.

As Washington, back at Mount Vernon, soon came to realize, the American Nation under its Confederation Government was not functioning very well. Powers were inadequate to maintain respect for American shippers and merchants overseas, to protect the frontier against incursions by British fur traders and marauding Indians, or to restrain the states from engaging in economic reprisals against each other.

"Internal dissentions, and jarrings with our Neighbours," wrote Washington, "are not only productive of mischievous consequences, as it respects ourselves, but has a tendency to lessen our national character, and importance in the eyes of European powers."

The news that Massachusetts farmers had taken up arms against heavy taxation led Washington to lament, "We are fast verging to anarchy and confusion!" Hence he became an influential mover in the steps leading to the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia in the summer of 1787. Washington, presiding over the Convention, took little part in the debates, but lent his great conciliatory talents and his prestige to the framing of a stronger government.

As everyone had expected, as soon as the Constitution had been ratified and the new



SILVER EAGLE adorned a cockade on Washington's hat. The accessories below served the Father of his Country through the years of the Revolutionary War. Mount Vernon displays the mementos.

BONE-INLAID KNIFE and fork went with the general on his campaigns.

SILVER SPURS from his own boots were given by Washington to Lt. Thomas Pomb with orders to buy supplies for Valley Forge.

AT VALLEY FORGE Washington and young Lafayette share their scanty rations in the bitter winter of 1777-78. The general and his indomitable Continental Army of 11,000 men, many ill-clad, camped in the deserted hut

Lord Cornwallis's army marches out of Yorktown in surrender on October 19, 1781 —last great conflict of the Revolution. Victory marked the end of six years in which Washington fought the British in the field and withstood cabals aimed at undermining his authority. Declining salary, he paid his own expenses; Congress reimbursed him after the war. Tardy enlistments and discouraging desertions never eroded his devotion to the cause of liberty.

In John Trumbull's oil painting, displayed in the U. S. Capitol, Washington sits on a brown charger. His deputy, Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, on the white horse, conducts the British file to stack their arms. Washington delegated the honor because Cornwallis refused to appear.

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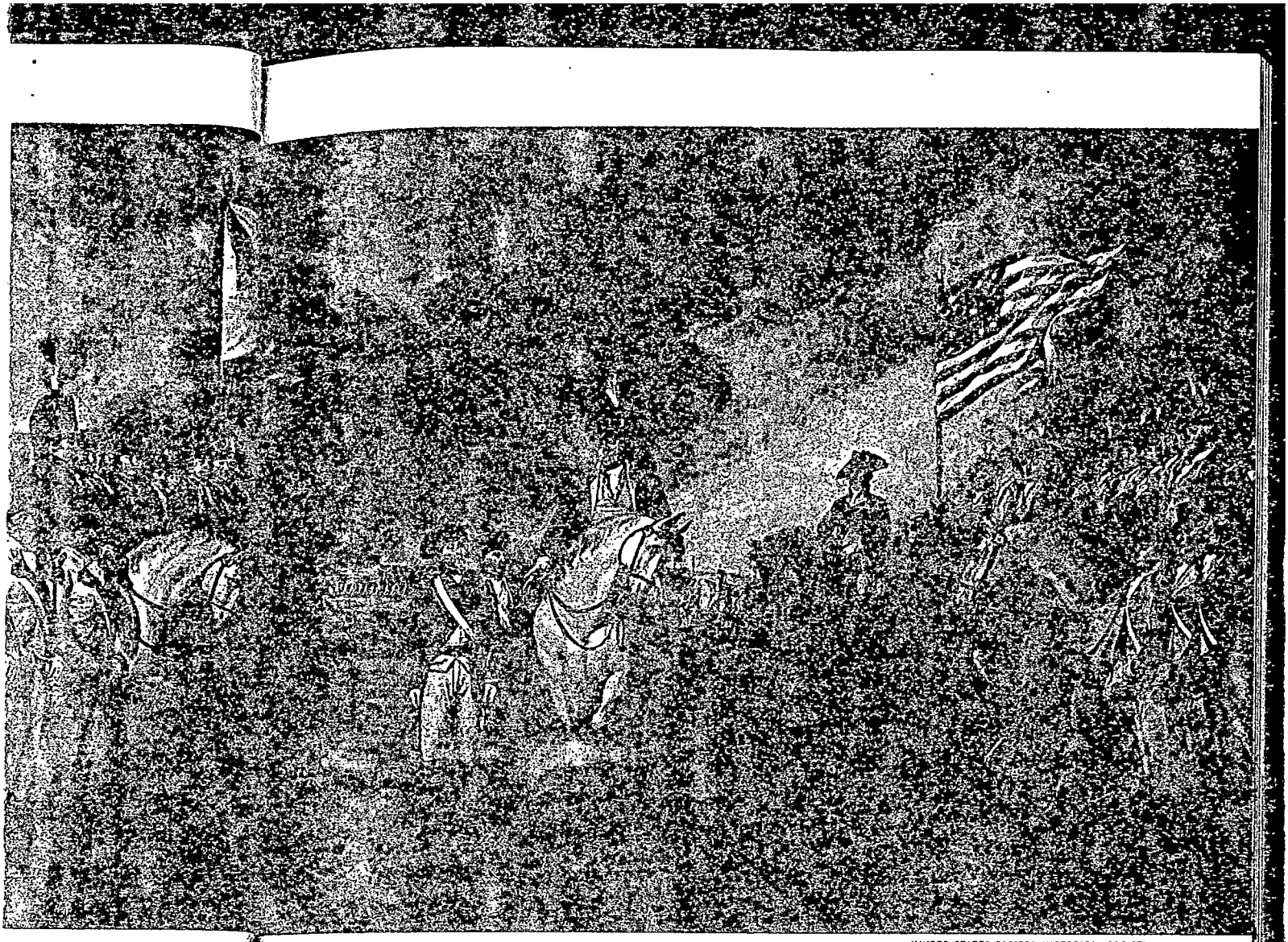

UNITED STATES CAPITOL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Lord Cornwallis's army marches out of Yorktown in surrender on October 19, 1781 —last great conflict of the Revolution. Victory marked the end of six years in which Washington fought the British n the field and withstood cabals aimed at undermining his authority. Declining salary, he paid his own expenses; Congress reimbursed him after the war. Tardy enlistments and discouraging desertions never eroded his devotion to the cause of liberty.

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machinery of government began to operate, the electoral college unanimously cast its ballots for Washington for President. With considerable misgivings, Washington accepted.

On April 30, 1789, Washington, standing on the balcony of Federal Hall on Wall Street in New York, took his oath of office as the first President of the United States. When he entered the Senate chamber to deliver his Inaugural Address before the assembled Congress, his face was grave. His voice was low and the words almost inaudible.

The challenge facing President Washington and the fledgling Government gave him full reason to be grave. The United States was a weak agricultural republic in a world dominated by large unfriendly monarchies. Its population in 1790 was only 4,000,000, of whom 700,000 were slaves; its treasury was empty; it possessed no army or navy worthy of the name. The Constitution was no more than a framework, silent on many details.

"As the first of every thing, *in our situation* will serve to establish a Precedent," Washington wrote James Madison, "it is devoutly wished on my part, that these precedents may be fixed on true principles."

"Washington's Presidency was nothing if not painfully constitutional," Clinton Rossiter has written; Washington "did the new republic a mighty service by proving that power can ennoble as well as corrupt. . . ."

Washington was of no disposition to infringe upon the policy-making powers that he felt the Constitution bestowed upon the Congress, and, except for exploring questions of constitutionality, did not question measures it enacted. On the other hand, the determination of foreign policy became preponderantly a Presidential concern.

When Washington, accepting literally the constitutional proviso that he should negotiate treaties with the advice and consent of the Senate, appeared before that body in person with a list of queries, the Senators, jealous of their prerogatives, refused to give him instant

answers. "This defeats every purpose of my coming here," Washington fumed. Thereafter he negotiated treaties as he judged best and sent them to the Senate to ratify or reject.

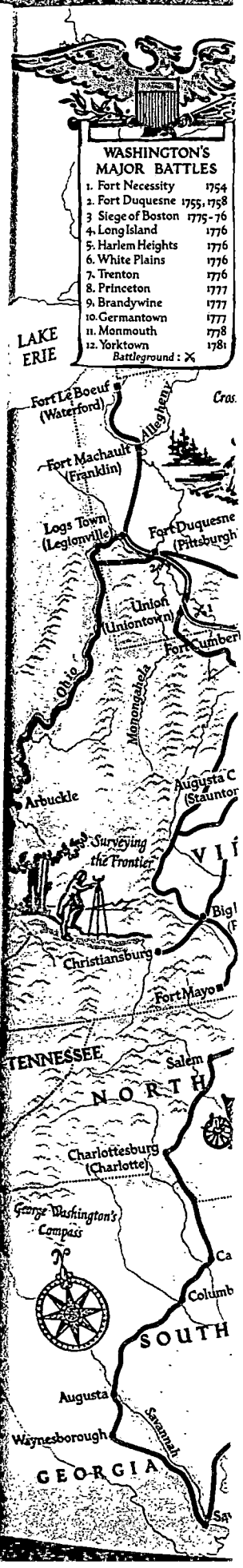
Again, while the Senate, according to the Constitution, had to give its consent to Presidential appointees, Washington insisted he could remove them without permission.

As Chief Executive, Washington gave considerable authority to his department heads, and gradually came to depend upon them for advice, at first through written opinions, then as a Cabinet. At these meetings, unlike most of his successors, he ordinarily did not set forth his own opinion, and unless the Cabinet was evenly divided, followed the recommendation of its majority.

This reluctance to wield executive authority singlehandedly has led many later historians to feel that Washington was eclipsed by his subordinates. It is easy to overlook the fact that Washington, while slow and deliberate, was also thorough in his analysis of problems, and that he was more balanced in judgment than his subordinates. There was never any question at the time but that Washington was President, and that national policies had to have his approval. And Thomas Jefferson in 1796 admitted, "One man outweighs them all in influence over the people."

Jefferson spoke from firsthand knowledge, since clearly, during the years when Jefferson served as Secretary of State (and thereafter also), Washington's was the controlling hand in foreign affairs. Even before he became President, he felt strongly that it would be disastrous for the new Nation to become embroiled in the quarrels of the European titans. He wrote in 1788, "I hope the United States of America will be able to keep disengaged from the labyrinth of European politics and Wars.... It should be the policy of United America to administer to their wants, without being engaged in their quarrels."

When the French Revolution led to a major war between France and Britain, Jefferson,



"G. Washington" in the map title shows the autograph of the 19-year-old surveyor. Four decades later, full of years and honors, the President introduced more flourishes but still clung basically to the firm signature of his youth.

Victorious after long years of war, Washington resigns command of the Continental Army to resume the life of a Virginia squire, December 23, 1783. Edwin White's canvas hangs in the Annapolis State House, where Washington laid down his military power.

COURTESY STATE HOUSE, ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND

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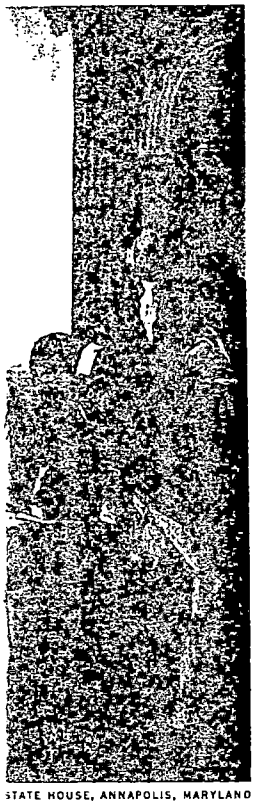
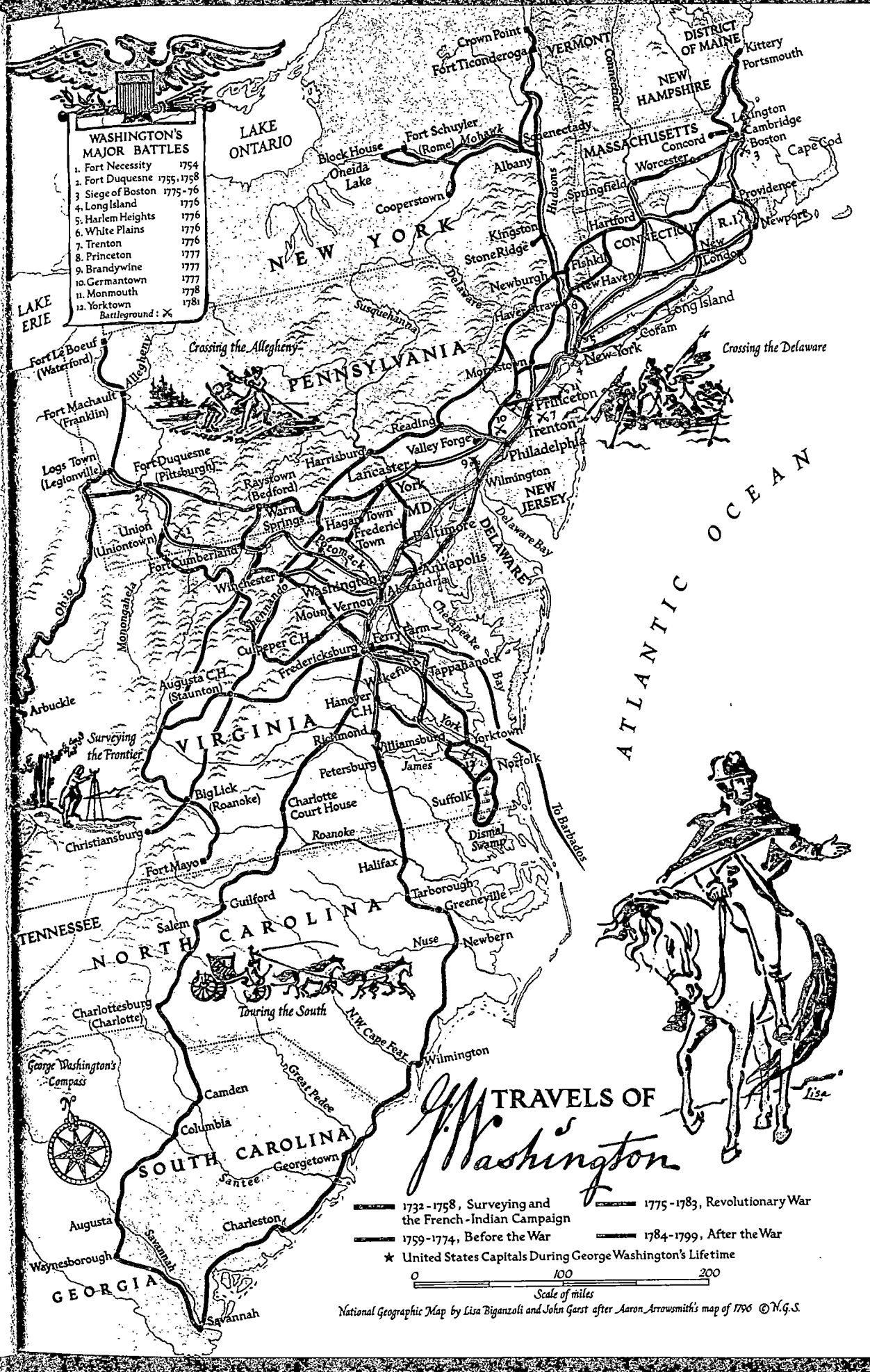
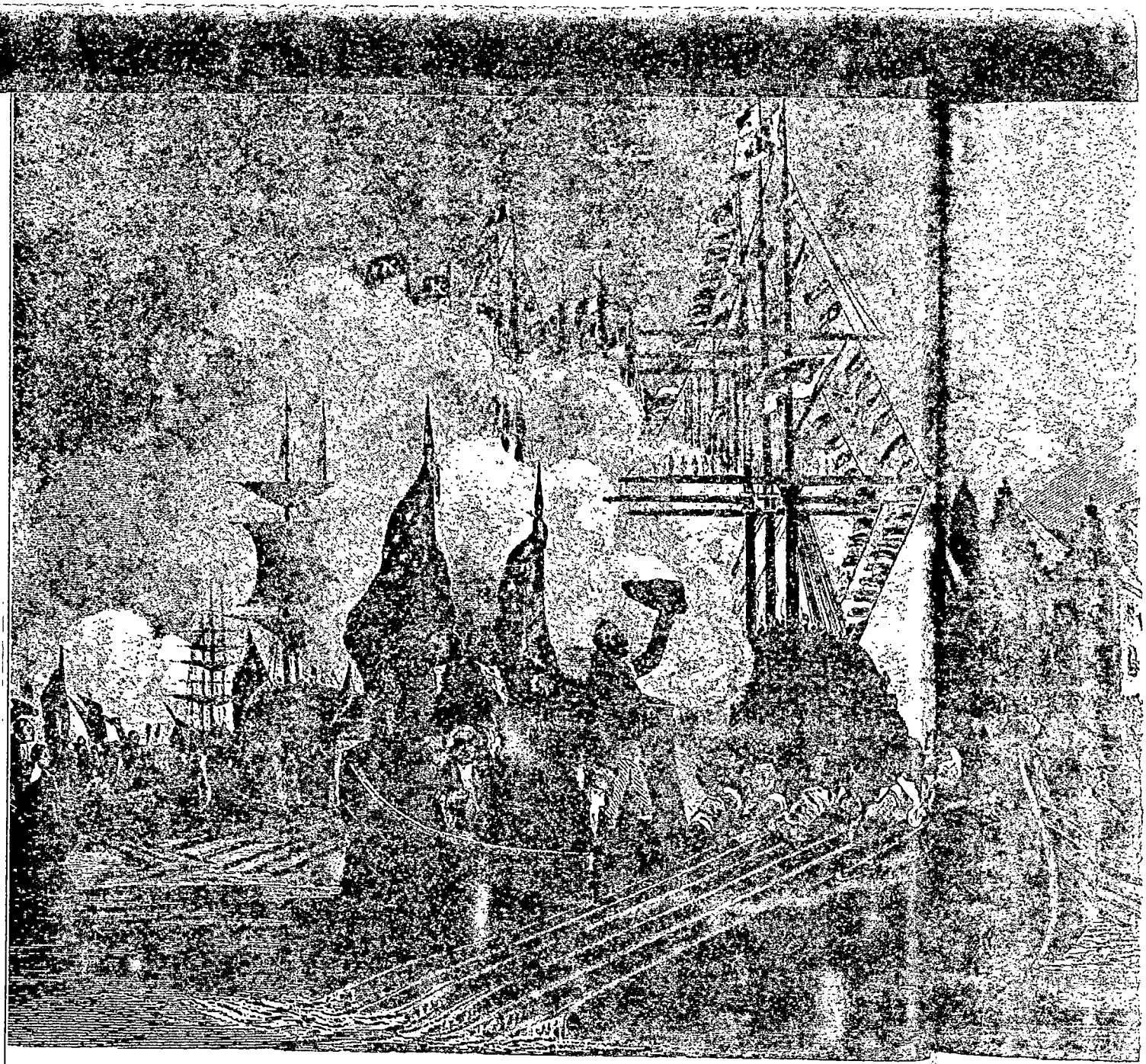


STATE HOUSE, ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND





ENGRAVING

Washington's Secretary of State, was ardently pro-French, and Alexander Hamilton, his Secretary of the Treasury, equally pro-British. Washington would not be swayed by either; he insisted upon following a middle, neutral course until the United States could become stronger. Given twenty years of tranquillity, he believed, the American Nation could become sufficiently powerful to "bid defiance in a just cause to any power whatever." Thanks to the course that Washington firmly set, the United States gained those twenty years.

In one respect, Washington failed to envisage the direction the American Commonwealth would take. Like many of his contemporaries, he found the idea of political parties repugnant. He expected to be "President of all the people" and was disappointed when by the end of his first administration two parties began to develop. He tried to keep both the contending leaders, Hamilton and Jefferson, within his Cabinet. But if he had been forced to choose, his would have been more nearly the Hamiltonian position. At the end of 1793 Jefferson resigned, and by 1795 Washington was appointing to office only men of known Federalist views.

In creating respect for the United States, Washington felt he must comport himself with as much formality and ceremony as though he were a republican monarch. The firm insistence upon ceremonial had its advantages. When Washington visited Massachusetts at the end of his first year in office,

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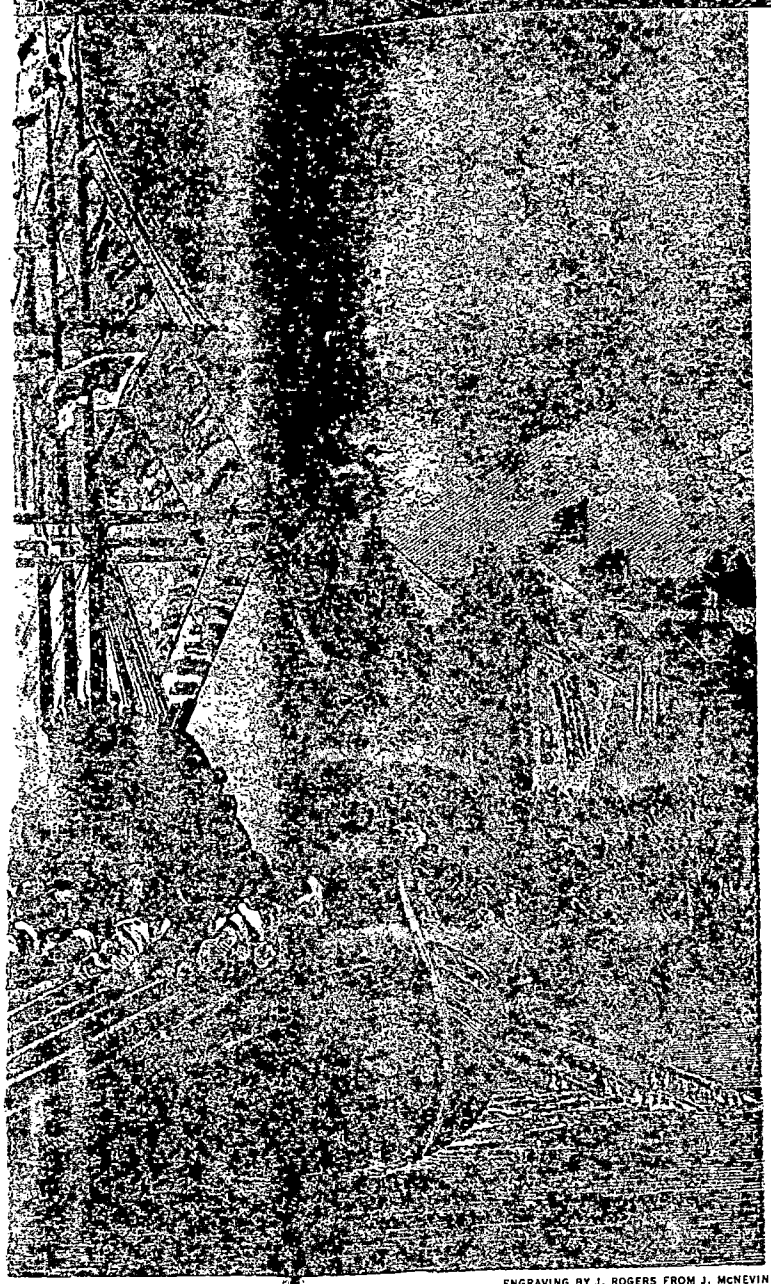

ENGRAVING BY J. ROGERS FROM J. McNEVIN

Master oarsmen row the Father of his Country up the East River. New York City tumultuously welcomes the hero, arriving from Mount Vernon for his first Inaugural. Washington recorded himself both pleased and pained by "the display of boats . . . the roar of cannon, and the loud acclamations of the people as I passed along." He took his oath of office as the first President of the United States, April 30, 1789, and spectators gave three cheers.

President Washington (right), impressive in his dignity as in his stature, consults the four senior officers of the new executive branch: (from left) Edmund Randolph, Attorney General; Henry Knox, Secretary of War; Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State; Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury. In conferences like this, he weighed their advice but reserved major decisions for himself, aware that he was setting precedents for the Nation. From such small beginnings came the Cabinet of today.

PAINTING BY E. P. OTTENDORFF, COURTESY CONTINENTAL INSURANCE COMPANY

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Governor John Hancock tried to force the President to pay the first call, and, failing, gave way. The President, thereafter, would take precedence over governors. But Washington found ceremonies a burden; privately he expressed his longing for Mount Vernon.

Wearied of politics, feeling old and tired, he determined to retire at the end of his second term. In September, 1796, as his political testament, he published a Farewell Address in which he urged his countrymen to form a union of hearts and minds, forswearing excessive party spirit and geographical distinctions. In foreign affairs, he warned against long-term alliances. The United States should demonstrate to Europe that "we act for *ourselves*, and not for *others*."

Washington enjoyed less than three years of retirement at Mount Vernon, for he died of a throat infection December 14, 1799. The four-poster in which he lay still stands in his room looking down on the Potomac.

For months the entire Nation mourned him. Orators and preachers paid tribute with flowery hyperbole, but said less than Abigail, the wife of President John Adams, who commented to her sister: "He never grew giddy, but ever maintained a modest diffidence of his own talents. . . . Possessed of power, possessed of an extensive influence, he never used it but for the benefit of his country. . . . If we look through the whole tenor of his life, history will not produce to us a parallel."

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1991

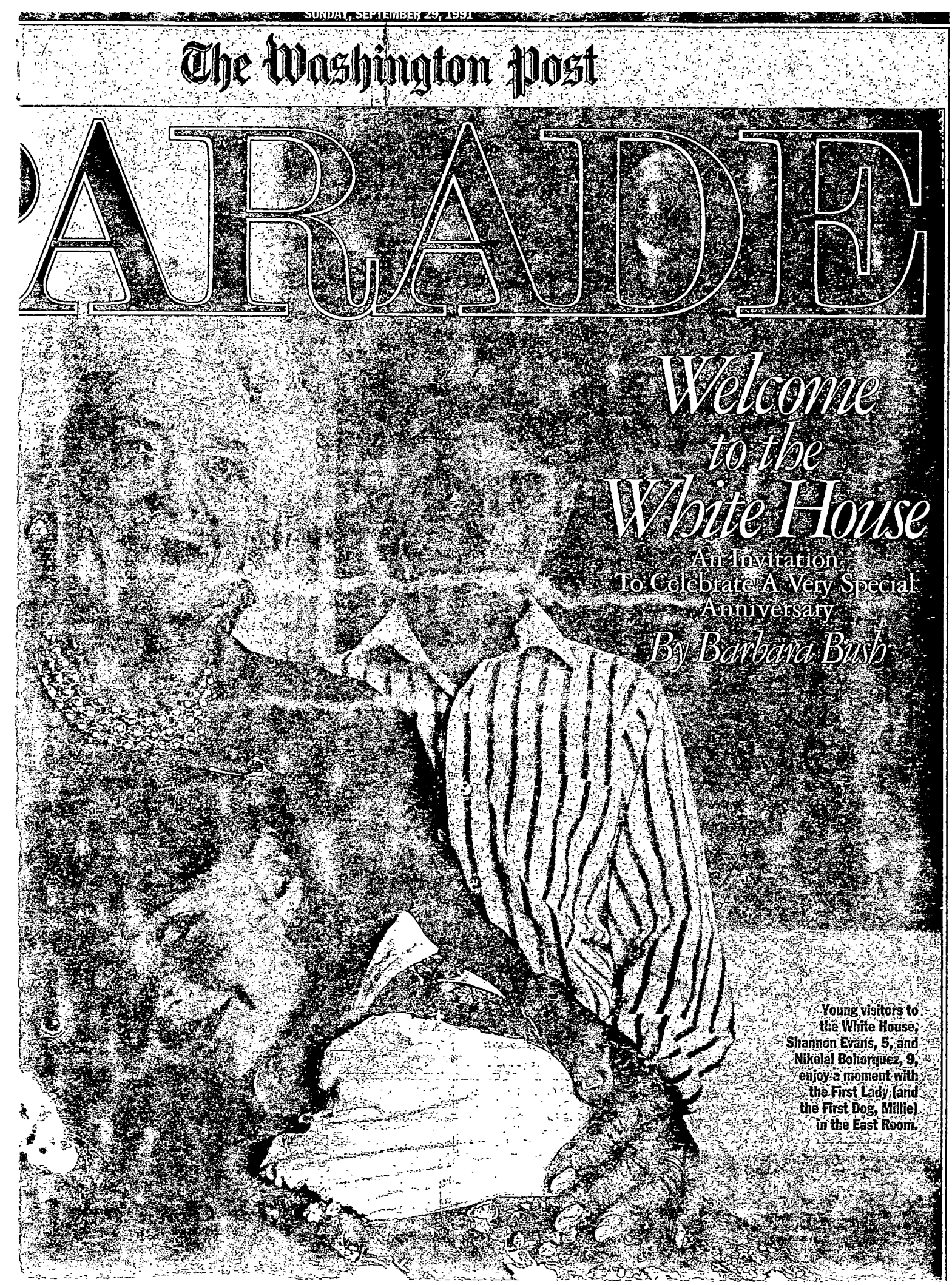
The Washington Post

PARADE

Welcome to the White House

An Invitation To Celebrate A Very Special Anniversary

By Barbara Bush

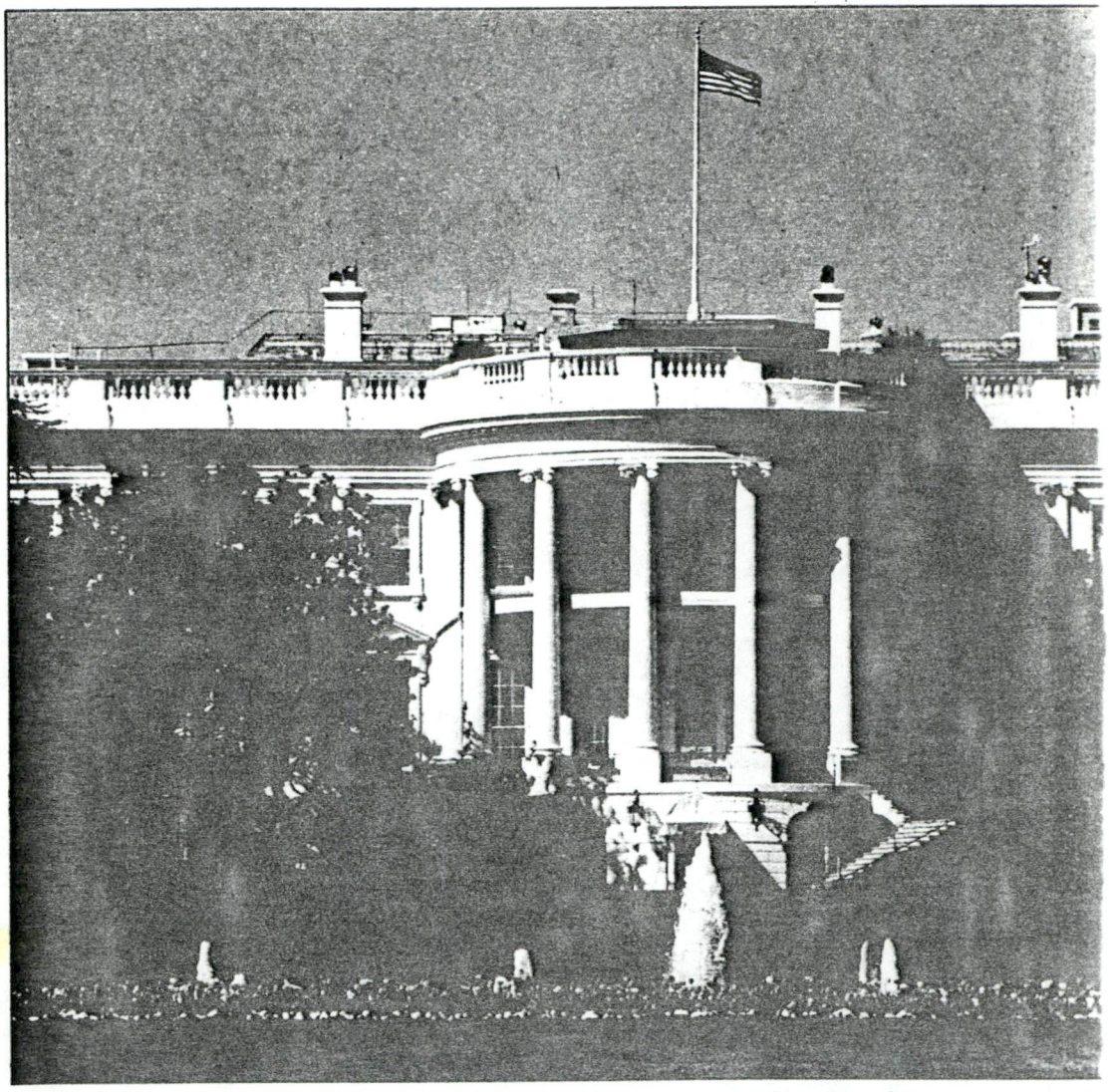


Young visitors to the White House, Shannon Evans, 5, and Nikolai Bohorquez, 9, enjoy a moment with the First Lady (and the First Dog, Millie) in the East Room.

As the White House's 200th anniversary approaches, the First Lady shares some glimpses of the

Let Me Tell You About

BY BARBARA BUSH



GROWING up, I remember reading about the great deeds of Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt and many of our other Presidents. Today, amazingly enough, I live in *their* house. I can look out the same window where Abraham Lincoln watched smoke rise from Civil War battles; eat off the same plate Woodrow Wilson used; and almost every day walk past the hearth where Franklin Delano Roosevelt gave his famous fireside chats.

Suddenly, history has come very much alive.

It would be almost impossible to live in the White House and not feel the presence of its former occupants. You begin to realize that these were not men and women who just inhabit history books, but real people. That is why I am thrilled that George and I will be living here when the White House celebrates its 200th birthday next year, commemorating the laying of the White House cornerstone on Oct. 13, 1792.

It is going to be a wonderful celebration that will include a special art exhibit, lectures, a traveling White House exhibit and a video tour. And, just in time for the occasion, the White House is undergoing a major facelift—the paint is being stripped off and the stonework is being repaired for the first time since it was built.

But the Presidents and their families are just temporary tenants of this historic place. The White House belongs to *you*. And the 200th anniversary is the perfect opportunity for you to learn more about it and to take pride in its rich history.

Perhaps my favorite part of this history is the behind-the-scenes stories—those glimpses of everyday life you might not find in the history books.

Most of us know, for instance, that John Adams was the first President to live in the White House. But few of us probably know that his wife, Abigail, hung her laundry in what's now known as the East Room—the same magnificent room you saw on television during President Reagan's press conferences.

And most of us know that Theodore Roosevelt was one of our most influential Presidents, expanding America's interests overseas, and the first President to win the Nobel Peace Prize. But he also was the father of six bumptious children, aged 4 to 16, who were famous for their pranks. The youngest ones liked to hide behind the draperies and in large flower pots, jumping out to startle tourists. Once they sneaked a pony upstairs to the living quarters to comfort a brother sick in bed.

It was not the mischievous children, however, who caused Roosevelt's first major controversy. One of his early dinner parties turned into a political maelstrom—because he invited Booker T. Washington. The former slave's autobiography, *Up From Slavery*, was highly popular and Roosevelt thought he would be an excellent guest.

"Probably the first Negro ever entertained at the White House," said *The Atlanta Constitution* the next day. The dinner created controversy across the nation—an indication of the bigotry so widespread in the country at the time.

Walker/Time Magazine

President and Mrs. Bush in Blue Room, shortly after moving into the White House.

Three Presidents married while in the White House—John Tyler, Grover Cleveland and Woodrow Wilson. President Cleveland and his fiancée, a young woman named Frances Folsom, decided to keep their engagement a secret until she returned from her extended trip to Europe. But the Pr
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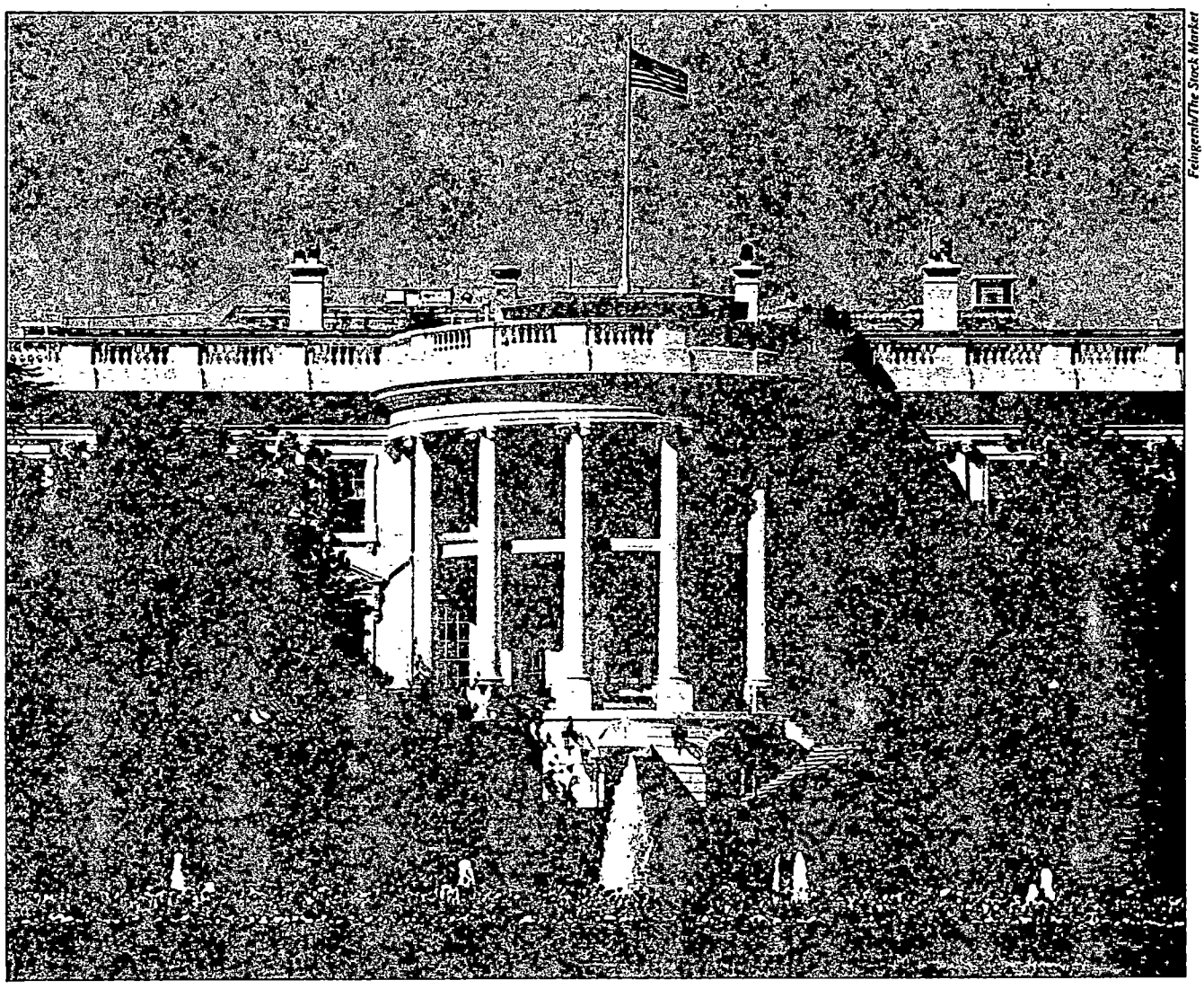

Feingersh/The Stock Market

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Three Presidents married while in the White House—John Tyler, Grover Cleveland and Woodrow Wilson. President Cleveland and his fiancée, a young woman named Frances Folsom, decided to keep their engagement a secret until she returned from her extended trip to Europe. But the President made the mistake of sending her a loving bon voyage telegram—and signing his name. The operator who received it made a copy of the telegram for himself and, sure enough, the news soon appeared in print—with one small mistake. The papers announced the President would marry Frances Folsom's mother!

After returning from Europe, poor Frances could hardly leave her house without being mobbed by reporters and the general public. Finally, the two were married in the Blue Room, followed by a candlelit dinner in the State Dining Room.

Two other weddings you may remember were those of Tricia Nixon and Lynda Bird Johnson. And Susan Ford had her senior prom here—an evening I'm sure her classmates will never forget.

Children certainly do make the White House come alive. These days, it's not unusual to find our grandchildren riding their bikes and playing games here. (George has been known to let a tricycle

ives of its former residents

House I Live In...

Valde/The White House

President Bush and granddaughter Marshall have a chat in the Oval Office.

President John F. Ke stroll along West Wi

rider or two into the Oval Office!)

Remember when we wanted to know about Caroline Kennedy's pony, Macaroni, and about Amy Carter roller-skating in the East Room? And remember the famous photo of John-John Kennedy peeking out from under his father's desk in the Oval Office? Today, George uses that same desk in his private study on the second floor of the residence.

Of course, not all the stories were fun ones. Like all families, the people who lived here suffered disappointments, sickness and death. It is said that the Lincolns never recovered from the death of their son Willie, who died in the White House of typhoid in 1862. He was a precocious little boy who loved to play soldier in his daddy's office. The funeral was in the East Room, but the coffin was left in the adjoining Green Room—apparently to make the ordeal easier for the President.

Woodrow Wilson's first wife, Ellen, died in the White House shortly after the outbreak of World War I. Again, the funeral service was held in the East Room—but without music, at the request of the grieving President. But there were roses from the White House rose garden, which Mrs. Wilson had created.

One of the most dramatic things to happen here was the burning of the White House by the British in 1814. Dolley Madison's husband was not even home when word came to depart. President James Madison had gone to the front lines to see for himself how the battle was progressing. Mrs. Madison spent the day packing and keeping an anxious eye to the window. She remembered the day this way: "Since sunrise I have been turning my spy-glass in every direction, and watching with unwearied anxiety, hoping to discover the approach of my dear husband and his friends."

As the dinner hour approached (and, to make matters worse, a thunderstorm), Mrs. Madison asked the staff to prepare the meal. She thought it was important to keep up the appearance of normal life. But before she could sit down, a messenger came with frantic word from her husband to leave immediately.

She hurried through the White House, stuffing as much in her luggage as she could. As the story goes, she hesitated in the State Dining Room, looking at the famous painting of George Washington. She recalled that her husband had promised Washington's family the portrait would be saved if the British invaded. She insisted it be taken down and carried out. Only then did she leave, never to return. The White House, burned by the British just a few hours later, would not be reoccupied until after her husband left office.

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Consolidated News/Archive Photos

In the East Room, President Nixon dances with daughter Tricia, a White House bride.

A Very Special Invit

THE PRESIDENT AND I HOPE everyone will be involved in the 200th anniversary of the laying of the White House cornerstone next year. I would like to issue an invitation right now to participate in a special way.

The White House Historical Association, Very Special Arts and the American Architectural Foundation will co-sponsor the *White House Anniversary Art Exhibition*. Students with disabilities will be asked to create an art project based on the theme "200 Years of Life at the White House." Then, one work from each state, the District of Columbia and the five U.S. territories will be selected to be included in the art exhibition, which will be displayed in the White House during the 200th anniversary celebration.

Very Special Arts was founded in 1974 to help tap the talents of children and adults with disabilities through the arts and education. An educational affiliate of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, it has programs in every state and 50 countries.

George and I welcomed more than 1000 artists from around the world to the South Lawn of the White House as part of the International Very Special Arts Festival. Children and adults from 50 countries sang, danced and performed. I especially remember Phongsak Muenchanai, a blind 12-year-old boy who thrilled the crowd by singing in English, Japanese and his native Thai. His performance beautifully illustrated the power of the arts and how they can bridge cultural differences.

I want to encourage all students with disabilities to think in this great projec end up being exhil your city hall, your I mentioned earlier House itself. The chaperones from e vited to attend the bition opening on the President will appreciation to eve ates a work of art f

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We will be send resource materials area, and I also ur brary to do your re any questions abo or if you want to other activities tha anniversary year, the White House tion, Dept. P, 740 J Washington, D.C.

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President Bush and granddaughter Marshall have a chat in the Oval Office.

Trettick/Sygma

President John F. Kennedy and John Jr. stroll along West Wing Colonnade in 1963.

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I want to encourage all students with disabilities to think about participating in this great project. Your artwork may end up being exhibited in your school, your city hall, your State Capitol and, as I mentioned earlier, perhaps the White House itself. The selected artists and chaperones from each state will be invited to attend the White House exhibition opening on Oct. 13, 1992, and the President will send a certificate of appreciation to every student who creates a work of art for the project.

Let your imagination fly when you think about how you want to depict the White House. Maybe one of our Presidents grew up in your home state, and you can concentrate on his years in the White House. Or maybe you have visited the White House and have a special memory you would like to recreate.

Or imagine that you are one of the Presidents or First Ladies or even one of their children. For instance, think about what it must have been like to be Dolley Madison when she learned the British were a few blocks away and intended to burn the house down! Can you see yourself fleeing the White House, taking with you the famous portrait of George Washington?

We will be sending information and resource materials to schools in your area, and I also urge you to use the library to do your research. If you have any questions about the art exhibition, or if you want to learn about all the other activities that are planned for the anniversary year, please write me at the White House Historical Association, Dept. P, 740 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20503.

Today, Washington's portrait hangs in the East Room, the only White House possession from the original building.

Are you wondering what goes on upstairs at the White House these days... what stories they will be telling about George and Barbara Bush in 100 years? I confess I can't imagine it will be anything too exciting.

When we don't have house guests or the children and grandchildren visiting, it's just George, me and our two dogs (who, I might add, wake us up at 5 o'clock every morning to go play).

We especially enjoy the grandchildren's visits. Our granddaughter Marshall, at age 4, once crept down the grand staircase to watch our guests at a State Dinner. After George and I left to go upstairs, George sat with Marshall on the steps to wave goodbye to the guests. What a funny sight that must have been—a little girl in her pajamas and the President!

And I certainly will never forget the night Millie had her six puppies. We had invited guests for dinner and a movie, the puppies started arriving, and I would call George to give him updates. The puppies were cute as could be. We gave them away to family and friends, although Ranger eventually came back to be George's dog.

Many people ask me if I don't get tired of living in such a fishbowl, with so many staff members and tourists wandering around. Truthfully, I love living here. It is such a beautiful house and so well taken care of by its fabulous staff. We especially love being able to share the house's history with the many people who come to visit. I will never forget when Rosa Parks came for coffee. She is the woman who helped spark the Civil Rights movement by refusing to give up her seat on a bus in Montgomery, Ala. Mrs. Parks was deeply moved when she walked into the Lincoln Bedroom and saw the original copy of the Emancipation Proclamation.

And I certainly don't mind the tourists. Thomas Jefferson started the tradition of opening the house to the public in 1801, and it has continued ever since. In fact, it is the only official head-of-state residence in the *world* open to the general public free of charge on a regular schedule. More than 1.25 million came to visit just last year.

One last story: It is ironic that, as we celebrate the bicentennial of the laying of the cornerstone, the White House can't find the cornerstone! Everyone knows it is here somewhere, because there are written accounts of the ceremony in 1792. But the historians and the engineers have never been able to physically locate it. Maybe this is the year the mystery will be solved.

NOTE: If you would like to learn more about the White House, a good source is *The President's House*, by William Seale. He is the source of many of my favorite stories.

NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

(w) (401) 863 2131

GORDON S. WOOD (h) 863-2520

Gordon S. Wood is University Professor in the Department of History at Brown University, where he has taught since 1969. Born in Concord, Massachusetts, he graduated summa cum laude from Tufts University. After serving four years in the U.S. Air Force, he completed his M.A. and Ph.D. at Harvard University. In addition to holding a number of distinguished lectureships, Mr. Wood has been Pitt Professor of American Institutions at Cambridge University and a Visiting Fellow at All Souls College, Oxford.

Mr. Wood is best known for his highly influential work about the impact of "republican ideology" on the American founding, The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787, winner of the distinguished Bancroft Prize and the American Historical Association's John H. Dunning Prize. His latest book, The Radicalism of the American Revolution, which stresses the uniqueness of the American experiment in democracy, is scheduled to appear in 1992.

Mr. Wood and his wife Louise have three children.

- Didn't go to York
- Didn't go to College

(Smith/Grossman)
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PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: LECTURE SERIES
EAST ROOM
MONDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1991

Members of the Congress, and of the Cabinet. ~~Lynn Cheney,~~ Chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities. Distinguished guests. / It is a privilege to be with you -- and to welcome you to the White House for the fourth in our series of Presidential Lectures. //

It would be impossible to live in this house and not feel the presence of its former occupants. That is why Barbara and I are thrilled that we will be here next year when the White House celebrates its 200th anniversary. //

Tonight, we honor the only President who did not live in the White House -- but whose spirit thrives here and throughout our land. George Washington looks out upon us each day. His likeness been preserved on coins, in portraits, even on Mt. Rushmore. / But more importantly, he shaped our very system of government. Ask any grade school student and you'll hear that we remember George Washington as The Father of our Country. //

It has been said that we consciously measure our first love against all others. / In the same way, Presidents measure themselves against the example set by the very first President. Each has wondered how he could be worthy of George Washington's example. // ((That's especially true in the Electoral College. Imagine -- a unanimous vote -- the envy of every President.)) //

We remember George Washington as a humble and dedicated man -- saddled with the responsibility of shaping the most important office in this nation. He also had to carry one unique burden. He couldn't blame any problems on his predecessors. //

Our Founders occasionally worried that the Presidency could, in the wrong hands, grow into a kind of monarchy. But then they remembered the man who would define the high office -- and in some ways they designed the Presidency in his likeness.

George Washington was shy, but decisive; reserved, but beloved. He did not seek the Presidency. The office sought him. //

Tonight, we salute him. George Washington was a soldier / surveyor / planter / President. He enjoyed good food and wine, and sports of all kind. He married a woman who described herself as "steady as a clock, busy as a bee, and cheerful as a cricket." / Those words remind me of another First Lady. I'd have to add of Barbara, "Faster than a bullet, more powerful than a locomotive, and able to leap tall buildings in a single bound." //

But most of all, George Washington embodied the values and aspirations of a special nation, one founded upon ideas -- and not merely planted amid the ruins of conquest or dispute. ((One story captures the special esteem in which Americans held him. Ben Franklin, as American Minister to France, once attended a diplomatic dinner in Paris during America's Revolution. / First rose a French official, toasting Louis XVI and comparing him to

the moon. The British Ambassador then toasted his monarch, George III, likening him to the sun. /

Finally, the aging Franklin stood to speak. "I cannot give you the sun nor the moon, but I give you George Washington -- who, like Joshua of old, commanded both the sun and the moon to stand still, and both obeyed."]) //

Franklin, of course, had seen the unassuming giant in action. George Washington led his troops into battle against the world's strongest army and, contrary to all predictions, they won. He helped wage and win the world's only permanent revolution -- the American Revolution. /

Once, he said, "When liberty begins to take root, it is a plant of rapid growth." // Even today, that beautiful plant blossoms in soils that previously had resisted it. George Washington's seedling has become the entire world's hope.

He sought not the security of power, but the power to secure liberty. And he passed that power on to every American.//

Finally, George Washington bequeathed to us a republican model of government -- "staked," as he said, "on the experiment entrusted to the American people." He defined the office in a defining moment of history -- leaving a Presidency strong enough to lead the nation through times of crisis, but also balanced by other branches of government, so as not to grow into something menacing. /

For two hundred years Americans have hoisted freedom's sacred flame and chosen occupants of this office. All Presidents

derive their power from the people, but they also draw inspiration from George Washington. //

((Earlier, I said any President compares himself to the first. I tried that -- until I heard that Washington personally reviewed all executive mail. / I gave up. / It takes a full-time staff just to review Millie's mail.)) //

Tonight, we have a man who will tell us of Washington -- and how the Father of our Country mastered events in times of peril. // Our speaker is Gordon S. Wood -- Historian and University Professor at Brown University. /

Professor Wood is a native of Concord, Massachusetts. / Talk about springing from history's womb. / He graduated from Tufts, served in the Air Force, completed work at Harvard, and has been Pitt Professor of American Institutions at Cambridge University and a visiting ~~teacher~~ fellow at All Souls College, Oxford. /

Next year, Professor Wood's newest book, The Radicals of the American Revolution, is scheduled for publication. I'm sure it will complement his seminal work, The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787. /

And now, it is my honor to introduce one of the great scholars of perhaps our greatest President. Ladies and Gentlemen, the distinguished historian, Gordon Wood.

# # # #

Familiar Quotations

A collection of passages, phrases and proverbs traced to their sources in ancient and modern literature

FIFTEENTH AND 125TH ANNIVERSARY EDITION
REVISED AND ENLARGED

John Bartlett

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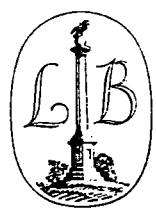
and the editorial staff of Little, Brown and Company



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1 Would it be too bold to imagine, that in the great length of time, since the earth began to exist, perhaps millions of ages before the commencement of the history of mankind, would it be too bold to imagine, that all warm-blooded animals have arisen from one living filament which the Great First Cause endued with animality . . . and thus possessing the faculty of continuing to improve by its own inherent activity, and of delivering down those improvements by generation to its posterity, world without end![1]
Zoonomia [1794]

Charles Lee
1731–1782

2 Beware that your Northern laurels do not change to Southern willows.[2]
To General Horatio Gates after the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga [October 17, 1777]

Beilby Porteus
1731–1808

3 One murder made a villain,[3]
Millions, a hero. *Death [1759], l. 154*

4 War its thousands slays,
Peace, its ten thousands.[4] *Ib. l. 178*

Pierre de Beaumarchais
1732–1799

5 Judging by the virtues expected of a servant, does your Excellency know many masters who would be worthy valets?
Le Barbier de Séville [1775], act I, sc. ii

6 I quickly laugh at everything, for fear of having to cry.[5] *Ib.*

7 If you assure me that your intentions are honorable. *Ib. IV, vi*

8 If you are mediocre and you grovel, you shall succeed.
Le Mariage de Figaro [1784], act III, sc. iii

9 You went to some trouble to be born, and that's all.[6] *Ib. V, iii*

10 If censorship reigns there cannot be sincere flattery, and only small men are afraid of small writings. *Ib.*

John Dickinson
1732–1808

11 Then join hand in hand, brave Americans all!
By uniting we stand, by dividing we fall.[7]
The Liberty Song [1768]

Richard Henry Lee
1732–1794

12 That these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.
Resolution moved at the Continental Congress [June 7, 1776; adopted July 2][8]

Julie de Lespinasse
1732–1776

13 The logic of the heart is absurd.
Letter to M. Guibert [August 27, 1774]

George Washington[9]
1732–1799

14 Discipline is the soul of an army. It makes small numbers formidable; procures success to the weak, and esteem to all.
Letter of Instructions to the Captains of the Virginia Regiments [July 29, 1759]

[1] Here the grandfather of Charles Darwin announces his own early theory of organic evolution.

[2] Gates was later defeated by Cornwallis at Camden, South Carolina [August 16, 1780], and was relieved of his command.

[3] See Seneca, 114:32; Young, 330:1; and J. R. Lowell, 567:20.

[4] See *I Samuel 18:7*, 13:4.

[5] Je me presse de rire de tout, de peur d'être obligé d'en pleurer.
See La Bruyère, 315:7, and Byron, 461:10.

[6] Vous vous êtes donné la peine de naître, et rien de plus.

[7] United we stand, divided we fall.—*A watchword of the American Revolution*
See Aesop, 66:22.

[8] See John Adams, 381:6.

[9] The Father of your Country.—HENRY KNOX, *Letter to Washington* [March 19, 1787]
See Henry (Light-Horse Harry) Lee, 402:10, and Franklin, 348:11.
I can't tell a lie. I did it [cut the cherry tree] with my hatchet.—*Attributed to Washington as a child;* MASON LOCKE WEEMS [1759–1825], *The Life of George Washington* [1800]
Father, I cannot tell a lie. I did it with my little hatchet.—MARK TWAIN [1835–1910], *Mark Twain as Washington*

1 Let us therefore animate and encourage each other, and show the whole world that a Freeman, contending for liberty on his own ground, is superior to any slavish mercenary on earth.

General Orders, Headquarters, New York [July 2, 1776]

2 The time is now near at hand which must probably determine whether Americans are to be freemen or slaves; whether they are to have any property they can call their own; whether their houses and farms are to be pillaged and destroyed, and themselves consigned to a state of wretchedness from which no human efforts will deliver them. The fate of unborn millions will now depend, under God, on the courage and conduct of this army. Our cruel and unrelenting enemy leaves us only the choice of brave resistance, or the most abject submission. We have, therefore, to resolve to conquer or die.

Address to the Continental Army before the battle of Long Island [August 27, 1776]

3 There is nothing that gives a man consequence, and renders him fit for command, like a support that renders him independent of everybody but the State he serves.

Letter to the president of Congress, Heights of Harlem [September 24, 1776]

4 To place any dependence upon militia, is, assuredly, resting upon a broken staff.

Ib.

5 Without a decisive naval force we can do nothing definitive. And with it, everything honorable and glorious.[1]

To Lafayette [November 15, 1781]

6 If men are to be precluded from offering their sentiments on a matter which may involve the most serious and alarming consequences that can invite the consideration of mankind, reason is of no use to us; the freedom of speech may be taken away, and dumb and silent we may be led, like sheep to the slaughter.

Address to officers of the Army [March 15, 1783]

7 The preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally staked, on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.

First Inaugural Address [April 30, 1789]

8 Happily the Government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens in giving it on all occasions their effectual support.

Letter to the Jewish congregation of Newport, Rhode Island [1790]

9 To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace.[2]

First Annual Address [to both houses of Congress, January 8, 1790]

10 The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government.

Farewell Address [September 17, 1796]

11 Let me now . . . warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party. *Ib.*

12 Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. . . . The Nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. *Ib.*

13 'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances, with any portion of the foreign world. *Ib.*

14 There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. *Ib.*

15 It is well, I die hard, but I am not afraid to go. *Last words [December 14, 1799]*

Joseph Priestley[3]

1733–1804

16 It was ill policy in Leo the Tenth to patronize polite literature. He was cherishing an enemy in disguise. And the English hierar-

[1] See Themistocles, 70:19; Bacon, 181:11; Waller, 276:3; Mahan, 642:8; and Morison, 800:11.

[2] See Aristotle, 87:24; Vegetius, 128:25; Robert Burton, 259:13; Fénelon, 316:12; and Lowell, 568:9.

[3] See the Bentham footnote to Francis Hutcheson, 342:19. Bentham credits Priestley's *Essay on Government* [1768] — or the work of Cesare Bonesana, Marchese di Beccaria [1738–1794] — with inspiring his concept of "the greatest happiness of the greatest number."

2 October 1991

662 - 2190

MEMORANDUM FOR CS

FROM: JAG

SUBJECT: MATERIAL FOR PRES LEC

NOTE: Curt -- I wasn't able to find any anecdotes that are funny in an of themselves, but I've tried to embellish a few bits of trivia.

1) Once Washington posed for a life mask by the young American artist Joseph Wright. Washington's face was oiled and the plaster was applied. His wife, however, was uprepared for the spectacle, and when she entered the room, she gave a startled cry. The President was amused, and, quite literally, cracked up.

2) POTUS: "After Washington won the Revolution, some Americans suggested instituting a monarchy and naming the General King George I. \\ Wait a minute, I like the sound of that."

3) One evening, as Washington sat at the table after dinner, the hearth behind him flared up, leading him to say that it was too hot and he'd better move. When someone said it behooved a general to stand fire, Washington retorted that it didn't look good for a general to receive it from behind.

4) POTUS: "Martha Washington once described herself as 'steady as a clock, busy as a bee, and cheerful as a cricket.' In fact, that description also reminds me of another First Lady, my wife. But for Bar, I'd also have to add, 'faster than a bullet, more powerful than a locomotive, and able to leap tall buildings in a single bound.'"