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Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
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Series: Speech File Backup Files
Subseries: Chron File, 1989-1993

OA/ID Number: 13805
Folder ID Number: 13805-013

Folder Title:
Federalist Society of Pennsylvania--Government Reform 4/3/92 [OA 7571] [2]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01a. Memo	Clayton Yeutter to Dave Demarest, re: Howard Baker and Congressional term limits. (1 pp.)	04/01/92	P-5	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File, Backup
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Federalist Society of Pennsylvania - Government Reform 4/3/92 [2]

Open on Expiration of PRA
 (Document Follows)
 By SA (NLGB) on 4/5/2007

Date Closed: 11/29/2004	OA/ID Number: 07571
FOIA/SYS Case #:	
Re-review Case #: 2004-2265-S	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	
MR Case #:	Appeal Case #:
MR Disposition:	Appeal Disposition:
Disposition Date:	Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

<p>Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]</p> <p>P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA] P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA] P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA] P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA] P-5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA] P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]</p> <p>C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.</p>	<p>Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]</p> <p>(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA] (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA] (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA] (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA] (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA] (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA] (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA] (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information</p>
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: Apr. 1, 1992


TO: Dave Demarest

FROM: CLAYTON YEUTTER
Counsellor to the President for
Domestic Policy

Dave, here is Charlie Kolb's draft language on the Howard Baker idea, along with his memo saying he doesn't think it is a good idea.

On top is my re-draft for your consideration. If you need a little more beef for the speech, maybe something like this would work.

I thought draft 2 was really pretty solid, though not earthshaking. I'll look forward to draft 3 later today.



Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01b. Draft	Re: Congressional term limits. (1 pp.)	n.d.	P-5	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
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Not so many years ago serving in Congress was a part time activity. Somehow, Members managed to finish their work and adjourn for the year just before the arrival of our hot, humid Washington D.C. summers. Air conditioning changed all that, and now Congress sits year-round. So much for the benefits of modern technology!

The consequence is that members of the House and Senate have become permanent Washingtonians, and tourists in their own home communities. To borrow a line from former Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker, ~~Members of Congress~~ ^{they} ought to be living in America and visiting Washington.

With a streamlined committee structure, ~~fewer/staff/~~ a leaner staff, and a commitment to do its job efficiently and then go home, ~~the/Congress/~~ Members of Congress could begin again to ~~live~~ ^{reside} in their own communities, ~~thereby~~ ^{thus} reflecting the values of their constituents instead of the values of Washington D.C. lobbyists.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01c. Memo	Charles E. M. Kolb to Clayton Yeutter, re: A Part Time Congress. (2 pp.)	04/01/92	P-5	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 1, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR CLAYTON YEUTTER

FROM:

CHARLES E.M. KOLB *CEmk*

SUBJECT:

A Part Time Congress

Attached is a draft paragraph that could be included in the President's government reform speech this Friday.

I would not, however, recommend that the President take on this issue. While it may be appropriate for former Senator Howard Baker to raise, having the President do so strikes me as going a bit too far in micromanaging the operations of the legislative branch. I also think people would perceive it as too whining. I'd recommend we stick with the structural reforms already proposed in the speech.

I also checked with Nick Calio's office (per Josh Bolten). They concur in not raising the issue in Friday's speech.

It turns out that the Congress is in session probably less than half the year anyway. Were the President to raise this issue, it would amount to him telling them to stay in town with fewer breaks and get their work done all at once. Two points come to mind on this: (1) So what? and (2) What about Congress's legitimate oversight role?

I think a far better tack to take would be to chastise the Congress for taking so long to complete essential work such as nominations and appropriations.

Attachment

Not so many years ago Congress was a part-time legislature. Somehow, the Members managed to finish all their work and adjourn for the year just before the arrival of summer's heat and humidity. Air conditioning changed all that. So much for the so-called advances of modern technology.

Today's Congress sits year-round. Members of the House and Senate have become permanent Washingtonians and tourists in their own home towns and communities. To borrow a line from former Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker, Members of Congress ought to be living in America and visiting Washington. [If that were the case, Members could even keep their local checking accounts. They wouldn't need one in Congress, too.]

There's no reason why Congress could not complete its work in six months. A streamlined committee structure might even mean timely authorizations and appropriations. After all, a Congress to be immortal doesn't have to be eternal.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 30, 1992

92 MAR 30 P5: 21

MEMORANDUM FOR DAN MCGROARTY

FROM: JOHN HERRMANN *JH*

SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks: At Old House Chamber,
Philadelphia

Earlier today I submitted comments on the President's government reform speech which reflected comments from the Office of Policy Development staff. Since then, Roger has called in his comments which are noted on the attached draft.

If you have any questions or I can be of further assistance, please let me know.

cc: Phillip D. Brady

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 03/27/92 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: NOON Monday, 03/30

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AT OLD HOUSE CHAMBER, PHILADELPHIA, PA-4/1

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	HORNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SKINNER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	MCBRIDE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
SCOWCROFT	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MOORE	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DARMAN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	PETERSMEYER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BRADY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	PORTER	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
BROMLEY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROGICH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
CALIO	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	ROLLINS	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
DEMAREST	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	SMITH	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
FITZWATER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	YEUTTER	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
GRAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	FINDLAY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
HOLIDAY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	KAUFMAN	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
BOSKIN	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	MCGROARTY	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

REMARKS:

Please provide any comments directly to Dan McGroarty no later than Noon on Monday, 03/30, with a copy to this office. Thanks.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

22 MAR 27 P8:39

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS AT OLD HOUSE CHAMBER
PHILADELPHIA, PA.
APRIL 1, 1992

Thank you for that kind introduction. [ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS]

Today, I would rather be in Philadelphia. Old Congress Hall is home to great ideas and great debate. In this very room, pivotal and profound discussions occurred -- setting in motion a grand experiment in man's ability to chart his own future.

The vision of the Founding Fathers ~~may still be hard for us~~ ^{IS AS RELEVANT FOR}
~~to fully comprehend.~~ ^{US TODAY AS IT WAS MORE THAN 200 YEARS AGO.} But if you really think about it, their
~~goals were not much different than ours~~ -- they wanted their new
country to prosper -- and they knew intuitively that the ~~road~~ ^{PATH} to
prosperity was freedom. They believed in ~~the~~ ^{VALUES} fundamentals -- in
the inherent strength of faith and family -- and they were
determined to preserve them. They wanted the citizens of our
young nation to live in peace -- safe and secure from threats at
home and abroad. It took a revolution to achieve their vision -
- and it is our duty to preserve it.

When British General Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown in 1781, he had his band play "The World Turned Upside Down", as his troops marched before Washington's Continental Army. It was a profoundly simple realization that an old world order was coming to a close and a new order was beginning.

Now more than two hundred years later, we are again in the midst of great change. Democracy and freedom once again have

STEADFASTLY ARTICULATED

2

PROVIDED LEADERSHIP

turned the world upside down. America once again stood at the
^{AT} ~~forefront~~ of a great movement. We ~~stood firm for~~ our principles
~~through some very difficult times.~~ We changed the world, and we
~~stand upon a new threshold.~~ Now, as you have heard me say, if we
^{WE KNOW THAT IF WE CAN} ~~could~~ change the world, we can change America.

Many have called the 20th century the American Century. In a world more driven by economic competition than ever before, we must meet five great challenges now, if we are to ensure that the next century is also the American Century.

First, our people must be educated, literate -- motivated to make learning a lifelong pursuit. We must reform our education system -- literally revolutionize it -- top to bottom. Second, our people must have a sense of well-being about their health and the health of their children and families. We must guarantee them access to the finest health care system in the world, and make that care more affordable.

^{THIRD} Next, our civil justice system must do what it was designed to do: dispense justice for all. Eighteen million lawsuits a year are choking us -- costing individuals and businesses billions of dollars -- and putting a tremendous drag on our civility as well as our economy.

And in the next century, economic competition, as well as economic opportunity will come from beyond our borders. That
^{REQUIRES THAT} ~~demands~~ we open ^{WIDER} more foreign markets for American goods and services to sustain and create American jobs.

Finally, we must ~~address the issue that I am here to discuss~~ ^{IT IS THIS TASK OF REFORMING} ~~at length today~~ -- reform ^{of} our government. During the last decade, one institution after another has been challenged -- forced to take a hard look within itself, make needed improvements, and act to make the institution live up to its principles. That process is called reform.

OUR GOVERNMENT THAT I'M HERE TO DISCUSS TODAY.

^{THE IMPULSE TO REFORM IS OFTEN COMBINED WITH A} In the private sector, or more specifically, in a ^g business, ~~it might be called the~~ crusade for quality. Whether it's the quality of a product, or the quality of a service, it's not often flashy --perhaps it's a return to old values and standards like "built to last a lifetime", "the customer's always right", or "service with a smile". At other times it means measuring performance, because that is the way to improve performance. In many ways, competition has been the driving force to improve quality and performance, and not surprisingly, it has worked. Today, American products are ^{UNQUESTIONABLY} ~~quantifiably~~ ^{IN QUALITY} better ^v than they were only a few years ago.

^{PUSH} It is not just the private sector that has felt the positive ~~pinch~~ ^{of} healthy competition. For example, the military, in the face of budget cuts, has ~~had to cut the fat, and get~~ ^{BECOME} leaner and smarter. Desert Storm proved ~~it could be done?~~ ^{WHAT A COMMITMENT TO QUALITY AND REAL} ~~Just about every~~ other institution -- state and local government, unions, trade associations, charitable groups -- ^{THOUSANDS OF} ~~any~~ organization, that serves ^S a ^g public -- have been influenced by this drive for excellence.

Yet, ^{PARTS OF} the federal government ^{HAVE} ~~has~~ resisted reform and protected the status quo -- even ~~in the face of an~~ ^{AT A TIME WHEN THE NEED FOR CHANGE IS} unambiguous.

WHILE PRESERVING UNDIMINISHED THE ABILITY TO PERFORM ITS HIGHEST PRIORITY ACTIVITIES.

DEDICATION CAN ACCOMPLISH.

need for change. ^{IS SWEEPING} The change that swept the rest of America ^{MUST NOT} has stopped cold at the Capital Beltway. The rise of an entrenched status quo-oriented Washington establishment, can be laid squarely at the doorstep of the United States Congress.

Everyone knows that ^{MOREOVER,} government is too big and spends too much. ^{TAXPAYER'S} And there's something else everyone knows: too often the government spends the money of its customer, the American taxpayer, the wrong way -- inefficiently, ineffectively, without accountability, and frankly, ^{LITTLE} without compassion. ^{HAVE} As I've mentioned, we've got some very tough problems ahead, and ^{MAJOR CHALLENGES} government needs to play a role in solving these problems. ^{HELP IN MEETING THESE CHALLENGES} But, ^{THE FEDERAL} right now government, particularly the Congress, is ^{FALLING FAR} simply not up ^{SHORT} to the job. ^{IT IS TIME TO CHANGE THINGS} Let me tell you why that is the case, and how we must change things.

CHECK CITATION

Political scientist Morris Fiorina paints a disturbing but familiar picture of how ^{CONGRESS OPERATES} Washington really behaves. He says that the growth of big government has changed the role of Congress from policymaking to pork-barreling -- changed the Congressional office to a Campaign and Constituent office. He argues that this sets in motion a self-perpetuating cycle of congressional support for unnecessary spending and bigger bureaucracies which in turn become even more lethargic and unresponsive.

Then, the members and their increasingly powerful staffs become ombudsmen between the constituent and the bureaucracy -- expediting benefits and procuring more pork -- and thus ensuring re-election and a continuation of the status quo.

Prophetically, the Founding Fathers warned us about this. Madison, in Federalist Paper #52, argued that permanent majorities are dangerously undemocratic. He would be appalled to hear that 98% of Congressmen who seek re-election are in fact re-elected. That one party -- the Democrats -- have controlled the Congress 58 out of the last 62 years. That not one Republican member of the House -- some with more than 30 years of service -- has ever been in the majority, and all but five Democrats have never been in the minority.

One-party rule is a big part of the problem, but this is not an attack on divided government. We have had divided government before in our history, sometimes during periods of great crisis. Each time we have pulled together as a nation, and met whatever challenge threatened our security or national well-being.

The larger issue is the systemic problem -- the sticky web of 284 Congressional Committees, ^{MORE THAN} 34,000 Capitol Hill employees and staff, 2 billion dollars of taxpayer financing, overlaid with a 117 million dollar re-election war chest in special-interest campaign contributions, and millions more in special-interest influence.

This is not a system that can promote reform and change. Rather, it aggressively protects the status quo. Talk to retiring members, many of them good people like Senator Warren Rudman of New Hampshire, and you will hear the frustration. When asked about the continuing spectre of huge budget deficits, he issued this indictment of the system, "the fact is that we are

unable institutionally to do what has to be done. We are not just watching the fiddler fiddle while Rome burns, we are watching the entire orchestra."

Let me give you one small example of the misplaced priorities on Capitol Hill -- an example that continually comes across my desk for action. Three times a week the White House receives a proclamation passed by a joint resolution of Congress. It might be to designate a particular day: "National Tap Dance Day", (true story) or a month, "National Digestive Disease Awareness Month". Hundreds of these come to the White House for Presidential action each year. In fact, nearly one third of all the legislation that reaches my desk is like this.

Now, while there's nothing wrong with Congress passing a proclamation heralding "National Crime Victims Week", there is something wrong when Congress can't pass a comprehensive crime bill that actually makes people safer in their homes and communities. "National Asparagus Month" may be good constituent relations, but the problems in American agriculture have to do with our national vitality, not our national vegetable.

For every one of these bills, there are legions of staff churning out the public relations campaigns to accompany them -- both on Capitol Hill, and in the executive branch. There are constituents contacted, newsletters written, paper -- reams of paper -- produced. Is this a big ticket item in the federal budget? Probably not. But it is more evidence of a Congress that chooses to spend time and effort on the easy constituent

relations and routine chores rather than on the difficult, often controversial issues that determine the future of our country.

These actions undermine the people's confidence in their government the same way as outrageous pork-barrel spending does. [[Just as I sent to Congress ten days ago my anti-pork line-item rescissions, I am telling Congress today that from this day forward, the Executive Branch will not spend taxpayer dollars to fund publicity campaigns for special interests -- so don't send me any more of these pork-barrel proclamations.]]

The American people are a compassionate people -- willing to foot the bill to help make this country better. But there is a mismatch between their willingness to help and their skepticism about government. They just don't trust government to use their hard-earned tax dollars wisely. In dollar terms, one quarter of everything we produce, build, or grow as a nation is devoured by the central government. There is no bigger appetite on earth.

When taxpayer money goes for special-interest publicity campaigns and pork-barrel projects, people get angry. They demand change. Maybe it's small potatoes to the Congress, but the public knows P.R. when it sees it. For each letter a member receives, 12,000 go out -- free. That adds up to real money -- taxpayer money, and I think we must put a stop to it.

Today our government is a trillion and a half dollar business that too often forgets that the taxpayer is customer, shareholder, and board member all rolled into one.

Because government forgets the customer, it issues counterproductive regulations -- ones that increase the cost of doing business, ~~but worse, ones that don't really solve~~ ^{WHILE NOT} ^{ING} the problem they were designed to solve.

Because the government forgets the shareholder, it shelters perpetual programs that have outlived their function, but not their funding. Because the government forgets who is really the boss -- the American taxpayer -- it has become insulated, unresponsive and resists reform. It is almost impossible to adequately reward success, much less punish failure. This is no slight to the four million hardworking people in the bureaucracy itself. Talk to them and many will say the same thing -- they are frustrated as well. But the system, ~~which may have been good~~ ~~for its time,~~ now must change, and it won't be easy.

That's because this kind of government doesn't just happen. Congress creates these ~~giant centralized~~ ^{LARGE} bureaucracies, lays down ~~the~~ ^{AND} mandates, ^{INEFFICIENCY} funds the programs. Then, ~~it is the~~ Congress that ~~protects them,~~ ~~harasses them,~~ ~~investigates them,~~ ~~micro-manages~~ ~~them.~~ ^{THE BUREAUCRACY AND HARASSES THOSE WHO CHALLENGE THEM} With a Congressional subcommittee Chairman as godparent, ^{MANY DOMESTIC PROGRAMS} ~~they~~ become stepchildren of the Congress.

A few examples will help drive home the point. Some thirty different Congressional committees, and 77 subcommittees claim some degree of oversight responsibility for the Department of Defense. Seventy-four committees and subcommittees compete to exercise jurisdiction over the War on Drugs.

~~Think of~~ the time and resources spent by the Executive Branch to fulfill Congressional demands for testimony. ~~Think of~~ the thousands of required reports that ~~must be~~ researched, written and delivered to Capitol Hill. Sixty reports from HUD. Six hundred from the Defense Department -- and on through all the Cabinet Departments.

Congress has legitimate oversight responsibilities of course. And I know that the federal government ~~cannot be run~~ just like IBM or the local convenience store, but we can improve its performance. ~~We must improve its performance.~~ So it's not just the Congress, it's the sprawling federal bureaucracy that needs reform as well. But let me be clear, it is impossible to have executive branch reform without reforming the Congress.

I have proposed reforms in the past and I am proposing additional steps today: in sum they represent how to return confidence and clarity to the mission of America's government.

First, universal application of the laws of the land. Federalist paper #57 asserts that elected officials, "can make no law which will not have in full operation on themselves and their friends, as well as on the great mass of society." In other words, Congress must govern itself by the laws it imposes on the public. Across the board. No more exceptions. Like civil rights laws. Age discrimination laws. The Americans with Disabilities Act and the Freedom of Information Act.

Congress should also submit to the laws it imposes on the Executive Branch -- like the Privacy Act, or Title VI of the

Ethics in Government Act of 1978, the independent counsel law.

[[To those ends, today I am sending to Congress [name of Administration bill] which will force Congress to be covered by the same laws everyone else is. Further, I will veto any new legislation that does not also apply to the Congress.]] But that is only a first step toward rebuilding public confidence in our laws and our lawmakers.

Second, reform of the Congressional committee system. I support efforts to trim the overgrown thicket of committees and subcommittees which is now paralyzing the Congress. Democratic Senator Boren said it best when he described the Congress as "inefficient, unresponsive, wasteful, and compromised by the way it finances its campaigns." The numbers of reformers in the Congress is growing but they need the support of the American people now more than ever.

Third, sweeping campaign finance reform. Three years ago - - in 1989 -- I proposed the total elimination of Political Action Committees and limits on so-called "leadership PACs." I proposed that we increase the support that the parties can provide to federal campaigns to reduce the influence of special interests, decrease the time candidates and incumbents spend fund-raising, and increase the legitimate role of our political parties. I proposed that we reduce allowable contributions by these "independent" PACs to federal campaigns, and pass laws to ensure that they stay truly independent and unaffiliated -- in other words, clean. Finally, I asked the Congress to join me in

stopping the abuse that results from spreading around what's called "soft money" -- I asked for full disclosure of "soft money" expenditures by all organizations as the only way to clean up the system.

Fourth, spending reform. I have already proposed to freeze domestic discretionary ~~spending in~~ federal ^{BUDGET AUTHORITY AND} ^{NON-DEFENSE} employment next year. I have proposed to curb as well the growth of mandatory programs without touching Social Security. I call again for the American people to demand that the Congress pass the same measure that 43 governors have: the line-item veto. In the absence of that important tool I will continue to use whatever means are legally at my disposal, including the line-item-rescission, to protect the taxpayer from the spending excesses of Congress. I will resist any attempt by the Congress to dismantle the only defense the taxpayer has against Congressional overspending -- those budget caps implemented in the 1990 Budget Act. Finally, I again call for a Balanced Budget Constitutional Amendment.

Fifth, regulatory reform. I have put a ninety-day moratorium on new government regulations. We are revising and eliminating regulations that impede our ability to compete, and we are accelerating regulations that enhance our competitive edge. We have cut back XXX of regulations, pages in the Federal Register by XX% just in the last XX months/years. [[Today I am announcing an extension/new review process.]]

Next, a new communications policy between the Congress and the Executive Branch. [[Logging reform -- decision memo result. Reform of the nomination process.]] //

Finally, we must limit Congressional terms. The cycle of virtually guaranteed re-election through the built-in advantages of incumbency must be broken. [[So today, to truly to fix the system, I have sent to the Congress legislation to limit terms of United States Senators to two, and Representatives, six terms.]] After all, as President my terms are limited, the same should apply to members of Congress.

Change is sweeping America, just as it is sweeping the world. Once again, as in the first days of our new nation, we face a challenge. The reforms I've outlined today can renew our faith in government -- restore the principles of our Founders, and guarantee for our children a new American Century.

The choice is clear. On one side stand the defenders of the status quo. On the other: the forces of change. We must make the choice worthy of the men who met here -- and began the world's only permanent revolution. If we could change the world, we can change America. We must make the choice for change.

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

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02a. Memo	Clayton Yeutter to Henson Moore, re: Philadelphia Government Reform Speech. (1 pp.)	04/01/92	P-5	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File, Backup
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Federalist Society of Pennsylvania - Government Reform 4/3/92 [2]

**Open on Expiration of PRA
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By AV (NLGB) on 4/5/2005

Date Closed: 11/29/2004	OA/ID Number: 07571
FOIA/SYS Case #:	
Re-review Case #: 2004-2265-S	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	
MR Case #:	Appeal Case #:
MR Disposition:	Appeal Disposition:
Disposition Date:	Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: Apr. 1, 1992

TO: Henson Moore

FROM: CLAYTON YEUTTER
Counsellor to the President for
Domestic Policy

Henson, here's an issue that should be carefully considered as the Philly speech moves toward a final draft.

The President's language would probably be used by Democrat opponents against all these folks.

The other side, of course, is that Republican challengers can also use it against a multitude of Democrat incumbents.

On balance, I'd probably opt not to be specific this close to the election.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02b. Memo	John Herrmann to Clayton Yeutter, re: Governmental Reform Speech. (1 pp.)	04/01/92	P-5	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File, Backup
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Federalist Society of Pennsylvania - Government Reform 4/3/92 [2]

**Open on Expiration of PRA
(Document Follows)**
 By SN (NLGB) on 4/5/2005

Date Closed: 11/29/2004	OA/ID Number: 07571
FOIA/SYS Case #:	
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 1, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR CLAYTON YEUTTER

FROM: JOHN HERRMANN *JH*

SUBJECT: Governmental Reform Speech

In the current draft of the President's proposed speech on governmental reform, the President endorses Congressional term limitations. The text specifically calls for limiting U.S. Senators to two terms and U.S. Representatives to six terms.

Eight Republican Senators (Dole, Packwood, Nickles, Specter, D'Amato, Grassley, Kasten and Murkowski) would be ineligible for re-election in 1992 under this standard. An additional three Senators (Rudman, Symms and Garn) would have been affected had they chosen to run again.

Seventy-six of the 166 Republicans in the House (including Representatives Michel, Gunderson, Gingrich, Walker, Hammerschmidt, Vander Jagt and Gradison) would also be forced to retire under the President's proposal.

Roger asked me to relay to you his concern that the President might find it difficult to campaign for the re-election of some of these Republican stalwarts if he has endorsed specific term limitations. (The President has already participated in fundraisers for Senators Packwood and Murkowski last fall.) You might wish to consider whether the President in his speech should instead focus on endorsing only the concept of term limits without specifying what those limits should be.

cc: Christine Sheehan

From C. Kolb

Not so many years ago Congress was a part-time legislature. Somehow, the Members managed to finish all their work and adjourn for the year just before the arrival of summer's heat and humidity. Air conditioning changed all that. So much for the so-called advances of modern technology.

Today's Congress sits year-round. Members of the House and Senate have become permanent Washingtonians and tourists in their own home towns and communities. To borrow a line from former Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker, Members of Congress ought to be living in America and visiting Washington. [If that were the case, Members could even keep their local checking accounts. They wouldn't need one in Congress, too.]

There's no reason why Congress could not complete its work in six months. A streamlined committee structure might even mean timely authorizations and appropriations. After all, a Congress to be immortal doesn't have to be eternal.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03a. Memo	Clayton Yeutter to Dave Demarest, re: Philadelphia speech. (1 pp.)	03/31/92	P-5	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File, Backup
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Federalist Society of Pennsylvania - Government Reform 4/3/92 [2]

**Open on Expiration of PRA
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By SN (NLGB) on 4/5/2005

Date Closed: 11/29/2004	OA/ID Number: 07571
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: Mar. 31, 1992

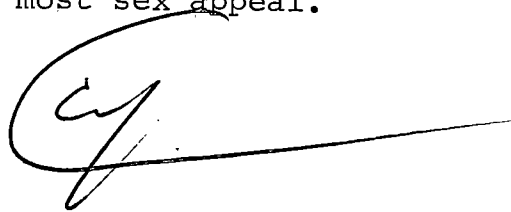
TO: Dave Demarest

FROM: CLAYTON YEUTTER
Counsellor to the President for
Domestic Policy

I asked Austen Furse to check out two of the potential additions to the Friday speech, and attached are his observations.

As you can see, there doesn't seem to be a lot of enthusiasm for either.

The Howard Baker idea is probably the one with the most sex appeal.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'CY', with a long horizontal line extending to the right.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03b. Memo	Austen Furse to Clayton Yeutter, re: Philadelphia Speech: Jobs-Impact Statement and Authorization Process. (1 pp.)	03/31/92	B-5	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File, Backup
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Federalist Society of Pennsylvania - Government Reform 4/3/92 [2]

**Open on Expiration of PRA
(Document Follows)**

By JN (NLGB) on 4/5/2005

Date Closed: 11/29/2004
FOIA/SYS Case #:
Re-review Case #: 2004-2265-S
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

OA/ID Number: 07571

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 31, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR CLATON YEUTTER

FROM: AUSTEN FURSE *AF*

SUBJECT: PHILADELPHIA SPEECH: JOBS-IMPACT STATEMENT
AND AUTHORIZATION PROCESS

You asked for information on two suggestions for the speech:

- o Whether to advocate a requirement for an **jobs-impact statement** to be attached to legislation.
- o Whether to advocate reform aimed at the inefficiency of the **budget authorization process**.

I. **Economic-impact Statement**

I spoke with Boskin about the economic impact statement idea, recently proposed by Senator Nickles. Boskin's reaction was to say that if the economic impact was to be judged by CBO or GAO, then it would be "worse than having nothing at all." Apart from this, he was generally positive. The letter from Boskin to Nickles on this subject (see attached) is similarly positive, without addressing the specifics of who would do the measuring.

Without revealing the reason for asking, I also raised this idea with Gordon Jones, who edited Imperial Congress, a Heritage Foundation book of proposals for Congressional reform. Jones was lukewarm to the idea. It was difficult for him to see who would measure the "jobs-impact" if not CBO or GAO. But perhaps, he suggested, the particular congressional committees could do it.

II. **Budget Authorization Process**

Bob Grady of OMB, who wrote, as you know, the President's speech on reform of March 20th, was negative on raising this issue, saying that it just "wouldn't cut" with the public, i.e., it is not a salient issue. The public is convinced, in his opinion, that the Congress is corrupt -- a message similar to the one promoted by Jerry Brown.



THE CHAIRMAN

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

March 3, 1992

Dear Senator Nickles:

After reviewing a draft of the "Economic and Employment Impact Act of 1992," I commend your efforts and those of Senator Reid to require the Congress to consider the economic effects of proposed legislation and regulation. It is essential for the Congress to gain a complete and accurate overview of the potential consequences of its actions. Requiring analysis of a proposal's economic impact would be an important first step toward more informed legislative and regulatory decisions.

Too often, legislation is passed by emphasizing its putative benefits without sufficient consideration of the costs it might impose on workers, firms and consumers in the form of lower wages, lost jobs, higher prices and decreased productivity. The economic impact of a law or regulation may be so great that these costs outweigh the benefits. Your proposed bill would focus attention on this problem. Measures that would have large negative effects on the economy would be deterred from the onset of the legislative or regulatory process. Cost-effective approaches to reach legislative or regulatory goals would be encouraged.

It is imperative that all regulatory agencies be encouraged to account for the economic effects of rulemaking. As you know, Executive Order 12291 requires regulatory agencies within the executive branch to choose objectives to maximize the net benefits to society, determine and select the most cost-effective means of achieving these objectives, and submit a Regulatory Impact Analysis for all major rules. Your draft bill would extend the spirit of Executive Order 12291 to Congressional legislation and independent agency rulemaking.

Just as unnecessary or burdensome regulation can be a drag on the economy by diverting resources from more productive uses, legislation can threaten the Nation's well-being if its economic effects are not taken into consideration. Your proposal would complement the President's ongoing regulatory reform initiative and I am strongly supportive of your efforts in this area.

Sincerely yours,

Michael J. Boskin

The Honorable Don Nickles
United States Senate
713 Hart Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510



5TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1991 News World Communications, Inc.
The Washington Times

December 29, 1991, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: Part A; NATION; INSIDE POLITICS; Pg. A4

LENGTH: 1522 words

BODY:

BIG BUCKS, LITTLE PARTY

The third-best-federally financed candidate for president is a black woman running on a "pro-gay" platform as a means of "saying the unsayable."

Leonora Fulani, 41, a Harlem development psychologist, is a seasoned candidate. She heads a third party called the National Alliance that likes to think of itself as promoting a better human environment.

According to the Federal Election Commission, it is also pretty well-heeled: It will receive \$624,497 in federal matching funds - more than all other presidential candidates except Democratic Sen. Tom Harkin and President Bush.

One of eight presidential candidates certified for the first distribution of the 1992 elections, Miss Fulani ran for the presidency four years ago and got on all 50 of the state ballots and the District of Columbia's.

In what the New Alliance Party said was a first for a black and a woman, she raised \$1.5 million in 1988, of which \$900,000 was certified for federal matching funds. The candidate received 250,000 votes - which amounted to \$3.60 in taxpayer money for each vote.

To qualify for federal funds a candidate must raise \$5,000 in each of 20 states. Individual contributions may be no more than \$250.

The New Alliance said it collected \$6,000 in 20 states by going house to house and soliciting from sidewalk card tables. The party said it also raised an additional \$500,000. In all, 40,000 people contributed.

"To me it's one of many indications that the American people support and want to hear from a much broader range of candidates than is currently offered," Miss Fulani said in a statement issued by the party.

Raised in Chester, Pa., Miss Fulani graduated from Hofstra University, earned a degree from Columbia University Teachers College and received her Ph.D. in developmental psychology at the City University of New York.

Madelyn Chapman, spokesman for the campaign, told the Associated Press, "We know she's not going to win, but we're running to do something about the way third parties are shut out of the political process in this country."

Miss Fulani, a single parent of two children, has also run unsuccessfully for mayor of New York City and lieutenant governor and governor of New York. She filed as a Democrat for the Feb. 18 New Hampshire presidential primary.

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The Washington Times, December 29, 1991

The party describes itself as designed to "say the unsayable about violence, racism, the Democratic Party, blacks and Jews, sex and crime, presidential politics, U.S. policy in Africa and the Caribbean and more."

NEW HAMPSHIRE TIE

In New Hampshire Democrats Bill Clinton and Paul Tsongas are "virtually tied" for the lead following New York Gov. Mario Cuomo's decision not to seek the Democratic nomination for president, according to a Dec. 20-23 voter survey.

The latest New Hampshire Poll of 362 likely Democratic voters found Mr. Tsongas, a former U.S. senator from Massachusetts, was preferred by 23 percent and the Arkansas governor by 21 percent.

Other Democrats: Sen. Bob Kerrey of Nebraska, 9 percent; Sen. Tom Harkin of Iowa, 3 percent; Gov. L. Douglas Wilder of Virginia, 1 percent; former Gov. Jerry Brown of California, less than half of 1 percent. Undecided: 42 percent.

According to the poll, much of the increased preference for Mr. Tsongas comes from voters who say they would have voted for Mr. Cuomo. Support for Mr. Kerrey decreased slightly since late November.

This is bad news for Mr. Kerrey. Along with Mr. Clinton and Mr. Tsongas, the Nebraska Democrat has devoted the most resources to the state. Analysts expect the Feb. 18 primary to cut the Democratic field in half.

In the Republican race, the survey of 347 likely Republican voters showed Mr. Bush leading in preference for president over conservative columnist Pat Buchanan by 59 percent to 21 percent. Undecided: 20 percent.

DUKE IN MIAMI

As ex-Klansman David Duke walked into a radio station in Miami last week, an elderly Cuban woman embraced him and a small group of Jewish protesters shouted at him from the sidewalk.

The crowd swelled to about 100 later in the evening as Mr. Duke took calls during a radio show. Some of the protesters, irate at his presence in South Florida, tried to enter the building but were turned back by police.

But the Louisiana state representative, who is running for the Republican presidential nomination, sounded like a mainstream candidate as he talked of tolerance for persons of all races - at least those willing to work.

His appearance at Spanish-language radio station WRHC-AM in Miami's Little Havana appeared to be the kickoff of his presidential campaign. Mr. Duke told Miami Cubans he believes they are in tune with him.

He praised Cuban-Americans, longtime GOP supporters, as "an asset to this country" and distinguished them from would-be immigrants such as the thousands of Haitians being held at the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba.

"The Cubans have been a tremendous asset. They're Christian people, they're anti-communist," Mr. Duke said. As for the Haitians: "I don't know if

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The Washington Times, December 29, 1991

they're going to make a great contribution.

"I don't think we can take all the politically oppressed people of the world. There's nothing wrong with a nation maintaining its borders and maintaining its immigration policy."

Florida contributed more money to Mr. Duke's unsuccessful campaign for governor than any other state outside Louisiana, and the candidate said "thousands and thousands" of Miami Cubans have offered support.

Although his visit had been denounced by mainstream Cuban leaders, Mr. Duke appealed for support by touching a favorite Cuban-American theme: a promise of U.S. help for a military assault on Fidel Castro "to free Cuba."

Mr. Duke also said he will sue to get his name on the Florida ballot if influential Republicans block entry. GOP leaders must submit the party's list of candidates to the secretary of state by Tuesday.

In Massachusetts, Duke supporters failed to get the required 2,500 names to enter him in the Republican presidential primary, according to a Boston Herald survey. Friday was the deadline.

JACKSON ON CUOMO

The Rev. Jesse Jackson's sympathetic response to Mario Cuomo's decision was generally overlooked in the reaction to the New York governor's press conference on why he would not run for the Democratic presidential nomination.

The District of Columbia's "shadow" senator, who is not seeking the presidency next year, issued a statement that said in part that Mr. Cuomo projected himself "as a visionary with a grasp of domestic and foreign policy options."

Mr. Jackson hailed the governor's "sensitivity" in comparing Kuwait with Haiti as well as challenging the "growing and dangerous U.S. dependency upon Japan" in a statement that the clergyman said he thought was not entirely final on the presidency.

"Gov. Cuomo sees himself as a visionary who seeks a way out of current crisis and as a responsible leader who will not walk away from 18 million New Yorkers," Mr. Jackson said.

"He [Mr. Cuomo] is a candidate with a plan and has the guts and intelligence to pay for the plan," Mr. Jackson added. "He has a primary commitment to put America back to work."

"The purpose of the press conference was to end a candidacy. Instead, his announcement did a different thing, it increased the interest in his candidacy."

****BOX

ON THE ROAD

Today

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The Washington Times, December 29, 1991

- * Former California Gov. Jerry Brown in New Hampshire.
- * Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton in Little Rock.
- * Sen. Bob Kerrey, Nebraska Democrat, skis with family in Gilford, N.H., and opens campaign office in Laconia, N.H.
- * Former Sen. Paul Tsongas in Cleveland.
- * Virginia Gov. L. Douglas Wilder in Virginia.

Tomorrow

- * Brown in New Hampshire.
- * President Bush departs for Pacific Rim tour, traveling to Australia via Honolulu
- * Clinton in Little Rock.
- * Kerrey in New Hampshire and Nebraska.

Tuesday

- * Brown in New Hampshire.
- * Bush arrives in Sydney.
- * Pat Buchanan attends winter carnival in New Hampshire.
- * Clinton in Little Rock.
- * Kerrey in Nebraska.

Wednesday

- * Brown in New Hampshire.
- * Buchanan in New Hampshire.
- * Bush travels to Canberra.
- * Clinton in Charleston, S.C.
- * Kerrey in Nebraska.
- * Tsongas in Massachusetts.

Thursday

- * Brown in New Hampshire.
- * Clinton in Charleston and Columbia, S.C.

The Washington Times, December 29, 1991

* Tsongas in New Hampshire.

Friday

* Brown in New Hampshire.

* Bush stops at Melbourne, then on to Singapore.

* Clinton in New Hampshire.

* Tsongas in New Hampshire.

Saturday

* Brown in New Hampshire.

* Clinton in New Hampshire.

* Tsongas in Massachusetts.

****ILLUSTRATION/BOX

YOUR TAX DOLLARS AT WORK?

The 1992 agriculture spending bill approved by Congress "includes \$230,000 for the Agriculture Department's Extension Service to promote tourism in New Mexico," according to Congressional Quarterly's special report on the 1992 budget.

GRAPHIC: Photo, David Duke courts the Cuban vote while attending a rally in Miami., By AP ; Illustration/Box, Illustration) NO CAPTION; Box Caption) YOUR TAX DOLLARS AT WORK? ; Chart; Box, Chart Caption) TODAY'S TALIKNG HEADS; Box Caption) ON THE ROAD

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FAX Transmittal

Date:

4/1/92

To:

Carol Aarhus

FAX #:

202-456-6218

From:

Andrea Cromwell

FAX #:

(202) 219-3880

Telephone #:

202-219-4140

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FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION



Press Office
 999 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20463
 Phone: Local 202-219-4155 Toll Free 800-424-9530

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
 THURSDAY - FEBRUARY 27, 1992

CONTACT: FRED EILAND
 SHARON SNYDER
 SCOTT MOXLEY

FEC APPROVES MATCHING FUNDS FOR 1992 PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

WASHINGTON -- The Federal Election Commission today certified \$3,324,600.01 in Federal Matching Funds to eight 1992 Presidential candidates.

This raises to \$12,629,019.97 the total amount of federal funds certified thus far to nine Presidential candidates eligible to receive federal primary matching funds. Total '88 pre-convention certifications to 15 candidates were \$67,547,821.30.

The following chart lists the amount certified to each candidate, along with the cumulative amount each has received to date:

CANDIDATE	CERTIFICATION TODAY	CUMULATIVE CERTIFICATIONS (including today's)
Jerry Brown (D).....	\$ 157,659.87	\$ 550,708.26
Pat Buchanan (R).....	\$ 947,729.57	\$ 1,047,729.57
George Bush (R).....	\$ 593,330.48	\$ 4,234,219.83
Bill Clinton (D).....	\$ 656,265.21	\$ 2,056,864.27
Lenora Fulani (NA).....	\$ 125,473.11	\$ 889,401.20
Tom Harkin (D).....	\$ 221,566.15	\$ 1,548,685.94
Bob Kerrey (D).....	\$ 433,278.66	\$ 1,266,642.45
Paul Tsongas (D).....	\$ 189,296.96	\$ 745,741.78
Doug Wilder (D).....	\$ 0.00	\$ 289,026.67

To be eligible to receive Federal Matching Funds, a candidate must first raise \$100,000 in contributions from individuals: \$5,000-plus in 20 different states, in amounts of no more than \$250 from any individual contributor. Candidates must also agree to abide by spending limits, to keep certain records, and to submit those records for audit.

Candidates may submit requests for funds once each month. The Commission will certify an amount to be paid by the U.S. Treasury the following month. Only contributions from individuals in amounts of no more than \$250 are matchable. As candidates cease to actively campaign or fail to receive at least 10% of the vote in two consecutive primaries, they may still be entitled to receive additional matching funds to assist in winding down their campaigns or to retire debts.

The Commission has previously certified \$10,600,000 to each of the two major political parties (total = \$21,200,000) for the 1992 Presidential Nominating Conventions.

**News
Release**

WILL NOT
FELTUS

**Pete V.
Domenici**
United States Senator

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
March 25, 1992

CONTACT: Ari Fleischer
(202) 224-7082

DOMENICI PUSHES FOR ACTION ON CONGRESSIONAL REFORM

WASHINGTON - An effort launched by four senior Members of Congress last July to reform Congress received a big boost as the four announced today that their proposal has been endorsed by more than a majority of the Senate and by more than 190 Members of the House of Representatives.

Speaking at a news conference, Senator Pete Domenici said, "I'm not interested in band aids. I'm interested in changing how the Senate works so we can get our job done." Domenici was joined by Senator David Boren (D-OK), Rep. Willis Gradison (R-OH), and Rep. Lee Hamilton (D-IN).

"Let me suggest," the New Mexico Senator continued, "that it is time to change the United States Senate. We hear candidates talk about change. It's obvious change is needed here. Many will say that what is needed is guts, courage, and willpower.

"But I believe we have a system that minimizes the opportunity to be courageous, diminishes the opportunity to lead, and clearly, it wits the willpower."

Among the problems cited by Domenici are the structure of Congress and its ability to make decisions on complex issues "in less than three or four years."

Domenici also said that Congress has too many committees with too many complicated jurisdictions. A bill that seeks to address the major components of the relationship between the United States and the Commonwealth of Independent States, for example, would be referred to five separate Senate committees, Domenici said. As a result, he said, Congress is unable to give direction or effectively help formulate policy.

The Senator also said Congress should change the manner in which it makes funding decisions.

He called on Congress to pass a reform that would result in two year budgets and appropriations, instead of the current annual system. Under Domenici's plan, the first year of the process would be devoted to the establishment of two-year budget and appropriation levels, while the second year would focus on oversight and review of the programs to measure their effectiveness.

Under the terms of the Domenici reform measure, a twenty member, bipartisan commission would be authorized to review the operations of Congress and make recommendations to enact a comprehensive reform of the institution.

(MORE)

WE ALSO HAVE THE TRANSCRIPT OF
THE NEWS CONFERENCE THAT DAY.

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SCOT-122

News Release

**Pete V.
Domenici**
United States Senator

CONGRESSIONAL REFORM
PAGE TWO

The twenty members would include four Senators and four Representatives from each party appointed by the respective leaders, and four non-voting Advisory members appointed by each of the leaders. Advisory members may be former Members of Congress or leading private citizens.

The commission would concentrate on the "organization and operation of each House of Congress, including the employment of personnel by the Members and committees of the Congress and the structure of, and the relationships between, the various standing, special, and select committees of the Congress; the relationship between the two Houses; and the relationship between the Congress and the Executive Branch of government."

The reform effort has 53 co-sponsors in the Senate, including Senator Jeff Bingaman. In the House, Rep. Joe Skeen and Steve Schiff are among the 192 co-sponsors supporting the bill.

3/25/92

A PROPOSAL TO REFORM CONGRESSAuthors:

Senator David Boren
 Senator Pete Domenici
 Congressmn Lee Hamilton
 Congressman Willis Gradison

Legislation:

S.Con.Res. 57 -- 53 cosponsors
 H.Con.Res. 192 -- over 191 cosponsors
 Introduced July 31, 1991

SenateCosponsors:

Dems (27)-- Boren, Simon, Nunn, Kohl, Graham, Reid, Pryor, Mikulski, Bumpers, Shelby, Conrad, Sanford, Exon, Daschle, Dodd, Bingaman, Bryan, Kerrey, Levin, Robb, Wirth, Harkin, Wofford, Leahy, Lieberman, Breaux, Kerry.
 Repubs (26)-- Domenici, Seymour, Chafee, Grassley, Lugar, Lott, Rudman, McCain, Specter, Nickles, Kassebaum, Simpson, Dole, Warner, Burns, Hatch, Bond, Kasten, Brown, Cochran, Danforth, Durenburger, Mack, Smith, Murkowski, Smith.

History:

The Joint Committee formed under the Boren-Domenici-Hamilton-Gradison resolutions would be closely modeled on the joint committee formed near the end of World War II by Wisconsin Senator Robert LaFollette and Oklahoma Representative Mike Monroney that led to the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946. The Monroney-LaFollette reforms, which reduced the number of committees from 84 to 31, restructured congressional staff and reformed the federal budget process, are widely considered the last successful enactment of comprehensive congressional reforms.

Another joint committee was formed in 1965 but did not complete its work until five years later with the culmination of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1970. Since 1970, a number of committees have been created separately in each House to recommend congressional reforms, mainly concentrating on reform of committee structure.

The Boren-Domenici-Hamilton Gradison resolutions would:

- o establish a Joint House-Senate Committee on the Organization of Congress to recommend comprehensive, bicameral reforms of Congress;
- o limit the duration of the committee to a life of one year;
- o set the membership of the Joint Committee at 20 members -- 4 Senators and 4 Representatives from each party appointed by the respective leaders and 4 non-voting Advisory Members -- former Members of Congress or leading private citizens -- with one appointed by each leader;
- o authorize volunteers from the political science community and other academic groups to act as the committee's staff.

FACT SHEET: CONGRESS REFORM**COMMITTEES AND SUBCOMMITTEES:**

The total number of committees and subcommittees, including joint committees for both the House and Senate follow:

<u>Congress</u>	<u>Senate</u>	<u>House</u>	<u>Joint</u>	<u>Total</u>
81st (1949-50)	80	83	10	173
85th (1957-58)	109	140	21	270
90th (1967-68)	131	162	24	317
95th (1977-78)	129	181	10	320
100th (1987-88)	106	182	12	300
102nd (1991-92)	107	163	12	282

STAFF:

<u>Year</u>	<u>House Employees</u>	<u>Senate Employees</u>
1947	1,440	590
1957	2,441	1,115
1967	4,055	1,749
1977	6,942	3,554
1987	7,584	4,075

BILL PROLIFERATION:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Bills Introduced</u>	<u>Bills Enacted</u>
1950	6,043	481 (8%)
1960	6,327	417
1970	7,487	505
1980	4,423	426
1990	6,973	225 (3%)

While the total number of bills introduced since 1950 has stayed relatively constant, that figure is misleading. Many bills during the 1940s, '50s, and '60s were "personal relief" bills. While these still exist, their number has dramatically reduced.

Also, the content of bills has greatly expanded. While legislation used to be broad policy outlines, allowing the executive branch to truly implement the legislation, today's are far more detailed and micro-managing. The average length has gone from 4 pgs. in 1970 to 20 in the 1980s.

SENATE SCHEDULE:

A 1985 study showed the Senate wasted 25% of its time in quorum calls. That's about 45 legislative days a year.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
04. Memo	Ede Holiday to Dave Demarest, re: Congressional Participation in Federal Debt Collection Program. (2 pp.)	04/02/92	P-5	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File, Backup
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Federalist Society of Pennsylvania - Government Reform 4/3/92 [2]

Open on Expiration of PRA
 (Document Follows)
 By SA (NLGB) on 4/5/2005

Date Closed: 11/29/2004	OA/ID Number: 07571
FOIA/SYS Case #:	
Re-review Case #: 2004-2265-S	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	
MR Case #:	Appeal Case #:
MR Disposition:	Appeal Disposition:
Disposition Date:	Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

<p>Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]</p> <p>P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA] P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA] P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA] P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA] P-5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA] P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]</p> <p>C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.</p>	<p>Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]</p> <p>(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA] (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA] (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA] (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA] (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA] (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA] (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA] (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information</p>
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 2, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR DAVE DEMAREST

FROM:

EDE HOLIDAY 

SUBJECT:

Congressional participation in Federal debt collection program

Since 1987, more than \$150 million in delinquent debts have been recovered from Executive Branch employees under the Federal Salary Offset Program. FY92 collections were approximately \$4.6 million. In early 1988, Joe Wright, who was then Deputy Director of OMB and Chairman of the President's Council on Integrity and Efficiency, encountered a great deal of resistance when he sought to expand the coverage of the salary offset program to the staffs of the Senate and House.

After several letters to Sen. Byrd and Rep. Wright, and much negotiation by OMB, both the Senate and the House agreed to participate in the program. Although GAO opined that the Federal salary offset program did not apply to Congress, since Congress did not meet the definition of "agency," it did find that Congress could administer a salary offset program under separate provisions of the Debt Collection Act of 1982. (Even so, GAO held that only Congressional employees were covered by the Act, not Members of Congress.)

In 1988 and 1989, tapes of delinquent debtors were sent to the House and Senate by the Departments of Education and Veterans Affairs. OMB records reveal that the House participated in 1988 and 1989, although it appears that the House may have exempted high level employees from salary offsets. There is no record of any Senate participation, although this was agreed to and may have happened.

In any event, there is no record of any participation by Congress subsequent to 1989. While it is true that the Executive Branch departments failed to send their delinquent debtor tapes to the Hill after 1989, (this appears to have been an oversight on our part) there is no evidence that Congress made any effort to request the tapes, which they certainly could have done.

Today, every Executive Branch employee (including every White House staffer, every member of the military, and every Postal Service employee) is subject to the reasonable requirement that his pay can be offset in order to satisfy outstanding Federal loan indebtedness. At the same time, Members of Congress are exempt and there is no assurance that their staffs are subject to such scrutiny and collection.

Given our interest in emphasizing responsibility and accountability by public officials, it would be appropriate for us to criticize Members of Congress for not holding themselves or their staffs accountable for repaying delinquent Federal loans. Although Congress may argue that we failed to provide them with the tapes, we should respond to such criticism by pointing out that (1) if Congress wanted to take part in the program it should have requested the tapes; (2) the fact remains that the law does not apply to Members of Congress, and; (3) even in 1988 and 1989 when Congressional staff participated in the program, there was no public disclosure of the results, as there is for the Executive Branch.

In Friday's speech, when we talk about Congress's habit of exempting itself from laws it applies to others, we might add the following insert. This language has been approved by Frank Hodson.

Even with regard to something so obvious as one's obligation to repay delinquent Federal loans, Congress does not apply to itself the debt collection laws that apply to every single Executive Branch employee -- in the White House, the military, and even in the Post Office.

cc: Clayton Yeutter
Henson Moore
Boyden Gray
Bill Kristol
Frank Hodson

✓
Sherrie/Dave:

Attached indicates the legal limitations on sessions; as you can see, very few have no limitations. However, even of those states that are not limited, few meet more than six months.

Also, the six-months' period may be over the course of the year with recesses in between; e.g., adjourn in June and go back in November.

Even without limitations, Idaho and Oregon are definitely parttime. The longest sessions--and the closest to full time--would be California, possibly New York (although legislators there do have other jobs), Pennsylvania, Wisconsin.

Mary

Table 3.2
LEGISLATIVE SESSIONS: LEGAL PROVISIONS

State or other jurisdiction	Regular sessions				Special sessions		
	Year	Legislature convenes		Limitation on length of session (a)	Legislature may call	Legislature may determine subject (f)	Limitation on length of session
		Month	Day				
Alabama	Annual	Jan. Apr. Feb.	2nd Tues. (b) 3rd Tues. (c,d) 1st Tues. (e)	30 L in 105 C	No	Yes (f)	12 L in 30 C
Alaska	Annual	Jan. Jan.	3rd Mon. (c) 2nd Mon. (e)	120 C (g)	By 2/3 vote of members	Yes (h)	30 C
Arizona	Annual	Jan.	2nd Mon.	(i)	By petition, 2/3 members, each house	Yes (h)	None
Arkansas	Biennial-odd year	Jan.	2nd Mon.	60 C (g)	No	Yes (f,j)	(j)
California	(k)	Jan.	1st Mon. (d)	None	No	No	None
Colorado	Annual	Jan.	Wed. after 1st Tues.	(l)	By request, 2/3 members, each house	Yes (h)	None
Connecticut	Annual (m)	Jan. Feb.	Wed. after 1st Mon. (n) Wed. after 1st Mon. (o)	(p)	Yes (q)	(q)	None (r)
Delaware	Annual	Jan.	2nd Tues.	June 30	Joint call, presiding officers, both houses	Yes	None
Florida	Annual	Apr.	Tues. after 1st Mon. (d)	60 C (g)	Joint call, presiding officers, both houses	Yes	20 C (g)
Georgia	Annual	Jan.	2nd Mon. (d)	40 L	By petition, 3/5 members, each house	Yes (h)	(s)
Hawaii	Annual	Jan.	3rd Wed.	60 L (g)	By petition, 2/3 members, each house	Yes	30 L (g)
Idaho	Annual	Jan.	Mon. on or nearest 9th day	None	No	No	20 C
Illinois	Annual	Jan.	2nd Wed.	None	Joint call, presiding officers, both houses	Yes	None
Indiana	Annual	Jan.	2nd Mon. (d,t)	odd-61 L or Apr. 30; even-30 L or Mar. 15	No	Yes	30 L in 40 C
Iowa	Annual	Jan.	2nd Mon.	(u)	By petition, 2/3 members, both houses	Yes	None
Kansas	Annual	Jan.	2nd Mon.	odd-None; even-90 C (g)	Petition to governor of 2/3 members, each house	Yes	None
Kentucky	Biennial-even yr.	Jan.	Tues. after 1st Mon. (d)	60 L (v)	No	No	None
Louisiana	Annual	Apr.	3rd Mon.	60 L in 85 C	By petition, majority, each house	Yes (h)	30 C
Maine	(k,m)	Dec. Jan.	1st Wed.(b) Wed. after 1st Tues. (o)	100 L (g) 50 L (g)	Joint call, presiding officers, with consent of majority of members of each political party, each house	Yes (h)	None
Maryland	Annual	Jan.	2nd Wed.	90 C (g)	By petition, majority, each house	Yes	30 C
Massachusetts	Annual	Jan.	1st Wed.	None	By petition (w)	Yes	None
Michigan	Annual	Jan.	2nd Wed. (d)	None	No	No	None

LEGISLATURES

LEGISLATIVE SESSIONS: LEGAL PROVISIONS—Continued

State or other jurisdiction	Regular sessions				Special sessions		
	Year	Legislature convenes		Limitation on length of session (a)	Legislature may call	Legislature may determine subject	Limitation on length of session
		Month	Day				
Minnesota	(x)	Jan.	Tues. after 1st Mon. (n)	120 L or 1st Mon. after 3rd Sat. in May (x)	No	Yes	None
Mississippi	Annual	Jan.	Tues. after 1st Mon.	125 C (g,y); 90 C (g,y)	No	No	None
Missouri	Annual	Jan.	Wed. after 1st Mon.	odd-June 30; even-May 15	No	No	60 C
Montana	Biennial-odd yr.	Jan.	1st Mon.	90 L (g)	By petition, majority, both houses	Yes	None
Nebraska	Annual	Jan.	Wed. after 1st Mon.	odd-90 L (g); even-60 L (g)	By petition, 2/3 members, each house	Yes	None
Nevada	Biennial-odd yr.	Jan.	3rd Mon.	60 C (u)	No	No	20 C(u)
New Hampshire	Annual	Jan.	Wed. after 1st Tues. (d)	45 L	By 2/3 vote of members	Yes	(u)
New Jersey	Annual	Jan.	2nd Tues.	None	By petition, majority, each house	Yes	None
New Mexico	Annual (m)	Jan.	3rd Tues.	odd-60 C; even-30 C	By petition, 3/5 members, each house	Yes (h)	30 C
New York	Annual	Jan.	Wed. after 1st Mon.	None	By petition, 2/3 members, each house	Yes (h)	None
North Carolina	(x)	Jan.	Wed. after 2nd Mon. (n)	None (x)	By petition, 3/5 members, each house	Yes	None
North Dakota	Biennial-odd yr.	Jan.	Tues. after Jan. 3, but not later than Jan. 11 (d)	80 L (z)	No	Yes	None
Ohio	Annual	Jan.	1st Mon.	None	Joint call, presiding officers, both houses	Yes	None
Oklahoma	Annual	Feb.	(ff)	90 L	By 2/3 vote of members	Yes	None
Oregon	Biennial-odd yr.	Jan.	2nd Mon.	None	By petition, majority, each house	Yes	None
Pennsylvania	Annual	Jan.	1st Tues.	None	By petition, majority, each house	No	None
Rhode Island	Annual	Jan.	1st Tues.	60 L (u)	No	No	None
South Carolina	Annual	Jan.	2nd Tues. (d)	1st Thurs. in June (g)	No	Yes	None
South Dakota	Annual	Jan.	Tues. after 1st Mon.	odd-40 L; even-35 L	No	No	None
Tennessee	(x)	Jan.	(aa)	90 L (u)	By petition, 2/3 members, each house	Yes	30 L (u)
Texas	Biennial-odd yr.	Jan.	2nd Tues.	140 C	No	No	30 C
Utah	Annual	Jan.	2nd Mon.	60 C	No	No	30 C
Vermont	(x)	Jan.	Wed. after 1st Mon. (n)	(u)	No	Yes	None
Virginia	Annual	Jan.	2nd Wed.	odd-30 C (g); even-60 C (g)	By petition, 2/3 members, each house	Yes	None
Washington	Annual	Jan.	2nd Mon.	odd-105 C; even-60 C	By petition, 2/3 members, each house	Yes	30 C

LEGISLATURES

LEGISLATIVE SESSIONS: LEGAL PROVISIONS—Continued

Regular sessions

Special sessions

Utah		Jan.	Wed. after 1st Mon. (n)	(u)	odd-30 C (g); even-60 C (g)	By petition, 2/3 members, each house	Yes	30 C
Vermont	(x)	Jan.	2nd Wed.					
Virginia	Annual	Jan.			odd-105 C; even-60 C	By petition, 2/3 members, each house		
Washington	Annual	Jan.	2nd Mon.					

LEGISLATIVE SESSIONS: LEGAL PROVISIONS—Continued

State or other jurisdiction	Regular sessions				Special sessions		
	Year	Legislature convenes		Limitation on length of session (a)	Legislature may call	Legislature may determine subject	Limitation on length of session
		Month	Day				
West Virginia	Annual	Feb. Jan.	2nd Wed. (c,d) 2nd Wed. (e)	60 C (g)	By petition, 3/5 members, each house	Yes (bb)	None
Wisconsin	Annual (cc)	Jan.	1st Tues. after Jan. 8 (d,n)	None	No	No	None
Wyoming	Annual (m)	Jan. Feb.	2nd Tues. (n) 2nd Tues. (o)	odd-40 L; even-20 L	No	Yes	None
Dist. of Columbia	(dd)	Jan.	2nd day	None		No	None
American Samoa	Annual	Jan. July	2nd Mon. 2nd Mon.	45 L 45 L	No	No	None
Guam	Annual	Jan.	1st Mon. (ee)	None	No	No	20 C
Puerto Rico	Annual	Jan.	2nd Mon.	Apr. 30 (g)	No	No	15 C
U.S. Virgin Islands	Annual	Jan.	2nd Mon.	75 L	No	No	15 C

LEGISLATURES

LEGISLATIVE SESSIONS: LEGAL PROVISIONS—Continued

Note: Some legislatures will also reconvene after normal session to consider bills vetoed by governor. Connecticut—if governor vetoes any bill, secretary of state must reconvene General Assembly on second Monday after the last day on which governor is either authorized to transmit or has transmitted every bill with his objections, whichever occurs first; General Assembly must adjourn *sine die* not later than three days after its reconvening. Hawaii—legislature may reconvene on 45th day after adjournment *sine die*, in special session, without call. Louisiana—legislature meets in a maximum five-day veto session on the 40th day after final adjournment. Missouri—if governor returns any bill on or after the fifth day before the last day on which legislature may consider bills (in even-numbered years), legislature automatically reconvenes on first Monday in September for a maximum 10 C session. New Jersey—legislature meets in special session (without call or petition) to act on bills returned by governor on 45th day after *sine die* adjournment of the first year of a two-year legislature; a special session may not be convened if the 45th day falls on or after the last day of the legislative year in which the second session occurs. Virginia—legislature reconvenes on sixth Wednesday after adjournment for a maximum three-day session (may be extended to seven days upon vote of majority of members elected to each house). Utah—if 2/3 of the members of each house favor reconvening to consider vetoed bills, a maximum five-day session is set by the presiding officers. Washington—upon petition of 2/3 of the members of each house, legislature meets 45 days after adjournment for a maximum five-day session.

Key:

- C — Calendar day
L — Legislative day (in some states, called a session day or workday; definition may vary slightly, however, generally refers to any day on which either house of the legislature is in session)
- (a) Applies to each year unless otherwise indicated.
(b) General election year (quadrennial election).
(c) Year after quadrennial election.
(d) Legal provision for organizational session prior to stated convening date. Alabama—in the year after quadrennial election, on the second Tuesday in January for 10 C. California—in the even-numbered, general election year, on first Monday in December for an organizational session, recess until the first Monday in January of the odd-numbered year. Florida—in general election year, 14th day after election. Georgia—in odd-numbered year, Indiana—third Tuesday after first Monday in November. Kentucky—in odd-numbered year, Tuesday after first Monday in January for 10 L. Michigan—held in odd-numbered year. New Hampshire—in even-numbered year, first Wednesday in December. North Dakota—in even-numbered year, Tuesday after first Monday in December of three-day session. South Carolina—in even-numbered year, Tuesday after certification of election of its members for a maximum three-day session. West Virginia—in year after general election, on second Wednesday in January.
- (e) Other years.
(f) By 2/3 vote each house.
(g) Session may be extended by vote of members in both houses. Alaska: 2/3 vote for 10-day extension. Arkansas: 2/3 vote. Florida: 3/5 vote. Hawaii: petition of 2/3 membership for maximum 15-day extension. Kansas: 2/3 vote. Maryland: 3/5 vote for maximum 30 C. Mississippi: 2/3 vote for 30-day extension, no limit on number of extensions. Nebraska: 4/5 vote. South Carolina: 2/3 vote. Virginia: 2/3 vote for 30-day extension. West Virginia: 2/3 vote (or if budget bill has not been acted upon three days before session ends, governor issues proclamation extending session). Puerto Rico: joint resolution.
(h) Only if legislature convenes itself. Special sessions called by the legislature are unlimited in scope in Arizona, Georgia, Maine, and New Mexico.
(i) No constitutional or statutory provision; however, legislative rules require that regular sessions adjourn no later than Saturday of the week during which the 100th day of the session falls.

(j) After governor's business has been disposed of, members may remain in session up to 15 C by a 2/3 vote of both houses.

(k) Regular sessions begin after general election, in December of even-numbered year. In California, legislature meets in December for an organizational session, recesses until the first Monday in January of the odd-numbered year and continues in session until Nov. 30 of next even-numbered year. In Maine, session which begins in December of general election year runs into the following year (odd-numbered); second session begins in next even-numbered year.

(l) A 1989 constitutional amendment imposed a time limit of 120 C on regular sessions

(m) Second session limited to consideration of specific types of legislation. Connecticut—individual legislators may only introduce bills of a fiscal nature. Maine—budgetary matters; legislation in the governor's call; emergency legislation; legislation referred to committees for study. New Mexico—budgets, appropriations and revenue bills; bills drawn pursuant to governor's message; vetoed bills. Wyoming—budget bills.

(n) Odd-numbered years.

(o) Even-numbered years.

(p) Odd-numbered years—not later than Wednesday after first Monday in June; even-numbered years—not later than Wednesday after first Monday in May.

(q) Constitution provides for regular session convening dates and allows that sessions may also be held "... at such other times as the General Assembly shall judge necessary." Call by majority of legislators is implied.

(r) Upon completion of business.

(s) Limited to 40 days if called by governor and 30 days if called by petition of the legislature, except in cases of impeachment proceedings.

(t) Legislators may reconvene at any time after organizational meeting; however, second Monday in January is the final date by which regular session must be in process.

(u) Indirect limitation; usually restrictions on legislator's pay, per diem, or daily allowance.

(v) May not extend beyond April 15.

(w) Joint rules provide for the submission of a written statement requesting special session by a specified number of members of each chamber.

(x) Legal provision for session in odd-numbered year; however, legislature may divide, and in practice has divided, to meet in even-numbered years as well.

(y) A 1968 constitutional amendment calls for 90 C sessions every year, except the first year of a gubernatorial administration during which the legislative session runs for 125 C.

(z) No legislative day is shorter than a natural day.

(aa) Commencement of regular session depends on concluding date of organizational session. Legislature meets, in odd-numbered year, on second Tuesday in January for a maximum 15 C organizational session, then returns on the Tuesday following the conclusion of the organizational session.

(bb) According to a 1955 attorney general's opinion, when the legislature has petitioned to the governor to be called into session, it may then act on any matter.

(cc) The legislature, by joint resolution, establishes the session schedule of activity for the remainder of the biennium at the beginning of the odd-numbered year.

(dd) Each Council period begins on January 2 of each odd-numbered year and ends on January 1 of the following odd-numbered year.

(ee) Legislature meets on the first Monday of each month following its initial session in January.

(ff) Odd-numbered years will include the 1st Tues. after the 1st Mon. in January. On this day, limited constitutional duties can be performed.

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05. Memo	Gary Blumenthal to Clayton Yeutter, re: Government Reform. (1 pp.)	03/27/92	P-5	

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Office: Speechwriting, White House Office of
Series: Speech File, Backup
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Federalist Society of Pennsylvania - Government Reform 4/3/92 [2]

**Open on Expiration of PRA
(Document Follows)**

By SN (NLGB) on 4/5/2008

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OA/ID Number: 07571

MR Case #:
MR Disposition:
Disposition Date:

Appeal Case #:
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 27, 1992

Thanks Gary

MEMORANDUM FOR CLAYTON YEUTTER

FROM: GARY BLUMENTHAL *Gary*
SUBJECT: Government Reform

copies: D. Demarest
R. Porter
C. Kolb

This may be too late but here are a couple of small items that may play into a government reform effort.

Studies and Reports

The government faces Congressional mandates for producing hundreds and possibly thousands of reports, studies, commissions and advisory groups. Just to remind you, there have been two efforts to limit them in agriculture:

- 1) In the 1985 Farm Bill there was a required "study on studies" in which the department was to report back to Congress on which studies or reports were unnecessary. Unfortunately, the bureaucrats got away with saying they were all worthwhile and necessary! It was also discovered that the number of voluntary reports and studies far exceeded the number mandated by Congress.
- 2) In the 1990 Farm Bill, Congress included the so-called "Pick 12" provision whereby only 12 of the 69 studies in the bill would actually be done. However, disagreements over interpretation between USDA and the Hill has resulted in almost 40 of the studies being performed.

In sum, the general public may appreciate the President calling for the elimination of unnecessary reports, studies and committees. He could call for a 15 percent reduction in all voluntary reports and/or send legislation to the Congress that would make a similar cut in all those required by statute.

Quality Management Initiative

Taxpayers believe they pay too much and ultimately are not pleased with the quality of the service they receive from agencies. That is why everyone finds humor in the analogy that nationalized health care would have the compassion of the IRS and the efficiency of the Postal Service. The President would strike a chord for change if he made reference to his effort to improve quality in the government. A description of the effort can be found in the FY 1993 Budget in Part One, beginning on page 313.

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

Embargoed until delivered -- 2:00 p.m., December 4, 1990

PREPARED TEXT OF REMARKS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT

AMERICAN ENTERPRISE INSTITUTE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Our nation was born in revolution; Americans have always demanded change. At times we may be a bit impatient, but it seems to be our heritage to have a bias against the status quo.

In that American spirit of change, let me offer an idea for a change in our political process. It is my contention that limiting the terms of members of Congress will bring back choice in our elections, and be a progressive, positive change for our system.

Here are the facts. Only 6% of the 435 House races this fall were financially competitive. Money is still the mother's milk of politics, and incumbents enjoy a massive advantage in that regard. House incumbents raised 6 times as much as their competitors did; in the Senate, the ratio was 3 to 1. These figures, I remind you, do not take into account other, traditional incumbent advantages like the ability to send enormous mass mailings under the franking privilege. In 1989, Congress sent about 600 million pieces of mail -- at a cost to the taxpayers of \$90 million.

Re-election rates are astronomical. In 1988, 98.3% of House members seeking re-election were successful. In Colorado, where the voters just recently approved term limits, no incumbent State

Senate candidate has lost since 1982 -- none, in five straight elections! In the 100th Congress, which convened in January 1987, more House members left office through death -- seven -- than by defeat at the polls -- six. And of those six, five were tainted by an ethical issue of some sort. That leaves just one member of Congress who was defeated through the competition of ideas.

The House hasn't always had these staggering rates of re-election. In the 1800's, those rates were between 40% and 70%. Since World War I, they've gone progressively higher. From 1946 to 1966, the average was 88%; from 1968 to 1988 it was 94%. In 1988, as I mentioned, it topped 98%. Then, in the supposedly "anti-incumbent" election of 1990, it dipped to 96.2%.

Let me now make the case for a Constitutional amendment that limits Congressional terms. I begin by noting the desire, expressed by many in the Congress, to achieve equality between the executive and legislative branches. Each branch, we are constantly reminded, must be able to exercise its Constitutional prerogatives, and to assert its independence, as the Framers intended. After all, the Constitution makes them co-equal branches. And yet the Constitution, as it now stands, practices discrimination as between the executive and legislative branches. We're all familiar with the 22nd Amendment, strictly limiting the President to two terms in office. Where's the equality about which so many congressmen have spoken so eloquently? Let's bring the branches into line. What's good for the President is good

for the Congress.

The House of Representatives has been controlled by one party since I was seven years old. When it comes to one-party legislative dominance in major countries of the world, only Japan, Mexico, South Africa and the Soviet Union are comparable.

Having said that, however, I hasten to add that this is not a partisan issue. Many Democrats in Congress support the idea, as did Presidents Truman and Kennedy -- and, for that matter, Lincoln, Eisenhower and Bush.

Term limits may produce a Congress that, when controlled by the same party that occupies the White House, will be more sympathetic and cooperative with the president; and, when controlled by the opposition, be more active in that role. I say this because the business of Congress is to legislate -- and yet the institution now focuses too heavily on itself, and on the ability of its members to win re-election.

It's easy for me, in my present position, to say that Congress needs reform; but I've felt this way for a long time. Indeed, my very first speech on the House floor, back in 1977, was an endorsement of the Constitutional amendment that I'm advocating today.

When I moved over to the Senate, Majority Leader Howard Baker appointed me Chairman of the Select Committee on Committee Reorganization. The assignment was to examine the Senate committee structure, and to make recommendations to the leadership.

It was an eye-opening task. You know, some senators are on no less than 17 committees and subcommittees. I thought that was too many for an effective senator to have, and I wanted to reduce the number. But I learned that some committees are tailored to certain interest groups, and even though the issues covered in those committees could adequately be addressed by a larger standing committee, members did not want to give up these narrow, targeted assignments. For instance, nobody wanted to leave the Committee on Aging, though the Finance Committee was thoroughly equipped to handle the relevant issues. The same was true of Indian Affairs, as related to the Interior Committee. And so we weren't able to make many lasting changes of any great significance.

This problem is aggravated by the pattern of endless Congressional careers. The longer one is in Congress, the more staff and committees he or she acquires -- and the more the bureaucracy grows. And the staff is huge. In 1970, it numbered 10,000. Now it is 20,000 -- and growing!

Another feature of the present system is a kind of institutional arrogance. Congress has passed a number of laws from which it has seen fit to exempt itself. These include: The Civil Rights Act; the Equal Employment Opportunity Act; the Equal Pay Act; the National Labor Relations Act; the Occupational Safety and Health Act; the Freedom of Information Act; the Privacy Act; and the Ethics in Government Act. In effect, Congress has created two classes of Americans: those who make the

laws, and those who must obey them.

At times Congress has attempted to reform itself. The results do not generate optimism. In 1975, they passed the Budget Control and Impoundment Act. The most conspicuous result: new committees, more staff, and an additional process. No one seriously suggests that reform of the budget process has enabled Congress to get a grip on the issue. Deficit spending is chronic; the national debt is \$3.2 trillion and climbing. Financing the federal government, a central responsibility of the United States Congress, is being handled poorly -- year in, and year out.

That is why I am not surprised by what I have termed the "Voter Revolt" to limit the terms of state legislators and members of Congress. The revolt is gathering force: we've already seen limited terms become law in Oklahoma, California, and Colorado. The people are cynical, frustrated, and, in too many cases, not voting.

I submit that, at least in part, we see low voter turnout because too many legislative races pose no real contest: in effect, no choice for the voter. Many incumbents are home free, with no realistic prospect of strong opposition. A lot of potential opponents ask themselves, "Why waste my time?" They don't have the means to overcome the money, and the natural advantages, routinely at the command of an incumbent member of Congress. The bottom line: Americans are denied competition in the electoral process.

I'm familiar, of course, with the arguments against term limitation. First, it is said that good people would be forced out of office, maybe before their time. The people should have that choice, the argument goes. Well, choice -- real choice -- is the underpinning of the movement to limit terms. I will concede that we'll lose some good people. But it's not at all true either that Congress has a shortage of able legislators, or that there aren't enough good potential members of Congress not serving today. To contend otherwise is Potomac Vanity. With term limits, Congress would still be populated with able and talented Americans. And the importance of the seniority system would fade in importance, with more committee chairmen gaining their posts on the basis of merit than in the present regime.

Another argument against term limits is that special interests will gain power. To that, I respond with a question: who has the power right now? There is an Iron Triangle at work in Washington: the Committee in Congress, the regulator in the bureaucracy, and the special interest group in the lobby. Term limits can only weaken special interests by upsetting a system to which they have become well accustomed. After all, where did the money come from in Speaker Willie Brown's desperate attempt to defeat term limits in California? According to an in-depth study in the Los Angeles Times, it came from special interests.

Some also argue that Congressional staff will take over when you limit terms. Well, with a typical senator serving on 17 committees and subcommittees, the influence of staff is already

enormous. Term limits can't make it any worse. In fact, the longer one is in Congress, the larger and the more powerful his staff becomes. Who has more power than the very senior staffer of a very senior member?

The strongest argument for maintaining the status quo is the idea that the voters will be denied choice. Theoretically this is true. But practically speaking, choice is already being denied because of the perverse system in force today. The Framers of the Constitution did not specifically provide for term limits. Many of them thought it was too small a detail to incorporate into the document; they also believed in leaving the choice to the voters. But it was certainly understood that there would be rotation in office -- both for the President, and for the Congress. That's why, in the modern age of career politicians, PACs, and countless special interest groups, the Framers might well have supported limited terms as a matter of law.

Sixteen times since the Bill of Rights was adopted, our Constitution has been amended. The 22nd Amendment was added to put into practice what the Framers intended: limited terms for the President. Now is the time for a 27th Amendment that will do the same thing for the Congress of the United States.

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1992 Legislative Session Calendar

STATE	DATES	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC
ALABAMA	Feb. 4-May 18												
ALASKA	Jan. 13-mid-May												
ARIZONA	Jan. 13-late April												
ARKANSAS	No regular session												
CALIFORNIA	Jan. 6-Aug. 31												
COLORADO	Jan. 8-May 6												
CONNECTICUT	Feb. 5-May 6												
DELAWARE	Jan. 14-June 30												
FLORIDA	Jan. 14-April 3												
GEORGIA	Jan. 13-mid-March												
HAWAII	Jan. 15-April												
IDAHO	Jan. 6-late March												
ILLINOIS	Jan. 8*												
INDIANA	Jan. 6-March 15												
IOWA	Jan. 13-April												
KANSAS	Jan. 13-April 11												
KENTUCKY	Jan. 7-mid-April												
LOUISIANA	March 30-July 13												
MAINE	Jan. 8-April 15												
MARYLAND	Jan. 8-April 7												
MASSACHUSETTS	Jan. 1*												
MICHIGAN	Jan. 8*												
MINNESOTA	Jan. 6-April												
MISSISSIPPI	Jan. 7-May 10												
MISSOURI	Jan. 8-May 30												
MONTANA	No regular session												
NEBRASKA	Jan. 8-mid-April												
NEVADA	No regular session												
NEW HAMPSHIRE	Jan. 8-early May												
NEW JERSEY	Jan. 14*												
NEW MEXICO	Jan. 21-Feb. 19												
NEW YORK	Jan. 8*												
NORTH CAROLINA	May 26-July												
NORTH DAKOTA	No regular session												
OHIO	Jan. 6*												
OKLAHOMA	Feb. 3-May 29												
OREGON	No regular session												
PENNSYLVANIA	Jan. 7*												
RHODE ISLAND	Jan. 7-July												
SOUTH CAROLINA	Jan. 14-June 4												
SOUTH DAKOTA	Jan. 14-mid-March												
TENNESSEE	Jan. 14-April												
TEXAS	No regular session												
UTAH	Jan. 13-Feb. 26												
VERMONT	Jan. 8-May												
VIRGINIA	Jan. 8-March 7												
WASHINGTON	Jan. 13-March 12												
WEST VIRGINIA	Jan. 8-March 7												
WISCONSIN	Jan. 28*												
WYOMING	Feb. 17-March 13												
PUERTO RICO	Jan. 13-July Fall session in September												
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	Jan. 2*												

*Legislature meets throughout the year.

Demarest

OLD HOUSE CHAMBER
PHILADELPHIA, PA.
APRIL 3, 1992

32 APR 2 PG: 47

THANK YOU, BRIAN [GUTHRIE, PRESIDENT OF THE
FEDERALIST SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA], FOR THAT KIND
INTRODUCTION. SENATOR SPECTER; CONGRESSMAN COUGHLIN;
MARTHA AIKENS, SUPERINTENDENT OF INDEPENDENCE PARK. I
SEE JOSEPH CICIPPIO. OLD CONGRESS HALL IS HOME TO
GREAT IDEAS AND GREAT DEBATE. IN THIS VERY ROOM,
PIVOTAL AND PROFOUND DISCUSSIONS OCCURRED -- SETTING IN
MOTION A GRAND EXPERIMENT IN MAN'S ABILITY TO CHART HIS
OWN FUTURE.

THE VISION OF THE FOUNDING FATHERS MAY STILL BE HARD FOR US TO FULLY COMPREHEND. BUT IF YOU REALLY THINK ABOUT IT, THEIR GOALS WERE NOT MUCH DIFFERENT THAN OURS. THEY WANTED THEIR NEW COUNTRY TO PROSPER -
- AND THEY KNEW INTUITIVELY THAT THE ROAD TO PROSPERITY WAS FREEDOM. THEY BELIEVED IN THE FUNDAMENTALS -- IN THE INHERENT STRENGTH OF FAITH AND FAMILY -- AND THEY WERE DETERMINED TO PRESERVE THEM. THEY WANTED THE CITIZENS OF OUR YOUNG NATION TO LIVE IN PEACE -- SAFE AND SECURE FROM THREATS AT HOME AND ABROAD. IT TOOK A REVOLUTION TO ACHIEVE THEIR VISION -- AND IT IS OUR DUTY TO PRESERVE IT.

THEY SAY WHEN BRITISH GENERAL CORNWALLIS SURRENDERED TO WASHINGTON AT YORKTOWN IN 1781, HIS TROOPS MARCHED TO THE TUNE, "THE WORLD TURNED UPSIDE DOWN." IT WAS A PROFOUNDLY SIMPLE RECOGNITION THAT AN OLD WORLD ORDER WAS ENDING AND A NEW ONE BEGINNING.

NOW, MORE THAN TWO HUNDRED YEARS LATER, WE ARE AGAIN IN THE MIDST OF GREAT CHANGE. DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM ONCE AGAIN HAVE TURNED THE WORLD UPSIDE DOWN. AMERICA ONCE AGAIN CHAMPIONED A GREAT WORLDWIDE MOVEMENT. WE STOOD FIRM FOR OUR PRINCIPLES THROUGH SOME VERY DIFFICULT TIMES. WE DID INDEED CHANGE THE WORLD. NOW, AS YOU HAVE HEARD ME SAY, IF WE COULD CHANGE THE WORLD, WE CAN CHANGE AMERICA.

HENRY LUCE CALLED THE 20TH CENTURY THE AMERICAN CENTURY. IN A WORLD MORE DRIVEN BY ECONOMIC COMPETITION THAN EVER BEFORE, WE MUST NOW MEET FIVE GREAT CHALLENGES TO ENSURE THAT THE NEXT CENTURY IS ALSO THE AMERICAN CENTURY.

FIRST, OUR CHILDREN MUST DEVELOP GOOD CHARACTER AND VALUES SO THEY CAN BE EDUCATED ADULTS -- LITERATE AND DRUG-FREE -- MOTIVATED TO MAKE LEARNING A LIFELONG PURSUIT. WE MUST DRAMATICALLY CHANGE OUR EDUCATION SYSTEM -- LITERALLY REVOLUTIONIZE IT. OUR AMERICA 2000 EDUCATION INITIATIVE MEANS TOP-TO-BOTTOM EDUCATIONAL REFORM. SECOND, OUR PEOPLE MUST HAVE A SENSE OF WELL-BEING ABOUT THEIR PHYSICAL HEALTH. MY HEALTH CARE PROPOSAL GUARANTEES ACCESS TO THE FINEST HEALTH CARE SYSTEM IN THE WORLD, AND KEEPS THAT CARE AFFORDABLE FOR ALL OUR CITIZENS.

NEXT, OUR CIVIL JUSTICE SYSTEM MUST DO WHAT IT WAS DESIGNED TO DO: DISPENSE JUSTICE FOR ALL. EIGHTEEN MILLION LAWSUITS A YEAR ARE CHOKING US -- COSTING US BILLIONS OF DOLLARS -- AND PUTTING A TREMENDOUS DRAG ON OUR CIVILITY AND OUR ECONOMY. IF CONGRESS PASSES MY ACCESS TO JUSTICE ACT, THIS TOO CAN CHANGE.

AND IN THE NEXT CENTURY, ECONOMIC COMPETITION, AS WELL AS ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY WILL COME FROM BEYOND OUR BORDERS. THAT'S WHY WE HAVE AN AGGRESSIVE PRO-GROWTH TRADE POLICY. IT DEMANDS MORE OPEN FOREIGN MARKETS FOR QUALITY AMERICAN GOODS AND SERVICES TO SUSTAIN AND CREATE AMERICAN JOBS.

FINALLY, IF WE ARE TO CHANGE AMERICA WE MUST CHANGE THE WAY GOVERNMENT WORKS. THAT IS WHAT I WILL ADDRESS TODAY. G.K. CHESTERTON SAID, "WE CANNOT DISCUSS REFORM WITHOUT REFERENCE TO FORM". THIS HAS BEEN AMPLY DEMONSTRATED IN JUST THE LAST DECADE AS ONE INSTITUTION AFTER ANOTHER HAS BEEN CHALLENGED -- FORCED TO TAKE A HARD LOOK WITHIN ITSELF, MAKE NEEDED IMPROVEMENTS, AND ACT TO MAKE THE INSTITUTION LIVE UP TO ITS PRINCIPLES. THAT IS THE PROCESS CALLED REFORM.

TO ENSURE THEIR COMPETITIVE EDGE, BUSINESSES LAUNCH REFORMS GEARED TO QUALITY. THEN, BY MEASURING PERFORMANCE, THEY IMPROVE PERFORMANCE. OFTEN IT'S NOT FLASHY -- THE RETURN TO OLD VALUES AND STANDARDS LIKE "BUILT TO LAST A LIFETIME", OR "SERVICE WITH A SMILE." COMPETITION WORKS -- THE PROOF? TODAY AMERICAN PRODUCTS ARE QUANTIFIABLY BETTER THAN JUST A FEW YEARS AGO.

REFORM HAS IMPROVED PERFORMANCE IN OUR MILITARY. IN THE FACE OF TIGHTER BUDGETS, WE'VE CUT THE FAT, GOTTEN LEANER AND SMARTER. DESERT STORM PROVED IT. THE DRIVE FOR EXCELLENCE HAS INFLUENCED ALMOST EVERY OTHER INSTITUTION, FROM STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT TO TRADE ASSOCIATIONS AND UNIONS.

YET, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS A GLARING HOLD-OUT.
IT RESISTS REFORM AND PROTECTS A FAILED STATUS QUO --
EVEN IN THE FACE OF AN UNAMBIGUOUS NEED FOR CHANGE.
THIS IS NOT ABOUT BARBER SHOPS OR GYMNASIUM PRIVILEGES
OR PARKING SPACES. IT IS NOT ABOUT PERKS. IT IS ABOUT
THE GOVERNMENTAL PROCESS, AND ITS POTENTIAL TO HELP OR
HINDER THE PUBLIC GOOD. IT IS ABOUT BIG THINGS --
MAJOR CHANGES TO MAKE GOVERNMENT MORE RESPONSIVE. IT
IS ABOUT THE CHANGES THAT ARE SWEEPING THE REST OF THE
COUNTRY BUT ARE NOT BEING MADE IN WASHINGTON.

THE MOST RECENT PROOF THAT WE HAVE A MAJOR PROBLEM WAS THE INABILITY OF CONGRESS TO RISE TO THE CHALLENGE OF HELPING OUR ECONOMY. INSTEAD IT REVERTED TO FORM -- TRYING TO RAISE TAXES AND INCREASE GOVERNMENT SPENDING. IF IT CANNOT ADDRESS A STRAIGHTFORWARD SHORT-TERM PROPOSAL TO STIMULATE THE ECONOMY, HOW CAN IT POSSIBLY DEAL WITH THE MORE COMPLEX ISSUES LIKE THE BADLY NEEDED REFORMS OF OUR EDUCATION, HEALTH CARE AND LEGAL SYSTEMS? IF WE ARE TO REFORM EDUCATION, HEALTH CARE, OUR LEGAL SYSTEM -- IF WE ARE TO REDUCE RED TAPE AND REGULATION, MAKE OUR COUNTRY COMPETITIVE, GET THIS HORRENDOUS DEFICIT DOWN, WE MUST REFORM THE CONGRESSIONAL PROCESS ITSELF, AND MAKE IT RESPONSIVE TO OUR COUNTRY'S REAL NEEDS.

insert



THE GROWTH OF BIG GOVERNMENT HAS DIMINISHED THE
ROLE OF CONGRESS FROM POLICY-MAKING TO PROGRAM-MAKING.
PROMULGATING AND PROTECTING MORE PROGRAMS SETS IN
MOTION A PERPETUAL CYCLE OF CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT FOR
MORE UNNECESSARY SPENDING -- CREATING BIGGER AND EVEN
LESS RESPONSIVE BUREAUCRACIES. THEN, BY SERVICING THE
NEEDS OF PROGRAM RECIPIENTS, CONGRESSIONAL STAFFS HELP
TO ENSURE MEMBERS' RE-ELECTION AND A CONTINUATION OF
BUSINESS AS USUAL. BEYOND THAT, CONGRESS ROUTINELY
EXEMPTS ITSELF FROM THE LAWS IT IMPOSES ON THE REST OF
THE NATION -- LAWS LIKE THE LANDMARK CIVIL RIGHTS ACT
OF 1964.

PROPHETICALLY, THE FOUNDING FATHERS WARNED US ABOUT THESE DANGERS. FEDERALIST PAPER #57 ASSERTS THAT ELECTED OFFICIALS, "CAN MAKE NO LAW WHICH WILL NOT HAVE ITS FULL OPERATION ON THEMSELVES AND THEIR FRIENDS, AS WELL AS ON THE GREAT MASS OF THE SOCIETY." FEDERALIST PAPER #52 ARGUED THAT PERMANENT MAJORITIES ARE DANGEROUSLY UNDEMOCRATIC. JAMES MADISON WOULD BE APPALLED TO HEAR THAT 98% OF CONGRESSMEN WHO SEEK RE-ELECTION ARE IN FACT RE-ELECTED -- THAT ONE PARTY, THE DEMOCRATS, HAS CONTROLLED THE HOUSE 56 OUT OF THE LAST 60 YEARS. THAT MEANS SELF-PERPETUATING STAFFS AND A BUREAUCRACY BEHOLDEN TO ONE SET OF LEADERS. THE BANK AND POST OFFICE SCANDALS ARE THE RESULT OF ONE-PARTY CONTROL -- ONE PARTY'S LACK OF SUPERVISION, LACK OF NEW BLOOD, AND LACK OF CHANGE. *insert*

ONE-PARTY RULE IS A BIG PART OF THE PROBLEM, BUT BY NO MEANS ALL OF IT. WE HAVE HAD DIVIDED GOVERNMENT BEFORE, SOMETIMES DURING PERIODS OF GREAT CRISIS. EACH TIME WE HAVE WORKED TOGETHER IN GOOD FAITH TO MEET THOSE CHALLENGES.

systematic

THE LARGER ISSUE IS THE SYSTEMIC PROBLEM OF CONGRESS -- THE STICKY WEB OF 284 CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES AND SUBCOMMITTEES, THE ALMOST 40,000 LEGISLATIVE BRANCH EMPLOYEES AND STAFF, \$2.5 BILLION OF TAXPAYER FINANCING, OVERLAID WITH A \$117 MILLION RE-ELECTION WAR CHEST FOR INCUMBENTS IN SPECIAL-INTEREST CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS, AND MILLIONS MORE IN SPECIAL-INTEREST INFLUENCE.

NONE OF THIS PROMOTES REFORM AND CHANGE. RATHER, IT AGGRESSIVELY PROTECTS THE STATUS QUO. CONSCIENTIOUS MEMBERS OF CONGRESS UNDERSTAND THIS. THAT'S WHY HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER BOB MICHEL HAS PROPOSED CONGRESSIONAL REFORM LEGISLATION. HE'S GOT SOME GREAT IDEAS FOR IMPROVING THE CONGRESS AND ITS PROCEDURES -- LIKE LEGISLATIVE CALENDAR PROCESS REFORM, REDUCTION IN THE NUMBER OF CONGRESSIONAL STAFF, AND REDUCTION OF THE NUMBER OF CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES.

event

THERE ARE GOOD PEOPLE IN CONGRESS -- MANY OF THEM -
- ON BOTH SIDES OF THE AISLE -- I THINK OF YOUR OWN
SENATOR ARLEN SPECTER, RIGHT HERE WITH ME TODAY. TALK
TO ARLEN -- HE ENTHUSIASTICALLY SUPPORTS CHANGING OUR
CONGRESSIONAL SYSTEM BECAUSE HE BELIEVES IN CHANGING
THE STATUS QUO.

THEN TALK TO RETIRING MEMBERS, MANY OF THEM
DEDICATED PEOPLE LIKE SENATOR WARREN RUDMAN OF NEW
HAMPSHIRE, AND YOU WILL HEAR THE FRUSTRATION. WHEN
ASKED ABOUT THE PROSPECT OF ENDLESS BUDGET DEFICITS, HE
ISSUED THIS INDICTMENT OF THE SYSTEM, "THE FACT IS THAT
WE ARE UNABLE, INSTITUTIONALLY, TO DO WHAT HAS TO BE
DONE. WE ARE LITERALLY NOT WATCHING THE FIDDLER FIDDLE
WHILE ROME BURNS; WE ARE WATCHING THE ENTIRE
ORCHESTRA."

SENATOR RUDMAN KNOWS THE BIGGEST THREAT TO FUTURE JOB CREATION IS DEFICIT SPENDING, AND THE CURRENT CONGRESSIONAL STRUCTURE IS NOT CAPABLE OF ADDRESSING THAT THREAT. HE KNOWS THAT AMERICANS ARE GENEROUS -- PEOPLE WILLING TO DO WHAT IS NECESSARY TO MAKE THIS COUNTRY BETTER. BUT THERE IS A MISMATCH BETWEEN THEIR WILLINGNESS TO HELP AND THEIR SKEPTICISM ABOUT CONGRESS. THEY JUST DON'T TRUST CONGRESS TO USE THEIR HARD-EARNED TAX DOLLARS WISELY.

TODAY GOVERNMENT IS A \$1.5 TRILLION ENTERPRISE. BUT PEOPLE IN WASHINGTON FREQUENTLY FORGET THAT THE TAXPAYER IS THE ORIGINAL INVESTOR, CUSTOMER, SHAREHOLDER, AND BOARD MEMBER ALL ROLLED INTO ONE. WHEN FOLKS IN GOVERNMENT FORGET THAT, THEY ISSUE NETTLESOME REGULATIONS. THOSE REGULATIONS INCREASE THE COST OF DOING BUSINESS, BUT WORSE, THEY DON'T REALLY SOLVE THE PROBLEMS THEY WERE DESIGNED TO SOLVE. AS PRESIDENT, I'M GOING TO KEEP TRYING TO CHANGE THE REGULATORY PROCESS, BUT I'LL NEED THE HELP OF THE CONGRESS.

WHEN GOVERNMENT FORGETS WHO IS REALLY THE BOSS --
THE AMERICAN TAXPAYER -- IT BECOMES INSULATED AND
UNRESPONSIVE. BUT UNRESPONSIVE GOVERNMENT DOESN'T JUST
HAPPEN. CONGRESS CREATES THESE GIANT CENTRALIZED
BUREAUCRACIES, LAYS DOWN THE MANDATES, FUNDS THE
PROGRAMS. THEN, IT IS THE CONGRESS THAT PROTECTS THEM,
INVESTIGATES THEM, MICRO-MANAGES THEM, AND ULTIMATELY
PERPETUATES THEM. PROGRAMS THAT HAVE OUTLIVED THEIR
FUNCTION RARELY OUTLIVE THEIR FUNDING. WITH A
CONGRESSIONAL SUBCOMMITTEE CHAIRMAN AS GODPARENT, THEY
BECOME STEPCHILDREN OF THE CONGRESS.

SOME 107 DIFFERENT CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES AND SUBCOMMITTEES CLAIM SOME DEGREE OF OVERSIGHT RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE. SEVENTY-FOUR COMPETE FOR JURISDICTION OVER THE WAR ON DRUGS. JUST THIS WEEK, AFTER BEING REPORTED FROM ONE COMMITTEE IN THE HOUSE, OUR ENERGY BILL TO MAKE US MORE ENERGY-EFFICIENT AND ENERGY-INDEPENDENT WAS REFERRED TO NO LESS THAN EIGHT ADDITIONAL HOUSE COMMITTEES. IT SHOULD BE NO SURPRISE THAT IT TAKES SO LONG TO GET ANYTHING DONE.

WHEN THE SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE AND HIS TOP STAFF HAVE TO TESTIFY IN FOURTEEN HEARINGS IN ONE DAY, THINK OF THE TIME AND RESOURCES THAT TAKES. THINK OF THE THOUSANDS OF HOURS SPENT BY THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH TO FULFILL THE THOUSANDS OF CONGRESSIONAL DEMANDS FOR TESTIMONY, AND GOVERNMENT REPORTS.

DEMOCRATIC SENATOR DAVID BOREN SUMMED IT UP BY SAYING, "NO ONE DOUBTS THAT CONGRESS IS IN TROUBLE AS AN INSTITUTION." THAT'S WHY I SUPPORT HIS EFFORTS TO TRIM THE OVERGROWN THICKET OF COMMITTEES AND SUBCOMMITTEES WHICH NOW PARALYZES THE CONGRESS.

CONGRESS HAS LEGITIMATE OVERSIGHT RESPONSIBILITIES OF COURSE. AND I KNOW THAT THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT CANNOT BE RUN LIKE IBM OR THE LOCAL CONVENIENCE STORE, BUT WE CAN IMPROVE ITS PERFORMANCE, AND WE MUST. WHAT MERELY HAMPERED US IN THE PAST, WILL PARALYZE US IN THE FUTURE. OUR ABILITY TO COMPETE DEMANDS WE MAKE THESE REFORMS, NOT JUST OF CONGRESS BUT OF THE FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY AS WELL. IT MEANS EMPHASIZING THE BUILDING BLOCKS OF A MORE RESPONSIVE GOVERNMENT BY RELYING ON WHAT WORKS: CHOICE, COMPETITION, DECENTRALIZATION. BUT LET ME BE CLEAR, WE CANNOT REFORM THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH WITHOUT FIRST REFORMING THE CONGRESS.

TAKEN TOGETHER, THE FOLLOWING ACTIONS WILL HELP MAKE GOVERNMENT WORK FOR THE PEOPLE.

* FIRST, CONGRESS MUST GOVERN ITSELF BY THE LAWS IT IMPOSES ON OTHERS. NO MORE SPECIAL TREATMENT. LIKE AGE, RACE, SEX AND DISABILITY DISCRIMINATION LAWS. CONGRESS SHOULD SUBMIT TO THE LAWS IT IMPOSES ON THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH -- LIKE CONFLICT OF INTEREST LAWS OR THE INDEPENDENT COUNSEL LAW. I WILL PROPOSE LEGISLATION TO END SUCH SPECIAL TREATMENT FOR CONGRESS NEXT WEEK. FURTHER, I WILL VETO ANY FUTURE LEGISLATION THAT EXTENDS SUCH SPECIAL TREATMENT TO THE CONGRESS.

* SECOND, CONGRESS SHOULD REFORM ITS OPERATIONS AND PROCEDURES. I SUPPORT THE BOREN-DOMENICI REFORM BILL IN THE SENATE AND THE HAMILTON-GRADISON BILL IN THE HOUSE WHICH SETS UP A BIPARTISAN GROUP TO EVALUATE CONGRESSIONAL OPERATIONS AND MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS. IT IS A GOOD BEGINNING, BUT REAL REFORM LIKE THAT CONTAINED IN THE MICHEL BILL IS ESSENTIAL NOW. CHANGE IS STILL ON THE BACK BURNER. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE MUST TURN UP THE HEAT.

THIRD, SWEEPING CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM. FULL DISCLOSURE OF ASSETS, LIABILITIES, AND COMPENSATION IS A KEY ELEMENT OF REFORM. I AM NOT REQUIRED TO DISCLOSE MY INCOME TAX RETURNS. IN A SENSE, I FEEL IT IS AN INVASION OF MY PRIVACY. BUT FOR TWELVE YEARS I HAVE MADE PUBLIC THOSE TAX RETURNS AND I BELIEVE ALL PEOPLE ASPIRING TO THE PRESIDENCY SHOULD DO THAT. PERHAPS CONGRESS DOES NOT NEED TO GO THAT FAR, BUT THEY SHOULD MAKE THEIR EXISTING DISCLOSURE RULES MUCH MORE RIGOROUS.

maut

BEYOND THAT, WE MUST TOTALLY ELIMINATE SPECIAL-
INTEREST POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEES AND PUT LIMITS ON
SO-CALLED "LEADERSHIP PACS." I HAVE PROPOSED WAYS TO
INCREASE THE LEGITIMATE ROLE OF OUR POLITICAL PARTIES,
REDUCE THE INFLUENCE OF SPECIAL INTERESTS, AND DECREASE
THE TIME CANDIDATES AND INCUMBENTS SPEND FUND-RAISING.
AND LET ME SAY IT STRAIGHT OUT: FEDERAL FUNDING OF
CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS WOULD ONLY WORSEN THE PROBLEM.
CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM IS STALLED ON CAPITOL HILL, BUT
THE TIME FOR ACTION IS LONG PAST -- WE MUST CLEAN UP
OUR ELECTION SYSTEM.




FOURTH, SPENDING REFORM. I HAVE ALREADY PROPOSED TO FREEZE DOMESTIC DISCRETIONARY SPENDING AND FEDERAL NON-DEFENSE EMPLOYMENT NEXT YEAR. I HAVE PROPOSED TWO-YEAR BUDGETS. I HAVE PROPOSED TO CURB AS WELL THE GROWTH OF MANDATORY PROGRAMS WITHOUT TOUCHING SOCIAL SECURITY. IF MANDATORY SPENDING WERE ALLOWED TO GROW FOR INFLATION AND ELIGIBLE POPULATION ONLY, WE COULD SAVE ABOUT TWO TRILLION DOLLARS OVER THE NEXT DECADE.


THE AMERICAN PEOPLE SHOULD DEMAND THAT THE CONGRESS PASS THE SAME MEASURE THAT 43 GOVERNORS HAVE: THE LINE-
* ITEM VETO. THEY SHOULD DEMAND A BALANCED BUDGET CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT. OBVIOUSLY, A BALANCED BUDGET REQUIREMENT WOULD HAVE TO BE PHASED IN. BUT SUCH AN AMENDMENT IS NEEDED TO DISCIPLINE BOTH THE EXECUTIVE AND LEGISLATIVE BRANCHES.

IN THE ABSENCE OF THOSE IMPORTANT MEASURES I WILL CONTINUE TO USE WHATEVER MEANS ARE LEGALLY AT MY DISPOSAL, INCLUDING THE LINE-ITEM RESCISSION, TO PROTECT THE TAXPAYER FROM THE SPENDING EXCESSES OF CONGRESS. AND I WILL OPPOSE ANY ATTEMPT BY THE CONGRESS TO DISMANTLE THE ONLY DEFENSE THE TAXPAYER HAS AGAINST CONGRESSIONAL OVERSPENDING -- THE BUDGET CAPS IMPLEMENTED IN THE 1990 BUDGET ACT.

FIFTH, REGULATORY REFORM. WE PUT A NINETY-DAY MORATORIUM ON NEW GOVERNMENT REGULATIONS. WE ARE REVISING AND ELIMINATING REGULATIONS THAT IMPEDE OUR ABILITY TO COMPETE, AND WE ARE ACCELERATING REGULATIONS THAT ENHANCE OUR COMPETITIVE EDGE. SINCE I ANNOUNCED THE MORATORIUM ON JANUARY 28TH, THE GROWTH OF BURDENSOME REGULATIONS HAS ALREADY BEEN REVERSED. AS OUR REVIEW CONTINUES WE WILL ANNOUNCE FURTHER STEPS TO REDUCE THE BURDEN OF UNNECESSARY REGULATIONS. BUT WE CANNOT DO IT ALONE. CONGRESS, IN PASSING LEGISLATION, MUST BE COMMITTED TO CUTTING DOWN THE REGULATORY BURDEN AS WELL.



SIXTH, WE MUST LIMIT CONGRESSIONAL TERMS. WE MUST ADDRESS THE CONGRESS OF THE FUTURE. THE CYCLE OF VIRTUALLY GUARANTEED RE-ELECTION, PARTICULARLY IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, THROUGH THE BUILT-IN ADVANTAGES OF INCUMBENCY MUST BE BROKEN. OUR FOUNDING FATHERS NEVER CONSIDERED ELECTED GOVERNMENT SERVICE TO BE A CAREER. I BELIEVE SENATORS SHOULD BE LIMITED TO TWO TERMS, AND REPRESENTATIVES, LIMITED TO SIX TERMS. AS PRESIDENT MY TERMS ARE LIMITED, THE SAME RULE SHOULD APPLY TO MEMBERS OF CONGRESS. OUR FIRST CONCERN SHOULD BE THE COUNTRY, NOT A LIFETIME POLITICAL CAREER.



THIS BRINGS ME TO MY FINAL POINT. CERTAINLY, GOVERNING TODAY IS COMPLEX AND TIME-CONSUMING. BUT NOT SO MANY YEARS AGO, REPRESENTING THE PEOPLE BACK HOME WAS A PART-TIME WASHINGTON JOB. SOMEHOW MEMBERS MANAGED TO FINISH THEIR WORK AND ADJOURN JUST BEFORE THE HOT, HUMID WASHINGTON, D.C. SUMMERS. AIR CONDITIONING CHANGED ALL THIS, AND NOW, THANKS TO MODERN TECHNOLOGY, CONGRESS SITS YEAR-ROUND.

MANY MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE AND SENATE ARE NOW PERMANENT WASHINGTONIANS. WE DO NOT NEED A CAREER CONGRESS -- WE NEED A CITIZEN CONGRESS. TO BORROW A LINE FROM FORMER SENATE MAJORITY LEADER HOWARD BAKER "THEY OUGHT TO BE LIVING IN AMERICA AND VISITING WASHINGTON." HE WAS RIGHT. HE KNEW THAT THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF STATE LEGISLATURES ARE ABLE TO DO THEIR WORK EACH YEAR IN SESSIONS LASTING LESS THAN SIX MONTHS -- SOME AS SHORT AS THREE MONTHS EVERY TWO YEARS.

WITH A STREAMLINED COMMITTEE STRUCTURE, A LEANER STAFF, MEMBERS' TIME ORGANIZED AROUND LEGISLATION RATHER THAN RE-ELECTION, AND BETTER DISCIPLINE ON HOW THEY SPEND THE PEOPLE'S MONEY, CONGRESS COULD RETURN TO WHAT THE FOUNDERS ENVISIONED AS A GOVERNMENT TRULY CLOSE TO THE PEOPLE. I SUGGEST THAT IN THE FUTURE, CONGRESS AND THE ADMINISTRATION WORK TOGETHER TO ACHIEVE A LEGISLATIVE SCHEDULE THAT ALLOWS MEMBERS TO SPEND MORE CONTINUOUS TIME AT HOME SO THEY CAN TRULY STAY IN TOUCH WITH THE PEOPLE.

CHANGE IS SWEEPING AMERICA, JUST AS IT IS SWEEPING THE WORLD. AS IN THE FIRST DAYS OF OUR NEW NATION, WE MUST CHANGE AN UNRESPONSIVE GOVERNMENT. THE REFORMS I'VE OUTLINED TODAY CAN HELP RENEW OUR FAITH IN GOVERNMENT -- WE CANNOT STOP WITH CONGRESSIONAL PROCESS -- WE MUST REFORM THE FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY AS WELL. I WILL HAVE MORE TO SAY ON THAT IN THE NEAR FUTURE. BUT TODAY OUR MISSION IS TO BEGIN RESTORING THE PRINCIPLES OF OUR FOUNDERS, AND GUARANTEEING FOR OUR CHILDREN A NEW AMERICAN CENTURY.

THE CHOICE IS CLEAR. ON ONE SIDE STAND THE DEFENDERS OF THE STATUS QUO. ON THE OTHER: THE FORCES OF CHANGE. WE MUST MAKE THE CHOICE WORTHY OF THE MEN WHO MET HERE -- AND BEGAN THE WORLD'S ONLY PERMANENT REVOLUTION. NOW THAT WE'VE CHANGED THE WORLD, WE MUST MAKE THE CHOICE TO CHANGE AMERICA.

THANK YOU, AND MAY GOD BLESS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS AT OLD HOUSE CHAMBER
PHILADELPHIA, PA.
APRIL 3, 1992

Thank you for that kind introduction. [ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS]
Today, I would rather be in Philadelphia. Old Congress Hall is home to great ideas and great debate. In this very room, pivotal and profound discussions occurred -- setting in motion a grand experiment in man's ability to chart his own future.

The vision of the Founding Fathers may still be hard for us to fully comprehend. But if you really think about it, their goals were not much different than ours. They wanted their new country to prosper -- and they knew intuitively that the road to prosperity was freedom. They believed in the fundamentals -- in the inherent strength of faith and family -- and they were determined to preserve them. They wanted the citizens of our young nation to live in peace -- safe and secure from threats at home and abroad. It took a revolution to achieve their vision - - and it is our duty to preserve it.

They say when British General Cornwallis surrendered to Washington at Yorktown in 1781, his troops marched to the tune, "The World Turned Upside Down." It was a profoundly simple recognition that an old world order was ending and a new one beginning.

Now, more than two hundred years later, we are again in the midst of great change. Democracy and freedom once again have

turned the world upside down. America once again championed a great worldwide movement. We stood firm for our principles through some very difficult times. We did indeed change the world. Now, as you have heard me say, if we could change the world, we can change America.

Henry Luce called the 20th century the American Century. In a world more driven by economic competition than ever before, we must now meet five great challenges to ensure that the next century is also the American Century.

First, our children must develop good character and values so they can be educated adults -- literate and drug-free -- motivated to make learning a lifelong pursuit. We must dramatically change our education system -- literally revolutionize it. Our America 2000 education initiative means top-to-bottom educational reform. Second, our people must have a sense of well-being about their physical health. My health care proposal guarantees access to the finest health care system in the world, and keeps that care affordable for all our citizens.

Next, our civil justice system must do what it was designed to do: dispense justice for all. Eighteen million lawsuits a year are choking us -- costing us billions of dollars -- and putting a tremendous drag on our civility and our economy. If Congress passes my Access to Justice Act, this too can change.

And in the next century, economic competition, as well as economic opportunity will come from beyond our borders. That's why we have an aggressive pro-growth trade policy. It demand

more open foreign markets for quality American goods and services to sustain and create American jobs.

Finally, if we are to change America we must change the way government works. That is what I will address today. G.K. Chesterton said, "we cannot discuss reform without reference to form". This has been amply demonstrated in just the last decade as one institution after another has been challenged -- forced to take a hard look within itself, make needed improvements, and act to make the institution live up to its principles. That is the process called reform.

To ensure their competitive edge, businesses launch reforms geared to quality. Then, by measuring performance, they improve performance. Often it's not flashy -- the return to old values and standards like "built to last a lifetime", or "service with a smile." Competition works -- the proof? Today American products are quantifiably better than just a few years ago.

Reform has improved performance in our military. In the face of tighter budgets, we've cut the fat, gotten leaner and smarter. Desert Storm proved it. The drive for excellence has influenced almost every other institution, from state and local government to trade associations and unions.

Yet, the federal government is a glaring hold-out. It resists reform and protects a failed status quo -- even in the face of an unambiguous need for change. This is not about barber shops or gymnasium privileges or parking spaces. It is not about perks. It is about the governmental process, and its potential

to help or hinder the public good. It is about big things -- major changes to make government more responsive. It is about the changes that are sweeping the rest of the country but are not being made in Washington.

The most recent proof that we have a major problem was the inability of Congress to rise to the challenge of helping our economy. Instead it reverted to form -- trying to raise taxes and increase government spending. If it cannot address a straightforward short-term proposal to stimulate the economy, how can it possibly deal with the more complex issues like the badly needed reforms of our education, health care and legal systems? five challenges I proposed earlier? If we are to reform education, health care, our legal system -- if we are to reduce red tape and regulation, make our country competitive, get this horrendous deficit down, we must reform the Congressional process itself, and make it responsive to our country's real needs.

The growth of big government has diminished the role of Congress from policy-making to program-making. Promulgating and protecting more programs sets in motion a perpetual cycle of congressional support for more unnecessary spending -- creating bigger and even less responsive bureaucracies. Then, by servicing the needs of program recipients, Congressional staffs help to ensure members' re-election and a continuation of business as usual. Beyond that, Congress routinely exempts itself from the laws it imposes on the rest of the nation -- laws like the Civil Rights Act of 1964 or the Privacy Act.

Prophetically, the Founding Fathers warned us about these dangers. Federalist paper #57 asserts that elected officials, "can make no law which will not have its full operation on themselves and their friends, as well as on the great mass of the society." It also endorses term limits to ensure "proper responsibility to the people." Federalist Paper #52 argued that permanent majorities are dangerously undemocratic. James Madison would be appalled to hear that 98% of Congressmen who seek re-election are in fact re-elected -- that one party, the Democrats, has controlled the House 56 out of the last 60 years. That means self-perpetuating staffs and a bureaucracy beholden to one set of leaders. The bank and post office scandals are the result of one-party control -- one party's lack of supervision, lack of new blood, and lack of change.

One-party rule is a big part of the problem, but by no means all of it. We have had divided government before, sometimes during periods of great crisis. Each time we have worked together in good faith to meet those challenges.

The larger issue is the systemic problem of Congress -- the sticky web of 284 Congressional Committees and Subcommittees, the almost 40,000 legislative branch employees and staff, \$2.5 billion of taxpayer financing, overlaid with a \$117 million re-election war chest for incumbents in special-interest campaign contributions, ~~and millions more in special-interest influence.~~

None of this promotes reform and change. Rather, it aggressively protects the status quo. Conscientious members of

Congress understand this. That's why House Republican Leader Bob Michel just this week introduced comprehensive Congressional reform legislation. It's got some great ideas for improving the Congress and its procedures. There are ^{many} good people in Congress - ~~on both sides of the aisle~~ - I think of your own Senator Arlen Specter here with me today. Arlen enthusiastically supports changing our Congressional system because he believes in changing the status quo. Then talk to retiring members, many of them dedicated people like Senator Warren Rudman of New Hampshire, and you will hear the frustration. When asked about the prospect of endless budget deficits, he issued this indictment of the system, "the fact is that we are unable, institutionally, to do what has to be done. We are literally not watching the fiddler fiddle while Rome burns; we are watching the entire orchestra."

Senator Rudman knows the biggest threat to future job creation is deficit spending and the current Congressional structure is not capable of addressing that threat. He knows that Americans are generous -- people willing to do what is necessary to make this country better. But there is a mismatch between their willingness to help and their skepticism about Congress. They just don't trust it to use their hard-earned tax dollars wisely.

Today government is a \$1.5 trillion enterprise. But people in Washington frequently forget that the taxpayer is the original investor, customer, shareholder, and board member all rolled into one. When folks in government forget that, they

issue nettlesome regulations. Those regulations increase the cost of doing business, but worse, they don't really solve the problems they were designed to solve. That's why we're trying to change the regulatory process.

When government forgets who is really the boss -- the American taxpayer -- it becomes insulated and unresponsive. It is almost impossible to adequately reward success, much less punish failure. Talk to the hardworking people in career government service -- many will say the same thing -- they are frustrated too. The system, which may have been good for its time, now must change, and it won't be easy.

That's because this kind of government doesn't just happen. Congress creates these giant centralized bureaucracies, lays down the mandates, funds the programs. Then, it is the Congress that protects them, ~~harasses them~~, investigates them, micro-manages them, and ultimately perpetuates them. Programs that have outlived their function rarely outlive their funding. With a Congressional Subcommittee Chairman as godparent, they become stepchildren of the Congress.

Some 107 different Congressional committees and subcommittees claim some degree of oversight responsibility for the Department of Defense. Seventy-four compete for jurisdiction over the War on Drugs. Just this week, after being reported from one committee in the House, our energy bill to make us more energy-efficient and energy-independent was referred to no less

than eight additional House committees. It should be no surprise that it takes so long to get anything done.

When the Secretary of Agriculture and his top staff have to testify in fourteen hearings in one day, think of the time and resources that takes. Think of the thousands of hours spent by the Executive Branch to fulfill the thousands of Congressional demands for testimony, and government reports.

Democratic Senator David Boren summed it up by saying, "no one doubts that Congress is in trouble as an institution." That's why I support his efforts to trim the overgrown thicket of committees and subcommittees which now paralyzes the Congress.

Congress has legitimate oversight responsibilities of course. And I know that the federal government cannot be run like IBM or the local convenience store, but we can improve its performance, and we must. What merely hampered us in the past, will paralyze us in the future. Our ability to compete demands we make these reforms, not just of Congress but of the federal bureaucracy as well. It means emphasizing the building blocks of a more responsive government by relying on what works: choice, competition, decentralization. But let me be clear, we cannot reform the executive branch without first reforming the Congress.

Taken together the following actions will help make government work for the people.

First, Congress must govern itself by the laws it imposes on the public. No more special treatment. Like age, race, sex and disability discrimination laws. Congress should also submit to

I will propose legislation to end such special treatment for Congress [[today/by next week]]. Further, I will veto any future legislation that extends such special treatment to the Congress.

check of 4 weeks news

Second, Congress should reform its operations and procedures. I support the Boren-Domenici reform bill in the Senate and the Hamilton-Gradison bill in the House which sets up a bipartisan group to evaluate Congressional operations and make recommendations. It is a good beginning, but real reform like that contained in the Michel bill is essential. Change is still on the back burner. The American people must turn up the heat.

what?

Third, sweeping campaign finance reform. Full disclosure of assets, liabilities, and compensation is a key element of reform.

I am not required to disclose my income tax returns, but for twelve years I have ^{made public these tax returns} done just that -- I believe it is the proper thing to do. ^{and I believe all people aspiring to the Presidency should do that} So I have called on Congress to pass tough new full disclosure laws regarding campaign financing. ^{Perhaps Congress does not need to go that far, but they should} Beyond that, we

In a sense I feel it is an invasion of my privacy

must totally eliminate special-interest Political Action Committees and put limits on so-called "leadership PACs." I proposed ways to increase the legitimate role of our political parties, reduce the influence of special interests, and decrease the time candidates and incumbents spend fund-raising. And let me say it straight out: federal funding of Congressional elections would only worsen the problem. Campaign finance reform is stalled on Capitol Hill, but the time for action is long past -- we must clean up our election system.

make their existing disclosure rules much more rigorous

is stalled on Capitol Hill, but the time for action is long past -- we must clean up our election system.

Fourth, spending reform. I have already proposed to freeze domestic discretionary spending and federal non-defense employment next year. I have proposed two-year budgets, and reducing the number of budget process committees from three to one. I have proposed to curb as well the growth of mandatory programs without touching Social Security. This proposal alone would save \$390 billion from 1993 to 1997.

The American people should demand that the Congress pass the same measure that 43 governors have: the line-item veto. They should demand a Balanced Budget Constitutional Amendment to phase in more spending discipline on the Congress and the Executive Branch. In the absence of those important measures I will continue to use whatever means are legally at my disposal, including the line-item recission, to protect the taxpayer from the spending excesses of Congress. And I will oppose any attempt by the Congress to dismantle the only defense the taxpayer has against Congressional overspending -- the budget caps implemented in the 1990 Budget Act.

Fifth, regulatory reform. We put a ninety-day moratorium on new government regulations. We are revising and eliminating regulations that impede our ability to compete, and we are accelerating regulations that enhance our competitive edge. Since I announced the moratorium on January 28th, the growth of burdensome regulations has already been reversed. As our

review continues we will announce further steps to reduce the burden of unnecessary regulations.

Sixth, we must limit Congressional terms.

We must address the Congress of the future. The cycle of virtually guaranteed re-election, particularly in the House of Representatives, through the built-in advantages of incumbency must be broken. Our Founding Fathers never considered elected government service to be a career. I believe Senators should be limited to two terms, and Representatives, limited to six terms. As President my terms are limited, the same rule should apply to members of Congress. Our first concern should be the country, not a lifetime political career.

This brings me to my final point. Certainly, governing today is complex and time-consuming. But not so many years ago, representing the people back home was a part-time Washington job. Somehow Members managed to finish their work and adjourn just before the hot, humid Washington D.C. summers. Air conditioning changed all this, and now, thanks to modern technology, Congress sits year-round.

Members of the House and Senate are now permanent Washingtonians, but tourists in their own home states. We do not need a career Congress -- we need a citizen Congress. To borrow a line from former Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker "they ought to be living in America and visiting Washington." He was right. He knew that the overwhelming majority of state legislatures are able to do their work each year in session

lasting less than six months -- some as short as three months every two years. With a streamlined committee structure, a leaner staff, Members' time organized around legislation rather than re-election, and better discipline on how they spend the people's money, Congress could return to what the founders envisioned as a government truly close to the people. I suggest that in the future, Congress make a firm commitment to finish the people's business by Memorial Day, so members can return home and truly stay in touch with the people.

Change is sweeping America, just as it is sweeping the world. As in the first days of our new nation, we must change an unresponsive government. The reforms I've outlined today can help renew our faith in government -- we cannot stop with Congressional process -- we must reform the federal bureaucracy as well. I will have more to say on that in the near future. But today our mission is to begin restoring the principles of our Founders, and guaranteeing for our children a new American Century.

The choice is clear. On one side stand the defenders of the status quo. On the other: the forces of change. We must make the choice worthy of the men who met here -- and began the world's only permanent revolution. Now that we've changed the world, we must make the choice to change America.

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

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PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS AT OLD HOUSE CHAMBER
PHILADELPHIA, PA.
APRIL 3, 1992

Thank you for that kind introduction. [ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS]

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Congress understand this. That's why House Republican Leader Bob Michel just this week introduced comprehensive Congressional reform legislation. It's got some great ideas for improving the Congress and its procedures. Then talk to retiring members, many of them dedicated people like Senator Warren Rudman of New Hampshire, and you will hear the frustration. When asked about the continuing spectre of huge budget deficits, he issued this indictment of the system, "the fact is that we are unable, institutionally, to do what has to be done. We are literally not watching the fiddler fiddle while Rome burns; we are watching the entire orchestra."

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What does it contribute

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the laws it imposes on the Executive Branch -- like conflict of interest laws or the Independent Counsel Law or the Hatch Act. I will propose legislation to end such special treatment for Congress next week. Further, I will veto any future legislation that extends such special treatment to the Congress.

Second, Congress should reform its operations and procedures. I support the Boren-Domenici reform bill in the Senate and the Hamilton-Gradison bill in the House which sets up a bipartisan group to evaluate Congressional operations and make recommendations. It is a good beginning, but real reform like that contained in the Michel bill is essential. Change is still on the back burner. The American people must turn up the heat.

Third, sweeping campaign finance reform. Full disclosure of assets, liabilities, and compensation is a key element of reform. I am not required to disclose my income tax returns but for twelve years I have done just that -- I believe it is the proper thing to do. So I have called on Congress to pass tough new full disclosure laws regarding campaign financing. Beyond that, we must totally eliminate special-interest Political Action Committees and put limits on so-called "leadership PACs." I proposed ways to increase the legitimate role of our political parties, reduce the influence of special interests, and decrease the time candidates and incumbents spend fund-raising. And let me say it straight out: federal funding of Congressional elections would only worsen the problem. Campaign finance reform

Fourth, spending reform. I have already proposed to freeze domestic discretionary spending and federal non-defense employment next year. I have proposed biennial budgets. I have proposed to curb as well the growth of mandatory programs without touching Social Security. This proposal alone would save [[\\$390 billion in xx years]]. The American people should demand that the Congress pass the same measure that 43 governors have: the line-item veto. They should demand a Balanced Budget Constitutional Amendment, ^{Obviously a balanced budget requirement would have to be phased in.} to phase in more spending discipline on the Congress and the Executive Branch. In the absence of those important measures I will continue to use whatever means are legally at my disposal, including the line-item rescission, to protect the taxpayer from the spending excesses of Congress. And I will oppose any attempt by the Congress to dismantle the only defense the taxpayer has against Congressional overspending -- the budget caps implemented in the 1990 Budget Act.

only Downer for 2 trillion figure

in. But such an amount is needed to discipline both the exec. and legislative branch

Fifth, regulatory reform. We put a ninety-day moratorium on new government regulations. We are revising and eliminating regulations that impede our ability to compete, and we are accelerating regulations that enhance our competitive edge. Since I announced the moratorium on January 28th, new regulatory requirements have already been reduced by over 30 percent. As our review continues we will announce further steps to reduce the burden of unnecessary regulations.

congress, in passing legislation, must be made consider to cutting down the regulatory burden.

Sixth, we must limit Congressional terms. There are good people in Congress -- I think of your own Senator Arlen Specter,

whom I enthusiastically support for re-election? But it is time to address the Congress of the future. The cycle of virtually guaranteed re-election through the built-in advantages of incumbency must be broken. Our Founding Fathers never considered elected government service to be a career. I believe Senators should be limited to two terms, and Representatives, limited to six terms. As President my terms are limited, the same rule should apply to members of Congress. Our first concern should be the country, not a lifetime political career.

This brings me to my final point. Certainly, governing today is complex and time-consuming. But not so many years ago, representing the people back home was a part-time Washington job. Somehow Members managed to finish their work and adjourn just before the hot, humid Washington D.C. summers. Air conditioning changed all this, and now, thanks to modern technology, Congress sits year-round.

May Members of the House and Senate are now permanent Washingtonians, ~~but tourists in their own home states.~~ We do not need a career Congress -- we need a citizen Congress. To borrow a line from former Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker "they ought to be living in America and visiting Washington." He was right. He knew that the overwhelming majority of state legislatures are able to do their work in yearly sessions of less than six months -- some as short as three months every two years.

With a streamlined committee structure, a leaner staff, Members' time organized around legislation (rather than re-

election, and better discipline on how they spend the people's money, Congress could return to what the founders envisioned as a government truly close to the people. I suggest that in the future Congress make a firm commitment to finish the people's business by Memorial Day, so members can return home and truly stay in touch with the people.

Change is sweeping America, just as it is sweeping the world. As in the first days of our new nation, we must change an unresponsive government. The reforms I've outlined today can help renew our faith in government -- we cannot stop with Congressional process -- we must reform the federal bureaucracy as well. I will have more to say on that in the near future. But today our mission is to begin restoring the principles of our Founders, and guaranteeing for our children a new American Century.

The choice is clear. On one side stand the defenders of the status quo. On the other: the forces of change. We must make the choice worthy of the men who met here -- and began the world's only permanent revolution. Now that we've changed the world, we must make the choice to change America.

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

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Congress Hall

Capitol of the United States, 1790-1800



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Congress Hall

Capitol of the United States, 1790-1800

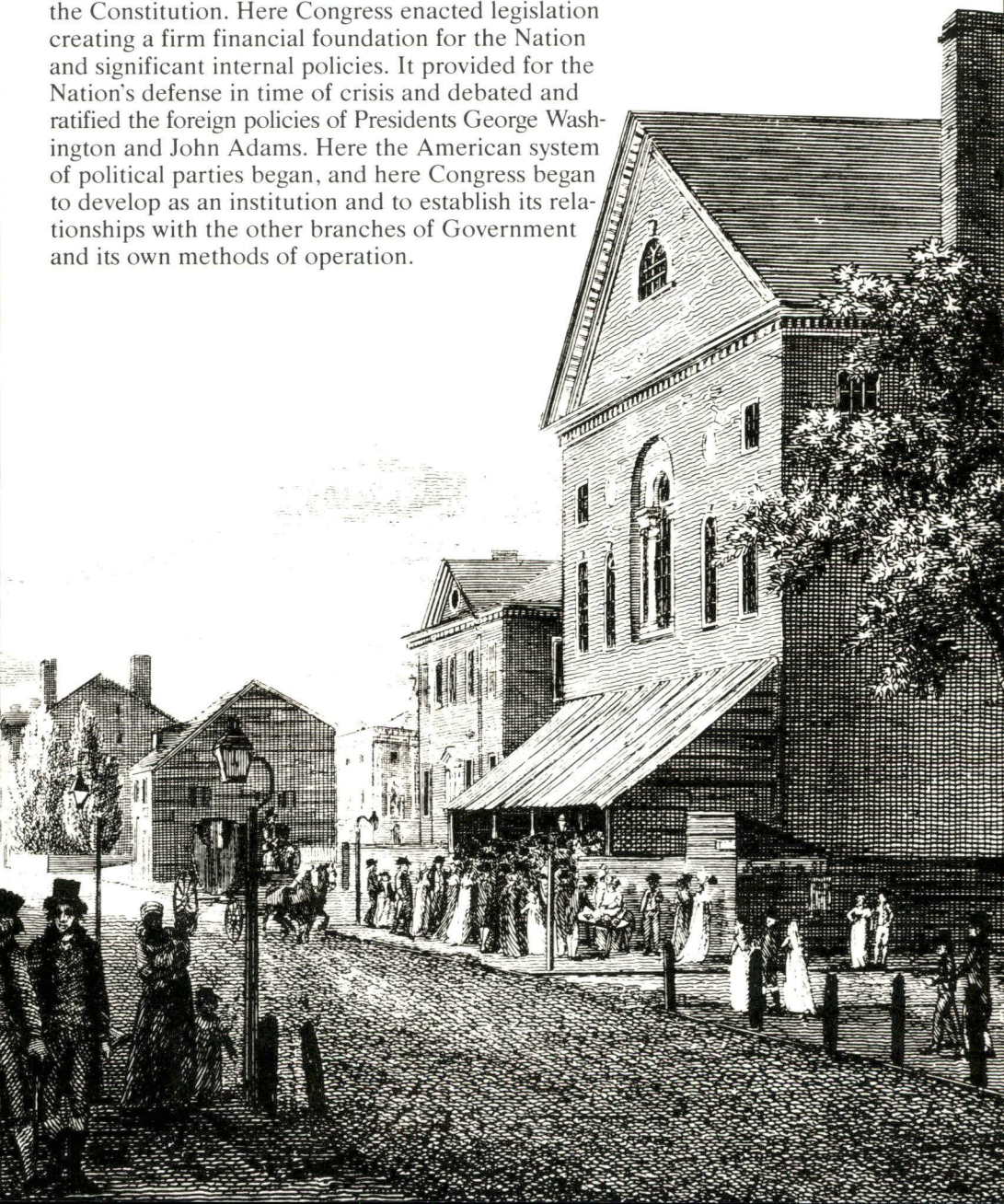
Independence National Historical Park
Pennsylvania

Produced by the
Division of Publications
National Park Service

U.S. Department of the Interior
Washington, D.C. 1990




Between 1790 and 1800, Philadelphia served as the capital of the United States and the U.S. Congress met in the Philadelphia County Court House, now called Congress Hall. During these formative years, the United States was faced with the challenge of establishing a viable government under the Constitution. Here Congress enacted legislation creating a firm financial foundation for the Nation and significant internal policies. It provided for the Nation's defense in time of crisis and debated and ratified the foreign policies of Presidents George Washington and John Adams. Here the American system of political parties began, and here Congress began to develop as an institution and to establish its relationships with the other branches of Government and its own methods of operation.





Congress Comes To Philadelphia



Philadelphia in the last decade of the 18th century was a “large, elegant,” and fast-growing city of more than 40,000 inhabitants. It was the capital of Pennsylvania and many regarded it as the “capital of the new World.” Its commerce and shipping prospered. The city had distinguished public buildings, a few private mansions, and scores of neat and regular brick townhouses. Charitable institutions were numerous and on the rise. Educational and intellectual institutions flourished.

On its relatively clean, well-paved, well-lighted, and regularly laid-out streets mingled Quakers, adherents of the Episcopal Church, other Protestants, Catholics, and Jews; English, Germans, Irish, French, Negroes, and Indians—a legacy of William Penn’s policy of religious toleration. To one Congressman, Philadelphians seemed “very plain and Simple in their manners, and affairs—[keeping] a stately distance in their intercourse with Strangers. In their Economy they are frugal, and in their business industrious. They believe themselves to be the first people in America as well in manners as in arts, and like englishmen they are at no pains to disguise this opinion.”

It was to this city that the new Federal Government came late in 1790. For the first year and a half of its tenuous existence, the struggling government under President George Washington had met in New York City. When Philadelphia was selected to serve as the temporary Capital for 10 years while the permanent Capital was being built in the District of Columbia, the Philadelphia County Commissioners offered Congress the use of their recently completed courthouse.

As early as 1736, the Pennsylvania Assembly had envisioned the State House, now Independence Hall, forming part of a larger government complex to be developed within the next 20 years. Lots on either side of the State House were set aside for “two public buildings . . . of the like outward [form], Struc-

This eagle appears on the wall above the podium in the Senate Chamber of Congress Hall. Although painted sometime between 1800 and 1807, after Congress had moved from Philadelphia, it nevertheless has come to be viewed as one of the tangible reminders of the time when Congress Hall served as the Capitol of the United States.

ture and Dimensions, the one for the Use of the County, and the other for the Use of the City. . . ." The construction of the County Courthouse at the corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets, however, did not begin until April 1787. (The other structure, City Hall, was not started until 1791.)

Built of brick and in the Georgian tradition, the County Courthouse complemented the State House in material and style. It was a two-story structure with a large bay in the rear. Inside was a single large courtroom on the first floor and a smaller courtroom and two other rooms on the second. Massachusetts Congressman Theodore Sedgwick thought the courthouse "neat, elegant & convenient, but partakes not of the splendid grandeur of federal stile in New York, yet I believe the citizens are determined to make efforts in the next season to outshine their rivals."

In preparation for the arrival of Congress, the county commissioners refitted and refurnished the building. The floors were carpeted wall-to-wall, venetian blinds were installed, and stoves were placed in the fireplaces. In the bay at the southern end of the large first-floor room, they set up a dais for the Speaker of the House of Representatives. At the north end "a very capacious gallery" accommodated 300 to 400 spectators. Frequently during intense debate the public filled it to capacity.

Thomas Affleck, a prominent Philadelphia cabinetmaker, was hired to make the furniture to be used by the Congress. To be sure that he gave the legislators the style and comfort to which they were accustomed, Affleck traveled to New York "to view the Federal Hall & take Drafts of all the Seats, Desks & other Furniture & Accommodations." For the House members, he made rows of "shining mahogany" writing desks and black leather armchairs. For the Senators, who met in the more elegantly furnished courtroom upstairs, he made individual desks and covered the armchairs with red leather. The vice president presided over the sessions from a seat beneath a canopy set up in the bay of the room. A splendid carpet in "rich bright colours," with an American eagle holding an olive branch, a bundle of 13 arrows, and a scroll inscribed "E Pluribus Unum," covered the floor. Two smaller rooms flanking the second floor hallway were fitted up as a committee room and an office for the Secretary of the Senate.

In 1793, with the reapportionment of the House of Representatives following the first Federal census in 1790, the House membership increased from 69 to 105. Therefore, during the recess between sessions, the county commissioners had the building enlarged by extending it 26 feet into the State House Yard, now Independence Square. They had the Speaker's dais moved to the west side of the House. A door opposite led to the portico, a new structure connecting the House Chamber with the House offices in the west wing of the State House. The members sat in no particular order in three semi-circular tiers of seats. To the area outside the semicircle, members brought visitors to hear the debates. In the bay area at the south end of the room was a refreshment table for the members, and doors leading out into the State House Yard. Thomas Affleck was hired once more to make the necessary furniture for the House and Senate, matching the earlier pieces.

In the slightly enlarged Senate Chamber the Senators sat at desks arranged in two semicircular rows. The addition provided enough space for the creation of two much-needed committee rooms. The Secretary of the Senate and his staff remained where they had been and the room opposite became a conference room, where committees of the House and Senate could meet and adjust their differences on legislation.

In 1795, the deliberations of the Senate were opened to the public, and a small, cramped gallery for about 50 spectators was erected in the chamber.

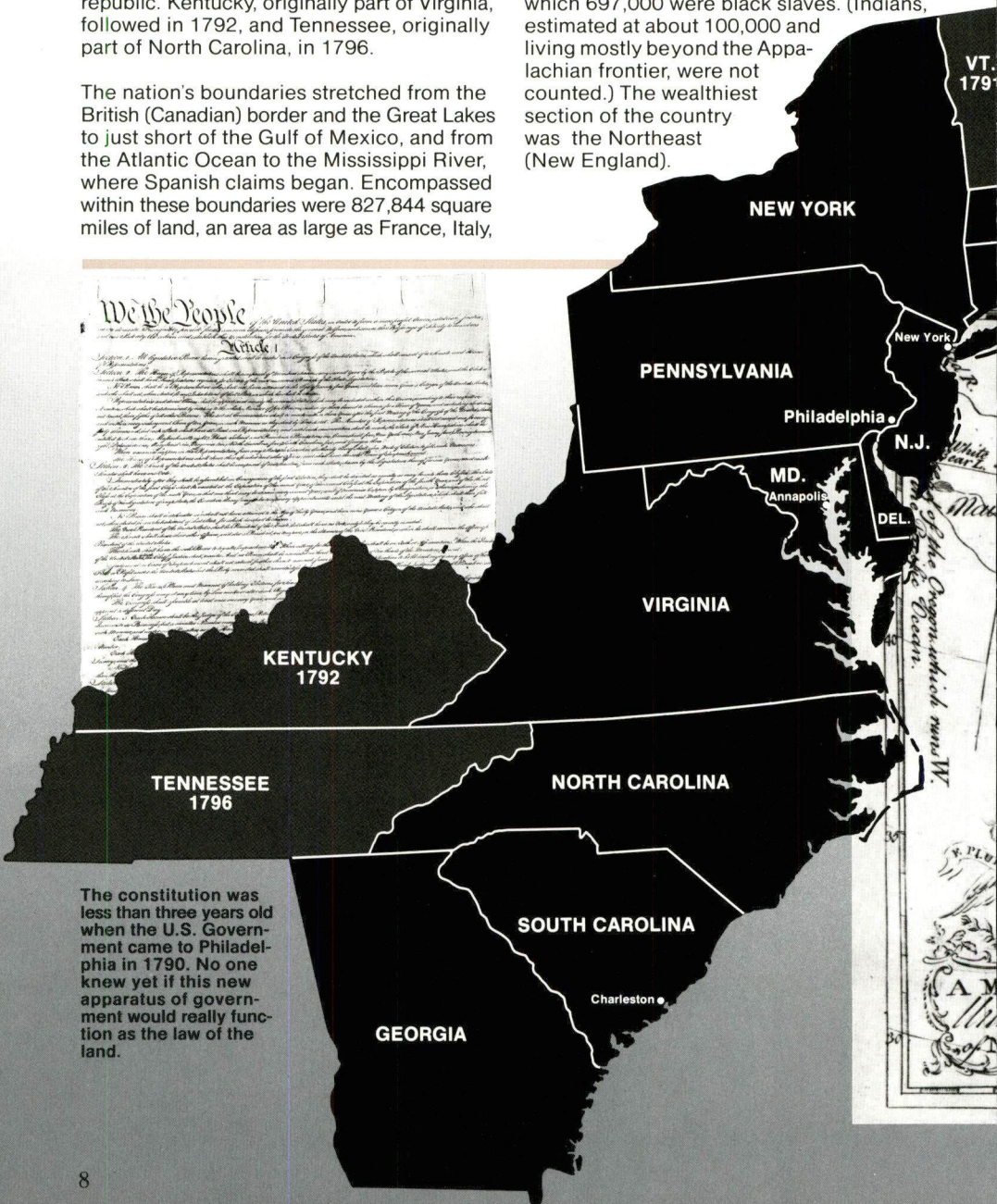
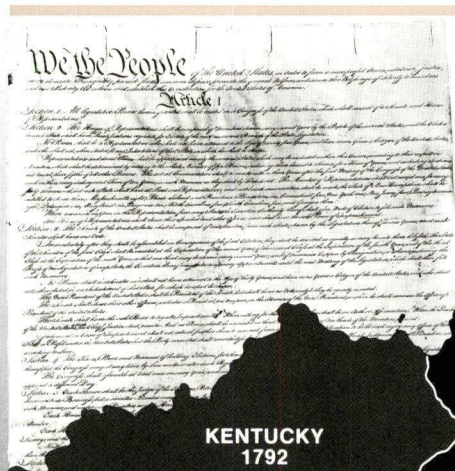
The United States in the 1790s

When the decade began, the United States consisted of thirteen highly individual States, each jealous of its own rights and sovereignty, and two territories—one northwest and one southwest of the Ohio River. Vermont was admitted to the Union as the 14th State in 1791, ending fourteen years as a separate republic. Kentucky, originally part of Virginia, followed in 1792, and Tennessee, originally part of North Carolina, in 1796.

The nation's boundaries stretched from the British (Canadian) border and the Great Lakes to just short of the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River, where Spanish claims began. Encompassed within these boundaries were 827,844 square miles of land, an area as large as France, Italy,

Spain, Germany, and the British Isles combined. Only 239,935 square miles (about 29%) were settled, however.

The 1790 national census, mandated by the new Constitution, put the collective population of the United States at 3,929,214, of which 697,000 were black slaves. (Indians, estimated at about 100,000 and living mostly beyond the Appalachian frontier, were not counted.) The wealthiest section of the country was the Northeast (New England).



The constitution was less than three years old when the U.S. Government came to Philadelphia in 1790. No one knew yet if this new apparatus of government would really function as the law of the land.



The map below was printed in Philadelphia in 1786 and shows the United States the year before 55 delegates met in the Pennsylvania State House (now Independence Hall) to create a new constitutional basis for American government.

It specialized in commerce and fishing and its society was dominated by merchants, bankers, and shipowners. The Middle States (New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania) were an amalgam of commercial and agricultural interests. The South was basically agrarian and rural. Planters and farmers grew tobacco, rice, and (after 1800) cotton. Virginia was the most populous State. Philadelphia, with 42,520 people, was the largest city. New York, with 33,131 was the second largest. Most people, however, lived in small towns and settlements, and on isolated farmsteads.

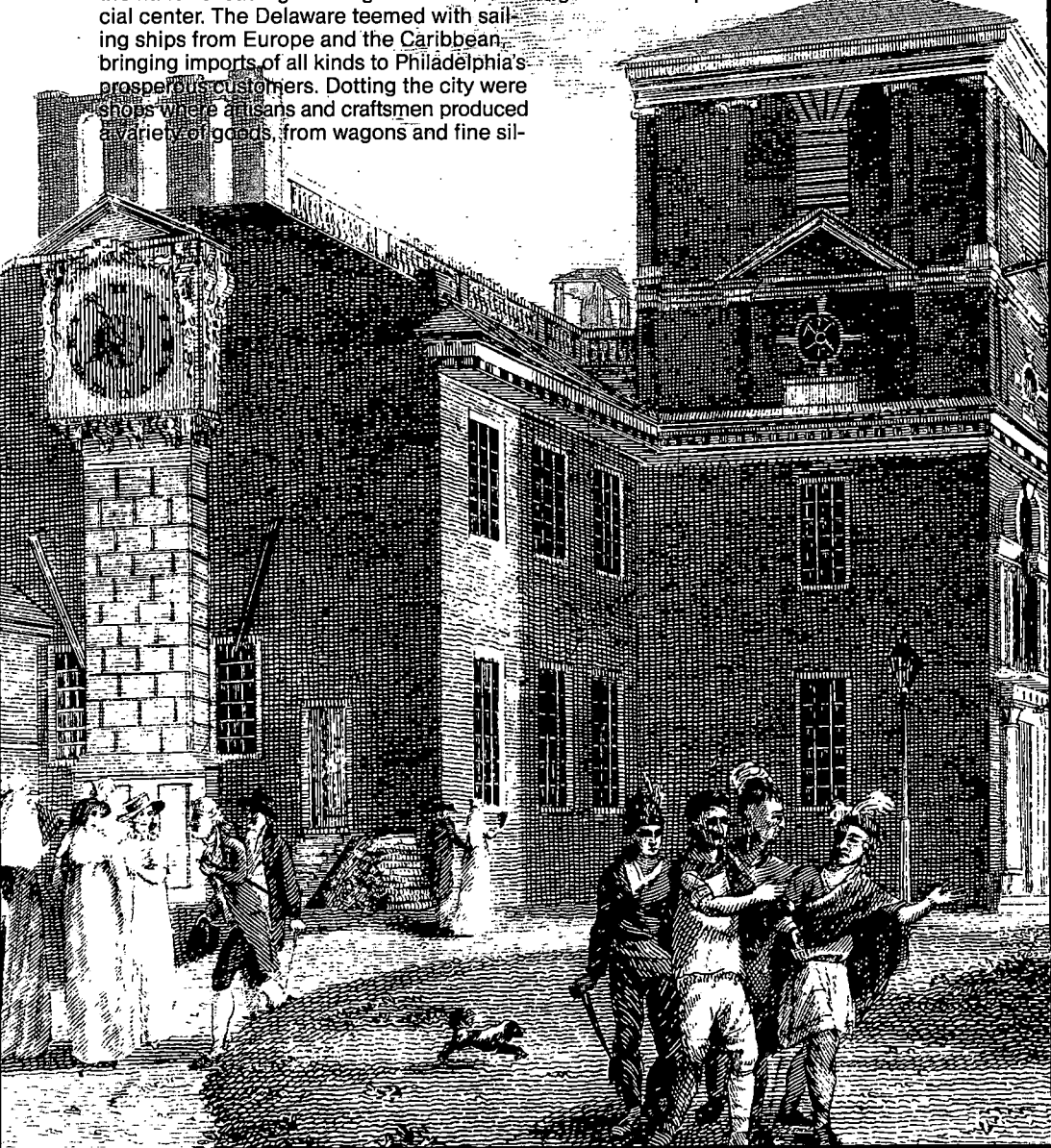


Philad. Engraved by H. D. Parcell for F. Baileys Pocket Almanac

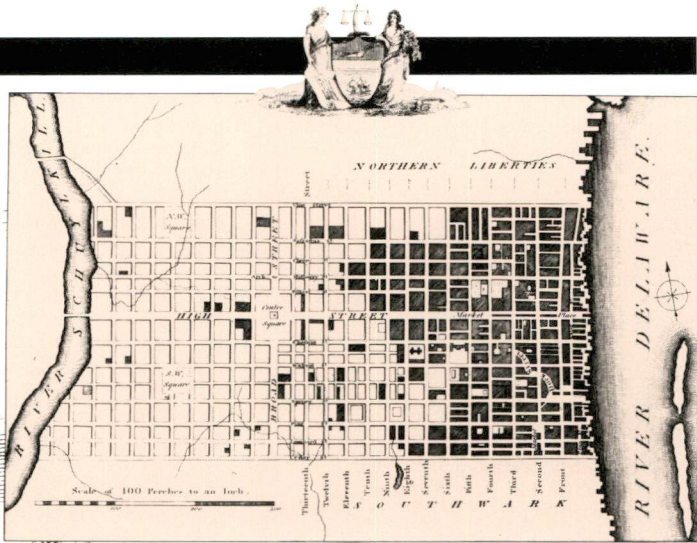
Philadelphia in the 1790s

The city that William Penn founded on the banks of the Delaware River in 1681 was the metropolis of English America and the focal point of government during the Revolutionary War. It reached the peak of its influence, however, during the decade it served as the Federal capital. With a population larger than that of any other city in North America (42,520 in 1790 and 61,559 in 1800), Philadelphia easily surpassed its nearest rivals, New York and Boston. It also became the nation's leading banking and commercial center. The Delaware teemed with sailing ships from Europe and the Caribbean, bringing imports of all kinds to Philadelphia's prosperous customers. Dotting the city were shops where artisans and craftsmen produced a variety of goods, from wagons and fine sil-

verware to tailored clothes reflecting the latest European fashions. Conestoga wagons lumbered through its streets all day long, mingling with coaches, chaises and grays. Philadelphians rejoiced at this activity, for it meant prosperity and comfortable lives. By the end of the century Philadelphia had attracted thousands of immigrants from many cultures, giving the city a distinctly cosmopolitan air. One observer remarked that Philadelphia in the 1790s had turned into "one great hotel or place of shelter for strangers."



Philadelphia proper stretched from the Delaware River on the east to the Schuylkill on the west and from Vine Street on the north to Cedar Street on the south. Most of the city's streets were paved, and edged with raised brick sidewalks. This map of Philadelphia in the late 1790s was made by William Birch and his son Thomas and depicts the city at the height of its importance. The Birch engraving below, showing the back of the State House, is one of 28 views they created to record the character of Philadelphia at the end of the 18th century.



The Move to Philadelphia

For years after the Revolutionary war, the United States Government was migratory, meeting in Annapolis, Trenton, New York, and Philadelphia. Even so there were great pressures to establish a permanent home. The debate over a permanent location for the national government had been going on since the days of the Continental Congress and, for various reasons, was never resolved.

The new Federal Government under the Constitution began its work in 1789 in New York City. In its search for a new capital the Congress considered locations on the Delaware, the Susquehanna, and the Potomac. Southerners like Washington, Jefferson, and Madison favored a seat on the Potomac River; Northerners divided their preferences between New York and several southeastern Pennsylvania locations. The move to Philadelphia was the result of compromise legislation called the Residence Act, which Congress passed on July 16, 1790, authorizing President Washington and commissioners appointed by him to choose a site for the



When I embarked on board the ship 'Constitutional', I was

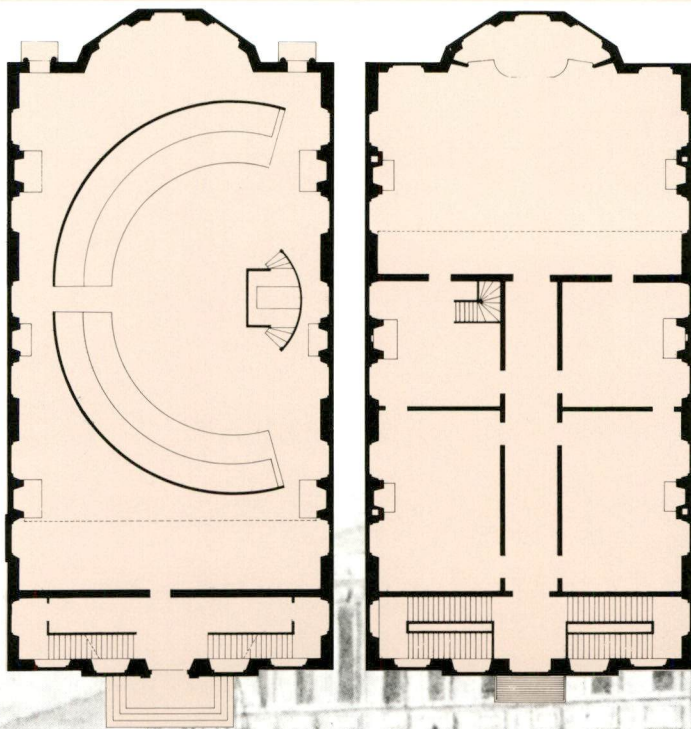
The Philadelphia County Courthouse (Congress Hall)

The Philadelphia county courthouse was brand new in 1789 when Congress began to debate the question of finding a more central location for the new Federal Government. In the hope of enticing the Government to settle in Philadelphia, the County Commissioners offered Congress the use of its new courthouse. New York City, however, where the old Confederation government had met since 1785 and where the new government was still meeting, countered by renovating Federal Hall, the Congress' present meeting place. To the disappointment of many Philadelphians, Congress decided to remain in New York.

At this time, the county courthouse was the meeting place of the mayor and alder-

men of the city, freeholders conventions to nominate candidates for local office, the county commissioners, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, the Mayor's Court, and the United States Court for the District of Pennsylvania. But in July 1790, when it was clear that Philadelphia would become the temporary capital, the city and county commissioners assumed the task of furnishing the courthouse for use by Congress. The Congress brought with it from New York little more than its books, papers, and the mace which the House of Representatives had purchased in September of 1790. Almost all of the furniture used by the House and Senate was paid for by the city and county of Philadelphia, with funds provided by the State government.

Right: Floor plans of Congress Hall showing the arrangement of the House and Senate chambers. Representatives usually entered the building from the east side. Senators entered from Chestnut Street, ascended the stairs, and then proceeded down a corridor past a library and committee rooms in which hung life-size portraits of French King Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, allies in the struggle for America's independence. One Philadelphian thought the accommodations "unnecessarily fine."

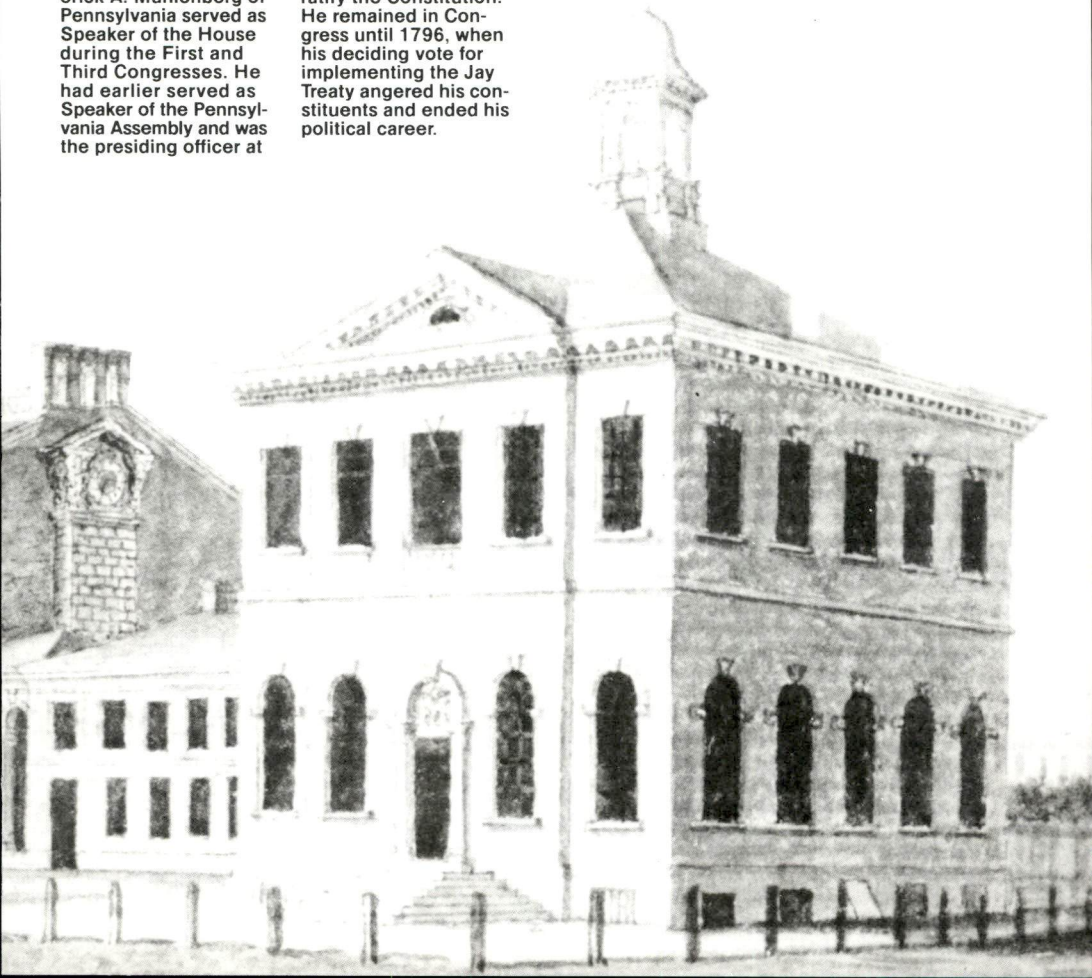




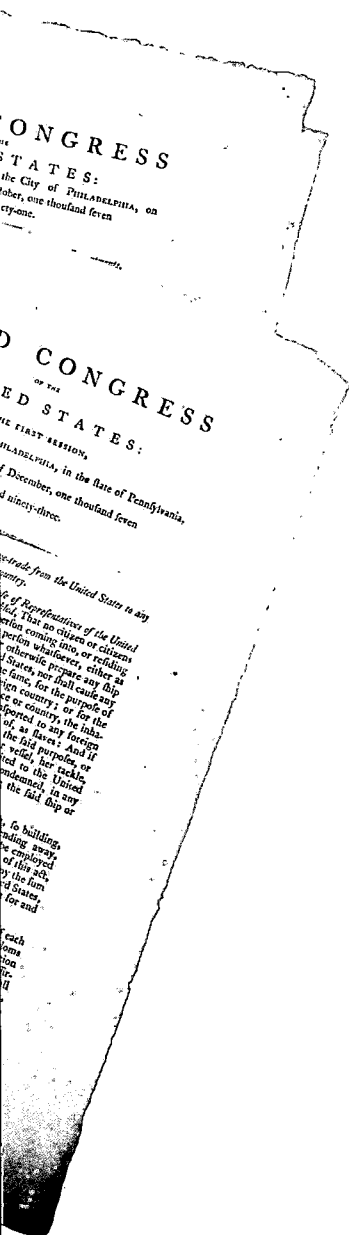
The watercolor painting of the Pennsylvania State House and its flanking buildings on these pages is one of the earliest to show the county courthouse after Philadelphia became the temporary capital. It is one of a series of nine watercolors made about 1792 by English artist James Peller Malcolm. The ship on the State House lawn is the 33-foot frigate *Union*, refurbished to serve as a float in the 1788 Fourth of July parade.

Representative Frederick A. Muhlenberg of Pennsylvania served as Speaker of the House during the First and Third Congresses. He had earlier served as Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly and was the presiding officer at

his State's convention to ratify the Constitution. He remained in Congress until 1796, when his deciding vote for implementing the Jay Treaty angered his constituents and ended his political career.



The Work of Congress



When the third session of the First Congress opened its proceedings in Congress Hall on December 6, 1790, the 65 representatives and 26 senators present faced a number of very formidable tasks: "to complete the System of Finance; and . . . give Stability and Efficacy to the Government and shape its future Progress and Operations."

The most pressing problem was legislating sound, workable financial measures. The task of formulating them fell to Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton, who, although only 34 years old, possessed maturity of judgment, administrative ability, and an unrivaled understanding of finance and banking.

The first taxes had been raised before Congress arrived in Philadelphia. As the next step, Hamilton now submitted to Congress a plan to establish the Bank of the United States, privately capitalized but public in character. As depository for the Government's funds, collector of taxes, and issuer of bank notes, it offered a means to control the activities of State banks and give the Nation a stable currency and bank credit. Congress heatedly debated the chartering of the Bank, and deep divisions developed among the members. The opposition, coming largely from the Southern members and led by James Madison of Virginia, argued that there was no authorization, either expressed or implied, for it in the Constitution. Nevertheless, both houses of Congress passed the bill. President Washington hesitated to sign it but was finally persuaded to do so by Hamilton's argument for a broad interpretation of the Constitution. For the next 20 years, the Bank of the United States successfully provided the Nation with a medium of exchange and bank credit and gave the economy the regulator it needed.

The success of Hamilton's financial plans required the tapping of other sources of revenue. Rather than impose direct taxes, Hamilton favored the enactment of an excise tax on foreign and domestically manu-

factured liquor. Despite strong opposition, the bill passed the House. The Senate approved it only after Hamilton gathered his supporters around him and personally sat behind locked committee room doors with Robert Morris and the committee. The bill's unpopularity in grain-producing areas was clearly demonstrated in 1794, when the so-called "Whiskey Rebellion" erupted in western Pennsylvania and threatened to spread throughout the West. But the Federal Government quickly and easily put it down.

To further implement Hamilton's financial program, Congress adopted in April 1792 his recommendation for the establishment of a Federal Mint to provide the Nation with an adequate coinage.

By the end of 1792, in large part due to Hamilton's work, the problem of the debt had been settled, a revenue system set up, and the credit of the Federal Government established both at home and abroad. As Senator Rufus King reported: "Our commerce & navigation continue to increase . . . the sound state of public credit and the Establishment of Banks have already given aids to commerce, and will soon afford assistance to manufacturing & agriculture. . . ."

While governmental systems were being tested and strengthened, Congress took the first step in enlarging the Federal Union. On February 18, 1791, Vermont was admitted "as a new and entire member of the United States of America," with complete equality in all things with the Thirteen Original States. In 1792, Kentucky, formerly part of the State of Virginia, was admitted as the 15th State; and in 1796, Tennessee became the 16th. Thus did Congress carry into effect the significant national policy set forth in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. While the issue of citizenship was under consideration, Congress received the welcome news that the first 10 amendments to the Constitution had been ratified by the States. These guaranteed to the people such fundamental rights as freedom of speech, press, religion, and assembly. With this, the Bill of Rights, as these amendments were known, became an official part of the basic law of the Nation.

During the years in Philadelphia, Congress' particular role in governing the Nation—its powers, prerogatives, and procedures—became established. A struggle for power between the legislative and exec-

utive branches marked the period. Presidents Washington and Adams generally refrained from exerting direct influence upon legislative proceedings, and the relations of Chief Executive with the legislature mainly consisted of sending messages and complying with reasonable requests for help and information. Secretary of the Treasury Hamilton, however, did attempt to influence Congress when it considered fiscal and monetary matters; he even arranged committee memberships and personally attended committee meetings. For its part, Congress investigated the executive branch and its expenditure of funds and sought to share in the making of policy. It tested its possible role in the treaty-making process during the Jay Treaty debate.

The committee system developed quickly in Congress. In each house, committees were established to prepare and draft bills, and conference committees of members from both houses met to resolve differences. The first Congressional investigating committee was set up in 1792 to look into the disastrous defeat of Gen. Arthur St. Clair's army by Indians on the frontier.

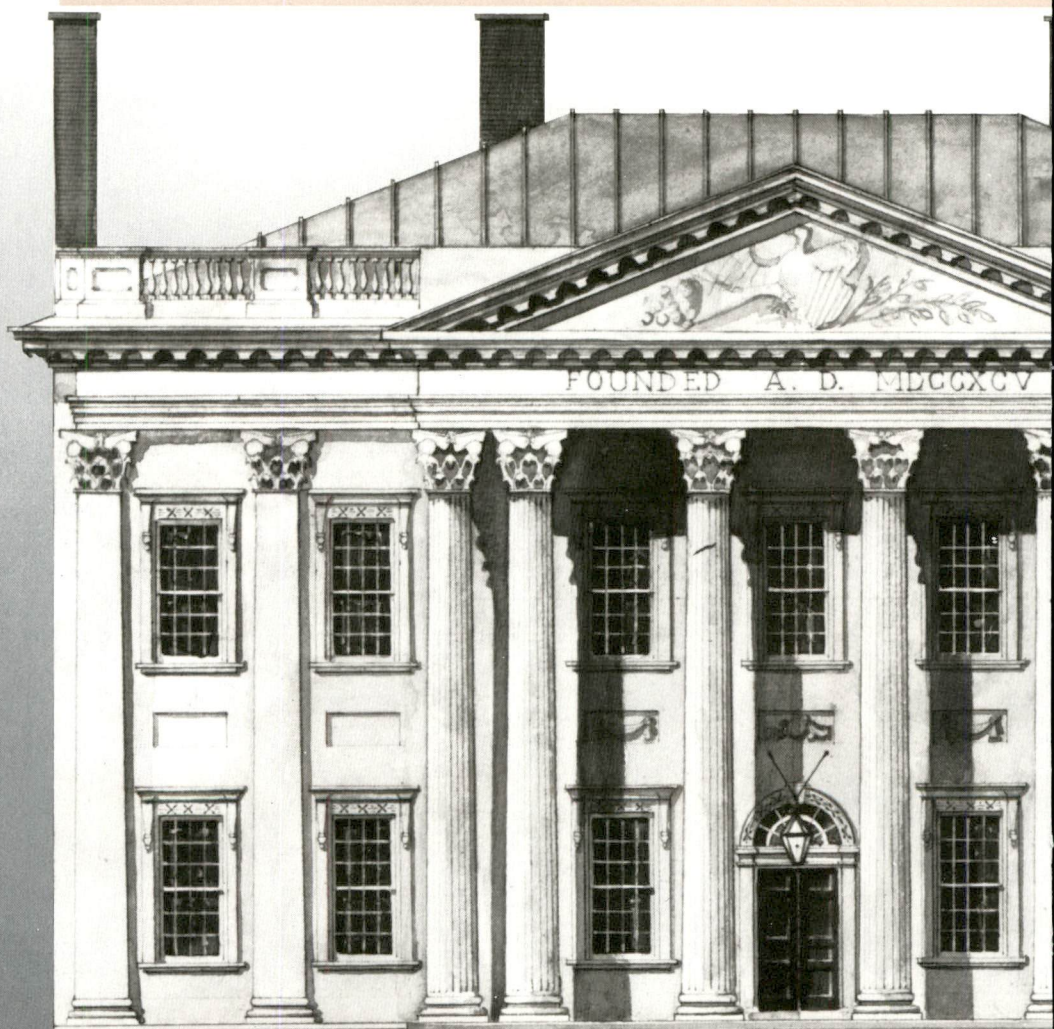
The work of committees was essential to the efficient operation of the legislative process. Thus the two Senate committee rooms and the conference room on the second floor of Congress Hall were the scenes of important legislative deliberations that proved vital in the molding of the new Nation. Committee work consumed much of the Congressmen's time and energy, with meetings being held in the mornings before the regular sessions, again in the evenings, and on Saturdays.

First Bank of the United States

Two of the major tasks confronting Congress as it began its deliberations in Philadelphia's County Courthouse were the creation of an adequate currency and a national bank. On December 14, 1790, in a report to Congress, Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton proposed to remedy both by creating the Bank of the United States. Modeled after the Bank of England, it would be part private and part public and serve as the main repository of Federal funds and an agency for collecting and spending tax revenues. It would, he said, work with the Treasury Department as "an indispensable engine in the administration of finances" and serve as the "mainspring and regulator of the whole American business world." The bank's most important function would be to issue bank

notes, payable upon demand in gold and silver and designed to be the principal circulating medium of the Republic.

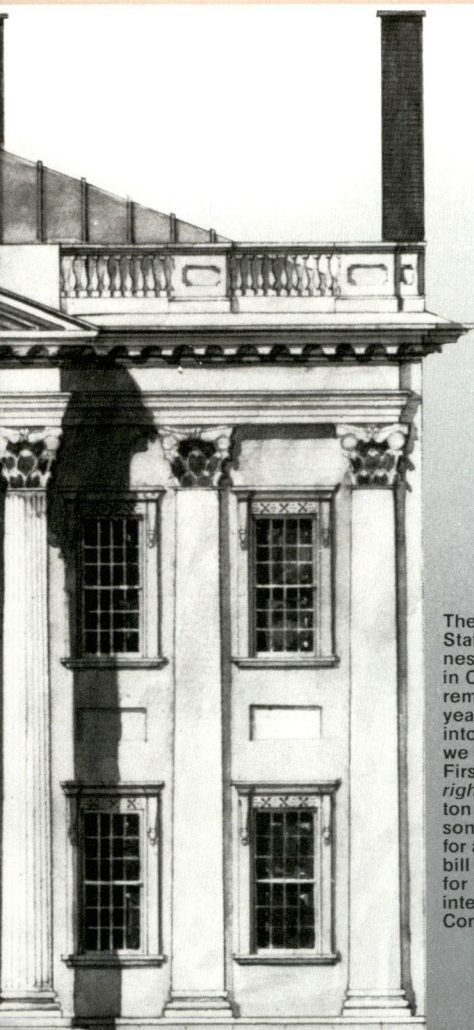
Hamilton's proposal did not go unchallenged, especially in the House of Representatives where James Madison and an agrarian element looked upon an alliance between Government and banking with great mistrust, questioning its constitutionality and believing that it would only benefit Northern commercial groups and the wealthy. But both the House and Senate passed the bill incorporating the Bank of the United States with very little debate. President Washington, however, hesitated to sign it and sought opinions from Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson and Attorney General Edmund



Randolph. Like Madison, both Jefferson and Randolph opposed the bill on constitutional grounds, Jefferson arguing that since the Constitution did not specifically provide for a national bank the Federal Government had no right to take action in that direction. "To take a single step beyond the boundaries. . . specially drawn around the powers of Congress," he said, "is to take possession of a boundless field of power, no longer susceptible of any definition." Hamilton countered by asserting that where the Constitution failed to set specific limits the Government had authority to act, so long as the means employed were "necessary and proper."

Washington did not wholly agree with either argument, but he signed the bill on Febru-

ary 25, 1791. During its 20-year life, as Madison and others feared, the Bank of the United States helped to make the Government more centralized, linked more to Northern businessmen than Southern farmers. But it also gave the United States a sound financial system and more prosperous economy than many had imagined possible.



The Bank of the United States opened for business in February 1791 in Carpenters' Hall. It remained there for six years before moving into the building (left) we know today as the First Bank. Above and right: Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson. Their arguments for and against the bank bill set the precedent for "loose" vs. "strict" interpretation of the Constitution.



The Men of Congress

The 367 men who served in Congress during the Philadelphia years were among the most distinguished in Congressional history. Over half had seen active military service during the War for Independence and the critical years that followed. Ten had signed the Declaration of Independence, among them Richard Henry Lee, who had introduced the June 7, 1776, resolution for independence into the Second Continental Congress; Roger Sherman, a member of the committee appointed to draft the Declaration of Independence; and Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution. Many brought with them valuable experience gained in the Continental Congresses and State governments. Twenty-nine were framers of the Constitution.

For some, greater fame lay in the future. James Madison of Virginia entered the House of Representatives with an already distinguished record of leadership in the framing and ratification of the Constitution. He had been the dominating spirit of the Convention. In Congress he assumed leadership of the Jeffersonian Republican forces in their opposition to the financial and foreign policies of Washington's predominantly Federalist administration. His four terms in the House of Representatives were a prelude to his later service as Jefferson's Secretary of State and his own two terms as President from 1809 to 1817.

Three other future Presidents served here: James Monroe of Virginia, the hard bitten

- 1 Elias Boudinot (N.J.)
- 2 Samuel Smith (Md.)
- 3 Jeremiah Wadsworth (Conn.)
- 4 Isaac Smith (N.J.)
- 5 William Findley (Pa.)
- 6 John Page (Va.)
- 7 Henry "Light-Horse Harry" Lee (Va.)
- 8 John Marshall (Va.)
- 9 Richard Henry Lee (Va.)
- 10 Charles Carroll (Md.)
- 11 James Hillhouse (Conn.)
- 12 William Loughton Smith (S.C.)
- 13 Oliver Ellsworth (Conn.)
- 14 Samuel Livermore (N.H.)

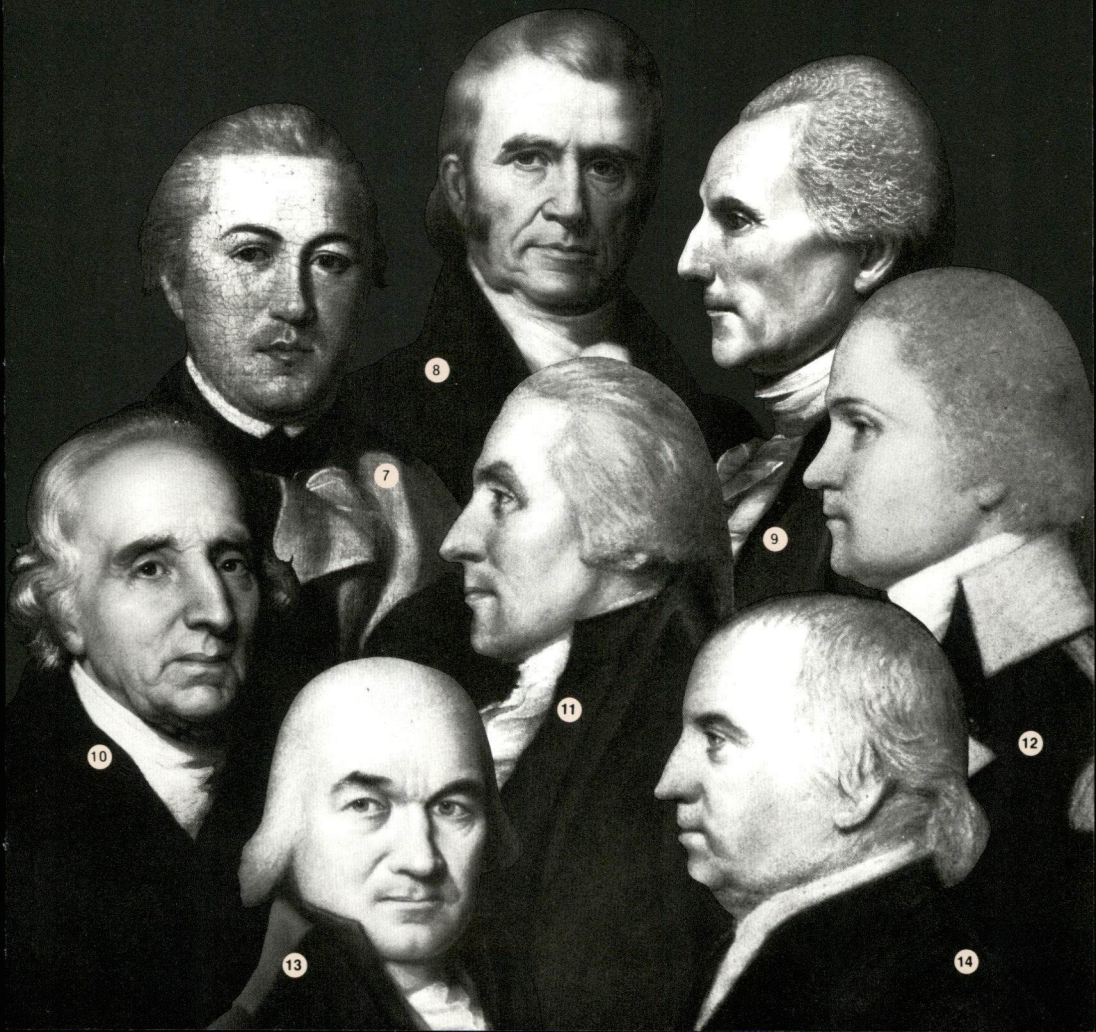


Tennessean Andrew Jackson, and William Henry Harrison from the Northwest Territory.

Swiss-born Albert Gallatin, representing frontier Pennsylvania, brought into Congress a knowledge of finance matching that of Hamilton himself. Although voted out of the Senate after only three months' service because of his failure to meet the residence requirements, Gallatin returned and served three terms in the House of Representatives and was the leading spokesman of the Jeffersonians in financial matters. After Madison's retirement, Gallatin became the recognized leader of the Republican minority in the House. He went on to serve, capably and faithfully, for 14 years as Secretary of the Treasury under both Jefferson and Madison.

John Marshall, the later great Chief Justice, served briefly with distinction. He became a champion of the Federalist administration. His powerful, clear, and logical defense of President Adams' handling of the Jonathan Robbins case, involving the extradition of a British sailor, is a masterpiece of American oratory; it was also one of the few times a speech in Congress has changed votes.

The rolls of Congress also contained the names of Aaron Burr of New York, later Vice President of the United States and the man who killed Alexander Hamilton in a duel; Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, Vice President under Madison; and many others of lesser fame long forgotten.



The Rise of Political Parties

The clash of political philosophies and economic interests, as represented by Secretary of the Treasury Hamilton and Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, led to the development of the first American political parties. The Constitution had made no provision for parties or party structures. Indeed, the framers of the Constitution had hoped that interest in the national welfare would transcend local and party spirit. But by 1792, recognizable political groupings, with definite leadership and philosophies, could be identified in Congress.

The mercantile-shipping-financial interests rallied behind Hamilton; these were the Federalists. Their leaders were men of wealth and high social position. The party drew its

strength from Northern merchants and successful Southern planters, from the well-to-do artisans, lawyers, and businessmen of the cities, and from an occasional farmer. Class-conscious, they favored a strong central government, distrusted the masses, and championed property rights.

The Republicans, led by Jefferson and his fellow-Virginian James Madison, represented the agricultural interests. They reflected the prevailing attitudes of the majority of Americans who distrusted a large central government and feared the bankers, the monied interests, and the burden of a large national debt. They defended local and State's rights, believed in simple, frugal government, and viewed the farmer as the American ideal.

Federalists

- 1 Rufus King
- 2 Timothy Pickering
- 3 John Adams
- 4 Fisher Ames
- 5 Robert Morris
- 6 Henry Knox
- 7 Alexander Hamilton

The Federalists controlled the executive branch during the administrations of Washington and Adams, but in the legislative branch their control was not as complete. The House of Representatives was rather evenly divided between the two parties—at different times each having a slight majority.



CUDGELING as by late ACT in CONGRESS, U.S.A. or



Political animosities between Republicans and Federalists accounted for many of the Congress' internal problems. This contemporary cartoon pokes fun at one such incident, between Republican Congressman Matthew Lyon of Vermont and Federalist Congressman Roger Griswold of Connecticut, who settled their differences with cane and tongs on the floor of the House of Representatives.

Some members of Congress could not be easily classified, their votes being determined not by party designation or by State or region, but by strong personal convictions. Some of the more prominent Federalists and their Jeffersonian Republican opponents are shown on these pages.

**Jeffersonian
Republicans**

- 1 Thomas Sumter
- 2 James Madison
- 3 James Monroe
- 4 Thomas Jefferson
- 5 John Langdon
- 6 Albert Gallatin



The Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1793

Smallpox and malaria were regular visitors to Philadelphia, but yellow fever had appeared only sporadically until the late summer of 1793, when it struck with devastating results. More than 2,000 died. Those who could fled the city, including President Washington and most other government officials. Those who remained behind confronted a terror and demoralization the likes of which few had previously known.

Bush Hill, the estate where Vice President Adams lived for two years after the government moved to Philadelphia, was used as a hospital and, said one witness, "exhibited as wretched a picture of human misery as ever existed. . . . The dying and the dead were indiscriminately mingled together. The ordure

and other evacuation of the sick were allowed to remain in the most offensive state imaginable. . . . No wonder, then, that a general dread of the place prevailed . . . and that a removal to it was considered as the seal of death."

Dr. Benjamin Rush, considered the most eminent American physician of his day, fought the disease with bleeding and purgatives, accepted treatments for almost everything; other doctors prescribed milder remedies. Alexander Hamilton was felled by the fever but was "saved by Doctor [Edward] Stevens's cold bath, and bark," said Congressman Fisher Ames of Massachusetts. The fever abated with the arrival of colder weather and spared the city for the next three years.



During the epidemic, President Washington stayed at the Deshler-Morris house (*left*) in Germantown. The Rev. Richard Allen (*below, left*), one of the founders of Philadelphia's African Methodist Church, and the celebrated Dr. Benjamin Rush (*below, center*) helped care for and

comfort the sick. The severity of the disease is clearly underscored by the Bill of Mortality (*opposite*) published near the end of 1793. Dolley Payne Todd (*below*), whose husband died of the disease, subsequently married Congressman James Madison, destined to become the fourth President of the United States.





Foreign Affairs in the Forefront

George Washington, pastel by James Sharples, Sr., or Ellen Sharples, about 1796, Washington's last year as president. It was also the year of his famous Farewell Address warning against establishing permanent foreign alliances that could draw the United States into European conflicts.

On March 4, 1793, a great crowd—officers of the Government, members of Congress, foreign ministers, and a number of private citizens—gathered in the Senate Chamber and along the second-floor hallway to see George Washington sworn in for his second term as President. Amid a solemn hush, Washington entered the room, and delivered an inaugural address, the brevity of which set a standard not always followed by his successors:

“Fellow Citizens: I am again called upon by the voice of my country to execute the functions of its chief magistrate. When the occasion proper for it shall arrive, I shall endeavor to express the high sense I entertain of this distinguished honor, and of the confidence which has been reposed in me by the people of the United States.

“Previous to the execution of any official act of the President, the Constitution requires an oath of office. This oath I am now about to take and in your presence, that if it shall be found during my administration of the government I have in any instance violated willingly or knowingly the injunction thereof, I may (besides incurring Constitutional punishment) be subject to the upbraidings of all who are now witnesses of the present solemn ceremony.”

Washington then took the oath of office and returned to his residence. As he left the Senate Chamber, the people could no longer remain silent and spontaneously saluted him with three rousing cheers.

During the Congressional recess that followed Washington's inauguration, foreign affairs took on great importance. The French Revolution had reached its violent climax, watched with mixed feelings by the American public. War had broken out between France and Great Britain, and the United States found itself in a delicate position vis-a-vis the contending parties: one a close and valuable ally in the fight for independence, the other a nation whose powerful navy controlled the high seas and with whom America

had a flourishing trade. In the spring of 1793 Washington issued a proclamation of neutrality declaring the United States "friendly and impartial toward the belligerent Powers" and prohibiting American citizens from "aiding or abetting hostilities."

By the time Congress reconvened on December 3, 1793, to hear Washington's fifth annual address to the joint houses, events threatened to drag the United States into the European conflict. This was due primarily to the activities of "Citizen" Edmond Charles Genêt, Revolutionary France's Minister to the United States. Genêt regarded Washington's neutrality proclamation as, in the words of one historian, "a harmless little pleasantry designed to throw dust in the eyes of the British." He boldly tried to involve the United States "in war abroad, and discord and anarchy at home" by blatantly fitting out privateers in American ports to raid British commerce. He even threatened to appeal to the people for support against Washington. Such was the climate of discontent that John Adams would later remember "the terrorism excited by Genêt in 1793, when ten thousand people in the streets of Philadelphia day after day threatened to drag Washington out of his house, and effect a revolution in the Government, or compel it to declare war in favor of the French revolution. . . ."

Washington devoted most of his fifth annual address to foreign affairs and to explaining the Neutrality Proclamation, which he had issued without Congressional support or debate. Two days later he submitted to Congress the correspondence and official documents relating to Genêt's indiscretions and demanded the minister's recall. By now, however, the government of France was in the hands of the radical Jacobins. Genêt, fearful for his life should he return home, asked for and received asylum in the United States. He subsequently became an American citizen and married the daughter of Governor George Clinton of New York.

Late in 1793, as he prepared to resign as Secretary of State, Jefferson submitted to Congress a "Report on the Privileges and Restrictions on the Commerce of the United States in Foreign Countries," seeking to tie American trade and foreign policy to France. In support of this, Madison introduced into Congress in January 1794 a series of "Commer-

cial Propositions" aimed directly at attacking England where she was most vulnerable, "in her Commerce & Manufactures," so that she would treat the United States with "justice" and "proper respect." The floor of Congress now became the battleground of the two opposing factions: the Republicans, who were pro-French, and the Federalists, pro-English.

Despite Washington's Neutrality Proclamation, the British government treated the United States almost as though she were a belligerent power. The British Navy seized hundreds of American vessels trading in the French West Indies and English emissaries aroused the Barbary pirates to attack American shipping in the Mediterranean. Moreover, despite the terms of the 1783 treaty that ended the Revolutionary War, British troops continued to occupy forts in the Old Northwest, thus controlling the lucrative western fur trade and preventing settlement in the Ohio Valley. Anti-British feelings in Congress and the country at large were intense. War seemed almost inevitable, but, as one Congressman put it, the Nation would "not go to war lest they are driven to it by the most pressing necessity."

To prevent war, Washington in the spring of 1794 sent Chief Justice John Jay to England as minister plenipotentiary to secure, among other things, the cession of the British forts on the American frontier, reparation for losses sustained by the seizure of American ships, and a commercial treaty with Great Britain. Jay was surprised to find the British very cordial and eager to settle the dispute, but only if His Majesty's government believed the United States was and intended to remain truly neutral in the war with France.

For months Congress and the Nation anxiously awaited news of Jay's mission and the text of the treaty. When the treaty arrived, Washington called the Senate into special session to ratify it. The Senate was divided sharply in its debate over the treaty's provisions. Jay had gotten the British to agree to a commercial treaty giving the United States a most-favored nation status, to evacuate the Northwest forts by 1796, and to allow joint commissions to settle questions of reparations and other disputes. What Jay had failed to get, however, was Britain's agreement to uphold America's neutral rights under international law—an omission that angered Republicans

and which would later lead to a serious crisis with France.

On June 24, 1795, with Vice President Adams presiding, the Federalist-dominated Senate passed the treaty by a vote of 20 to 10—exactly the two-thirds majority required by the Constitution. Publication of the text of the treaty aroused throughout the Nation a cry, described by the President, “like that against a mad dog.” At first Washington was uncertain whether to approve the treaty, but fearing a growing French influence in the Nation and feeling that accord with England rather than war was in the best interests of the people, he signed it.

The prospects for peace were brighter as President Washington addressed the Fourth Congress when it convened in December 1795. Thomas Pinckney had negotiated a treaty with Spain which the Senate quickly and unanimously approved. Unlike the Jay Treaty, the Pinckney Treaty was highly favorable to the United States, granting American citizens the long-sought right of unrestricted use of the Mississippi River. When the United States agreed to pay a yearly tribute to the Dey of Algiers, peace with the Barbary pirates was achieved. Gen. Anthony Wayne paved the way for peace on the frontier by signing a treaty with the Indians of the Northwest Territory clearing the Government title to additional Western territories acquired by the 1783 treaty with England. This led Congress to enact the significant Land Act of 1796, which encouraged settlement and aided the rapid expansion of the West.

The Jay Treaty, however, continued to divide Congress and the Nation. Washington officially promulgated the treaty on February 29, 1796, and the Republicans in the House of Representatives immediately launched their final campaign against it. The House passed a resolution asking Washington to submit to them all of the papers relating to the treaty. He refused, arguing that the Constitution had not included the House in the treaty-making procedure. For the next two months the House debated an appropriation bill upon which the execution of the treaty depended.

The debate involved not only the treaty itself, but the question of the constitutional relationship of the Legislature with the Chief Executive. The rights of the House were asserted in resolutions written by

Madison and introduced by North Carolina Representative Thomas Blount and which passed the house by a sizable majority vote. As Congressional debate continued, public sentiment changed dramatically in favor of the treaty, and petitions urging passage of the bill implementing it flooded Congress.

On April 28, when partisan feelings were at their strongest, Federalist Fisher Ames of Massachusetts took the floor. Frail and sickly, Ames spoke so faintly that he could barely be heard. Yet he delivered one of the most moving speeches ever heard in the House of Representatives to an audience that included members of the Senate, Justices of the Supreme Court, and even Vice President John Adams. Ames spoke for more than an hour, pointing out the benefits the United States would gain from the treaty and predicting dire consequences should the House reject it. There is some question whether Ames' speech changed any votes, but when he had finished, noted John Adams, there was hardly a dry eye in the chamber, "except some of the jackasses who had occasioned the necessity of the oratory."

The next day the bill was voted upon in the Committee of the Whole. The result was a tie, 49 to 49. The chairman, House Speaker and Republican Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, cast the deciding vote—with the Federalists for the bill. The treaty was safe, and "Peace & tranquility" now succeeded the months of "noisy Debate" in the halls of Congress.

While the "Spirit of Faction" subsided, Republicans continued to condemn Jay's Treaty as a sacrifice of American rights and honor. The partisan division in Congress was soon deepened by a worsening of Franco-American relations, brought about when France, angered not only by the ratification of Jay's Treaty but by the election that same year of John Adams to the Presidency, embarked upon a policy of seizing American shipping. President Adams sent Elbridge Gerry, John Marshall, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney to France to smooth matters.

The envoys' dispatches recording in detail their experiences with the French Directory, including blatant attempts to extort large sums of money from the United States as the basis for any negotiations, reached America in the spring of 1798 and were sent to Congress by the President. (This came to be known as the XYZ Affair because those letters were substi-

tuted for the names of the Frenchmen who dealt with the American commissioners.) The American public was outraged: "Millions for defence, but not one cent for tribute" became the rallying cry of the day. Expecting the French to declare war, President Adams advocated a policy of armed neutrality. Congress responded by creating the Navy Department as a new executive department with full Cabinet status. The Senate confirmed President Adams' nomination of Benjamin Stoddert as the first Secretary of the Navy. Three new and powerful frigates were added to the American navy and the Marine Corps was revived. Money for arms and harbor fortifications was appropriated, and the army was enlarged.

A state of quasi-war existed between the United States and France for more than two years. In March 1799, believing that the French were now ready to negotiate a settlement of their differences, President Adams nominated William Vans Murray as Minister Plenipotentiary to France. The Senate expanded Murray's mission into a three-man team, which was finally able to negotiate an end to the quasi-war.

Domestically, the threat of war with France caused the Federalists in Congress, now holding a strong majority, to pass the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798. Ostensibly these measures were aimed at newly arrived political refugees and immigrants. They were really designed to keep Jeffersonian Republicans in line. The laws increased the residency requirements for citizenship, gave the President the power to expel foreigners, and imposed limitations on freedom of speech and press, with fines and imprisonment the penalties for writing, publishing, or speaking anything of a "false, scandalous and malicious" nature against the Government or any of its officers.

Two States, Virginia and Kentucky, passed resolves (secretly written by Madison and Jefferson, respectively) questioning the constitutionality of what many were denouncing as "the most diabolical laws that were ever attempted to be imposed on a free and enlightened people." The controversy over the Alien and Sedition Acts undermined the Federalists' hold on the government, led to the election of Jefferson to the presidency in 1800, and brought about Republican control of Congress.



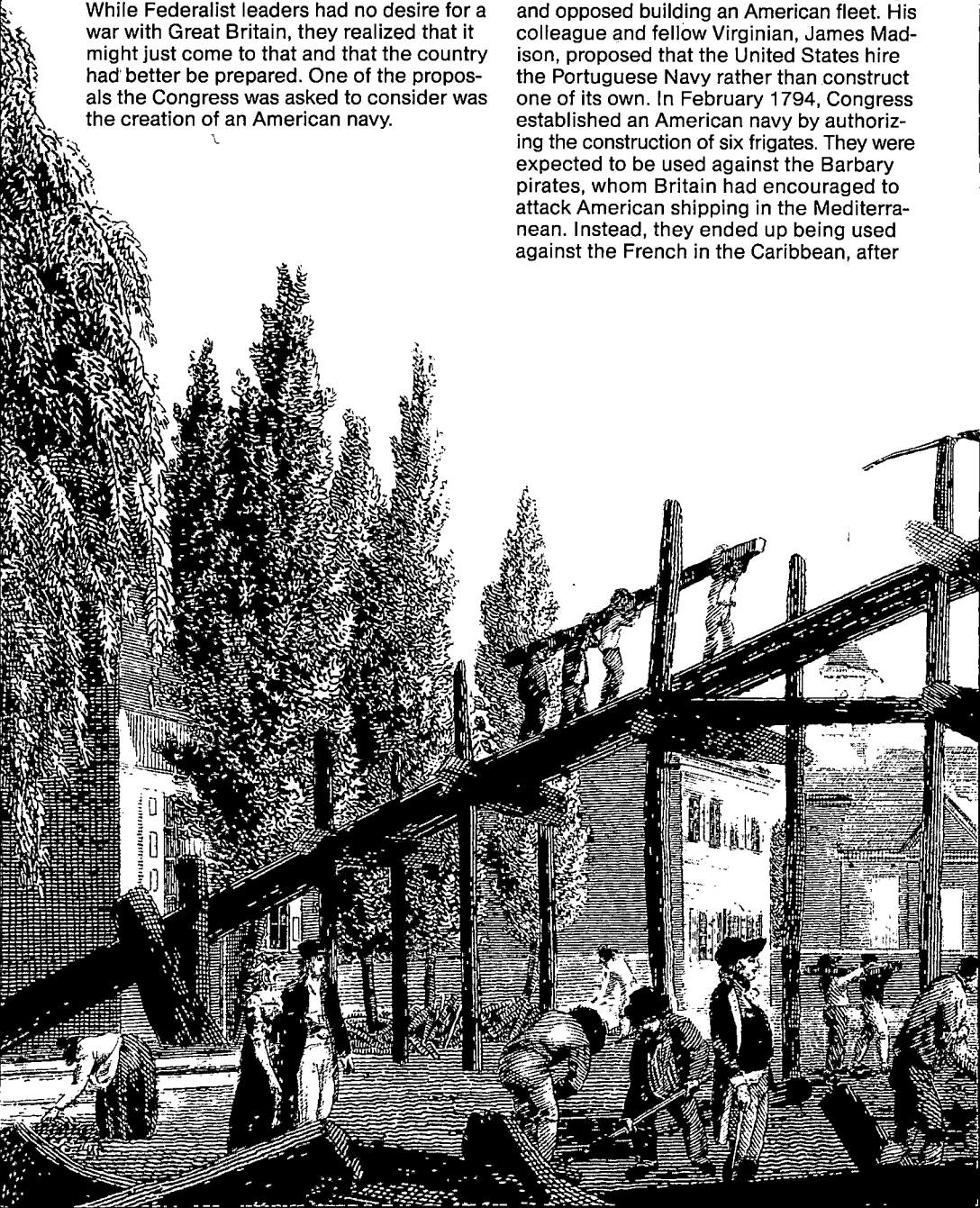
When Chief Justice John Jay (above) returned from England with the treaty he negotiated with Great Britain, he was not welcomed like a man who had helped prevent a war. Instead he found himself the center of a political firestorm. Federalist Senators in Congress generally approved the treaty's provisions and garnered more than enough votes to ratify it quickly. Republican Senators, however, called Jay a "lickspittle" and the treaty a sellout of U.S. rights. When Jay resigned as Chief Justice to become governor of New York in 1795, he was probably the most unpopular man in the nation and the object of such vilification that he wryly remarked to a friend that he could find his way across the country by the light of his own burning effigies (right).



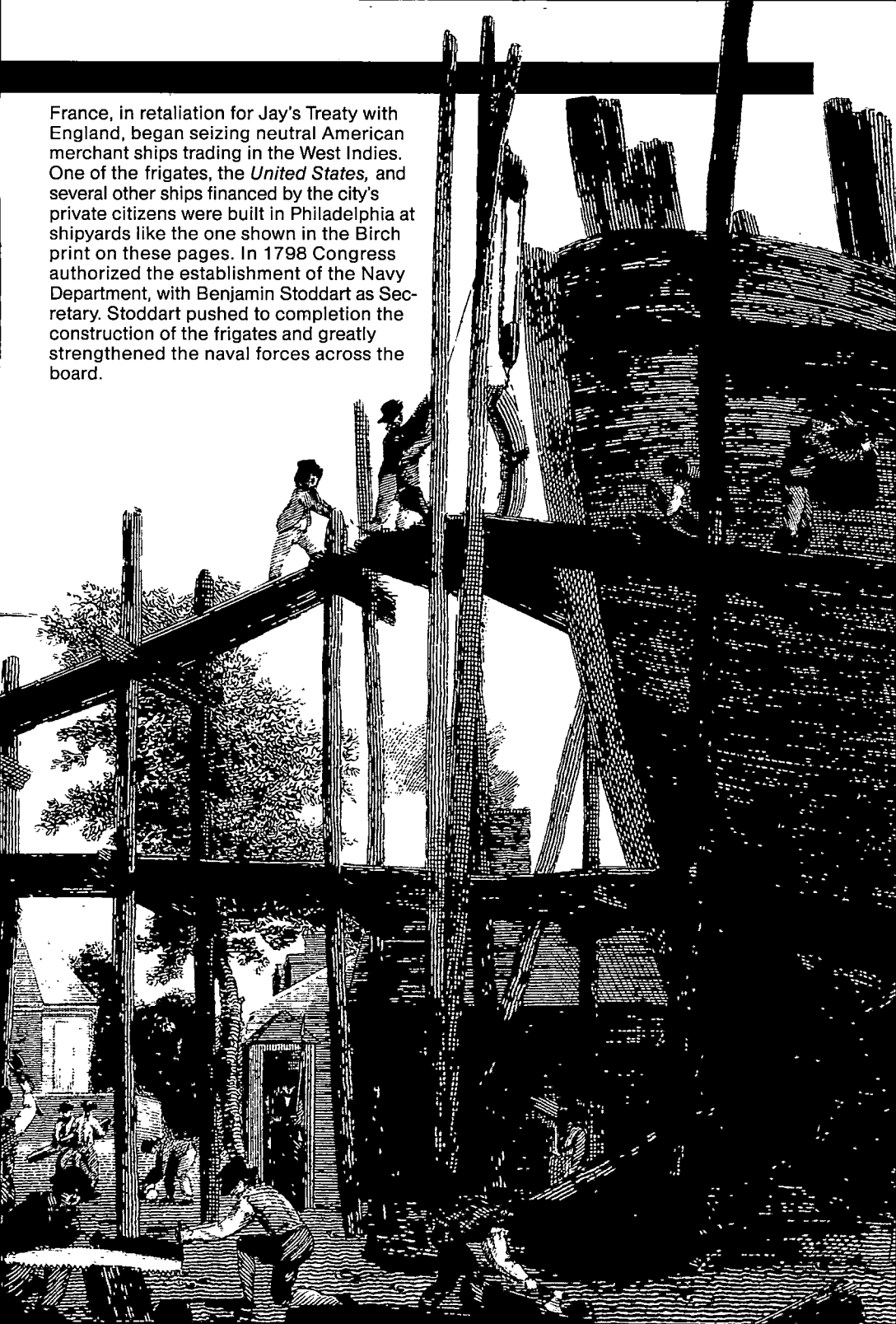
The Quasi-War and the Rebirth of the U.S. Navy

In 1794, when the crisis over Britain's seizure of American ships on the high seas and her encouragement of Indian depredations on the frontier was coming to a head, the United States Congress took steps to strengthen the country's defensive posture. While Federalist leaders had no desire for a war with Great Britain, they realized that it might just come to that and that the country had better be prepared. One of the proposals the Congress was asked to consider was the creation of an American navy.

The United States had not had a navy since at least 1784, when the last ship of the old Continental Navy was sold, and some Congressmen thought that it ought to stay that way. Representative William B. Giles of Virginia considered navies "very foolish things" and opposed building an American fleet. His colleague and fellow Virginian, James Madison, proposed that the United States hire the Portuguese Navy rather than construct one of its own. In February 1794, Congress established an American navy by authorizing the construction of six frigates. They were expected to be used against the Barbary pirates, whom Britain had encouraged to attack American shipping in the Mediterranean. Instead, they ended up being used against the French in the Caribbean, after



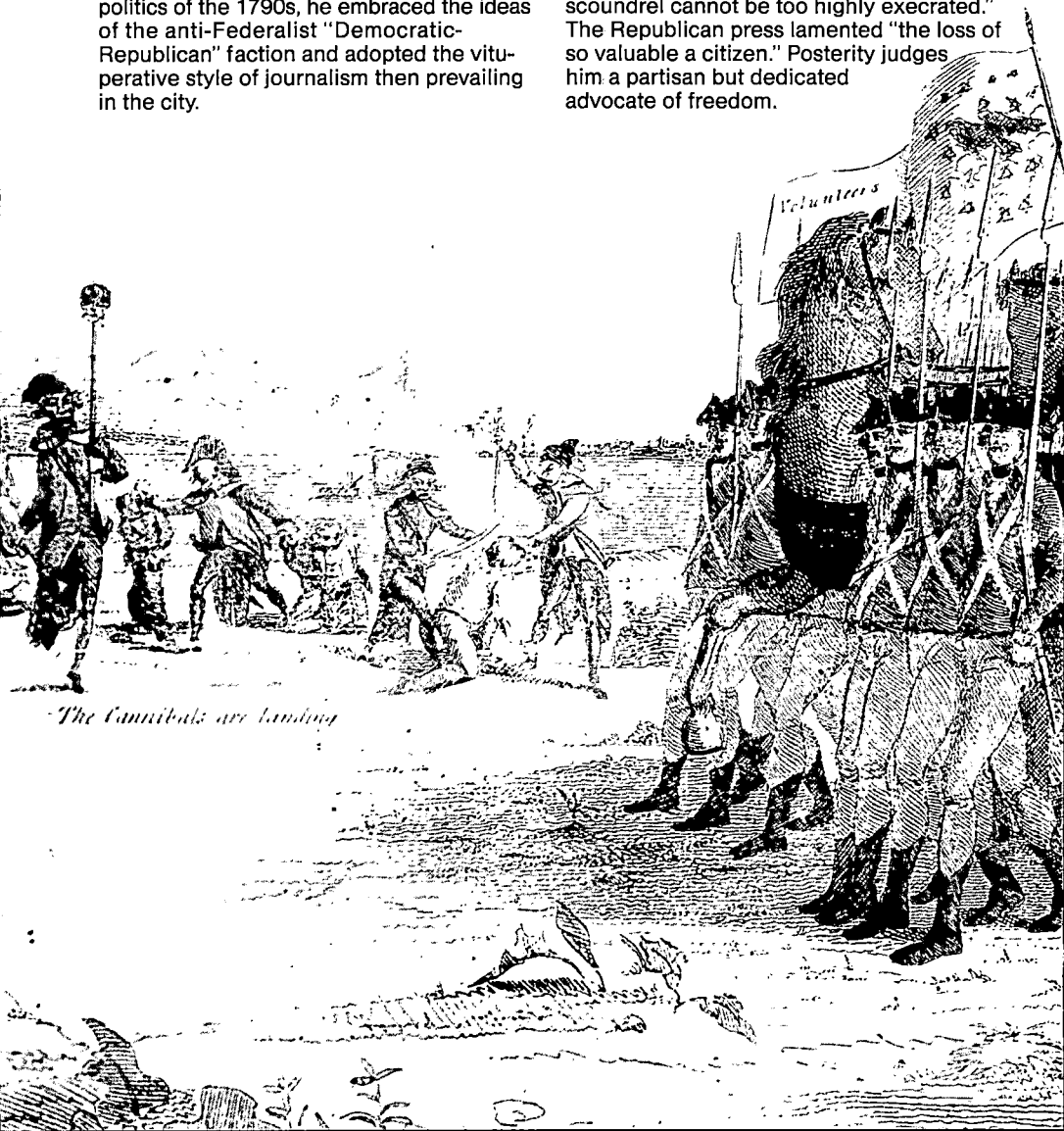
France, in retaliation for Jay's Treaty with England, began seizing neutral American merchant ships trading in the West Indies. One of the frigates, the *United States*, and several other ships financed by the city's private citizens were built in Philadelphia at shipyards like the one shown in the Birch print on these pages. In 1798 Congress authorized the establishment of the Navy Department, with Benjamin Stoddart as Secretary. Stoddart pushed to completion the construction of the frigates and greatly strengthened the naval forces across the board.



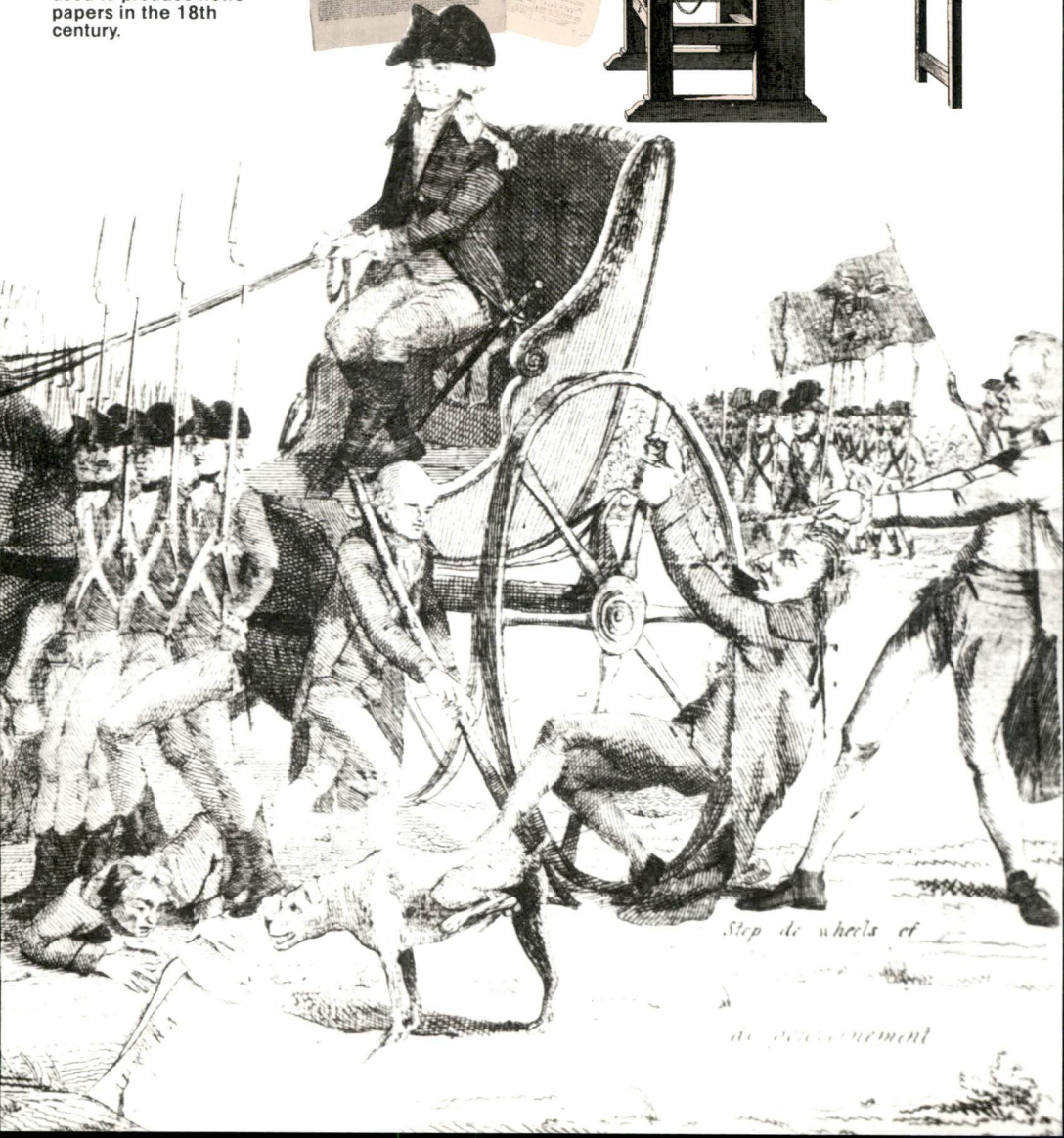
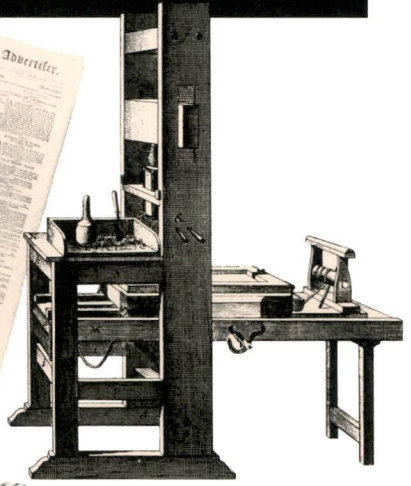
Benjamin Franklin Bache and a Free Press

On October 1, 1790, Benjamin Franklin Bache launched a newspaper—the *General Advertiser*, and *Political, Commercial, Agricultural, and Literary Journal*, later renamed the *Aurora*. Like his grandfather and namesake, Bache considered a free press “the Bulwark of Liberty” and the primary means of keeping the people enlightened. At first, he adhered closely to the motto on his paper’s masthead—“Truth, Decency, Utility”—reporting both national events and Congressional debates with fairness and accuracy. But then, caught up in the partisan politics of the 1790s, he embraced the ideas of the anti-Federalist “Democratic-Republican” faction and adopted the vituperative style of journalism then prevailing in the city.

Bache blamed Washington for “all the misfortunes of our Country” and applauded his decision to retire from the Presidency. “If ever there was a period for rejoicing,” he wrote, “this is the moment.” By the summer of 1798 Bache was the object of much hostility, as the Federalist cartoon on these pages suggests. (Bache is shown being trampled by militiamen while Jefferson, Madison, and Gallatin try to keep Washington from advancing to meet the French threat.) When Bache died from yellow fever in September, the Federalist press gloated: “The memory of this scoundrel cannot be too highly execrated.” The Republican press lamented “the loss of so valuable a citizen.” Posterity judges him a partisan but dedicated advocate of freedom.



The first issue of Bache's paper (right) gave no indication that by 1797 it would have a daily circulation of 1,700 copies and be the most widely read newspaper in the country. In some ways, especially the editorial forum it offered to Philadelphians, it was a forerunner of modern journalism. Far right: An engraving showing the kind of printing press used to produce newspapers in the 18th century.

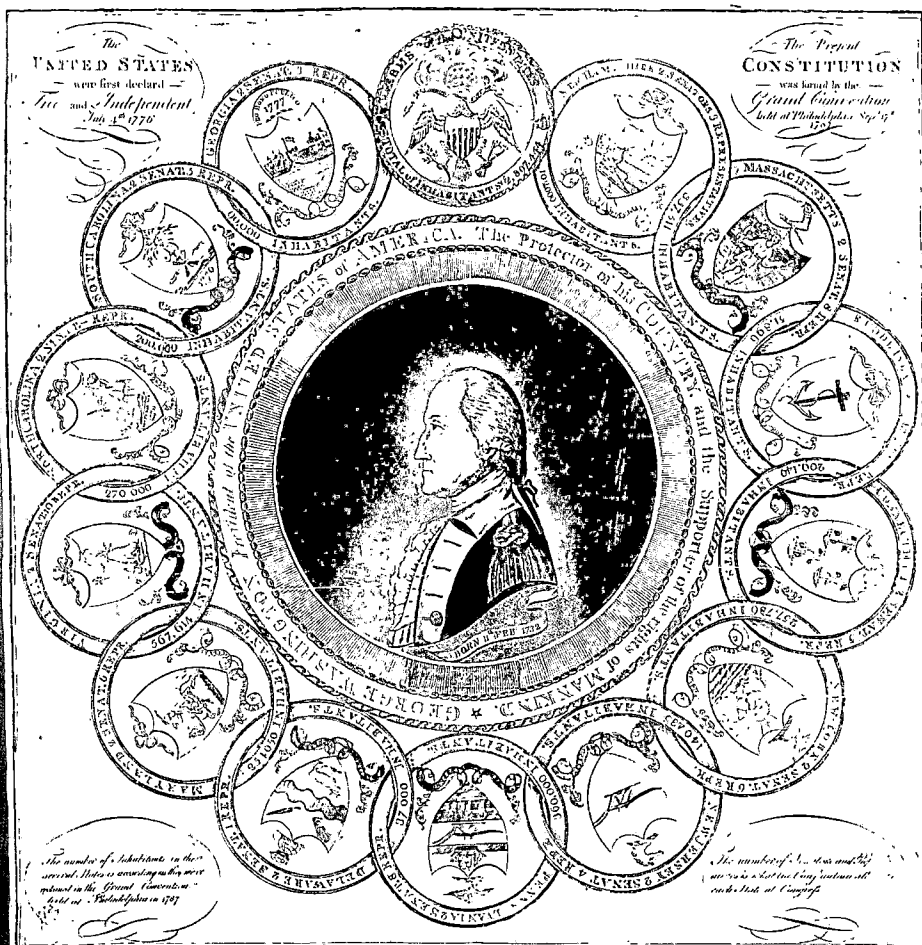


*Step de wheels et
de gouvernement*

From Washington to Adams: The Peaceful Transfer of Political Power

The Presidential election of 1796 was the first bipartisan election in the history of the United States. Since the Constitution made no provision for political parties, candidates for President and Vice President were selected by Congressional caucus and listed together on a ballot with no distinction as to who was running for which office. Each State appointed electors equal in number to the total of the State's senators and representatives. Each elector voted for two candidates, and the highest vote getter (so long as it was a majority) became President and the next-highest Vice President. The Federalists nominated John Adams and Thomas Pinckney; the Republicans Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr. Adams won (by just three votes), and Jefferson came in second.

On March 4, 1797, the House Chamber was jammed with members of the Senate and House, foreign dignitaries, Government officials, and many Philadelphians. "Loud and reiterated applause involuntarily burst from the audience" as first John Adams (right), then Thomas Jefferson, and finally George Washington entered. Here to witness the inauguration of his successor, Washington "took a seat as a private citizen, a little in front of the seats assigned for the Senate." President-elect Adams addressed the assemblage and then received the oath of office from Chief Justice Oliver Ellsworth. He left the room to the applause of the people. Thus, for the first time in American history and despite disruptions from near rebellion internally, violent politics, and international efforts



DISPLAY of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA

to sabotage the authority of our first president, the power of Government passed from one administration to another quietly, peacefully, and with dignity. The experiment in democratic government had taken root.



Engraver Amos Doolittle celebrated the new administration by issuing an Adams version of his popular print, *Display of the United States of America* (below). As in the earlier Washington edition, each State entry contained up-to-date population statistics plus the number of senators and representatives. The linked chain of States motif of the Washington version is echoed in the carpet William Peter Sprague designed for the Senate chamber in Congress Hall in 1791.

<p>NEW HAMPSHIRE</p> <p>2 Senators 4 Representatives 189,356 Inhabitants</p>	<p>VERMONT</p> <p>2 Senators 4 Representatives 106,923 Inhabitants</p>	<p>MASSACHUSETTS</p> <p>3 Senators 15 Representatives 1,032,845 Inhabitants</p>	<p>CONNECTICUT</p> <p>2 Senators 7 Representatives 231,002 Inhabitants</p>	<p>RHODE ISLAND</p> <p>2 Senators 2 Representatives 69,122 Inhabitants</p>
<p>NEW YORK</p> <p>5 Senators 11 Representatives 3,121,750 Inhabitants</p>	<p>JOHN ADAMS <i>President of the United States</i></p>			<p>PENNSYLVANIA</p> <p>2 Senators 12 Representatives 500,265 Inhabitants</p>
<p>NEW JERSEY</p> <p>2 Senators 5 Representatives 11,114 Inhabitants</p>				<p>MARYLAND</p> <p>2 Senators 6 Representatives 100,635 Inhabitants</p>
<p>DELAWARE</p> <p>2 Senators 3 Representatives 64,275 Inhabitants</p>				<p>VIRGINIA</p> <p>2 Senators 12 Representatives 874,539 Inhabitants</p>
<p>NORTH CAROLINA</p> <p>3 Senators 11 Representatives 1,478,003 Inhabitants</p>	<p>SOUTH CAROLINA</p> <p>2 Senators 9 Representatives 245,501 Inhabitants</p>	<p>GEORGIA</p> <p>2 Senators 13 Representatives 167,686 Inhabitants</p>	<p>TENNESSEE</p> <p>2 Senators 10 Representatives 976,800 Inhabitants</p>	<p>KENTUCKY</p> <p>2 Senators 4 Representatives 329,633 Inhabitants</p>
<p>A New DISPLAY of the UNITED STATES</p>				

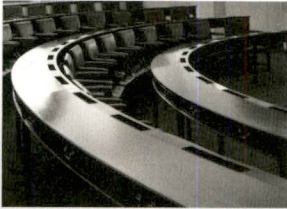
The Later History of Congress Hall

When the United States Government moved to Washington in 1800, Congress Hall reverted to its original use as the County Courthouse. Throughout the 19th century, the Orphans' Court and the Courts of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions met on the first floor, while the U.S. District and Circuit Courts used the Senate Chamber and other rooms upstairs. Congress Hall also served to house several municipal departments and the University of Pennsylvania Law School.

The building suffered from neglect, and the interior was rearranged several times to accommodate the needs of its various occupants. In 1895, the Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America restored the Senate Chamber, but it was not until 1912-13

that the entire building was restored under the thoughtful and careful direction of a committee of the Philadelphia Chapter, American Institute of Architects.

Congress Hall has been part of Independence National Historical Park since 1951. In 1960, after intensive historical research and architectural investigations provided the necessary documentation, the National Park Service began a thorough rehabilitation of the building and its furnishings. In 1962, an accurate and authentic restoration was completed (although old wooden timbers and trusses were reinforced with ones of steel). At that time, the restored and refurnished House of Representatives Chamber on the first floor was opened to the public. The Sen-

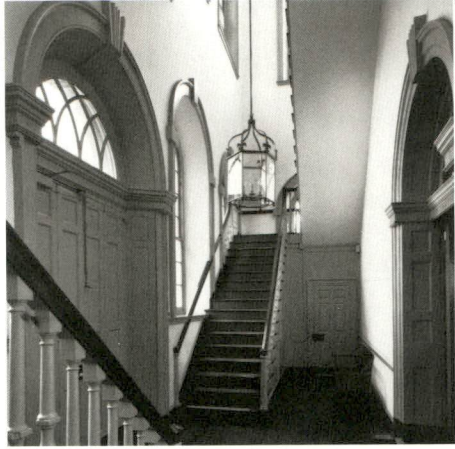


The House of Representatives chamber, where members sat in studded armchairs at mahogany desks arranged in a semi-circle. *Right:* The podium from which Frederick Muhlenberg presided as Speaker of the House during the First and Third Congresses.

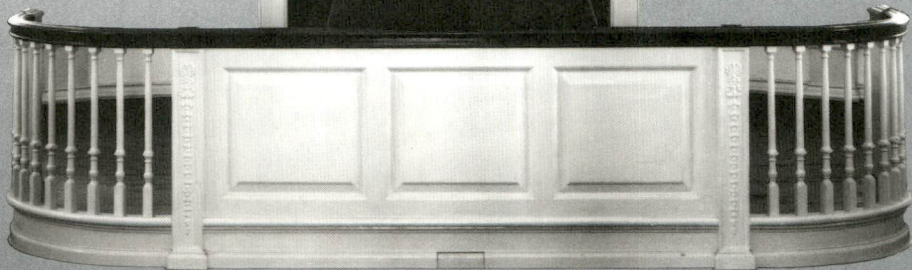


ate Chamber on the second floor was refurbished and opened in 1963; four years later, the four smaller rooms on the second floor were also refurbished and opened.

Today, Congress Hall, the oldest building standing that was once used by the Congress of the United States, is an impressive reminder of the men and events that shaped and influenced the formation of our Government.



The Senate chamber, where members sat in red-leather armchairs at individual desks. Of the 32 armchairs made by Thomas Affleck, 20 are still in the room. *Left:* The podium from which first John Adams and then Thomas Jefferson presided as President of the Senate. *Top:* The foyer in Congress Hall, showing the stairs leading to the second floor and the Senate chamber.



The Residence Act, which Congress passed on July 16, 1790, authorized President Washington to choose a site for a permanent capital on the Potomac River.

And be it enacted, That the said district accepted by this act, for the permanent seat of the government of the United States.

And be it enacted; That the said any two of them shall have power to accept such quantity of land on the river within the said district, as to be proper for the use of the United States, to such plans as the President shall think proper, or any two of them shall in December, in the year 1791, provide suitable buildings for the government of the United States.

And be it enacted; That the said Congress, and of the President shall be authorized to purchase and accept grants of more or less land, until the time fixed by law provide for the same.

And be it further enacted, That the said Congress, or any two of them, shall be authorized to supply vacancies in the said office, or other causes, to the President, or any two of them, shall be authorized to survey, lay out, and define the boundaries of the said district.

Approved July 16, 1790.
 George Washington

Congress Moves to Washington

United States:
Session—
to New York on a Monday the
thousand seven hundred and Ninety
fourth and Permanent Seat of
United States.
House of Representatives of
in Congress assembled, this
being ten miles square, to
on the river Potomack,
the mouth of the bay
and the same is hereby
of the government of
nevertheless that the
State within such
by this acceptance,
novel of the govern-
ments shall otherwise
That the President
is to appoint
from refusal
appointment, as long
Commissioners with
the direction of the
had or met, and
of territory, under

In December 1799 the first session of the Sixth Congress convened; its time in Philadelphia was drawing to a close. On December 18, John Marshall with "a voice that bespoke the anguish of his mind, and a countenance expressive of the deepest regret," informed the House that George Washington was dead. The next day he said: "Our WASHINGTON is no more! The Hero, the Sage, and the Patriot of America—the man on whom in times of danger every eye was turned and all hopes were placed—lives now only in his own great actions, and in the hearts of an affectionate and afflicted people."

Then in words written by Henry Lee, he voiced "the universal grief" at the "loss of a citizen, first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

Congress paid its final tribute to Washington a week later. Both the Senate and House chambers were draped in black, and "in front of the Speakers chair [was placed] a coffin covered with a black pall, bearing a military hat & sword." Finally, Congress voted to name the new Federal Capital for Washington, ordered that a fitting monument to him be erected there, and named his birthday a national holiday.

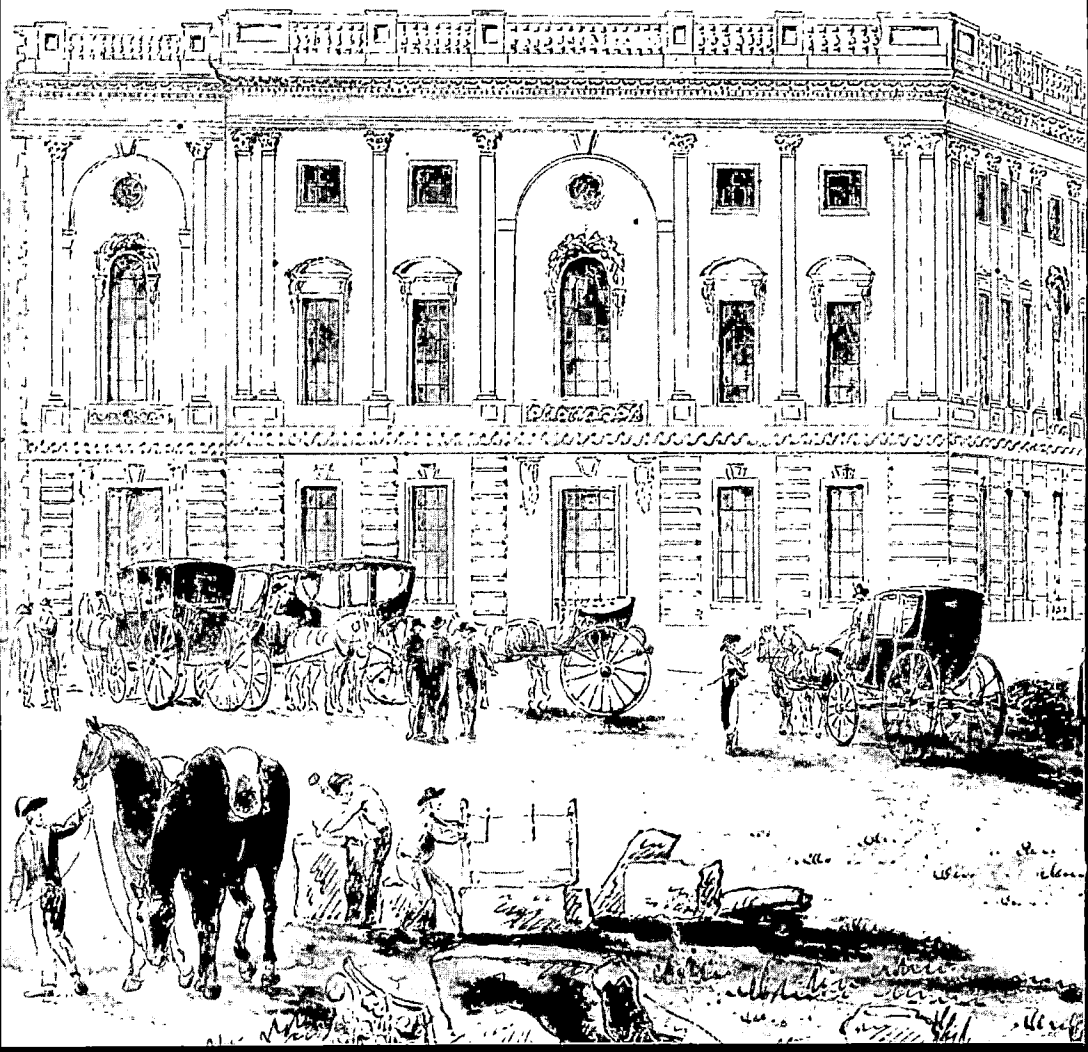
As Congress was winding up its business in Philadelphia, the Federalists warded off two attempts by the Republicans to repeal the Alien and Sedition Acts. On May 14, 1800, Congress adjourned, and the focus of national politics shifted to the swamps along the Potomac River where the new Capital was being built. Philadelphia, no longer either the State or Federal capital, slipped quietly into the 19th century and soon lost its pre-eminence among American cities.

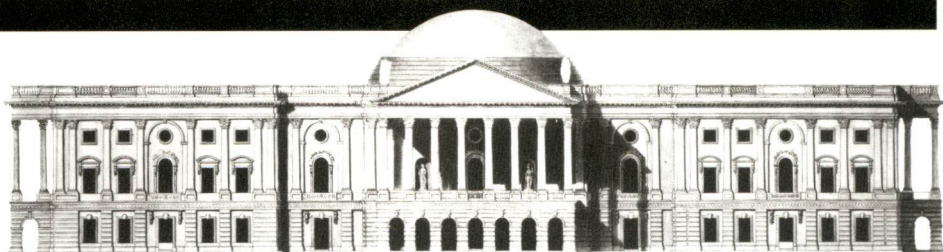
The New Capital

The same political bargain that made Philadelphia the temporary capital in 1790 established the permanent seat of government along the Potomac River somewhere between two of its tributaries, the Eastern Branch (now Anacostia River) on the south and Conococheague Creek (west of Hagerstown, Maryland) on the north. President Washington chose the actual site, near the existing river ports of Georgetown, Maryland, and Alexandria, Virginia. For the architect of the new capital, he chose French-born engineer Pierre Charles L'Enfant, whose plan for the new city left plenty of room for future expansion and growth.

Workmen began to clear the site in the summer of 1791, but the city (now named Wash-

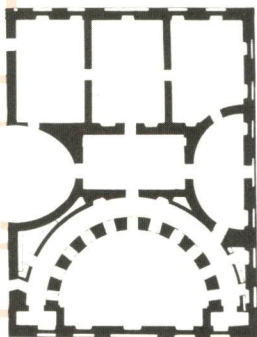
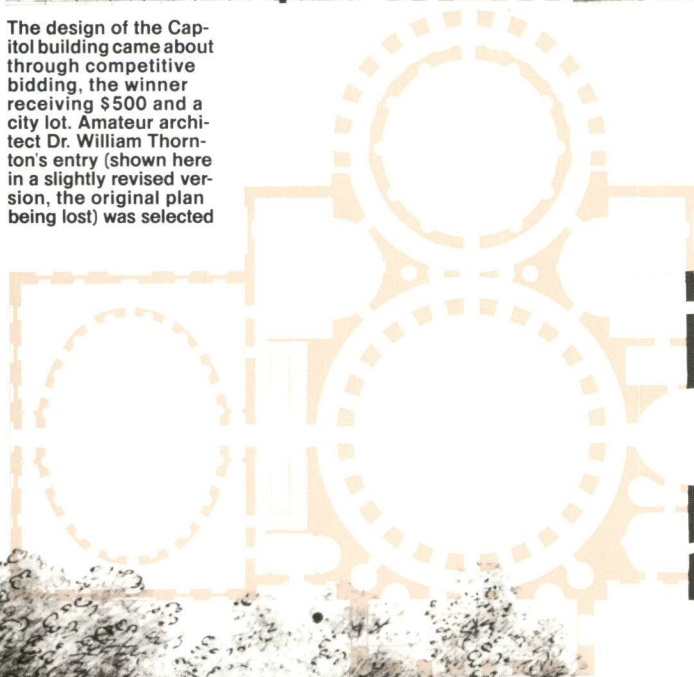
ington) was far from being completed when officials began to arrive from Philadelphia in the summer of 1800. They found mud, mosquitoes, crowded lodgings, and half-finished government buildings. Members of Congress were appalled at the city's dreary appearance and lack of amenities. Representative Richard Griswold of Connecticut called it "both melancholy and ludicrous," while Senator Gouverneur Morris of New York concluded that all the new seat of American government really needed to make it perfect were "houses, cellars, kitchens, well informed men, amiable women, and other little trifles of this kind. . . ." It would be many months before Washington would shed its image of "a city in ruins" for one more befitting the capital of an aspiring nation.





The design of the Capitol building came about through competitive bidding, the winner receiving \$500 and a city lot. Amateur architect Dr. William Thornton's entry (shown here in a slightly revised version, the original plan being lost) was selected

in 1792 because it "captivated the eyes and judgment of all." Washington admired its "grandeur, simplicity and convenience." He laid the building's cornerstone on September 18, 1793. Thornton's design was later modified.



This watercolor by Philadelphia artist and engraver William Birch shows the North Wing of the Capitol building, the only portion completed by the time Congress assembled in Washington in 1800.



National Park Service

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Capitol of the United States, 1790-1800

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Independence

A Guide to Independence National Historical Park

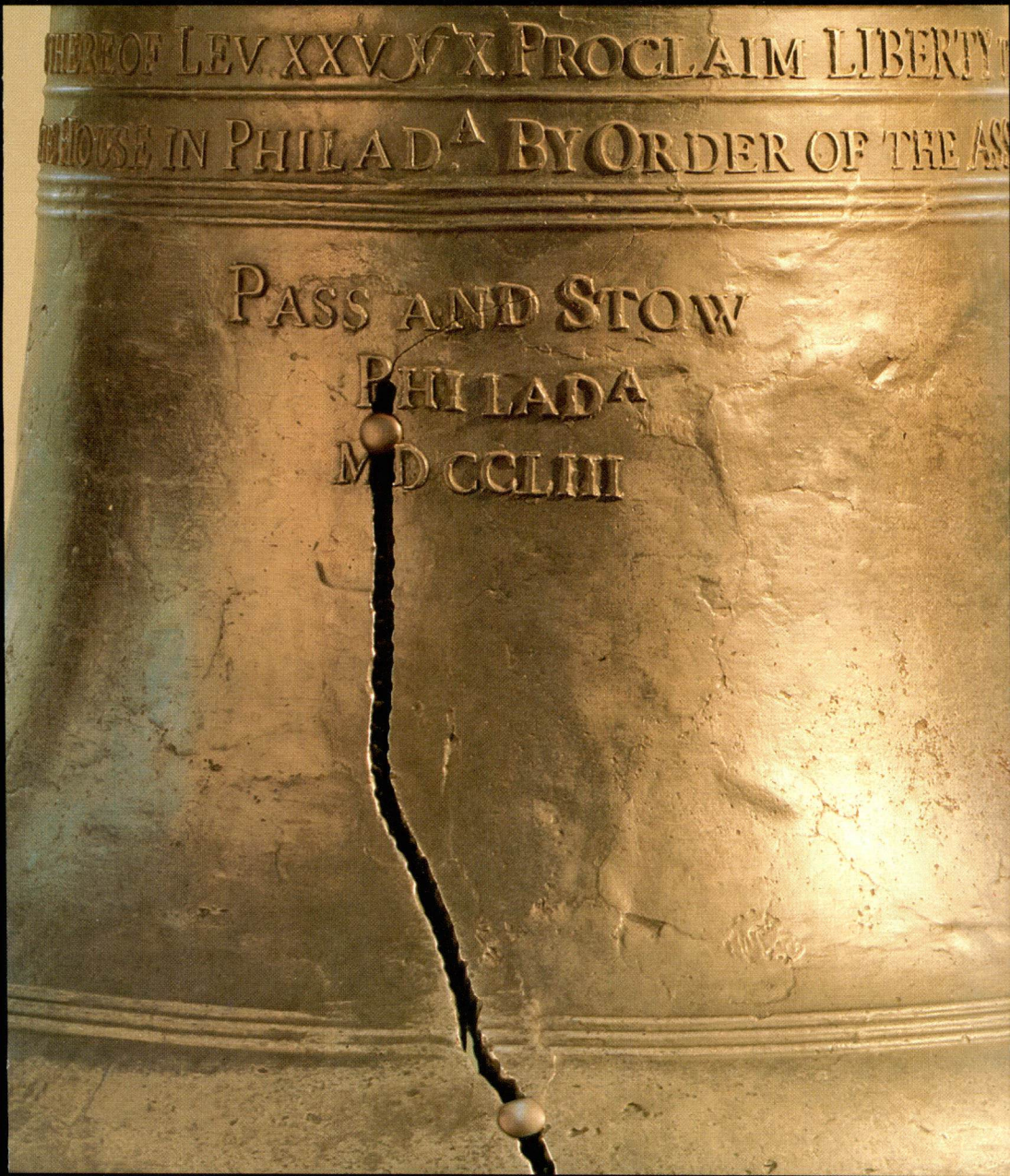
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Independence

**A Guide to
Independence National Historical Park
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania**

**Produced by the
Division of Publications
National Park Service**

**U.S. Department of the Interior
Washington, D.C. 1982**

About This Book

Independence National Historical Park is perhaps the most significant historical property in the United States—and also one of the most complex. Its buildings and sites number some three dozen, and the many thousands of objects in its collections range from the little known to the transcendent. This handbook is a vista into this rich world of the founders. The essay by Richard B. Morris, author of many distinguished works on 18th-century America, summarizes the main lines of the Independence story. The concluding guide section has brief accounts, arranged alphabetically, of each of the principal historical places within the park, with suggestions on the best way to go about seeing them.

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Part 1



Birthplace of the Nation

In the last quarter of the 18th century, Philadelphia was the center of some of the most creative and far-reaching political thought of the modern world. Here, within the space of a few square blocks, in buildings still standing in their original splendor, Americans cast off ancient colonial ties, directed the course of a long and uncertain war to secure their liberties, and instituted a form of government adapted to the new needs of a rising people.

The sense of what John Adams called "this mighty Revolution" is still a presence in the buildings and sites of Independence National Historical Park. The Liberty Bell is a symbol known around the world. Independence Hall, where two great charters of national destiny were adopted, is a shrine

to the principles of human rights and self-government. Each year millions visit them.

This handbook is a guide to these and other historic places. It combines a perceptive essay on the birth of the Nation by historian Richard B. Morris with a handy listing of sites. Interspersed are pictorial accounts of the principal events, people, and themes of this diverse park. Spend a few minutes with the interpretive portion of the handbook. It will repay you with insight into what is of lasting significance here: the deeds of a revolutionary generation which still profoundly influence our lives today.





The United States was created in Philadelphia on July 4, 1776, when the Continental Congress voted the final form of the Declaration of Independence. The United States was perpetuated on September 17, 1787, when the Federal Convention completed its work on the Constitution and referred it, through Congress, to the individual states for ratification. Both these great decisions were made in the same chamber in what is now called Independence Hall, but was then the Pennsylvania State House. It would still be merely the old State House if independence had not been achieved and if the Constitution had not been rati-

fied and put into effect. The noble building, so venerable to later ages, might not even have survived, but might have been swept away in the surging growth of a modern city. In that case, a few students of history would sometimes remember the site as the stage of those lost causes. Instead, Pennsylvania's State House has become Independence Hall for the entire United States. Nor is that all. On account of the Declaration of Independence, it is a shrine honored wherever the rights of men are honored. On account of the Constitution, it is a shrine cherished wherever the principles of self-government on a federal scale are cherished.

Carl Van Doren

The Second Day of July 1776, will be the most memorable Epocha, in the History of America . . . it will be celebrated, by succeeding Generations, as the great anniversary Festival. It ought to be commemorated, as the Day of Deliverance by solemn Acts of Devotion to God Almighty. It ought to be solemnized with Pomp and Parade, with Shews, Games, Sports, Guns, Bells, Bonfires and Illuminations from one End of this Continent to the other from this Time forward forever more.

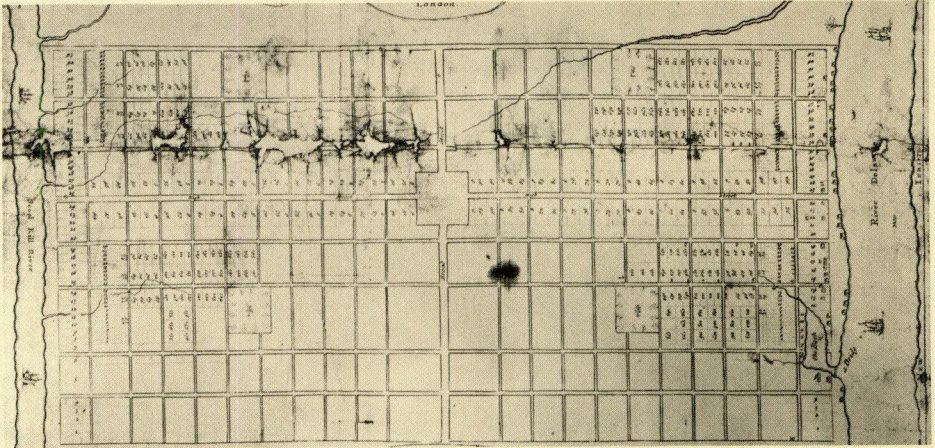
John Adams writing to Abigail Adams, July 3, 1776, just after Congress voted unanimously to sever ties with Britain. As it turned out, Americans chose to celebrate not the resolution of July 2 but the vote on July 4 to adopt the formal Declaration.

Metropolis of the Colonies

From a simple Quaker town, planted in 1682 by William Penn as the capital of his "Holy Experiment," Philadelphia grew into the largest, wealthiest, most cosmopolitan city in the colonies. A traveler in 1749 wrote of its "fine appearance, good regulations, agreeable situation, natural advantages, trade, riches and power." By

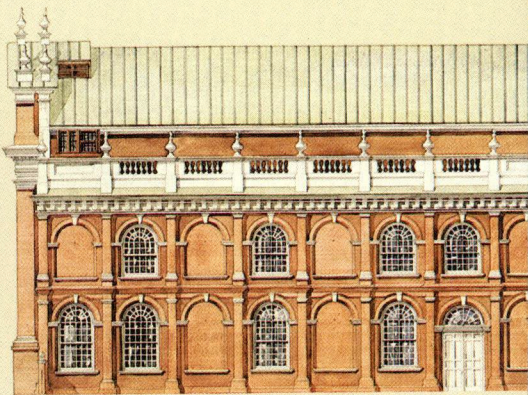
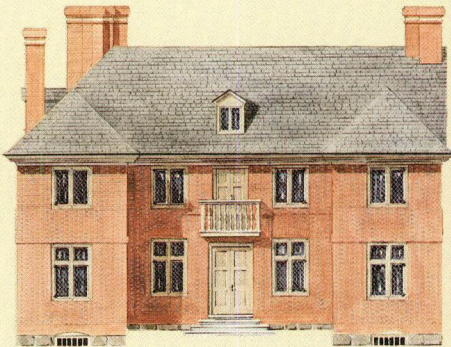
1776 the population stood at nearly 30,000 persons, who occupied some 6,000 houses and 300 shops clustered in a narrow strip along the banks of the Delaware.

The city owed its prosperity to sea-going commerce, which tapped a rich hinterland and brought goods and new ideas from Europe. A



Penn's original plan (above) shows the city spreading from river to river, with a central square and four smaller ones.

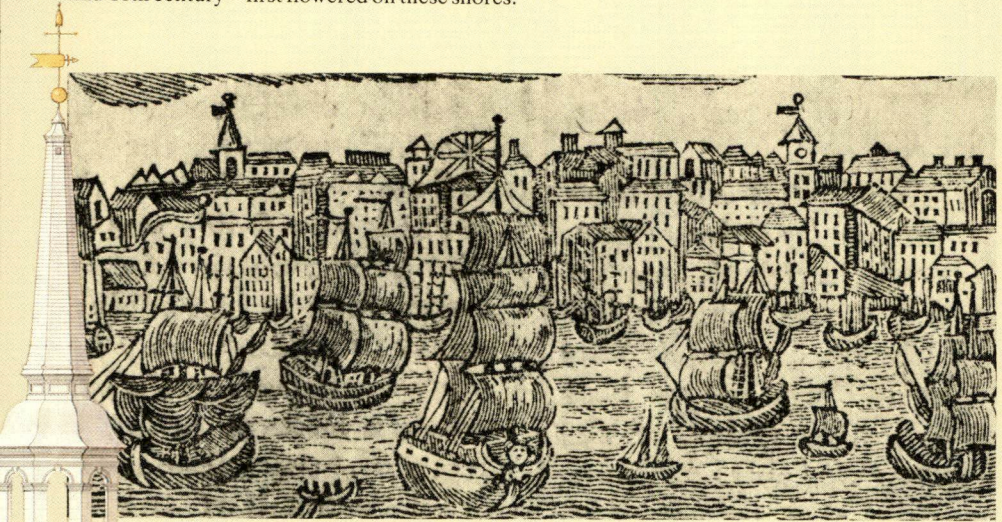
William Penn lived in the Slate Roof House (below left) from 1701-2. Christ Church (below) was founded in 1685, built 1727-54.



few great fortunes arose, but society was open and diverse, and persons of talent and enterprise could rise, as the lives of Franklin, David Rittenhouse, John Bartram and many others attest.

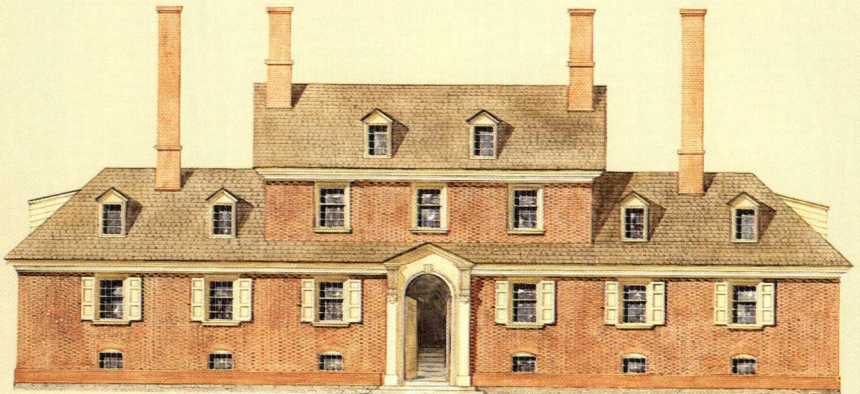
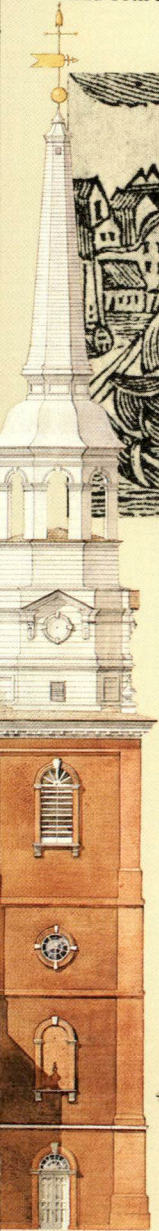
It was here that the Enlightenment—the intellectual awakening that swept Europe in the mid-18th century—first flowered on these shores.

Philadelphians established libraries and discussion clubs, patronized science, painting, and music, undertook reform and civic improvement, opened schools for their young—creating a culture that was one of the glories of the age.



The engraving above, which appeared in 1740, is the first printed view of the Philadelphia waterfront.

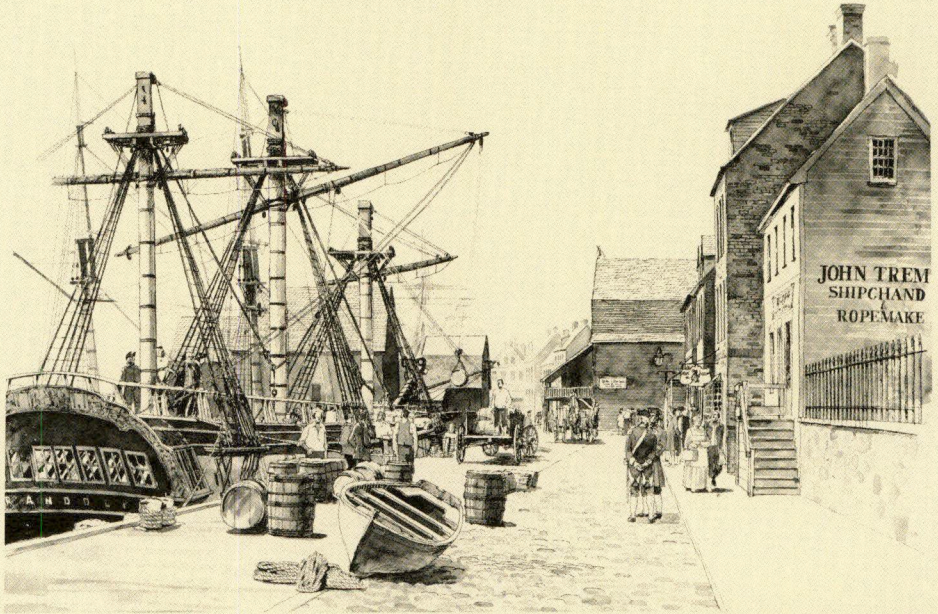
The Quakers took care of their poor. The Almshouse below, built in 1727, sheltered poor families in separate quarters.



The City During the Revolution

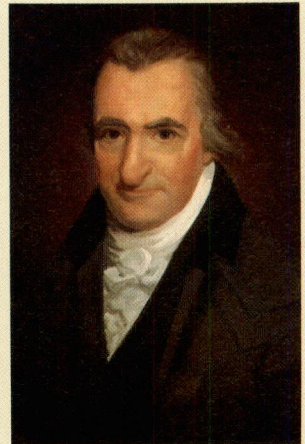
Revolutions have their dark sides, and for Philadelphians the jubilation of mid-summer 1776 soon gave way to scarcity, a raging inflation, turmoil in the streets, and, in September 1777, assault and occupation by Howe's redcoats. The British army found warm quarters for the winter and enough loyalists to feel almost at home,

while Washington's troops froze at Valley Forge. Yet the occupation served no strategic purpose. Congress went about its deliberations at Lancaster, and Washington's army remained intact. Washington almost routed Howe at Germantown in October, and all winter he harassed the British and frequently cut their supply lines.



To combat the powerful Royal Navy, Congress in early 1776 commissioned the city's yards to build four frigates. The first one ready, the 32-gun Randolph, put to sea in mid-July. The conjectural sketch above shows her being fitted out.

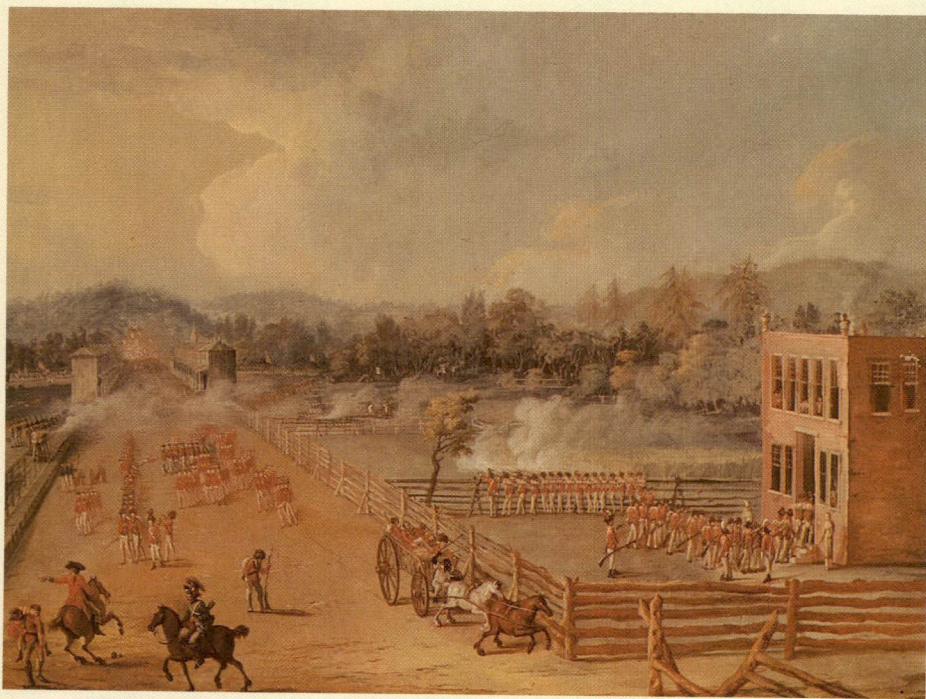
Thomas Paine published his widely influential pamphlet Common Sense in Philadelphia in January 1776. Its arguments went far toward mobilizing public opinion in the months before the Declaration.



After Howe was dismissed in May 1778 for inactivity, it was clear that the city had really captured Howe.

The patriots returned to a wrecked city. To restore order, Washington installed Benedict Arnold as military governor, but his high living and profiteering made him unpopular. An air of

wartime settled on the city: regulations, drills, the persecution of dissenters, wranglings in Congress. Then in October 1781 came the news of Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown, and the public rejoiced with church services, artillery salutes, and "Illuminations."



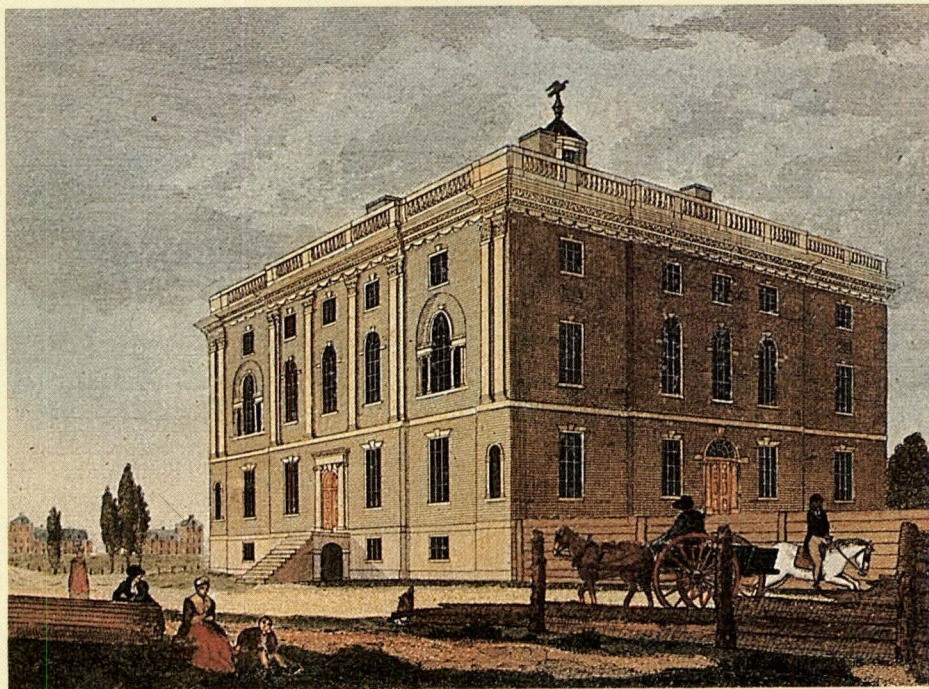
After Sir William Howe (left) occupied the city, Washington attacked his forward lines at Germantown on October 4, 1777. The assault was well planned but poorly executed.

Fog and smoke from the firing blinded the American columns and prevented them from cooperating effectively. Some of the hardest fighting swirled around the Chew house, seen here in a painting made in 1782.

Capital of the New Nation

For 10 years, 1790-1800, while a new "Federal City" was building on the Potomac, Philadelphia was the capital of the young republic. To accommodate its Federal guest, the city offered the use of its public buildings. The County Courthouse, west of the State House, became the seat of Congress, the House taking the lower

chamber, the Senate the upper. Both chambers were fitted out with mahogany desks, elbow chairs, carpeting, and stoves—all pronounced "unnecessarily fine" by a visitor. The Supreme Court shared City Hall with the mayor. The executive branch had to find its own quarters. Except for the Treasury, the departments, then

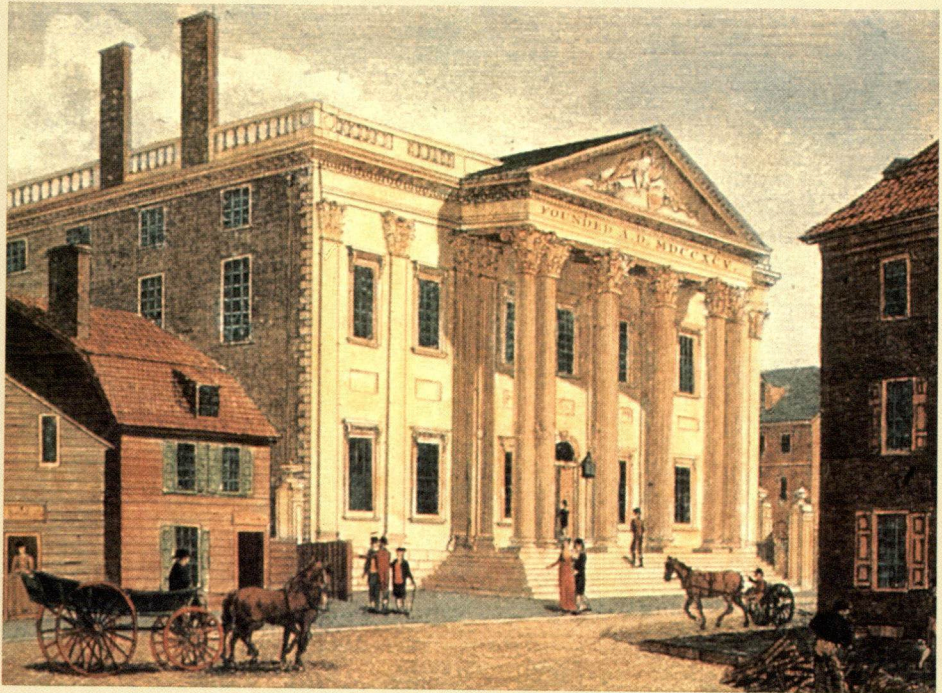


The elaborate "President's House" (above), built at Ninth and Market at a cost of \$100,000, was Philadelphia's strong play for the permanent capital. But Washington had little interest in living there, and Adams declined the State's formal invitation in 1797, dampening the city's hopes.



quite small, rented space in private houses. The President lived and worked in Robert Morris' house near Market and Sixth. It was the most elegant house in town but one of the noisiest because of traffic. Though the State eventually built a "President's House" elsewhere, neither Washington nor John Adams, his successor, ever

lived in it. While adequate, all these quarters were not enough to woo Congress into settling down for good in the city with the best claim of any to the seat of national government.



Indian delegations frequently came to town in the 1790s to parley with the government over rights and treaties. This group representing northeastern tribes arrived in 1793, called on the President, and were shown about town. From a print by William Birch.

The First Bank of the United States, chartered by Congress in 1791 for 20 years, was the culmination of a brilliant campaign by Alexander Hamilton to create a national monetary system. This print by William Birch shows the building shortly after it was completed in 1797.

Part 2



A Rising People

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the Land unto all the Inhabitants Thereof." These words from Leviticus inscribed around the crown of the Liberty Bell still cast their spell upon all who read them. They remind us of the freedoms for which the patriots fought the Revolutionary War. They symbolize that central purpose of American life, one still to be cherished and vigilantly protected. It was the Liberty Bell which was rung on the first reading of the Declaration of Independence to the citizens of Philadelphia in Independence Square on July 8, 1776, and according to tradition, it cracked when tolled on the occasion of the funeral of Chief Justice John Marshall 59 years later.

The Liberty Bell tolls no more, but the site in which it is located, Independence National Historical Park, is unique among all shrines commemorating the birth of the United States. No other cluster of buildings and sites conjures up for us so many images of great personages and significant events associated with the American Revolution and the founding of the Nation. At this site assembled the two Continental Congresses that united the Thirteen States in the conduct of the war and the making of peace. Here was drafted, debated, and signed the Declaration of Independence and the Federal Constitution. In short, the momentous decisions establishing independence, national identity, and the rule of law were all made at this historic site.

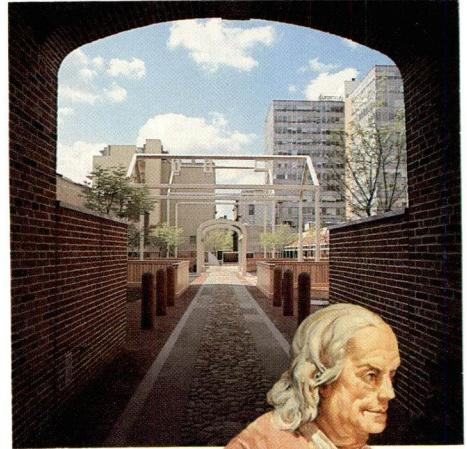


Even long before the issues of the American Revolution had begun to take form, a remarkable statesman shaped the course of events in this area. This person was so extraordinarily gifted, so triumphant in so many fields that his feats dating back a generation before the outbreak of war with Great Britain have cast a legendary spell over the sites with which he was associated, most of them right here in Independence National Historical Park. Benjamin Franklin, who arrived in Philadelphia a penniless waif, disheveled and friendless walking up Market Street munching a puffy roll, propelled himself to the top by grit and ability. No person was more dreaded by the proprietary party than Franklin, and no figure commanded more prestige in the Provincial Assembly convened at the State House. In his celebrated *Autobiography* he reveals some of the events in which he was a leading actor.

At what is now **Franklin Court** this man of many hats—printer, publisher, civic leader, statesman, and world-renowned scientist—built a house in which he lived intermittently during the early years of the Revolution before being sent to France to help gain that nation's support for the American cause. To Franklin Court he returned after his triumphs in Paris to resume a life of enormous influence as President of the Executive Council of Pennsylvania and finally as delegate to the Federal Constitutional Convention. Here at Franklin Court he died, but not before signing a memorial to Congress for the abolition of slavery—most fittingly, Franklin's last public act.

Indubitably the most renowned, Franklin was but one of a group of Philadelphians who joined with other radical leaders in setting up a model for a revolutionary apparatus combining mass involvement and economic warfare. Philadelphia became the principal seat

Steel frames outline the site of the printing office and house that Franklin built in a spacious courtyard off Market Street. His portrait below is by the artist William Woodward.

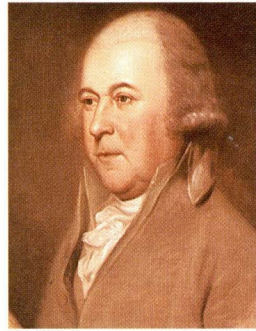




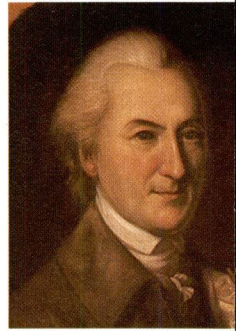
of such operations. The protest demonstrations and the boycott machinery developed in response to Parliamentary tax measures were largely centered or created in the area now covered by Independence National Historical Park.

To circumvent a lukewarm Assembly dominated by Franklin's long-time political partner, Joseph Galloway, now turned conservative, more radical leaders were forced to assume the initiative. Men like John Dickinson, eminent lawyer and the author of the *Letters of a Pennsylvania Farmer*, that widely read pamphlet attacking the constitutionality of the Townshend Acts, and Charles Thomson, the Irish-born schoolteacher and merchant, who became permanent secretary of the Continental Congress, together kept Pennsylvania abreast of developments in the other colonies. The seat of their extralegal activities was **City Tavern**, one of the historic sites in the park. Built in 1773, that hostelry quickly became a focus of social, business, and political activities for the Philadelphia elite. John Adams called it "the most genteel" tavern in all America. Here on May 20, 1774, came Paul Revere with news from New England that Parliament had passed a bill closing down the port of Boston. A great company gathered in the tavern's long room and, after a tumultuous discussion, passed a resolution agreeing to the appointment of a committee to convey sympathy to the people of Boston and to assure them of Philadelphia's "firm adherence to the cause of American liberty."

From these informal debates in City Tavern the groundwork was laid for the Revolution in Pennsylvania. When the governor refused a request of the populace to summon the Assembly, the popular leaders had committees set up in every county in the colony. Soon a de facto popular government by committee began to supplant and erode the lawful



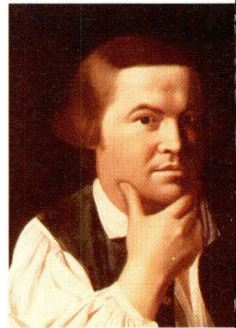
John Adams



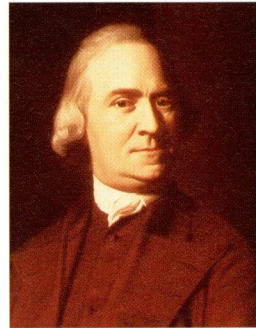
John Dickinson



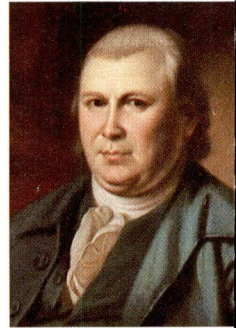
Joseph Galloway



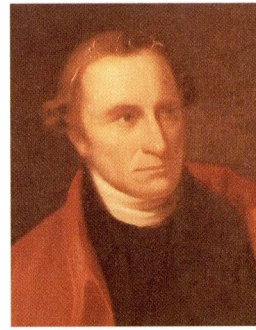
Paul Revere



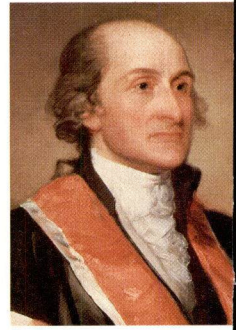
Samuel Adams



Robert Morris



Patrick Henry

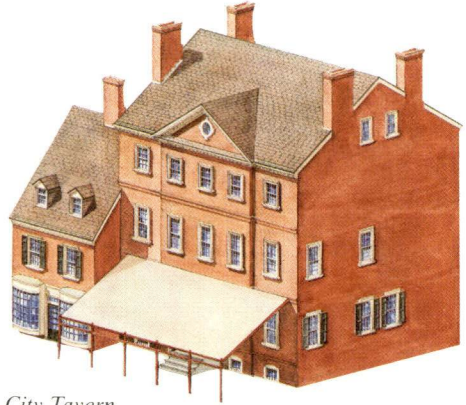


John Jay

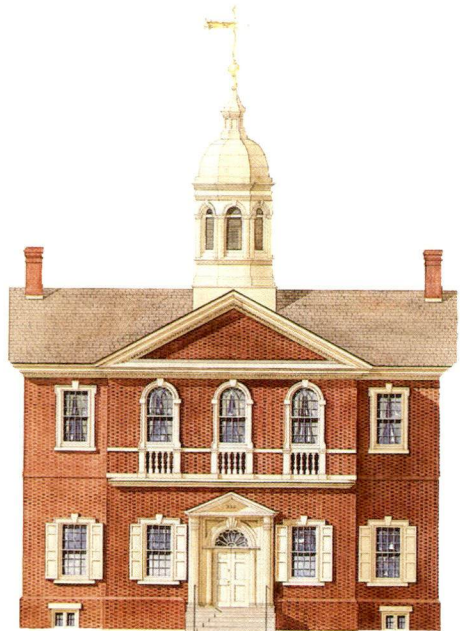
Assembly. The Philadelphia Committee of Observation, Inspection, and Correspondence, as it was called, operating out of its headquarters at City Tavern, proposed that a Congress of the Thirteen Colonies convene in September 1774. Where else but Philadelphia seemed more suitable?

Twelve of the Thirteen Colonies (Georgia excepted) dispatched delegates to Philadelphia in the early fall of 1774. Joseph Galloway, as Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly, offered the representatives the use of the State House in which to hold their deliberations. But the delegates shunned Galloway's offer and chose instead **Carpenters' Hall**, a private edifice serving the activities of the Master Carpenters of Philadelphia. That decision amounted to an open repudiation of Galloway and his conservative faction. It also forecast a cluster of radical actions, measures which were in no small degree influenced by the persuasive backstage tactics of the indefatigable New England cousins, Samuel and John Adams.

Carpenters' Hall was now the stage of a stirring if brief drama played out between conservatives and radicals. The former made a last-ditch effort to adopt a plan of union proposed by Galloway. Rejected by a close vote, the conservatives abandoned any serious opposition to the measures of the radical faction. The First Continental Congress adopted a sweeping nonimportation, nonexportation, and nonconsumption agreement. The delegates approved an eloquent "Petition to the King" asserting the right of the colonies to regulate their internal affairs and claiming for the populace the rights, liberties, and immunities of Englishmen. Before adjourning, the delegates recommended that a second Continental Congress convene at Philadelphia in the spring of 1775. Thus Carpenters' Hall saw the initial steps taken by delegates of 12



City Tavern



Carpenters' Hall

People of the City

On the eve of the American Revolution, Philadelphia ranked as one of the five or six largest cities in the British Empire. It was no longer largely a city of Quakers, though Quaker influence was still much in evidence. A steady influx of English, German, and Scotch-Irish immigrants, attracted by glowing reports of the colony's prosperity, not only swelled the city's population

during the past several decades but also influenced its religious, intellectual, and cultural growth and material well-being.

Philadelphia was a city of Lutherans, Jews, Catholics, Moravians, Methodists, and Presbyterians as well as Quakers; of gentry and merchants; of craftsmen and tradesmen; of housewives and "ladies"; of ordinary laborers.

Upper-class woman

Quaker merchant



Eighteenth-century Philadelphians were, according to the Rev. William Smith, "a people, thrown together from various quarters of the world, differing in all things—language, manners and sentiment." Yet they nourished an egalitarian attitude that offered encourage-

ment for advancement to all levels of society. "The poorest labourer upon the shore of the Delaware," wrote the Rev. Jacob Duche in 1772, "thinks himself entitled to deliver his sentiments in matters of religion and politics with as much freedom as the gentleman or

the scholar. Indeed, there is less distinction among the citizens of Philadelphia than among those of any civilized city in the world. . . . For every man expects one day or another to be upon a footing with his wealthiest neighbour."

In the months preceding the outbreak of war, and during the war itself, it also became a city of "strangers"—of delegates to the First and Second Continental Congresses, of military men, adventurers, and traders from around the world.

Some outsiders found the city "disgusting from its uniformity and sameness" and its residents not "remarkably courteous and hospitable

to strangers." But the people of Philadelphia—whether garbed in Quaker plain dress, the genteel if sometimes gaudy finery of the gentry, the sober apparel of the tradesman, or the workingman's leather apron—reflected, even before the Revolution, many of the same democratic tendencies embodied in the Declaration of Independence.

Shopkeeper

German housewife

Journeyman printer



During the 18th century, Philadelphia was one of the leading publishing centers in America. Between 1740 and 1776, some 42 artisans practiced the "art and mystery" of the printer's trade in the city, among them Benjamin Franklin. Nearly all the printers supported the re-

sistance movement, and the printing press proved to be a valuable ally in the production of anti-British articles, tracts, and books.

colonies to assert national sovereignty.

For some 6 weeks between September and October 1774 Carpenters' Hall resounded with great oratory carrying both nationalists and revolutionary overtones. Most eloquent of all the delegates, Virginia's Patrick Henry declared: "The distinction between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders are no more. I am not a Virginian, but an American." Considered a more cautious spokesman than the radical Henry, John Jay, a young New York lawyer, warned the people of Great Britain that "we will never submit to be hewers of wood or drawers of water for any ministry or nation in the world!"

Speaking at the Virginia Convention on March 23, 1775, Patrick Henry warned: "Gentlemen may cry, 'Peace! Peace!' — but there is no peace. The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms!" Indeed, before the Second Continental Congress convened on May 10th at the State House (now



The State House about 1800.

IN CONGRESS,

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united

When in the course of human events, a people among the powers of the earth, have separated and should declare the causes which impel them to the separation with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. — That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, — That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem best, provided always, that whenever any People shall be united in a bond of Union, that they shall never be separated, and that the United States, in Congress assembled, shall have the sole and exclusive right of regulating the trade and commerce with foreign Nations, the coinage of Money and fixing the Standard of Weights and Measures; and that



Independence Hall), two blocks west from Carpenters' Hall, Henry's prophecy had been fulfilled. The shooting war had broken out at Lexington and Concord in Massachusetts. Now arguments over constitutional theories of empire which had absorbed so much of the First Continental Congress' attention gave way to the hard facts of war.

The Second Continental Congress responded to the challenge. Consciously regarding itself as the embodiment of the "United Colonies," Congress picked one of its own delegates, George Washington, present in the uniform of a colonel of the Virginia militia, to serve as commander in chief of "all the continental forces." A few days later, Congress pledged "the twelve confederated colonies" to support the bills of credit it now resolved to issue. Making a final concession to the peace faction, Congress adopted John Dickinson's "Olive Branch" petition, the last appeal of the colonies to the King. Any notion that George III might have had about the weakening of Congress' inten-

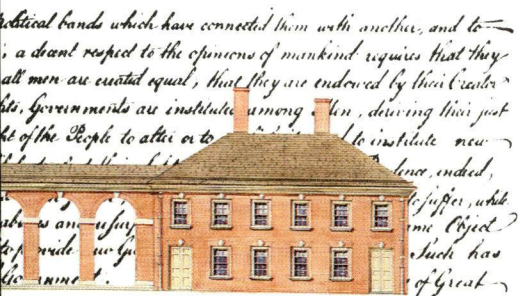
tions to continue the struggle were quickly dissipated by the subsequent adoption of the "Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking Up Arms," wherein Dickinson and Thomas Jefferson, co-drafters of the document, solemnly declared: "Our cause is just. Our union is perfect."

Ahead lay some of the climactic movements of the drama to be played out in Independence Hall. On May 15, 1776, Congress, in language drafted by John Adams, called upon the colonies to organize their own governments as States. A crucial decision, it still fell short of a formal assertion by Congress of independence and nationhood issued by the colonies collectively; that declaration remained to be drafted, adopted and proclaimed to the world.

Working at his desk in the second-floor parlor of the home of a young German bricklayer named Jacob Graff (the site of which, though some distance from Independence Hall, is under the park's jurisdiction), Thomas Jefferson wrote the

JULY 4, 1776.

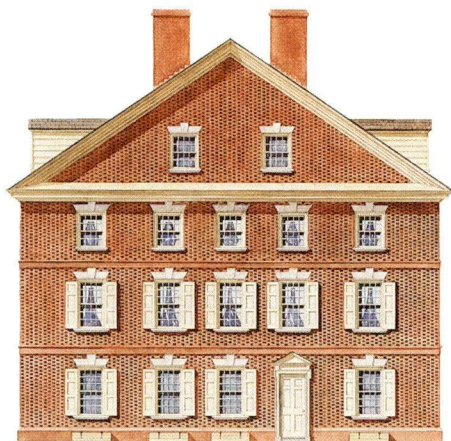
ates of America,



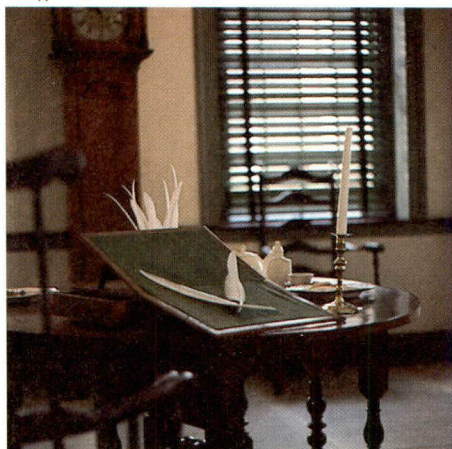
Declaration of Independence in 2 weeks. Despite trifling alterations by Franklin and John Adams and the deletion by Congress of the condemnation of slavery and the slave trade, the Great Declaration was the product of the mind and pen of Thomas Jefferson. Adopted on July 4, 1776, and signed by most of the delegates a month later, the Declaration lifted the struggle from self-interested arguments over taxation to the exalted plane of human rights. It proclaimed the self-evident truths of equality, unalienable rights, and the people's right to alter their governments when a "long train of abuses" threatens "to reduce them under absolute despotism."

Since Congress was both an executive and a legislative body, and, in the sense that it had jurisdiction over cases of capture on the high seas, a judicial tribunal as well, Independence Hall stood at the center of the wartime business of the Continental government. Congress dispatched commissioners abroad to seek out foreign aid. It ratified the treaties of amity and commerce and of military alliance with the King of France and, in turn, formally received the French minister Conrad Alexander Gérard. The Congressional delegates wrestled with mounting fiscal problems, drawing upon foreign and domestic loans, requisitions from the States, and printing press money, and, finally, drafting the astute Philadelphia merchant-banker Robert Morris to serve as Superintendent of Finance. Morris made heroic efforts to maintain Congress' fiscal solvency in the face of mounting debt and runaway inflation. His dazzling operations enabled him to finance the Yorktown campaign which resulted in the surrender of Cornwallis.

These were grave responsibilities and, as more and more leading public figures left Congress for the theater of the war,



Graff House



The study, reconstructed, in which Jefferson wrote the Declaration.

to take up posts in the State governments, or to serve their country abroad, Congress at times proved barely equal to its responsibilities. Writing to James Warren of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress in April 1776, John Adams had sagely observed: "The management of so complicated and mighty a machine as the United Colonies requires the meekness of Moses, the patience of Job, and the wisdom of Solomon, added to the valour of David." In the absence of such men as Franklin, Jefferson, and Adams himself, Congress had to perform to the best of its abilities.

What Congress needed most of all was a constitutional structure that would confer upon the central government powers commensurate with its responsibilities. The Articles of Confederation that Congress adopted in 1777 (but which were not ratified by all the Thirteen States until 1781) fell considerably short of this objective. Lacking a strong executive, or an effective taxing power, the Articles of Confederation required the affirmative vote of 9 States for the adoption of measures of the first importance and a unanimous vote to amend the document itself.

Mute testimony to the weakness of the central government was the abandonment of Philadelphia by Congress toward the very end of the war. Save for the period of the British occupation of the city (1777-78), Independence Hall housed the deliberations of Congress until in June 1783 mutinous threats by local militiamen made it expedient for the delegates to begin their peregrinations, first to Princeton and then to Annapolis. It was at Annapolis that Congress ratified the victorious peace by which Great Britain recognized the independence of the United States and the new Nation was endowed with a territorial domain vaster than ever before

embraced by a republic.

Although Philadelphia was abandoned as the seat of the central government during the years of the Confederation and New York was to play host to the Continental Congress, Independence Hall was once more destined to house a great assemblage. Here on May 25, 1787, the Constitutional Convention convened. With some notable omissions, like John Adams and Thomas Jefferson who were holding diplomatic posts abroad, Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee who declined to serve, and John Jay who was passed over by his State in favor of an anti-nationalist candidate, the 55 men who convened at Philadelphia constituted an intellectual elite perhaps never again assembled to deal with public affairs in the history of the country. As Louis Otto, the French chargé d'affaires, commented to his superiors at home: "If all the delegates named for this Convention at Philadelphia are present, we will never have seen, even in Europe, an assembly more respectable for the talents, knowledge, disinterestedness, and patriotism of those who compose it."

Visitors to Independence Hall may view the chamber in which the Constitution was framed. Sitting in Windsor chairs around green baize-covered tables were such principal architects of the Constitution as Pennsylvania delegates James Wilson and Gouverneur Morris, the latter chiefly responsible for the final styling and arrangement of the document. Nearby sat Roger Sherman and Oliver Ellsworth, Connecticut delegates, who proposed the Great Compromise providing for equal voting in the Senate and proportional representation in the House. Conspicuous both for his eloquence and his extremist views was Alexander Hamilton of New York, whose influence proved far more effective in securing the Constitution's ratification

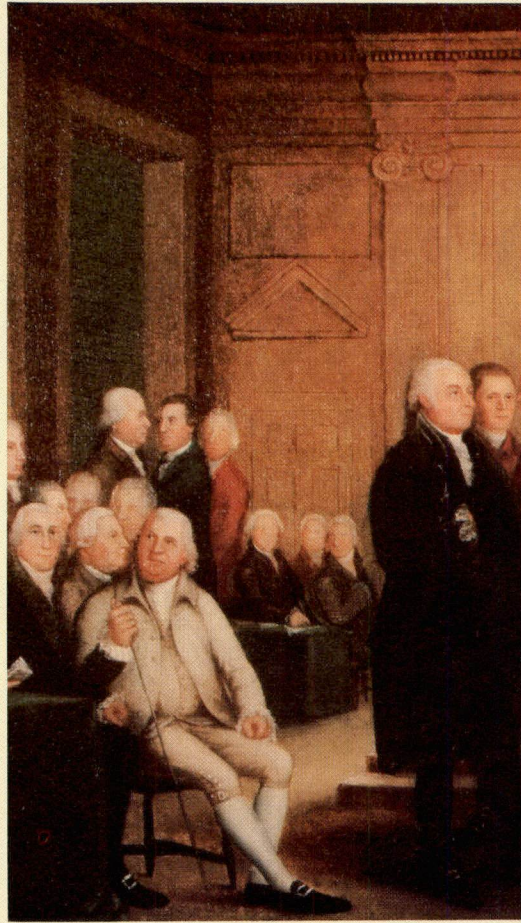
The National Compacts

It's not too much to say that the American Republic was born in the Assembly Room of the old State House. Three times within a single generation delegates meeting here took control of their historic destiny and struck off national compacts.

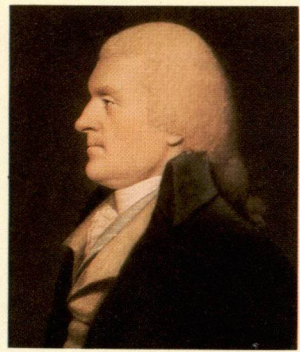
The Declaration of Independence, adopted July 4, 1776, called a nation into existence. It gave Americans—and revolutionaries everywhere—a faith on which to base a republican form of government. Drawing on the political thought of the Enlightenment, Jefferson justified the break with Great Britain by appeal to the natural rights of man: life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, among others. When government usurped those rights the people were entitled to alter or abolish it and institute new government. Jefferson and his colleagues did not invent this idea that sovereignty resides in the people and not in monarchs, governments, or institutions. Their distinctive contribution lay in giving the idea practical effect.

To the age-old problem of how to govern government, Americans found a brilliant solution in federalism—the distribution of powers between local and national levels. The Articles of Confederation, which went into effect in 1781, replaced an informal union with a central—if weak—government. They were the first halting steps on a journey that still continues. For 8 years they were the law of the land, but hardly adequate to the exigencies of war, economic depression, and rebellion on the frontier. The States had so jealously reserved their powers that Congress had little means of compelling taxes, controlling trade, or directing the general affairs of the Nation.

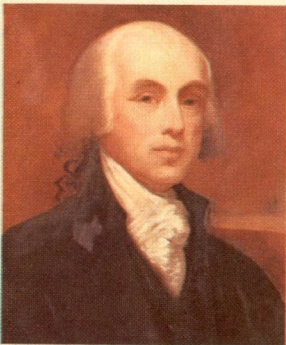
It was clear to most thinking persons that a drastic remedy was needed. Called to Philadelphia in the summer of 1787, delegates from 12 States met in convention in the State House and framed a new instrument of government, the Federal Constitution. This document, which reconciled liberty with order and unity with diversity, laid down the principles by which Americans have governed themselves for two centuries.



This painting, for all its matter-of-factness, conjures up one of the great scenes of the American Revolution. Jefferson, at center, hands the draft of the Declaration to President John Hancock as other members of the drafting committee—John Adams, Roger Sherman, Robert Livingston, and, sitting at center, Benjamin Franklin—look on. The artist is Edward Savage, who based his work in part on a canvas by Robert Pine. Though done long after the event, the painting is a useful guide to the appearance of the Assembly Room in 1776.



Jefferson was lodging with Jacob Graff, a bricklayer who lived on 7th Street, when he wrote his draft of the Declaration. He occupied a furnished parlor and bedroom on the second floor. In that parlor, he said much later, he "wrote habitually and in it wrote this paper." His purpose "was not to find out new principles, or new arguments, never before thought of . . . but to place before mankind the common sense of the subject, in terms so plain and firm as to command their assent . . . it was intended to be an expression of the American mind."



James Madison was the single most influential figure at the Federal Convention. A scholar, an experienced politician, and a committed nationalist, he was persuaded that the prosperity of the country depended on a strong union. He was the author of the Virginia Plan—a proposal for a central government with powers that operated directly rather than indirectly on the people—and the tireless shepherd of his colleagues toward that goal. It is from his notes, published many years later, that we have our view of what went on in the Convention.

than in its drafting. Of Virginia's James Madison one delegate wrote: "Every person seems to acknowledge his greatness. He blends together the profound politician with the scholar." Self-appointed scribe of the Convention, Madison left us the most detailed and accurate record of the debates.

Among the most treasured pieces in the park's collection is the high-backed President's chair. The occupant of this chair, for the nearly 3 months of the Federal Convention's continuous sessions, was George Washington. Already a legend, a commanding if generally silent presence, he presided over the deliberations with both vigor and tact. Old Benjamin Franklin, bringing to the assemblage an aura of benevolence and the wisdom of great years, looked up at the President's chair in the closing moments of the convention and, as Madison records it, observed a sun with outstretched rays on its back. "I have," he remarked, "often and often in the course of the session and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that behind the president without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting. But now at length I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting sun."

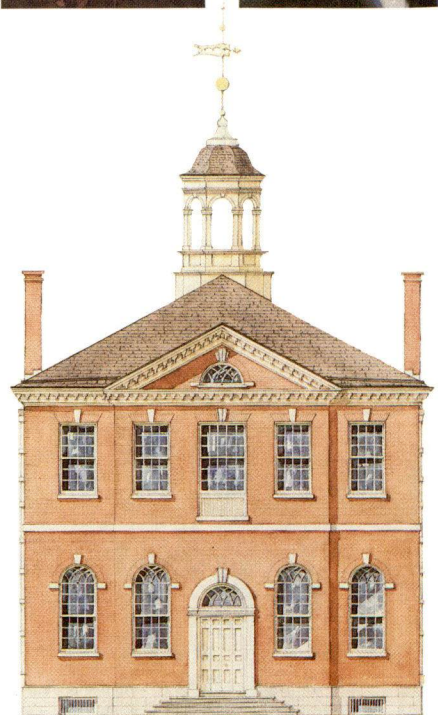
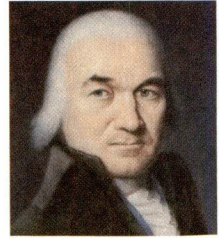
Upon ratification of the Constitution, Congress voted to establish the national capital at Philadelphia until 1800, when a permanent capital would be ready on the banks of the Potomac. After a brief stay in New York City, the new Federal Government took up residence here. Beginning on December 6, 1790, this site served as the seat of all three branches of the government and of the creative decisions of statecraft which marked the formative years of the new Nation.

At the Philadelphia County Courthouse (**Congress Hall**) President Washington was inaugurated for his second

Roger Sherman



Oliver Ellsworth



Old City Hall

term, and this building was also the scene of the peaceful transition of the Presidency to John Adams in 1797. Congress met at this hall, with the House of Representatives occupying the lower floor, the Senate, the second story. In this hall such great issues as civil rights, constitutional powers, and economic policy were resolved. On December 15, 1791, Congress declared the first ten amendments ratified by the necessary number of States. This cherished Bill of Rights would light a torch for both the States and many nations. In this hall Congress first carried out the provisions of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 for admission of territories to statehood on an equal footing with the original Thirteen States on attaining a population of 60,000. This extraordinary innovation brought Vermont (1791), Kentucky (1792), and Tennessee (1796) into the Union.

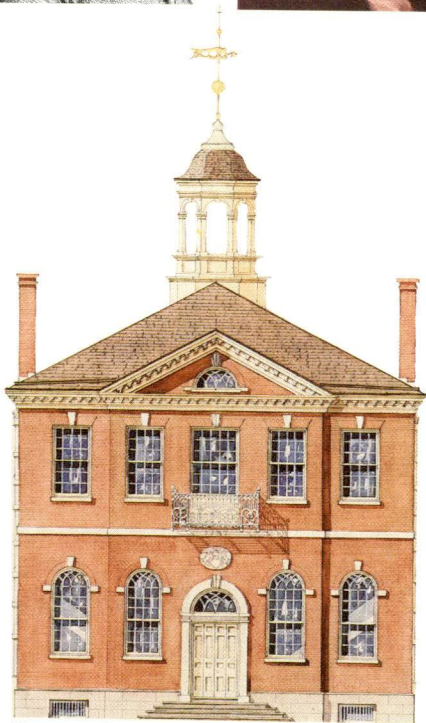
Gouverneur Morris



James Wilson



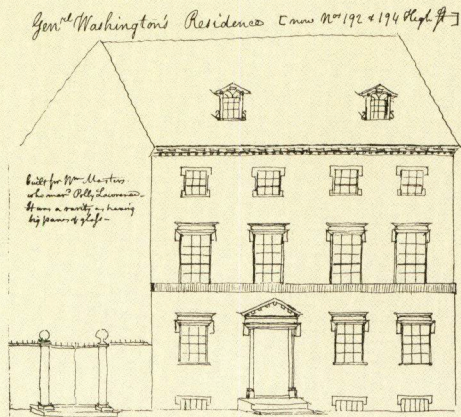
Congress Hall provided the forum for a notable clarification of the locus of the treaty-making power. Even before moving to Philadelphia the Senate, by declining to confer with President Washington on a pending treaty, had created the inference that the constitutional provision empowering the President to make treaties “by and with the advice and consent of the Senate” meant “consent” after the fact of negotiation. If the Senate’s role was now restricted, what of the House, which was given no explicit power over treaties in the Constitution? The test came after the Senate in a close vote had ratified the treaty that Chief Justice John Jay had negotiated with Great Britain in 1794. It was now up to the House to appropriate money to put the treaty into effect. To withhold the money would in effect annul the treaty. With the House closely divided, Representative Fisher Ames of Massachusetts carried the day for the appropriation



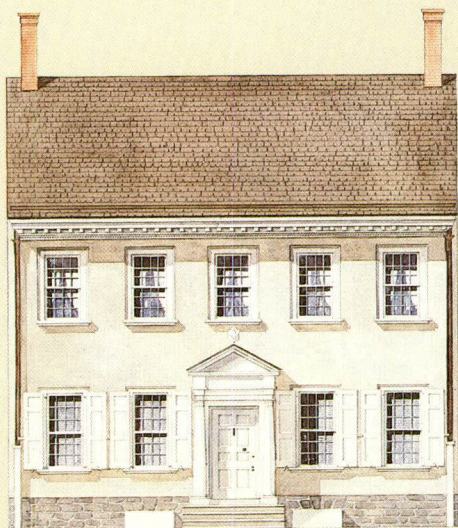
Congress Hall

The First President

William Rush's life-sized statue of Washington, c. 1814.



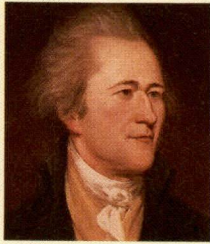
During their terms as president, both Washington and Adams lived in the Robert Morris house (above). This handsome Georgian building, now lost, was the scene of the weekly levees that Washington gave for officialdom and leading citizens. The Deshler-Morris House in Germantown (below) was Washington's residence and headquarters during the yellow fever epidemic of 1793 and again during the summer of 1794.



Washington's original cabinet consisted of Thomas Jefferson, State; Alexander Hamilton, Treasury; Henry Knox, War; and Edmund Randolph, Attorney-General. As a body, it was a source of strength and

some division. Jefferson and Hamilton held contrary views of the proper role of government. They differed at almost every point of domestic and foreign policy and were soon at odds personally. Jefferson

thought Hamilton a threat to liberty, while Hamilton considered the Virginian an impractical theorist and an obstacle to the sound measures needed for national survival.

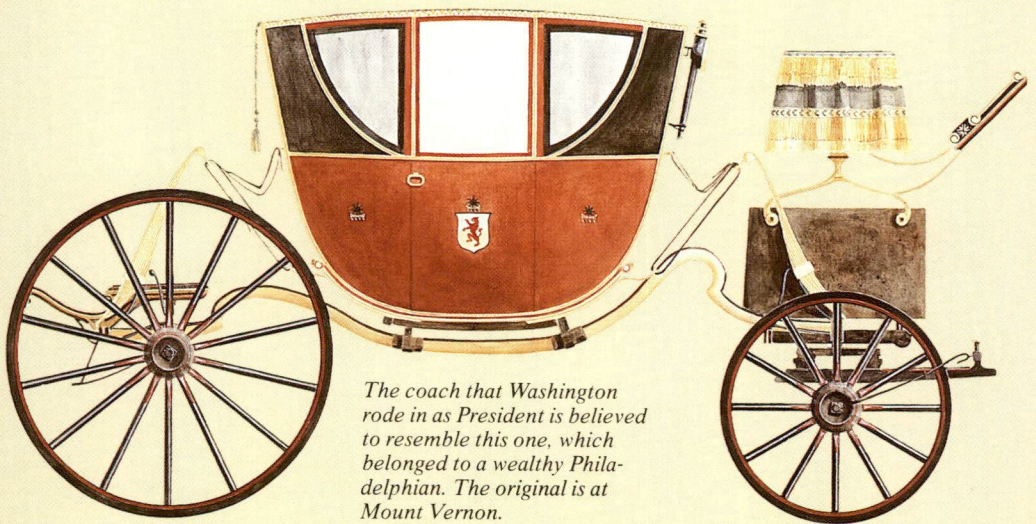


Washington was overwhelmingly the popular choice for president. No one else — not even the aged Franklin — had the range of experience, the esteem at home, and the prestige abroad to lead what insiders frankly regarded as an experiment in self-government.

He brought to the office common sense, uncommon honesty, energy, and above all his own immense character, which across two centuries still touches his successors. The achievements of his two administrations (1789-1797) are many: winning the adherence of most of the people to the central government, establishing the national credit and a permanent army and navy, putting down rebellions by red men and white on the

frontier, negotiating complicated treaties with Spain and Great Britain, and holding firmly to a policy of neutrality in disputes between European powers.

Jefferson summed up Washington best: "His was the singular destiny and merit of leading the armies of his country successfully through an arduous war for the establishment of its independence, of conducting its councils through the birth of a government, new in its forms and principles, until it settled down into an orderly train and of scrupulously obeying the laws through the whole of his career civil and military, of which the history of the world furnishes no other example."

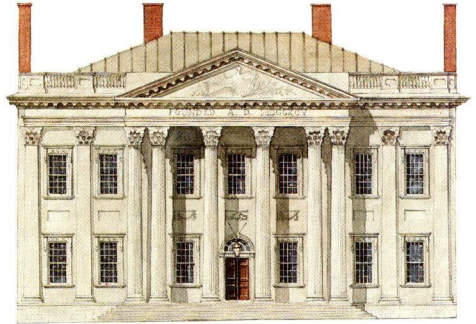


The coach that Washington rode in as President is believed to resemble this one, which belonged to a wealthy Philadelphian. The original is at Mount Vernon.

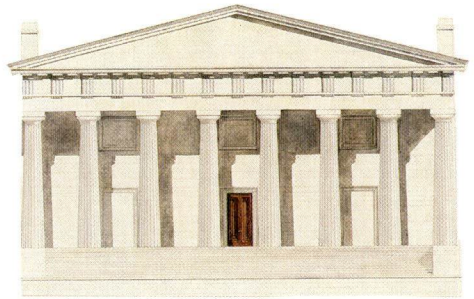
with a memorable speech that is still considered one of the supreme oratorical efforts in the history of Congress.

Among the very first business of Congress was the chartering of the Bank of the United States under a bill drawn up by the dynamic Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton, and defended by his persuasive resort to the Constitutional doctrine of "implied powers." A cornerstone of Federal fiscal policy, the bank, which served as a government depository and regulator of the currency, initially operated in Carpenters' Hall, and then moved to the stately new edifice on South Third Street (**First Bank of the United States**). When its charter expired in 1811, it was succeeded after some years by the **Second Bank of the United States**, which built a home of its own, a Greek Doric temple on lower Chestnut Street, designed by the young Philadelphian William Strickland. The Second Bank, after flourishing under its third president, Nicholas Biddle, failed to have its charter renewed as a result of the implacable opposition of President Andrew Jackson. After it closed its doors, the bank building was used as a Customs House until 1935. Not far from the two banks stands the graceful **Philadelphia Exchange** (1834), Strickland's masterpiece, and testimony to the continued importance of the city as a commercial and financial center.

The Robert Morris mansion on Market Street below Sixth (no longer standing) served as the Presidential residence. The Department of State took a building at the northwest corner of Eighth and Market Streets, while the Treasury operated at the southwest corner of Third and Chestnut Streets. The Morris residence was the scene of stately Presidential levees and of informal meetings with departmental heads which formed the nucleus of the Cabinet system. Here



First Bank of the United States.



Second Bank of the United States.



Philadelphia Exchange.

Washington sought to reconcile the widening breach between Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton, which contributed to the emergence of the two-party system. Here Washington braved public opinion by steering a neutral course as the French Revolution threatened to drag America into a general European war. Here, too, the President submitted his Farewell Address to his Cabinet and then gave it to the people in the columns of the *Philadelphia Daily Advertiser* of September 19, 1796. There people first read Washington's "Great Rule," an unaligned foreign policy.

The Philadelphia City Hall (**Old City Hall**) served as the forum for the Supreme Court of the United States under successive Chief Justices John Jay, John Rutledge, and Oliver Ellsworth. There decisions were handed down upholding the supremacy of treaties and defining the powers of Congress to tax, decisions which laid the foundations for the broad construction of the Constitution under John Marshall.

Standing on the hallowed ground of Independence National Historical Park, one may still recapture those stirring moments when the people of Philadelphia cheered the reading of the Great Declaration. One may catch echoes of the response of a sobered Congress hearing dispatch after dispatch from General Washington remonstrating on the lack of funds and supplies for his starving and half-naked soldiers, or the shock of the news of the treason of Arnold and of the capitulation of Charleston. There were heartening messages as well: the victory of Saratoga, the news of the French alliance, of the arrival of Rochambeau with French troops and naval forces, the climactic triumph at Yorktown, and the Preliminary Peace which in effect ended the

war and was to bring the United States recognition from all the great powers.

In his first Inaugural Address delivered in New York, Washington had summed up the glorious epoch in which he and his associates had been principal actors, and, in these stirring and cautioning phrases, challenged his fellow Americans to participate in the new era: "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."

Composed some two centuries ago, Washington's articulation of America's purposes, its responsibilities, and its special role as a symbol of the democratic way of life both at home and abroad constitutes a message and a reminder to those who visit this historic place where the people of the United States first asserted their sovereign right to control their own destiny.

Richard B. Morris

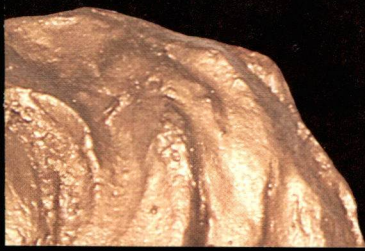
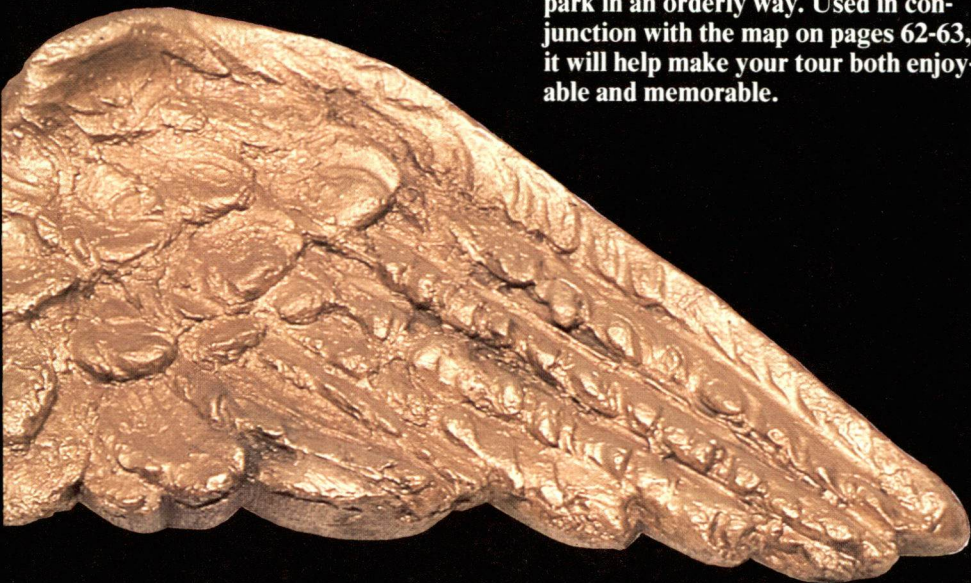
Part 3



Visiting the Park

Independence National Historical Park is rich in places associated with the founding and early growth of the United States. Among its many attractions are government buildings, restored homes, venerable churches, a portrait gallery, exhibits, films and even an operating tavern.

While there is pleasure in a casual stroll among this stunning variety, the park is more rewarding if you take time to plan your visit. There is more here than can be seen in a few hours or even a single day. The guide that follows will help you make the most of your visit. It offers helpful suggestions and introduces the individual units of the park in an orderly way. Used in conjunction with the map on pages 62-63, it will help make your tour both enjoyable and memorable.



Gazetteer of the Park

Make an Itinerary Time slips away quickly here. Whether your stay is for a few hours or a few days, your tour will go smoother if you take several minutes to study this guide and determine what you want to see

Most park buildings are within easy walking distance of the visitor center. Outlying sites, such as the Deshler-Morris House in Germantown or the Benjamin Franklin National Memorial across town, can be reached by either automobile or mass transit.

If you have only a few hours, we suggest that you go first to the visitor center, Independence Hall, and the Liberty Bell Pavilion. If you have more time, the following itineraries are suggested:

Half-day Tour

Visitor Center
Carpenters' Hall (exterior only)
Independence Hall
Liberty Bell Pavilion
Franklin Court

Full-day Tour

Visitor Center
Carpenters' Hall
Independence Hall
Congress Hall
Old City Hall
Graff House
Liberty Bell Pavilion
Franklin Court
Second Bank of the United States

Start at the Visitor Center No matter how much time you have, begin at the visitor center at 3d and Chestnut Streets. Here you can see exhibits and an introductory film, "Independence," and find out about daily programs and activities. Park rangers are on duty here and throughout the park to answer questions and help you have a safe and satisfying visit.

Hours and Admission Most park buildings are open daily from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.; in summer the hours of some buildings are extended. Please note that hours are subject to change without notice and that some buildings may be closed because of lack of staff. Check at the visitor center for the hours of specific buildings.

There are no admission fees except for a nominal charge at the Deshler-Morris House in Germantown. The Bishop White House, the Todd House, and Independence Hall are open only by tour. Free tickets for the Bishop White and Todd Houses can be obtained at the visitor center on the day of visit. Tours of Independence Hall begin in the East Wing, on a first-come, first-served basis.

When to Visit Although temperatures in Philadelphia are usually moderate, summer humidity can sometimes cause discomfort. You should also take into account that mid-spring through Labor Day are the busiest times. Expect to wait in line to get into Independence Hall during this period.

For Special Needs Most park buildings are at least partially accessible by wheelchair. Some sites have portable ramps that can be put in place upon request. Please ask at the visitor

center for further information about accessibility for the disabled.

Inquire also at the visitor center about programs and services in foreign languages.

Publications and Souvenirs Bookstores featuring theme-related publications are located in the visitor center and the West Wing of Independence Hall. Film and souvenirs are available in a number of stores in the vicinity of the park.

Where to Eat Allow sufficient time for rest and refreshments. A variety of food service is available throughout the park area. It ranges from street vendors to restaurants serving full-course meals. Further information is available at the visitor center.

The National Park Service has reconstructed City Tavern, which serves lunch and dinner in an 18th-century atmosphere.

Picnicking is allowed throughout the park, though no indoor facilities are available. Help keep the park clean by putting your trash in the cans provided.

Rules and Regulations There are few rules beyond those of common courtesy. We ask that you not bring food, beverages, and chewing gum into park buildings. Smoking is not permitted in any of the buildings. When parking along the street, please observe city parking regulations.

For Your Safety Don't let your visit be spoiled by an accident. Be careful crossing Philadelphia's busy streets and watch your step on brick walkways and cobblestone surfaces.

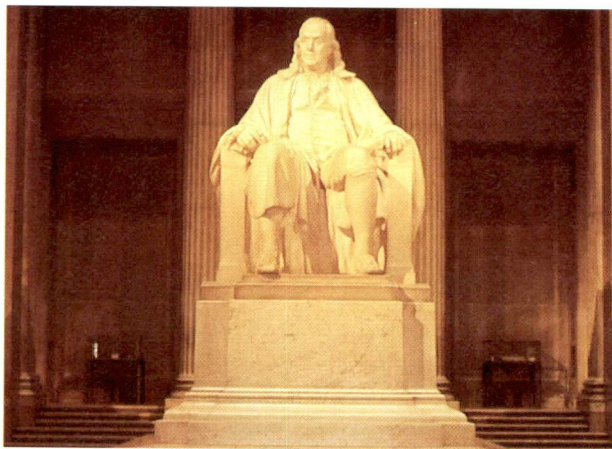
Army-Navy Museum (formerly Pemberton House) depicts the development of the U.S. Army and Navy from 1775 to 1800. Among the exhibits are regimental uniforms, battle dioramas, flags, weapons, and a full-scale replica of a section of a frigate's gundeck. The museum building is a reconstruction of the house built by Joseph Pemberton, a wealthy Quaker merchant, and is typical of the Georgian style of architecture popular during the 18th century.

- 1 *Chestnut Street at Carpenters' Court*



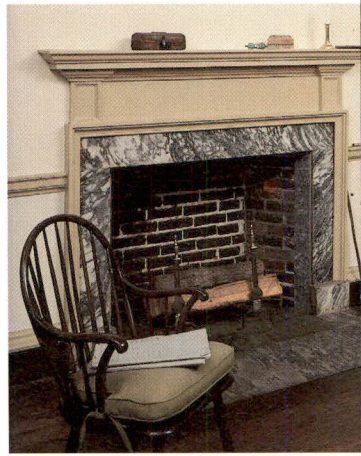
Benjamin Franklin National Memorial honors Philadelphia's most illustrious citizen. The memorial, located in the Franklin Institute at 20th Street and Benjamin Franklin Parkway, features a colossal statue of Franklin surrounded by a four-part exhibit of his personal possessions and scientific artifacts. Admission to the memorial is free, but a fee is charged for the Franklin Institute Museum. The Institute is approximately 20 blocks from Independence Hall.

- 2 *20th Street and Benjamin Franklin Parkway*



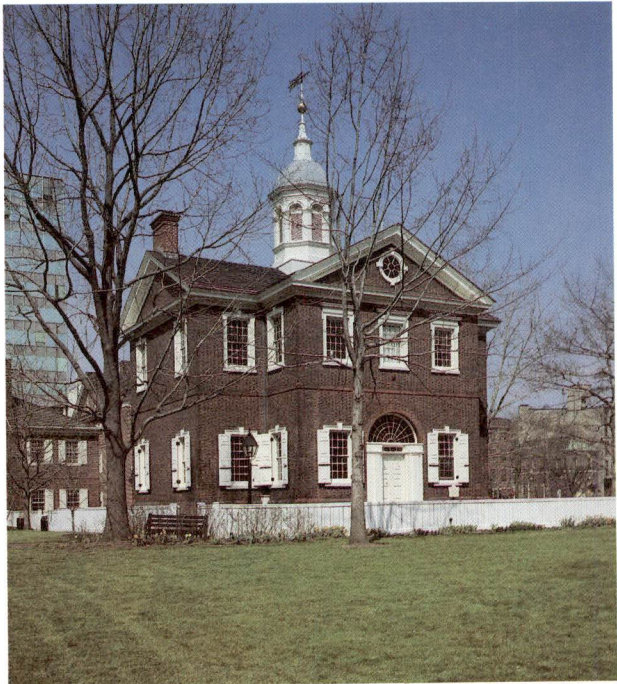
Bishop White House. The Rev. Dr. William White, rector of Christ Church and St. Peter's Church, and the first Episcopal Bishop of Pennsylvania, lived in this house from the time it was built in 1787 until his death in 1836. White chose its location because it lay midway between the two churches he served. The house has been restored to reflect the lifestyle of upper-class Philadelphians during the 18th century. Many of the items in the house actually belonged to the Bishop. Open by tour only. Free tickets are available at the visitor center.

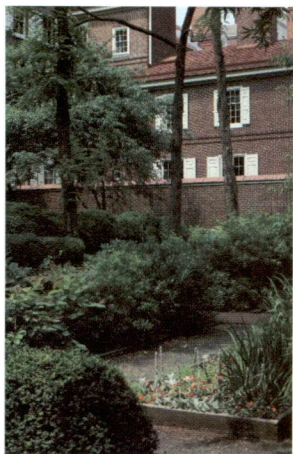
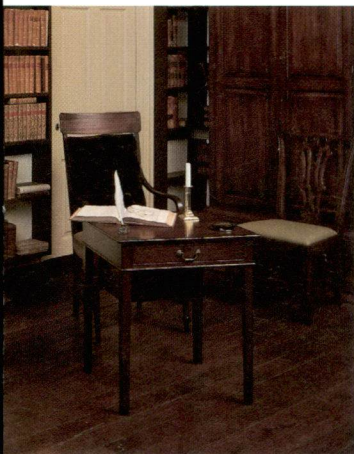
3 309 Walnut Street



Carpenters' Hall was built in 1770 by the Carpenters' Company of Philadelphia, a guild founded in 1724 to help its members develop architectural skills and to aid their families in times of need. The delegates to the First Continental Congress met here in September 1774 to air their grievances against King George III. In the spring of 1775, the Second Continental Congress transferred its sessions to the more commodious State House (now Independence Hall), but Carpenters' Hall continued to be used by various political groups. During the Revolutionary War, the Hall served as a hospital and an arsenal for American forces. Though a part of the park, the building and its immediate grounds are still owned and maintained by the Carpenters' Company.

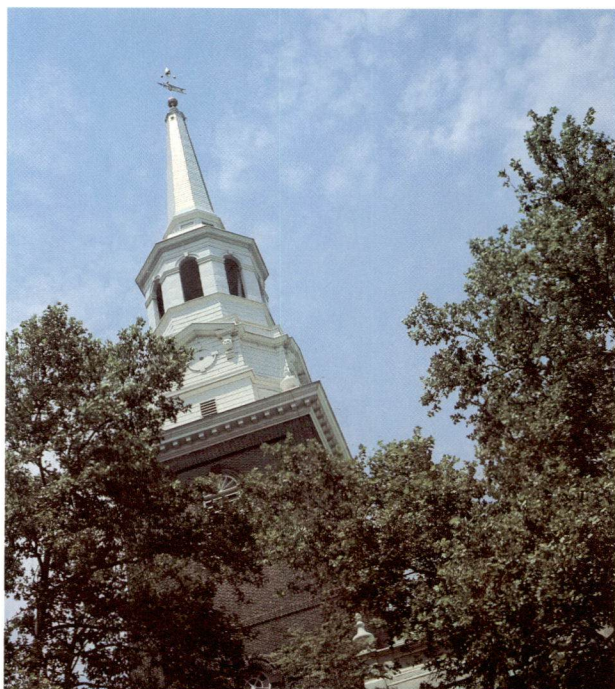
4 320 Chestnut Street between Third and Fourth Streets





Christ Church, built between 1727 and 1754, is considered one of the most beautiful 18th-century structures in the United States—a monument to colonial craftsmanship. It is numbered among its congregation both George Washington and Benjamin Franklin. Seven signers of the Declaration of Independence, as well as four signers of the Constitution, are buried in the churchyard or in Christ Church Cemetery at 5th and Arch Streets.

5 *Second Street north of Market Street*



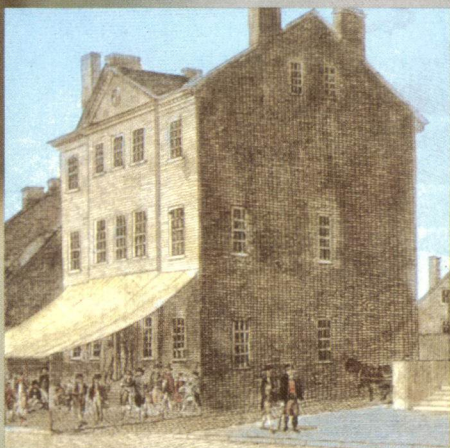
City Tavern

For three decades this tavern was a place for prosperous Philadelphians to dine, lift a glass, join in song and dance, and transact business. Built in 1773 by the "principal gentlemen" of the city, the tavern boasted several large meeting rooms, lodging rooms, two kitchens, and a bar. It was furnished in "the style of a London Tavern," advertised the keeper, and its coffee room was "well attended and properly supplied with English and American papers and magazines." John Adams, not one to over-praise,

called it in 1774 "the most genteel" tavern in America.

The tavern was soon caught in the tides of revolution. At a famous meeting here in May 1774, radicals propelled the colony, heretofore moderate, into the forefront of the dispute with England. From then until the end of the century, in war and peace, this tavern was host to the great and near-great of the age—and countless folk who came to dine, to sit with friends, to lodge in agreeable surroundings. In the early





The tavern in 1799.

1800s, City Tavern's place on the Philadelphia social scene was taken by "hotels," then coming into fashion. The tavern at this time catered mostly to merchants. The old glamour was now gone. In 1854 the building was demolished, "immolated on the altar of improvement," as a newspaper put it. The present building is a faithful reconstruction of the original.



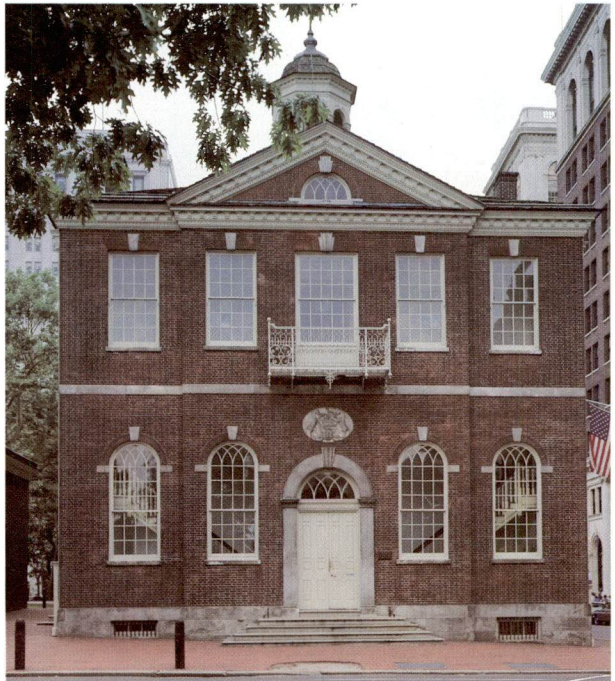
City Tavern, called the “most genteel” tavern in America by John Adams, was one of the social, political, and economic centers of late-18th-century Philadelphia. It was built originally in 1773 by a group of eminent Philadelphians who felt that their hometown deserved a fine tavern that reflected its status as the largest, most cosmopolitan city in British North America. The tavern gained fame as the gathering place for members of the Continental Congresses and the Constitutional Convention, and for officials of the Federal Government from 1790 to 1800. It has been reconstructed on the original site as an operating 18th-century tavern serving lunch and dinner daily.

- 6 Northwest corner, Second and Walnut Streets



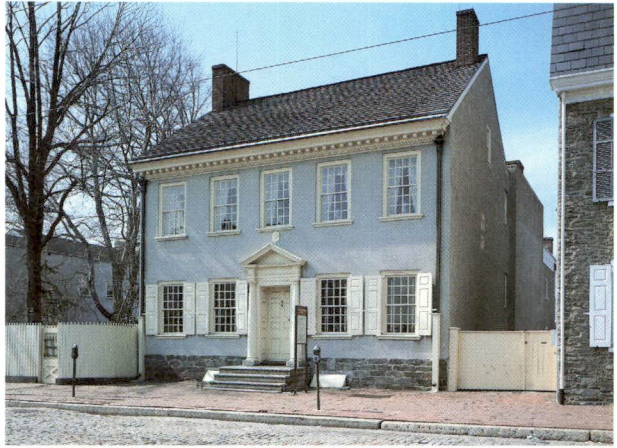
Congress Hall, constructed in 1787-89 as the Philadelphia County Court House, served as the meetingplace of the U.S. Congress from 1790 to 1800. The House of Representatives met on the main floor, while the Senate assembled upstairs. Among the historic events that took place here were the Presidential inaugurations of George Washington (his second) and John Adams; the establishment of the First Bank of the United States, the Federal Mint, and the Department of the Navy; and the ratification of Jay's Treaty with England. During the 19th century, the building was used by Federal and local courts.

- 7 Southeast corner, Sixth and Chestnut Streets



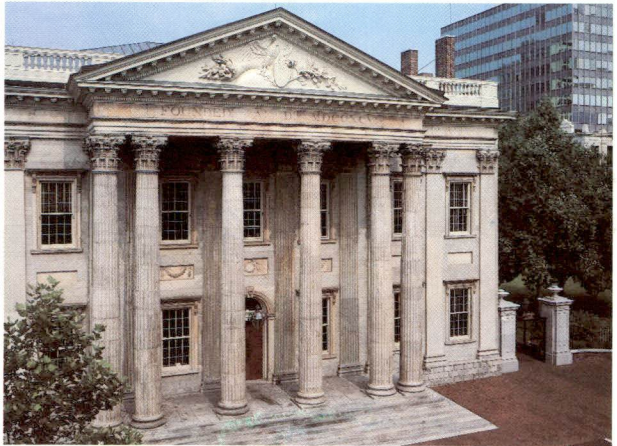
Deshler-Morris House was erected in 1772-73 as the summer home of David Deshler, a successful Philadelphia merchant. The house served as headquarters for British Gen. Sir William Howe during the Battle of Germantown in October 1777 and as the official residence of President Washington during the Philadelphia yellow fever epidemic of 1793.

8 5442 Germantown Avenue, Germantown

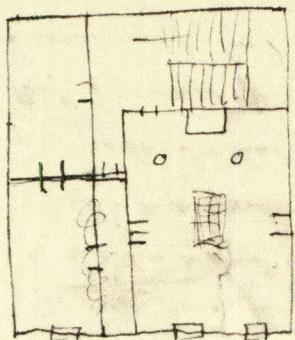


First Bank of the United States, built between 1795 and 1797 as the home of the “government’s banker,” is an excellent example of Neo-classical architecture and is probably the oldest bank building in the country. Formed in 1791 at the urging of Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton to bring order to the Nation’s chaotic finances, the First Bank served the country well until 1811, when its charter was allowed to expire. The building has been restored on the exterior only and is not open to the public.

9 120 South Third Street, between Chestnut and Walnut Streets

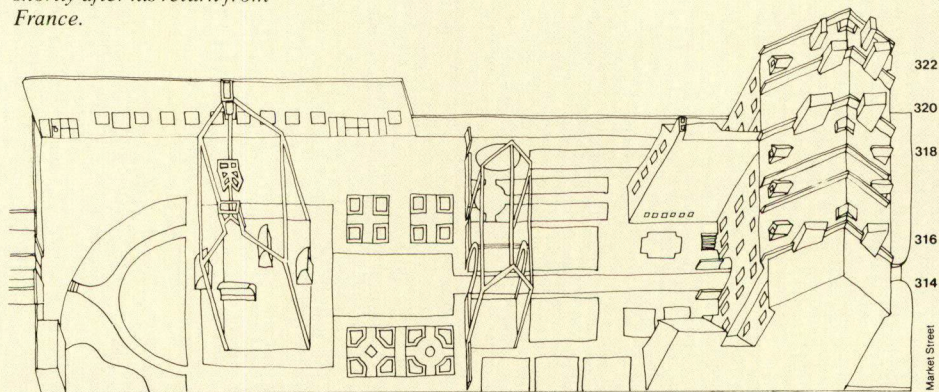


Franklin and His House



Franklin's sketch of the first floor, in his own hand.

The present development of the site is a nation's belated tribute to perhaps its most representative genius. Steel frames, the design of architect Robert Venturi, outline the original house and the 1786 print shop. Fronting Market Street are restorations of five buildings, three of which are rental houses Franklin built shortly after his return from France.



Franklin's house, the only one he ever owned, stood in an airy court off Market Street. Built 1763-1765, it was a handsome structure 34 feet square, three stories high, with three rooms to a floor, a kitchen in the cellar, and chimneys on the side. By all accounts it was roomy and comfortable, filled with the fashionable touches of the day and well-suited to Franklin's manner of living. It was, he once said, "a good House contrived to my Mind."

Yet Franklin spent comparatively few years here. Political missions kept him abroad for almost 19 of the next 20 years. When he returned for the last time in 1785 after his brilliant tour as envoy to France, he was 80, home for good, with time to devote to his house. He now built an addition on the west side that expanded the house by half. This gave him space for a library, two bedrooms, two garrets, and a place to store wood. "I hardly know how to justify building a Library at an age that will so soon oblige me to quit it," he mused, "but we are apt to forget that we are grown old, and Building is an Amusement." He also improved the grounds with grass plots, trees, flowering shrubs, and gravel walks.

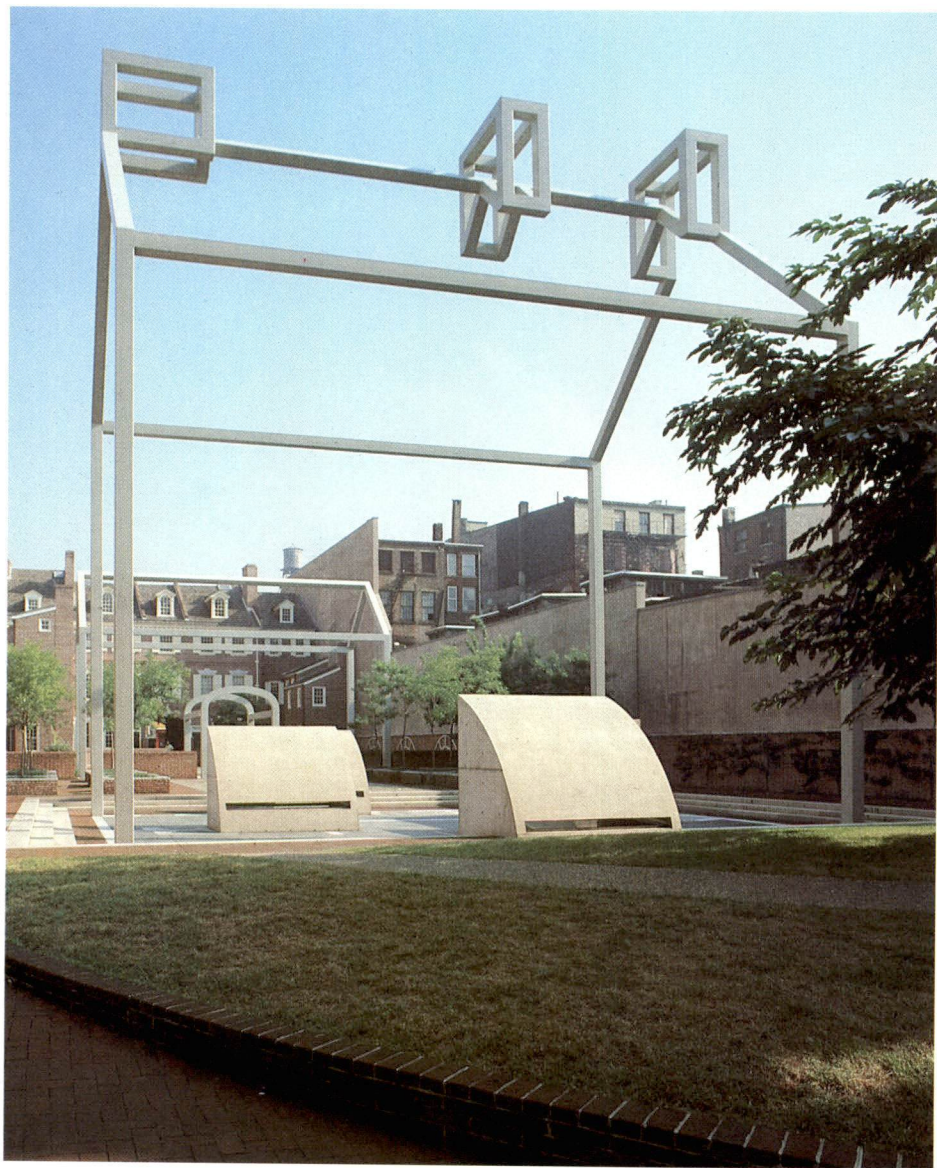
After Franklin's death in 1790, the house and property passed into the hands of descendants, who lived in it for a time before leasing it out to a succession of tenants. By 1812 there was little interest in the house, and it was torn down to make way for commercial development.

Franklin Court, is the site of the handsome brick home of Benjamin Franklin, who lived here while serving in the Continental Congress, the Constitutional Convention, and as President of Pennsylvania.

Franklin died here in 1790; the house was torn down about 20 years later. Today the site contains a steel “ghost structure” outlining the spot where Franklin’s house stood and features an underground museum

with a film and displays, an 18th-century printing office, an architectural/archeological exhibit, an operating post office, and a postal museum.

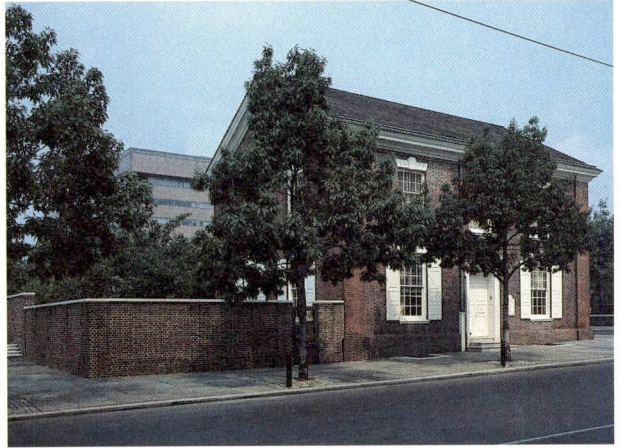
10 *Market Street between Third and Fourth Streets*



Free Quaker Meeting House

which was built in 1783, is the oldest meetinghouse in Philadelphia. The Free Quakers, unlike the main body of Quakers which remained pacifist, supported and fought for the American cause during the Revolution. The building serves as headquarters for the Junior League of Philadelphia, which operates a museum on the first floor.

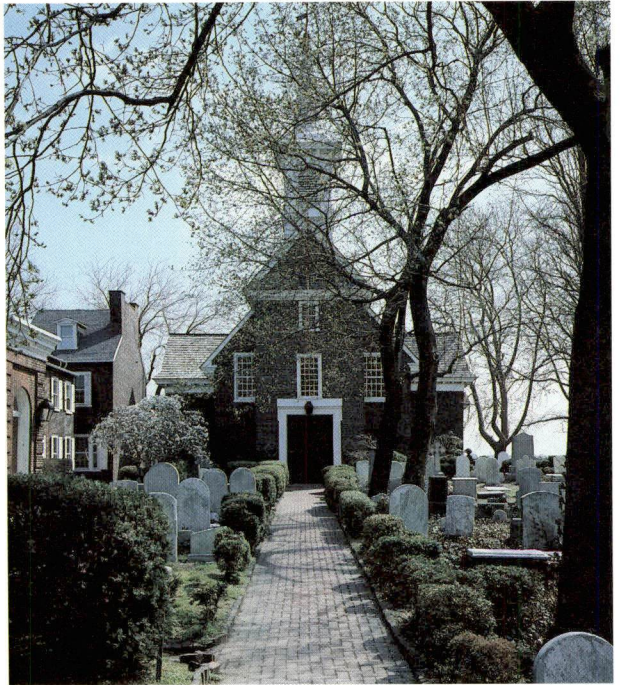
11 *Fifth and Arch Streets*



Gloria Dei (Old Swedes') Church

was built in 1700 and is the oldest church in Pennsylvania. The Swedes preceded the English to this part of America and began the Gloria Dei congregation in 1646. For nearly two centuries this church was under Swedish hierarchy, but after the Scandinavians were absorbed into the general American population, Gloria Dei was admitted into the Episcopal Church in 1845. The church, a National Historic Site, is owned and maintained by its congregation and contains an abundance of historical relics and artifacts.

12 *Delaware Avenue and Christian Street*

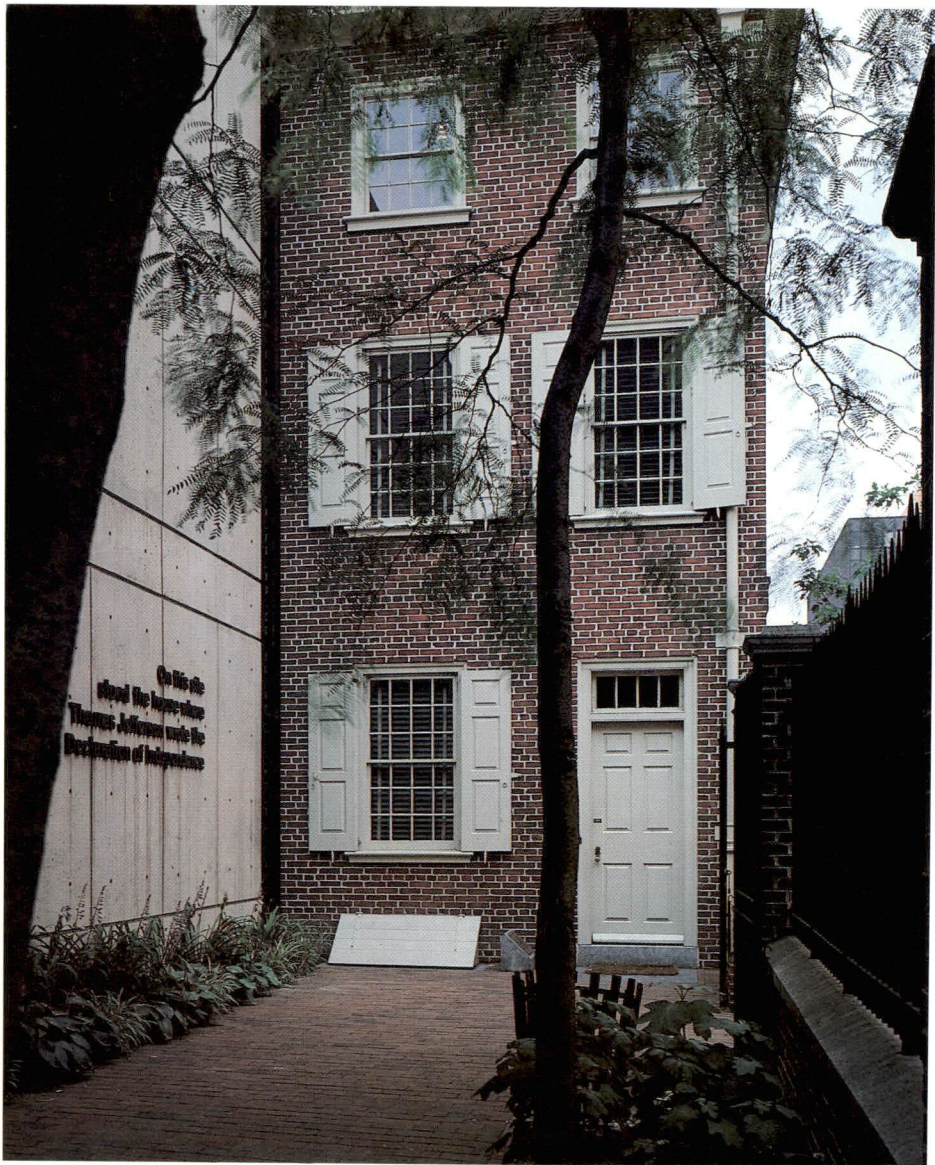


Graff House was originally built in 1775 by Philadelphia bricklayer Jacob Graff, Jr. During the summer of 1776 Thomas Jefferson, a 33-year-old delegate from Virginia to the Continental Congress rented the two second-floor rooms and

there drafted the Declaration of Independence. The house was reconstructed in 1975. The first floor contains exhibits and a short film on the drafting of the Declaration. On the second floor, the bedroom and parlor that Jefferson occupied have

been recreated and contain period furnishings. Also included are reproductions of Jefferson's swivel chair and the lap desk he used when he wrote the Declaration.

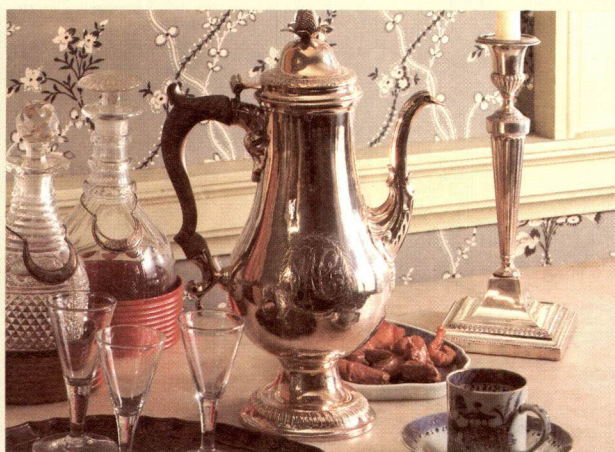
13 Southwest corner, Seventh and Market Streets





While Independence Hall and the Liberty Bell are among the best-known “treasures” of Independence National Historical Park, there are thousands of other objects, less well-known and less spectacular, among the park’s extensive holdings. Assembled over a period of many years, these items are exhibited in 54 historic room reconstructions and 45 separate exhibit areas throughout the park. They range from fine furniture created by Philadelphia artisans that rivals the best of European craftsmen to words and images on paper and canvas that denote the emergence of an American identity. Some of the treasures appear on these pages.





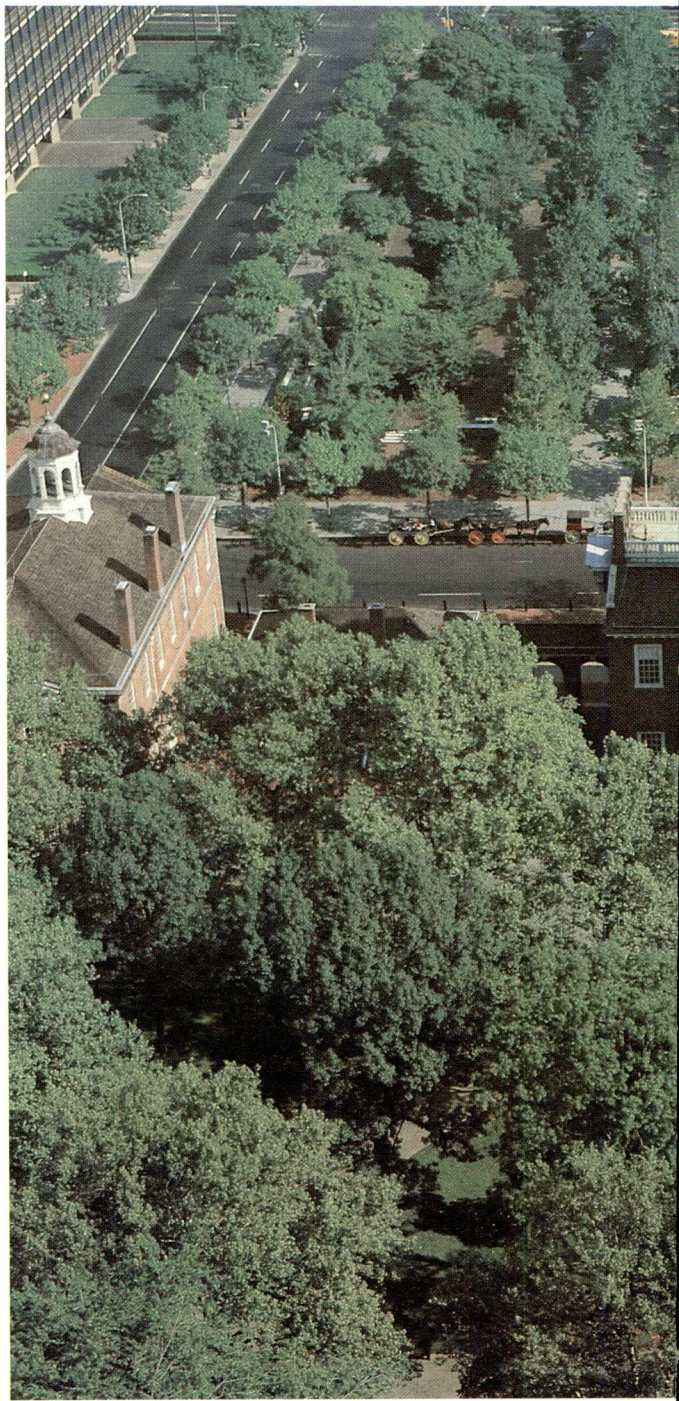
The Governor's Council Chamber on the second floor of Independence Hall (above) reflects the position and affluence of the colony's chief executive. The chairs flanking the fireplace are by the cabinetmaker Thomas Affleck. Both the maple cellorette for wine bottles (left of the fireplace) and the voluptuous walnut armchair silhouetted at left are Philadelphia made. The armchair is c. 1745, the cellorette c. 1770.



The silver coffee pot at top was made by a Philadelphia craftsman c. 1780-85. It can be seen in the Bishop White House. The dinner plates are 18th-century English and on display in the visitor center. The portrait at left of Rebecca Doz, daughter of a Philadelphia merchant, is attributed to James Claypoole, Jr., c. 1768-70. It hangs in the Second Bank.

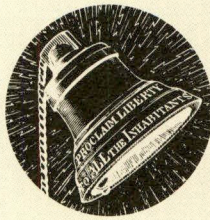
Independence Hall was constructed between 1732 and 1756 as the State House of the Province of Pennsylvania. It was planned and designed by lawyer Andrew Hamilton and is considered a fine example of Georgian architecture. From 1775 to 1783 (except for the period of British occupation) this was the meeting place for the Second Continental Congress. It was in the Assembly Room of this building that George Washington was appointed commander in chief of the Continental Army in 1775 and the Declaration of Independence was adopted on July 4, 1776. And in same room the design of the American flag was agreed upon in 1777, the Articles of Confederation were adopted in 1781, and the Constitution was written in 1787. The building, inside and out, has been restored wherever possible to its original late-18th century appearance. Most of the furnishings are period pieces (almost all of the original furniture was destroyed during the British occupation), but the silver inkstand on the President's desk in the Assembly Room is the one used by the delegates to sign both the Declaration and the Constitution. The "rising sun" chair used by Washington during the Constitutional Convention is also original. Independence Hall is open by tour only. Tours begin the East Wing and are on a first-come, first-served basis.

14 *Chestnut Street between Fifth and Sixth Streets*

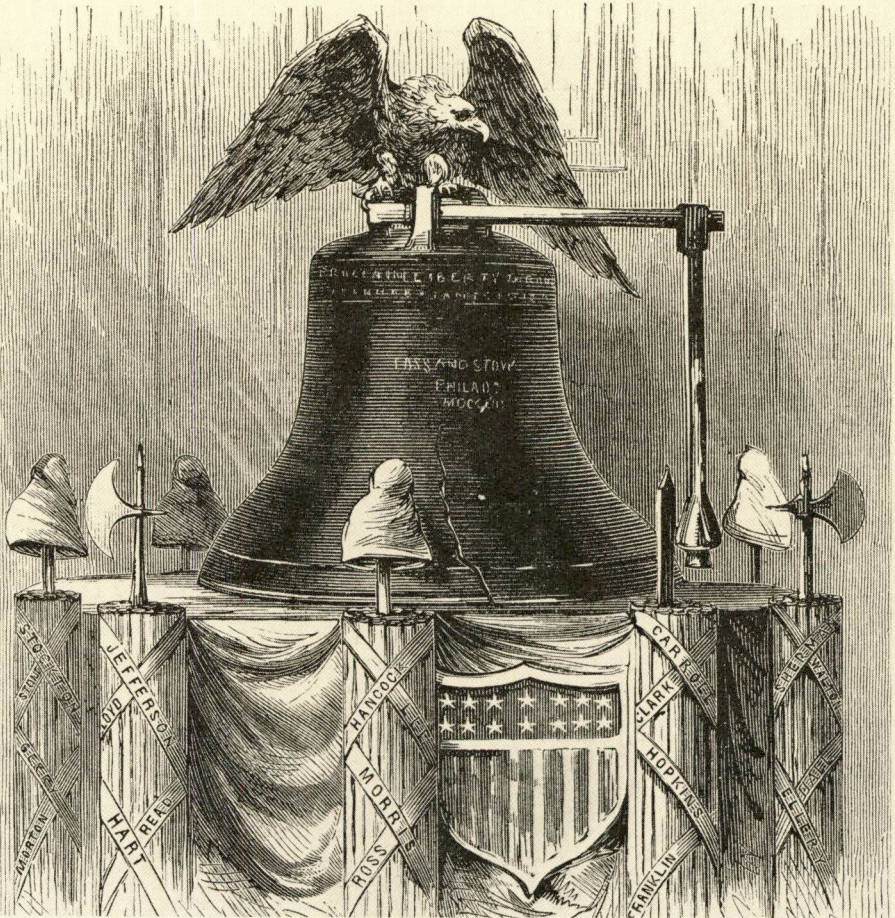




The Liberty Bell



The Liberty Bell is an emblem of liberty around the world. In the affections of the American people, it overshadows even Independence Hall, the building it was so intimately associated with for so many years. The name was coined in the 19th century by anti-slavery groups. Inspired by the "Proclaim Liberty" inscription, they adopted the bell as symbolic of their cause. Over the years the bell's history has become encrusted with a nearly impenetrable blend of fact and fancy. The illustration at left, from an 1837 abolitionist pamphlet, is the first known use of the bell in a publication. The sketch below, which appeared in *Harper's Weekly* in 1869, shows the bell as it was displayed in the Assembly Room between 1854 and 1876.

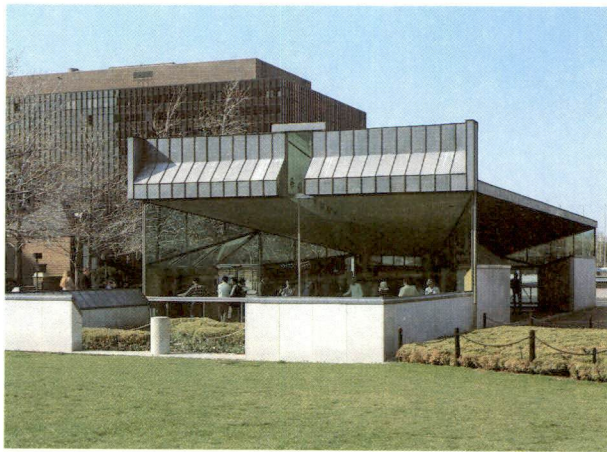


Liberty Bell Pavilion. Most people associate the Liberty Bell with the events of the American Revolution. Actually, however, the bell was created to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Pennsylvania Charter of Privileges, the democratic constitution that William Penn granted his colony in 1701. Today the bell is a cherished and revered symbol of American freedom.

Cast at London's Whitechapel Bell Foundry, the bell arrived in Philadelphia in August 1752. It cracked while being tested and "two ingenious workmen" of the city, John Pass and John Stow, offered to recast it. They succeeded after two attempts and the bell was hung in the State House tower, where it would see long service. No one knows for sure when the bell next cracked but, according to tradition, it occurred while tolling during the funeral of Chief Justice John Marshall in 1835. The bell was last rung formally on Washington's birthday in 1846.

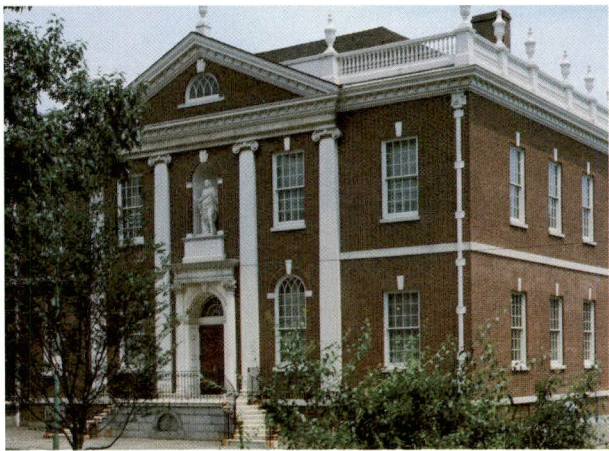
At 12:01 a.m. on January 1, 1976, the first minute of the Bicentennial year, the Liberty Bell was moved from its former home in Independence Hall to this glass-walled structure. The move was necessary to help preserve Independence Hall from damage due to increased visitation and to make the bell more accessible to everyone who wanted to see and touch it. Park interpreters are on duty each day to talk with visitors about the bell and to answer questions. At night the bell is still visible from outside the Pavilion and visitors can hear its story by using the exterior audio stations.

15 *Market Street between Fifth and Sixth Streets on Independence Mall*



Library Hall was built originally in 1789-90 by the Library Company of Philadelphia, the oldest subscription library in the United States. Members of the Continental and Federal Congresses and the Constitutional Convention used the Library Company's facilities. The original building was demolished in 1884 but the American Philosophical Society rebuilt and enlarged it in 1959. It currently houses the society's library and is open for use by scholars.

16 *105 South Fifth Street*



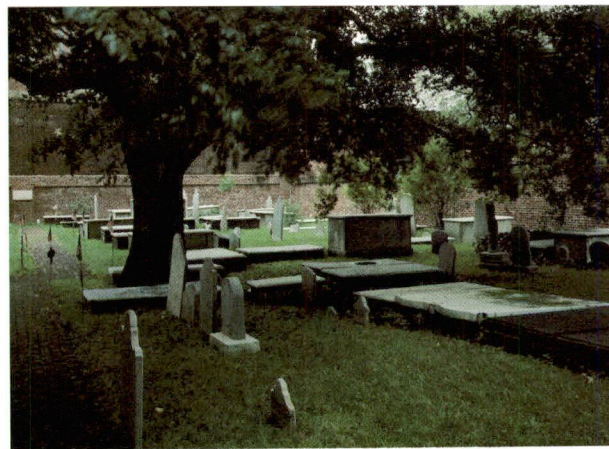
The Marine Corps Memorial Museum (formerly New Hall) contains exhibits depicting the founding of the U.S. Marine Corps in Philadelphia in 1775 and the exploits of the Corps during the American Revolution. The museum building is a reconstruction of New Hall, built by the Carpenters' Company in 1791 and originally used to house the office of the first Secretary of War, Henry Knox, and his staff. The Marine Corps exhibits are a joint effort by the National Park Service and the Marine Corps Historical Center.

17 *Carpenters' Court*



Mikveh Israel Cemetery is the oldest Jewish cemetery in Philadelphia. It was established as a private burial ground in 1738 by Nathan Levy on land granted to him by the Penn family. In 1774 it was deeded to the Mikveh Israel Synagogue, the only Jewish house of worship that continued to function in the colonies during the Revolution. Haym Salomon, a financier of the Revolution, is buried here in an unmarked grave.

18 *Spruce Street between Eighth and Ninth Streets*



Old City Hall was used by the U.S. Supreme Court from the time the building was completed in 1791 until 1800, when the Federal Government was moved to Washington. Municipal government and courts occupied the building during the 19th century. Today the first floor contains exhibits on the Supreme Court's use of the building; the second floor contains exhibits on late-18th-century Philadelphia's occupations, crafts, and daily activities.

19 *Southwest Corner, Fifth and Chestnut Streets*



The Philadelphia Exchange

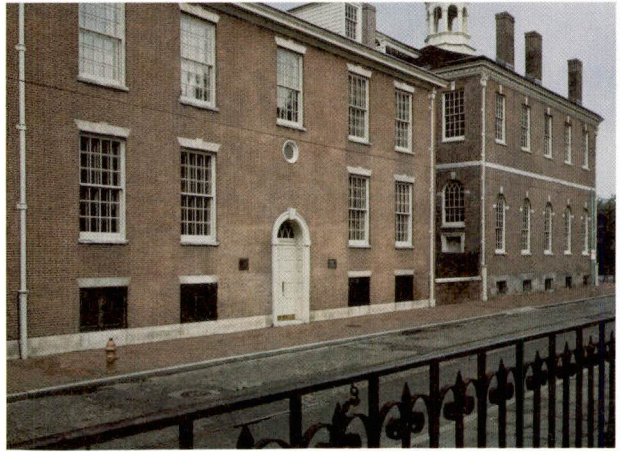
was constructed in 1834 for the use of the thriving Philadelphia business community. Here stocks and commodities could be traded and the latest business news obtained. Designed by William Strickland, this Greek Revival building has been called "one of the great creations of American architecture." It has been restored on the exterior only and is not open to the public.

20 *Northeast Corner, Third and Walnut Streets*



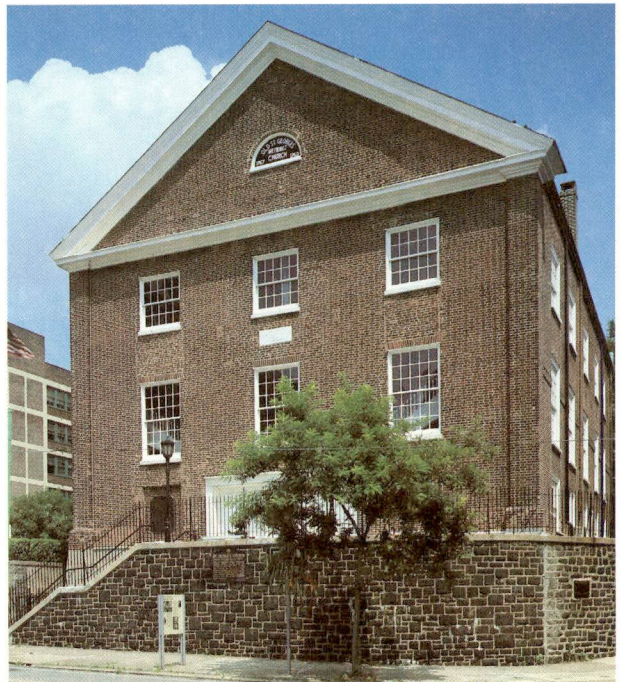
Philosophical Hall is the only privately owned building on Independence Square. It is the home of the American Philosophical Society, founded by Benjamin Franklin in 1743 and the oldest learned society in the United States. The society erected the building between 1785 and 1789 and still occupies it. Philosophical Hall is not open to the public.

21 *104 South Fifth Street*



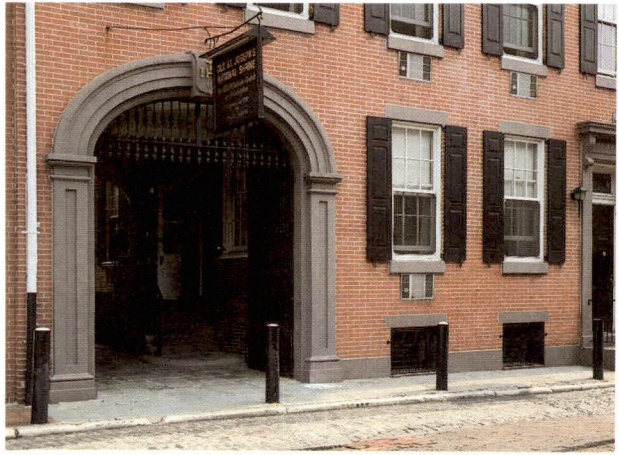
St. George's Church, at right, is the oldest Methodist Church in the United States. Except for the winter of 1777-78, it has been in constant use since 1769.

22 *235 North Fourth Street*



St. Joseph's Church was established in 1733 as the first Roman Catholic Church in Philadelphia. The present structure dates from 1838.

23 *Willing's Alley, near Fourth and Walnut Streets*



Second Bank of the United States, one of the finest examples of Greek Revival architecture in America, was designed by William Strickland and built between 1819 and 1824. The Second Bank, incorporated in 1816, was one of the most influential financial institutions in the world until 1832, when it became the center of bitter controversy between bank president Nicholas Biddle and President Andrew Jackson. The bank ceased to exist in 1836 after Jackson vetoed the bill to renew its charter, but the building continued to house a banking institution under Pennsylvania charter. From 1845 to 1935 it served as the Philadelphia Customs House. Today it contains the park's Portrait Gallery, "Faces of Independence," an extensive collection of paintings of Colonial and Federal leaders, mostly by Charles Willson Peale. Free guided tours are given upon request. You can also explore the gallery on your own.

24 *420 Chestnut Street, between Fourth and Fifth Streets*



Thaddeus Kosciuszko National Memorial. The Polish military engineer who designed and constructed American defense works during the Revolution lived in this house in 1797-98 during his second visit to America.

25 *301 Pine Street*



Todd House, built in 1775, was occupied from 1791 to 1793 by lawyer John Todd, Jr., and his wife Dolley Payne. Todd died during the 1793 yellow fever epidemic. Following her husband's death, Dolley married James Madison, destined to become the fourth President of the United States. The couple subsequently moved to the Madison estate in Virginia. The Todd House reflects the lifestyle of 18th-century Philadelphia's middle class. It is open by tour only. Free tickets are available at the visitor center.

26 *Northeast corner, Fourth and Walnut Streets*



Preservation of a Shrine

Independence National Historical Park had its origin in efforts to preserve the building most closely associated with the winning of American independence—the old State House or Independence Hall as it is known today. After the State government moved to Lancaster in 1799, no one had any immediate use for the building, nor was there any thought of preserving it as a relic of the past. For several years it stood empty. Then the artist Charles Willson Peale received permission to use the building to display his extensive natural history collection and portraits, housed at the time in Philosophical Hall. Though Peale altered the Assembly Room and rebuilt the Long Room to accommodate his specimens, he otherwise took good care of the building and grounds during the next quarter century.

It was during Peale's occupancy that the city, in 1816, bought the State House and put it beyond the reach of private developers. Even so, the building was still hardly regarded as a shrine. It took the visit of Lafayette—Washington's old comrade-in-arms—in 1824 to bring out the first feelings of public veneration for the old structure. A huge arch was constructed in front of the building and portraits of Revolutionary War heroes were hung in the Assembly Room, then called the "Hall of Independence." Lafayette's reception here by dignitaries, and a round of parties, balls, and festivities, did much to stimulate interest in the Revolution.

Out of this new interest came the plan in 1828 to restore the steeple that stood on the rear of the building in 1776. William Strickland's design, though in no sense a restoration, was close to the original. This work was followed in a few years by the first real attempt at restoring the Assembly

Room. John Haviland's refurbishing apparently pleased the local citizens. Over the next two decades the main use of the building was for exhibits and receptions for distinguished visitors and Presidents, who came as if on a pilgrimage. Thus President-elect Lincoln in 1861: "I am filled with deep emotion at finding myself standing in this place, where were collected together the wisdom, the patriotism, the devotion to principle, from which sprang the institutions under which we live . . . all the political sentiments I entertain have been drawn, so far as I have been able to draw them, from the sentiments which originated and were given to the world from this Hall. I have never had a feeling politically that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence."

As the 1876 Centennial approached, the Assembly Room came in for more work: furniture was collected, the dais rebuilt, pillars erected to support the ceiling, a new clock and bell installed. This restoration sufficed until the 1890's, when a new round of work—more extensive and far more accurate—began. When work was over, the State House approximated its appearance during the Revolution. The two flanking buildings—Congress Hall and the Supreme Court—were restored under the auspices of the local chapter of the American Institute of Architects in 1913 and 1922, respectively.

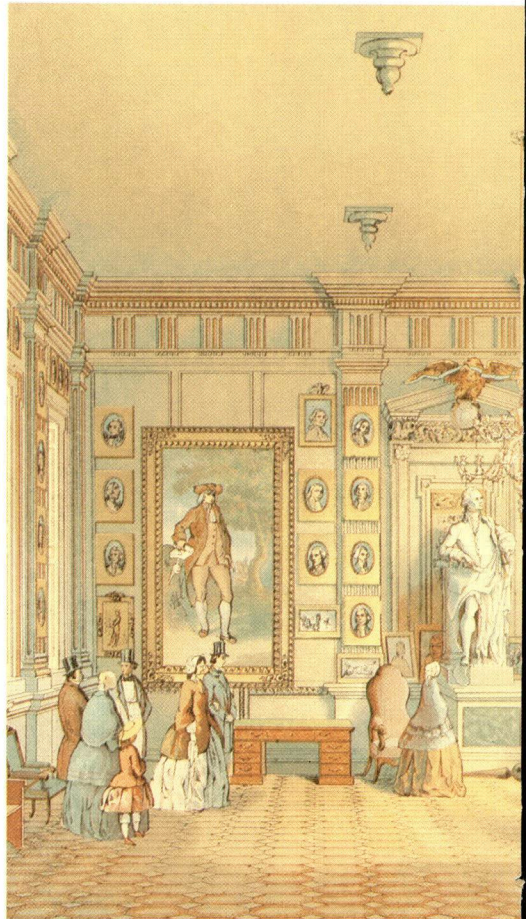
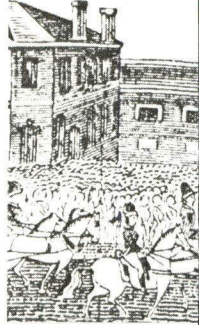
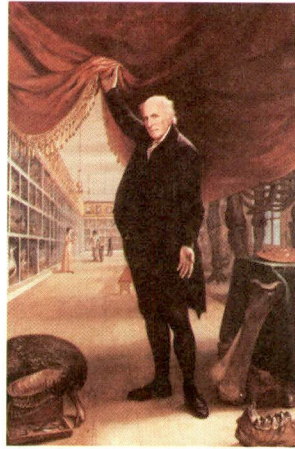
The splendor of Independence Hall now contrasted sharply with its deteriorating neighborhood. Up to this point the burden of preserving a national inheritance was borne by the city and a handful of private organizations. A broader concept and new resources were needed. A start was made in 1938 when the Second Bank, threatened by

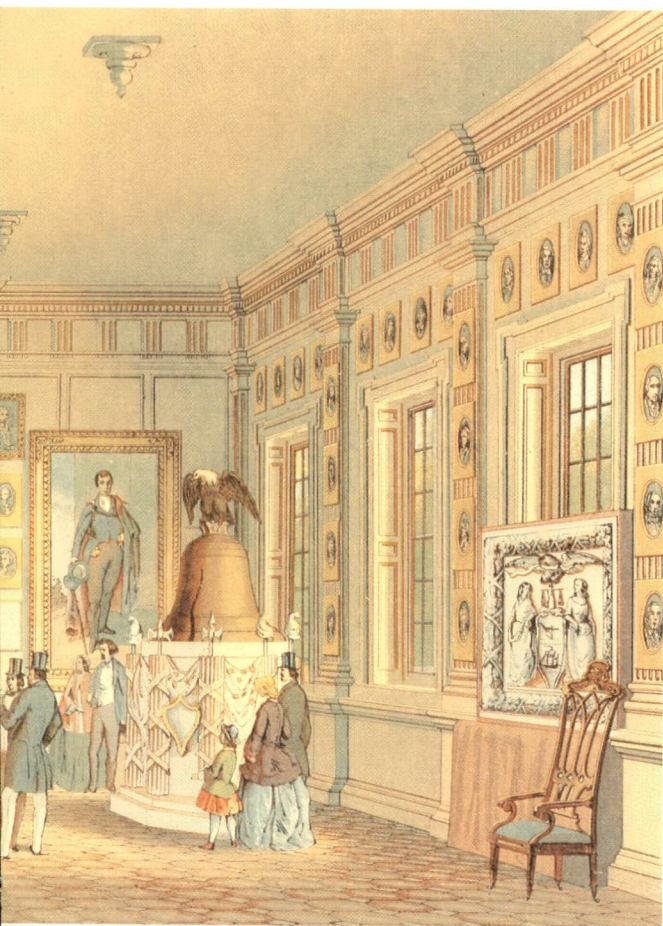
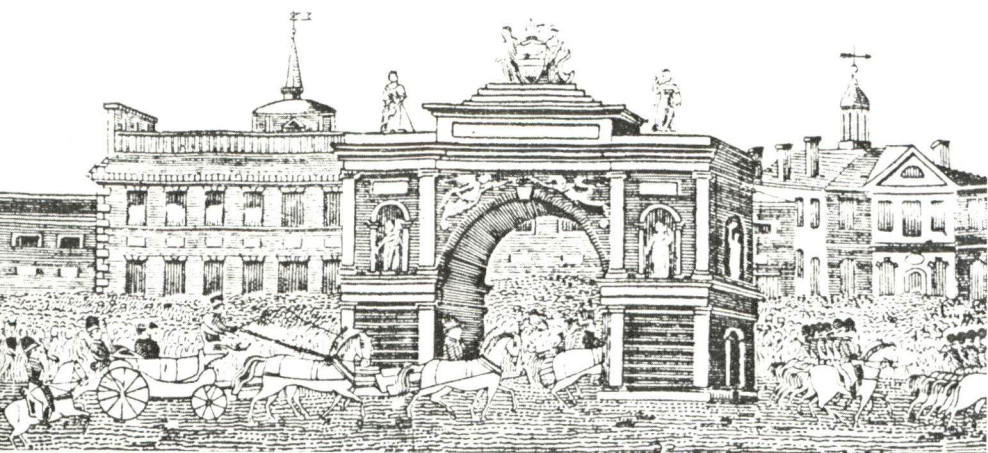
demolition, was designated a national historic site, followed by Gloria Dei Church in 1942, and Independence Hall itself a year later. Many individuals and groups had long been aware of the opportunities for both preservation and renewal in the heart of downtown Philadelphia. In 1942 the representatives of over 50 groups organized themselves as the Independence Hall Association. This organization, still a vigorous champion of preservation, was primarily responsible for the establishment of Independence National Historical Park in 1948.

Congress defined the Federal area as the three city blocks between Walnut and Chestnut Streets from Second to Fifth Streets and a few important nearby areas, such as the site of Franklin's house. The significant buildings in this area include the First and Second Banks of the United States, the Philadelphia Exchange, the Bishop White House, and Todd House. Carpenters' Hall, within the Federal area, and Christ Church, a few blocks away, are private institutions preserved and interpreted through cooperative agreements.

The city and the State have both made vital contributions to the park concept. The city, while retaining title, gave custody of the Independence Hall group of buildings and the square to the Park Service; the State assumed responsibility for the development of the three-block mall north of Independence Hall.

The advent of the Park Service in 1950 provided a vital center for the coordination and direction of the many private, municipal, and State initiatives. Extensive research and restoration have been carried out on every building, and a green and finely scaled urban landscape created where once there was mostly decay and neglect.

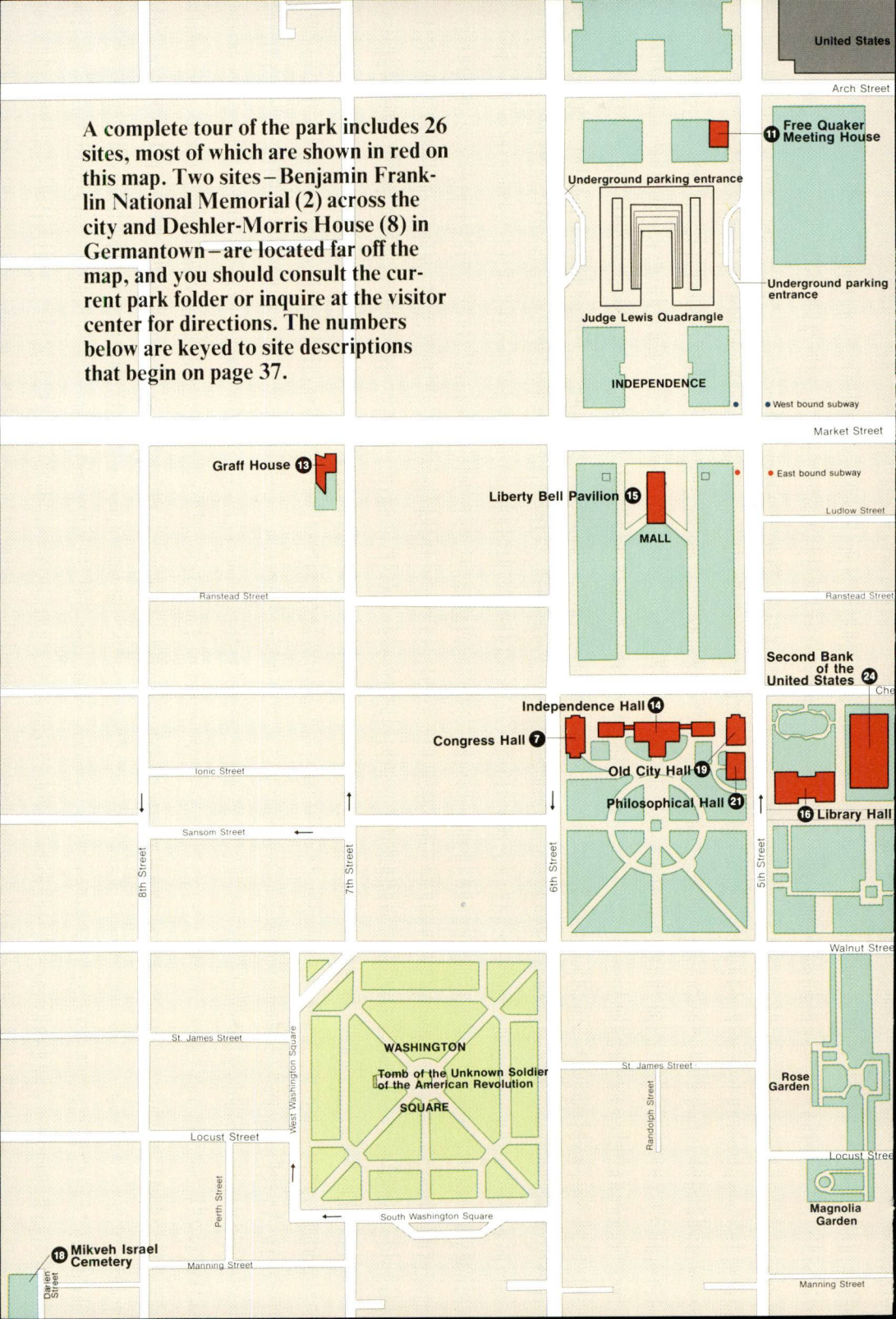




Before restoration, the Todd House (above) was a corner eatery.

The color views at left describe two of the more startling transformations within the old State House in the 19th century. At top, Charles Willson Peale unveils his museum on the second floor (1822). Below is a lithograph of the Assembly Room in 1856, shortly after it was opened to the public. Lafayette's visit in 1824 brought an outpouring of sentiment for the old hero. In the woodcut above, the general arrives at Independence Hall, passing through a huge triumphal arch built specially for the occasion.

A complete tour of the park includes 26 sites, most of which are shown in red on this map. Two sites—Benjamin Franklin National Memorial (2) across the city and Deshler-Morris House (8) in Germantown—are located far off the map, and you should consult the current park folder or inquire at the visitor center for directions. The numbers below are keyed to site descriptions that begin on page 37.



To St. George's Church
(two blocks)

Betsy Ross House
(City of Philadelphia)

To Elfreth's Alley



0 10 Meters 100
0 100 Feet 500

Cuthbert Street

Fibert Street

5 Christ Church

Commerce Street

West bound subway

10 Franklin Court

Market Street
Houses

Entrance to
underground museum

East bound subway

Bodine Street

Bank Street

Strawberry
Street

Trotter St

Black Horse Alley

Letitia Street

Interstate 95

To Penn's Landing

Marine Corps
Memorial
Museum
(New Hall)

1 Army-Navy Museum
(Pemberton House)

First Bank of
the United States

Bicentennial Bell
Visitor Center

Ionic Street

Gatzmer Street

4 Carpenters' Hall

Entrance Parking
Garage

Site of Slate Roof House

18th-century
garden

17 Pennsylvania Horticultural Society

3rd Street

Dock Street

2nd Street

Harlock St

Front Street

Delaware Avenue

Administrative Offices

26 Todd House

3 Bishop White House

20 Philadelphia Exchange

6 City Tavern

23 St. Joseph's Church

Chancellor Street

Dock Street

Dock Street

Locust Street

25 To Thaddeus Kosciuszko NM
(two blocks)

2nd Street

To Gloria Dei (Old Swedes') Church
(1.2 km / .74 mi south)

12

Credits

American Antiquarian Society: 9 (1741 woodcut).
American Philosophical Society: 44.
Boston Museum of Fine Arts: 18 (Revere and S. Adams by John Singleton Copley).
Brown Collection: 11 (Howe).
Donnelley & Sons, R.R.: 62-63.
Fistrovitch, George: cover, 4-5, 14-15, 34-35, 37 (top), 38-39, 40-41, 42, 43, 46, 47, 48-49, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58.
Gallagher, Lynn T.: 8-9, 19, 24, 28, 29, 30 (Deshler-Morris House), 31 (coach), 32.
Historical Society of Pennsylvania: 12 ("President's House"), 13 (First Bank), 22, 26-27 (Edward Savage painting), 41 (Birch print).
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National Park Service

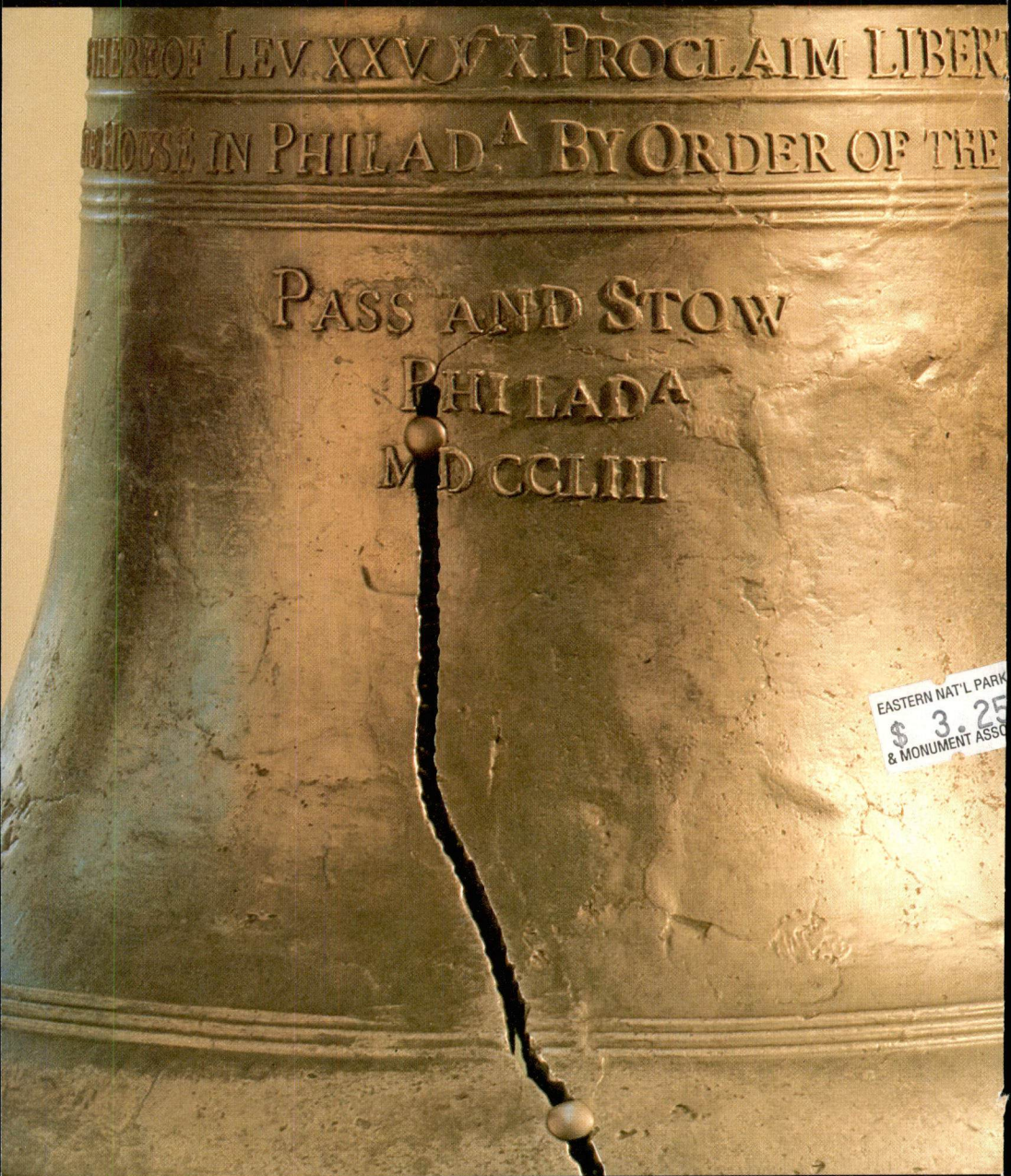
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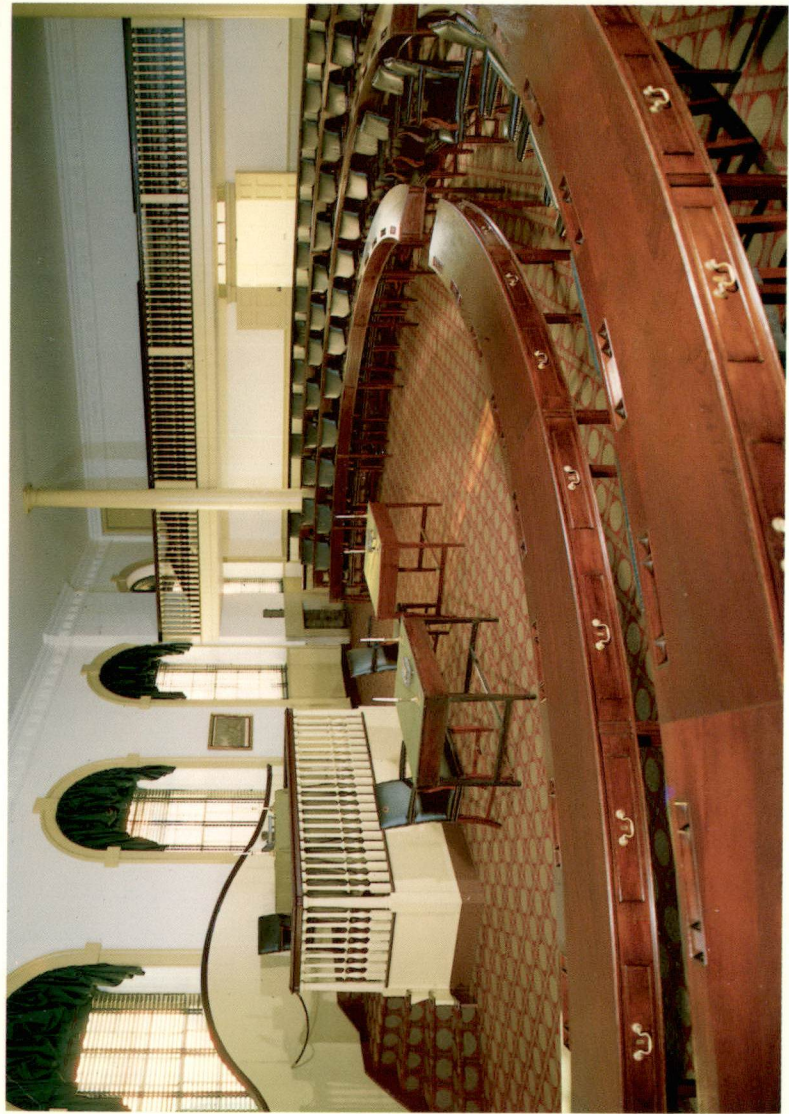
Independence National Historical Park was authorized by Act of Congress in 1948 to assure the preservation of several historic buildings around Independence Hall in the heart of Philadelphia. By an agreement in 1950 between the City of Philadelphia and the Department of the Interior, the National Park Service administers the Independence Hall group of buildings and Independence Square, but the city retains ownership of the property. A superintendent whose address is 313 Walnut St., Philadelphia, PA 19106, is in immediate charge.

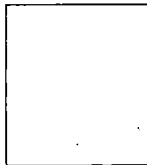
As the Nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has responsibility for most of our nationally owned public lands and natural resources. This responsibility includes fostering the wisest use of our land and water resources, protecting our fish and wildlife, preserving the environmental and cultural values of our national parks and historical places, and providing for the enjoyment of life through outdoor recreation. The Department assesses our energy and mineral resources and works to assure that their development is in the best interests of all our people. The Department also has a major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U.S. administration.

Independence

A Guide to Independence National Historical Park







POST CARD

**INDEPENDENCE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA**

House of Representatives Chamber, Congress Hall —
While meeting in this chamber (1790-1800), members
of the House helped transform a new constitution into a
practical instrument of government. The inauguration
of our second President, John Adams, symbolized the
survival of that government by setting a precedent for
the orderly transfer of power.

IDP-33

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