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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: Mar. 30, 1992

TO: Dan McGroarty

FROM: **CLAYTON YEUTTER**
Counsellor to the President for
Domestic Policy

Dan, Roger Porter is gone this week, so here are Charlie Kolb's editorial suggestions on the Philly speech. Use or reject as you see fit.

I did want to draw your attention to Charlie's proposed p. 12 insert. I asked him to draft those comments, particularly because of the Justice/FTC agreement on merger guidelines that Justice hopes to announce tomorrow (just ahead of meetings of the American Bar Ass'n later this week). Though antitrust guidelines are pretty esoteric (maybe too esoteric) for this speech, the agreement does indicate that we've been able to make government work better on this side of town. This is about the only time that Justice and the FTC have reached agreement on anything!

CY

Document No. [illegible]

92 MAR 30 P1:10

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	☐	☑	HORNER	☐	☑
SKINNER	☐	☑	MCBRIDE	☐	☑
SCOWCROFT	☑	☐	MOORE	☑	☐
DARMAN	☑	☐	PETERSMEYER	☑	☐
BRADY	☐	☑	PORTER	☑	☐
BROMLEY	☐	☐	ROGICH	☑	☐
CALIO	☑	☐	ROLLINS	☑	☐
DEMAREST	☑	☐	SMITH	☑	☐
FITZWATER	☐	☑	YEUTTER	☐	☑
GRAY	☑	☐	FINDLAY	☐	☑
HOLIDAY	☑	☐	KAUFMAN	☐	☑
BOSKIN	☑		McGROARTY		☑

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:

3/30/92

Clayton -
Comments noted on the President's reform speech.
Thanks.
Chuck

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

cc: Chris
John

Demarest/Aarhus
Draft #1
Reform

92 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~~ Our Founding Fathers had a clear vision of America's future: ~~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. Although over two hundred years old, our founders' goals remain our goals today as then.

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~~ had 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

turned the world upside down. America once again ~~stood~~ stands at the forefront of a great movement. We ~~stood firm for~~ held fast to our principles through some very difficult times. We changed the world, and we ~~have~~ now stand upon a new threshold of freedom and democracy. ~~Now,~~ And as you have heard me say, if we 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~~ today, 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 to ensure greater achievement. 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 we must reform our existing health care system to make that care more affordable.

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 demands we open 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 at length today -- reform ~~of our~~ up our government. During the last decade, one institution after another has been challenged -- forced to ~~take a~~ look hard ~~look within~~ at itself, make the needed improvements, and ~~act to make~~ then restructure the institution so that it live up to its principles. That process is called reform.

In the private sector, ~~or more specifically, in a business,~~ this reform ~~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 <u>improve</u> 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 quantifiably better than they were only a few years ago.

~~It is~~ But it's 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 leaner and work smarter. Desert Storm proved it could be done. Just about every other institution -- state and local government, unions, trade associations, charitable groups -- any organization that serves a public -- have been influenced by this drive for excellence.

Yet, the federal government has resisted reform and protected the status quo -- even in the face of an unambiguous

need for change. The change that swept the rest of America 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 government is too big and spends too much. 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, without compassion. As I've mentioned, we've got some very tough problems ahead, and government needs to play a role in solving those problems. But, right now government, particularly the Congress, is simply not up to the job. Let me tell you why that is ~~the case~~ so, and how we must change things.

Political scientist Morris Fiorina paints a disturbing but familiar picture of how Washington really behaves. He says that the growth of big government has changed the role of Congress from policymaking to pork-barreling -- changed the typical Congressional office to a Campaign and Constituent office. Fiorina argues that this ~~sets in motion~~ ensures 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. The cycle is indeed vicious.

better word?

9) Sometime government loses sight of an obvious fact: that government exists to serve the people, not vice versa. What's the reaction when you hear the line, "I'm from the federal government and I'm here to help you." Why do many people find that statement funny? I suggest the explanation is a simple one: that too often government is too busy existing and feeding to "programs" while forgetting the fact that it's true mission is to serve the people.

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 miasma sticky web of 284 Congressional Committees, 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.

check the precise numbers to be sure, if asked

~~Now, while~~ there's nothing wrong with Congress passing a proclamation heralding "National Crime Victims Week", but there is terribly 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. The American public knows what the Congress has got to figure out: the real problem is not taxes, it's spending.

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 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 bureaucracies, lays down the mandates, funds the programs. Then, it is the Congress that protects them, harasses them, investigates them, micro-manages them. With a Congressional subcommittee Chairman as godparent, 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~~ a course for return my confidence, ~~and~~ & clarity (and consumer-orientation) 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 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.]]

Insert to page 12, at the end of the second full paragraph.

Above all, the American people want a government that works. The reforms I have called for today will help restructure government to make it responsive to people rather than just bureaucracy. Wherever I have current authority, I will pursue vigorous reforms dedicated to making government work. Last fall, in the area of civil justice reform, I imposed upon Federal litigators many of the reforms we are seeking from Congress and the States. In education, we are using existing authority to make sure that the Chapter 1 program run by the Education Department is working in sync with the Head Start program run by the Department of Health and Human Services. And earlier today in Washington, we announced significant reforms of the government merger guidelines which, for the first time, will involve the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission, acting as one applying a common set of rules and standards. Far too often, government acts in ways that are inconsistent and incoherent. This too will change. I call upon the Congress to enact the reforms I have discussed today, and I hope that the American people will keep the pressure on government to reform itself.

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.

Is a Constitutional Amendment needed here? Needs clarification.

Insert new Paragraph

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.

# # #

ID # CU

WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

campaign finance
cc to
Jane Newcomb
+ Wm L.
+ Greg W.

☐ O - OUTGOING
☐ H - INTERNAL
☐ I - INCOMING
Date Correspondence Received (YY/MM/DD) / /

Name of Correspondent: Guy Vander Jagt

☐ **MI Mail Report** **User Codes: (A)** _____ **(B)** _____ **(C)** _____

Subject: * Percentage of Democratic Incumbent campaign funds raised from individual contributors within their own districts

ROUTE TO:		ACTION		DISPOSITION		
Office/Agency	(Staff Name)	Action Code	Tracking Date YY/MM/DD	Type of Response	Code	Completion Date YY/MM/DD
CUOFC		ORIGINATOR	92/03/24			/ /
		Referral Note:				
CUAT28		A	92/03/24		S	92/04/02
		Referral Note:				
CUGRAY		L	92/03/24		C	92/03/24
		Referral Note:				
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ACTION CODES:
A - Appropriate Action
C - Comment/Recommendation
D - Draft Response
F - Furnish Fact Sheet to be used as Enclosure
I - Info Copy Only/No Action Necessary
R - Direct Reply w/Copy
S - For Signature
X - Interim Reply

DISPOSITION CODES:
A - Answered
B - Non-Special Referral
C - Completed
S - Suspended

FOR OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:
Type of Response = Initials of Signer
Code = "A"
Completion Date = Date of Outgoing

Comments: _____

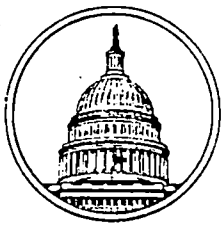
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320 FIRST STREET, S.E.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20003

202-479-7000

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN
CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE

March 20, 1992

The Honorable C. Boyden Gray
Counsel to the President
The White House
Washington, D. C.20500

Dear Boyden:

Just a brief note to rush this along in light of our conversation the other day on campaign funds involving incumbent Democrats, I am attaching a memorandum from one of my staff assistants at the NRCC.

Briefly, I came up with a three percent figure which I mentioned to you. In the attached memorandum the figure is six percent. If it makes that much difference, I will certainly go back and work it out, because I am positive that some place along the line I had it at three percent.

Please do not hesitate to let me know if I can be of any further assistance in this matter.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely,

Guy Vander Jagt
Member of Congress

GVJ:kp

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7129Y

MEMORANDUM

TO: Congressman Guy Vander Jagt, Chairman

FR: Stuart Sechriest

RE: Democratic Fundraising

In response to the request from the Counsel to the President, Boyden Gray, Mr. Jim Ross of the minority office of the House Administration Committee's Task Force on Campaign Finance Reform has provided the following information.

The question was as follows: What percentage of Incumbent Democrat campaign funds is raised from individual contributors within their own districts? The answer has a few sticking points, but with certain qualifications, it is quite powerful. According to Mr. Ross, the number is 6%.

Here is how he arrived at that number.

Mr. Ross looked at competitive races in 1990. These were races where Democrat Incumbents won with 55% of the vote or less. There were 26 Democrat Incumbents who fell into this category.

According to FEC laws, contributions under $200 do not have to be reported, so Mr. Ross was only able to work with the contributions over $200 which were reported. From there, he used a Database to determine which of those contributions came from individuals within the Incumbents' districts. The computer sorted the individuals by zip code, and it identified those zip codes which fell within the district lines.

Of course, some of the individual contributors may have used their zip code at work rather than their home zip code, thereby making their donations appear to come from outside the district, but there is no way to identify those cases.

Therefore, for Incumbent Democrats in competitive races in 1990, only 6% of the contributions which must be reported to the FEC came from individuals within their districts.

For a similar list of Incumbent Republicans in competitive races in 1990 (using the same methodology), 15% of their contributions came from individuals within their districts. That is two and a half times as much as what the Democrats raised from individuals within their districts.

4/2/92

OPTIONS

(1) Depending upon how quickly the Congress were willing to phase this proposal in, it could save from 100 billion to 390 billion dollars by 1997.

(2) If mandatory spending were allowed to grow for inflation and eligible population only, we could save about $390 billion by 1997.

(3) If mandatory spending were allowed to grow for inflation and eligible population only, we could save about two trillion dollars over the next decade.

MAR 30'92 15:04 No.013 P.02
ID:

one ninth are elected by three hundred and sixty four persons, and one half by five thousand seven hundred and twenty three persons.[1] It cannot be supposed that the half thus elected, and who do not even reside among the people at large, can add any thing either to the security of the people against the government; or to the knowledge of their circumstances and interests, in the legislative councils. On the contrary it is notorious that they are more frequently the representatives and instruments of the executive magistrate, than the guardians and advocates of the popular rights. They might therefore with great propriety be considered as something more than a mere deduction from the real representatives of the nation. We will however consider them, in this light alone, and will not extend the deduction, to a considerable number of others, who do not reside among their constituents, are very faintly connected with them, and have very little particular knowledge of their affairs. With all these concessions two hundred and seventy nine persons only will be the depository of the safety, interest and happiness of eight millions; that is to say: There will be one representative only to maintain the rights and explain the situation of *twenty eight thousand six hundred and seventy* constituents, in an assembly exposed to the whole force of executive influence, and extending its authority to every object of legislation within a nation whose affairs are in the highest degree diversified and complicated. Yet it is very certain not only that a valuable portion of freedom has been preserved under all these circumstances, but that the defects in the British code are chargeable in a very small proportion, on the ignorance of the legislature concerning the circumstances of the people. Allowing to this case the weight which is due to it: And comparing it with that of the House of Representatives as above explained, it seems to give the fullest assurance that a representative for every *thirty thousand inhabitants* will render the latter both a safe and competent guardian of the interests which will be confided to it.

PUBLIUS.

[1]Burgh's polit. disquis. (Publius)

The Federalist No. 57: MADISON

February 19, 1788

To the People of the State of New York.

The *third* charge against the House of Representatives is, that it will be taken from that class of citizens which will have least sympathy with the mass of the people, and be most likely to aim at an ambitious sacrifice of the many to the aggrandizement of the few.

Of all the objections which have been framed against the Federal Constitution, this is perhaps the most extraordinary. Whilst the objection itself is levelled against a pretended oligarchy, the principle of it strikes at the very root of republican government.

The aim of every political Constitution is or ought to be first to obtain for rulers, men who possess most wisdom to discern, and most virtue to pursue the common good of the society; and in the next place, to take the most effectual precautions for keeping them virtuous, whilst they continue to hold their public trust. The elective mode of obtaining rulers is the characteristic policy of republican government. The means relied on in this form of government for preventing their degeneracy are numerous and various. The most effectual one is such a limitation of the term of appointments, as will maintain a proper responsibility to the people.

Let me now ask what circumstance there is in the Constitution of the House of Representatives, that violates the principles of republican government; or favors the elevation of the few on the ruins of the many? Let me ask whether every circumstance is not, on the contrary, strictly conformable to these principles; and scrupulously impartial to the rights and pretensions of every class and description of citizens?

Who are to be the electors of the Federal Representatives? Not the rich more than the poor; not the learned more than the ignorant; not the haughty heirs of distinguished names, more

Rudman: 'It's Time to Tell the Truth'

A senator explains why he won't run again

The calls came from all over the country. Would the senator run for president? Would he be Ross Perot's running mate? The latest political truth teller to strike a chord with the public is Sen. Warren Rudman, the New Hampshire Republican who announced last week he would not run again because of Congress's inability to deal with the budget deficit. Rudman shared his reflections with NEWSWEEK's Eleanor Clift. Excerpts:



JON PIERRE LASSEIGNE—AP

'This is the entire orchestra playing while Rome burns': *The New Hampshire Republican*

CLIFT: Why do you want out?

RUDMAN: I just got totally frustrated with the pace around here the last couple years. We really are doing less and less, and taking more and more time to do it. And I am particularly frustrated about the cost to the country of this deficit, which is really destroying us. We're going to be close in the next [few] years of probably having less than 5 [to] 6 percent of the budget for what we all traditionally call government. We're heading toward 60-65 percent entitlement programs, 13 or 14 percent defense, 17 percent interest. If you want to do things for education and for health research, and for law enforcement—there's no money.

Why is nobody talking about that?

It's very dangerous to talk about it. Let me give you an example. [In the 1980s there were] all these horror stories about people getting wiped out by catastrophic illness. And the Congress was irresponsible, something had to be done. OK, we passed the bill—a damn good piece of legislation as a matter of fact. People who had the ability to pay had to pay a higher premium than those who didn't. Do you recall as vividly as I do the television reports of Dan Rostenkowski's automobile in Chicago—and how they were literally trying to turn his automobile over, they were so angry at him. Why were they angry? Because they had suddenly found out they were going to have to pay. These are the people who can go on cruises. When you're down in Miami, you see all the well-to-do senior citizens who have plenty of money to do what they want to do. They were going to have to pay as much as $700 of their annual income toward health care. What did we do? We repealed the bill. I didn't vote for that, but we did. What is really ironic is that by being so intransigent the recipients of these entitlement programs are essentially cooking their own goose. Because as you look at these numbers you'll recognize we're going to have to do something radical.

It's time to tell them the truth. And if you get defeated while doing it, well, it will be worth doing it. At least you do something good for the country. There are people who have given their lives for the country. I don't see what's wrong with giving a political life for the country.

You went with a truth teller in 1988—Bob Dole. That's when the no-new-taxes pledge was born.

And it was broken, as of course it had to be. I'm tired of all that. I just want to do something that I consider more challenging. I sit here and I get very frustrated, and I look at all the talent in this place, and I recognize the problem is not lack of talent or a lack of knowledge on how to solve it. The problem to a large extent is the American people themselves who have been so misled for so long that we can do all these things. Two weeks ago, they were misled into thinking we could give them a middle-class tax cut, as modest as it was.

How do you break the tether?

You have to take some political risks. An English politician once said there are two ways you can lose an election: you can lose it because you do nothing; or you can lose it because you do something. I would rather lose it doing something.

I like to see this place function and do constructive things—and we have done some constructive things in some areas. We got a civil-rights bill, we got a clean air, clean water act. Unfortunately, the single most important thing for the security of this country is the fiscal integrity of this government, and we have ignored that. We are about to absolutely destroy ourselves.

Who's to blame?

All of us. The Congress, the administration, the previous administration and the people themselves who really do believe there's a free lunch. They really think they can continue to get all these things and somebody else is going to pay for them. This is not the fiddler fiddling while Rome burns. This is the entire orchestra playing while Rome burns.

What happens next?

There's got to be leadership. What you must have are the two political parties saying, look, this is like Pearl Harbor. This is like suddenly going to war. We have to unite. The irony is we won the cold war; we're about to lose the integrity of our economy. People are talking about the recession being over, and we're coming out of it. Well, maybe we are a little bit. But it'll be a damn short-lived recovery unless we do something about this kind of business.

Jerry Brown says money is the root of all evil in politics.

It's not money that's causing people to be afraid of voting on these entitlement programs. It's the pure raw political power of the middle-class retired. People want to talk about [how] Congress needs to be reorganized—and it does, I agree—but that isn't the fundamental problem. The problem is lack of will to do what has to be done. ■

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

(Demarest)
March 10, 1992
Draft Three
ASAE

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: ASSOCIATION EXECUTIVES
MARCH 11, 1992
WASHINGTON, D.C.
1:20 P.M.

Chairman Fondren, my fellow Texan, thank you for that introduction. President Taylor. I heard a story about how when LBJ moved from the House to the Senate, Jake Pickle and Gene Fondren, then Texas state legislators, flipped a coin to decide who'd run for office and go to Washington. Well, Congressman Pickle's been calling for a rematch ever since.

Robert Frost once wrote that "an idea is a feat of association." Well, association is an idea as old as the American Dream itself. Actually, Toqueville over 150 years ago had much to say about you. He said, "at the head of some new undertaking ... in the United States you will be sure to find an association." Since that time associations have played a vital role in our country's progress, and they continue that mission today, defining new frontiers and exploring new territory.

Before I spoke, President Taylor presented the Associations Advance America Awards to salute those who've found a way to help, to be in fact, points of light. We hear a too often about what's wrong in America. Well, this is what's right in America, and I salute you for what you are doing to help your communities.

Of course, it's an election year. Independent of the current preoccupation with the hype and spin of the campaigns, there will remain the issues, the big things -- the core concerns of every American -- jobs, family, peace. They hold us together as a society. They are more than issues we bring to the next election -- they are the legacy we must give to the next generation.

That is what I want to talk to you about today -- not just the issues, but our mood as a nation, and how our government must reform if we are to change America.

Today, weighing most heavily in the hearts and on the minds of Americans is the state of the economy -- jobs -- preserving jobs, creating jobs. You in this very room know best virtually every industry and every profession in America. I don't have to tell you that people are worried about the future.

Frankly, we've had tough economic times before, with higher unemployment -- but less national alarm. There's something different about today's times -- something that touches a nerve. It strikes at the heart of what drives this country forward -- our confidence. It challenges our belief in ourselves.

I'll give it to you straight: Unemployment is 7.3% -- about 9 million people out of a total workforce of 126 million. During the 1982 recession, unemployment hit almost 11% -- a level not experienced since the Great Depression. So we ask ourselves -- why is confidence today lower than at the depth of the 1982 recession?

I've heard a lot of theories. Some say the talking heads of the media are the problem -- always running the country down. [You've heard the saying "no news is good news?" Well, the joke is that for the media, "Good news is no news."]

Others say it's the politicians. I myself have noted that in a political year candidates often shower the voters with a message so bleak and hopeless -- at the same time they promise the rainbow if they're elected. That steady drizzle on the people's shoulders can wear away confidence, and wash away hope. So it's easy to suppose that the constant drumbeat about what's wrong in America is a self-fulfilling prophecy.

There may be some truth to that. But I think there are other reasons for our country's mood. People are feeling the way they do because America's got some real problems -- serious, stubborn, national problems.

But I think it would be un**fair** and un**true** to suggest to the American people that we can't overcome these problems -- to imply that America is a country in decline. So today I want to talk about what we must do to meet the economic challenge that is before us -- how we can build economic vitality into our communities -- how we must ensure that our children see a future that is an improvement over the present -- most importantly, why we must change the way we do business in Washington D.C.

Sometimes it helps to take some of these enormous issues and bring them down to the personal level. So when I talk about America's economic problems this is what I mean:

They are the worries of parents who have worked all their lives to get their kids through college -- and those kids can't find work. They are found in discouraged families who can't afford to pay off anything but the interest on their credit cards, month after month after month. They are the doubts of young people who believe that times will never be as good for them as they were for their parents. These are the things that dim our hope and drain our confidence.

American workers can see that technology and competition are changing the workplace faster than ever before. They can feel the heat -- both at home and abroad. They know American industry is being challenged to keep up or step aside -- I'll talk further about that later in the week in Detroit, Michigan. We live in a competitive world, and people worry about our ability to compete.

American homeowners -- that's almost 70 million people -- worry that the biggest asset they will ever have -- their home -- will lose its worth because real estate values have declined. The same is true of any business, association, or charitable organization that owns property -- they're concerned too.

Finally, as I discussed earlier this week with the League of Cities, the deterioration of the American family is very serious -- a root problem with tremendous ramifications for our economic well-being as a nation.

But the picture is not all gloom and doom. America is now the only superpower in the world. Millions of immigrants still look to us as the land of opportunity -- because we are. And our

economy is poised for recovery. Inflation is down. Interest rates low. Inventories low. Exports at record highs. But this recovery will come sooner, and stronger only if we in government act now. As self-evident as this mandate for action may seem, we have not been able to muster the necessary political unity of purpose.

In January, I sent the Congress a plan of action -- a straightforward set of initiatives based upon tried and true economic realities. I proposed incentives for business to buy equipment, upgrade their plants, and start hiring again. I proposed a shot in the arm to get the housing industry back on its feet -- lead us into economic recovery this spring. I proposed a tax cut on capital gains. Once you get through all the tax-break-for-the-rich demagoguery, economists agree such a measure would create jobs.

Then I offered a broader plan of action to keep us competitive and economically vigorous in the years ahead:

1) Education reform to bring the skills of our future workers up to a standard of excellence. 2) Reform of our legal system so that Americans can spend more time innovating and less time litigating. 3) Health care reform to improve access to the best quality care in the world. 4) Welfare reform to break the sorry cycle of dependency that's become a way of life in many of our cities. 5) Tangible support to strengthen the family -- a $500 increase in the tax deduction for children. 6) A trade policy that demands foreign markets open up to high-quality

American goods and services. 7) Record federal support in research and development to keep our nation on the cutting edge of new technologies.

Big issues. Big challenges. This is the plan I proposed -- and I set a deadline for Congress to act. Congress didn't like the notion of a deadline. And while the Congress didn't have a comprehensive plan of its own, it is doubtful that it will enact the plan I proposed. Instead, with great and earnest deliberation, the Congress is fixated with how much more to tax the American people. They would hike taxes by 100 billion dollars.

Imagine: giving the Congress more taxpayer money to spend. Why add to the billions already spent on big government programs -- does anyone believe that more spending money for the Congress is the answer? Does anyone believe that this money will be more wisely spent than the trillion and a half dollars spent now?

The last thing this economy needs now is a tax increase. Any economist worth his salt will tell you that. But this is not new. Congress routinely refuses to take action to stimulate the economy -- but insists on job destroying tax increases. I believe Congress is incapable of passing my economic action plan -- or a plan of their own. They are incapable of meeting my March 20 deadline -- or any other deadline, for that matter. Let me tell you why.

Everyone knows that government is too big and spends too much. Everyone knows that. 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, without compassion.

When Americans think about their government, what often comes to mind is the latest scandal involving their money. Today, we are cleaning up the Savings and Loan scandal. Jack Kemp deserves a lot of credit for straightening out the abuses in our public housing system. Dick Cheney has continued the Ill Wind investigation at the Defense Department and made the necessary reforms in defense procurement. But to the taxpayer, these issues, like the latest scandal with the House bank, just reinforce the notion that the government is more the problem than the solution.

This is all part of why confidence in America's future is under siege. Many people have already lost confidence in government. There is irony here. Americans are a compassionate people -- willing to foot the bill to help make this country better. But there is an extraordinary mismatch between their willingness to help and their skepticism that government actually will use their hard earned tax dollars and get results. My apologies to David Osborne and Ted Gaebler for borrowing their phrase, but it is truly time to reinvent government.

This is no slight to the four million hardworking people who work for the federal government. But the fact is that they work in a system that was good for its time, but now must change and

change radically. I know that government can't be run like a business -- but we can improve its performance. Right now, within the halls of these giant centralized bureaucracies, it is almost impossible to reward success, much less punish failure.

Because government forgets the customer, it issues counter-productive regulations. It shelters perpetual programs that have outlived their function but not their funding. But this kind of government doesn't just happen. It is the Congress that creates these bureaucracies, lays down the mandates, funds the programs. Then, it is the Congress that protects them, harasses them, investigates them, micro-manages them. With a Congressional subcommittee Chairman as godparent, they become stepchildren of the Congress.

This is not to criticize all people serving in Congress. I served there and I know many fine people on both sides of the aisle serve there now -- decent, hardworking, patriotic Americans. The problem isn't the people, it's the system. And the system must change.

The people on Capitol Hill are victims of an unaccountable, inefficient, and ineffective system of their own making as well: 284 committees, 35,000 staff members, over 2 billion dollars of taxpayer money, and a web of special interest influence and money. This is not a system that can promote reform and change. Rather, it promotes the status quo. Over the years, this has piled up to create a Congress that is out of touch. Gridlocked.

Paralyzed. A Congress totally and utterly incapable of addressing the central issues of our time.

How many people in this room -- people who work with the Congress every day -- haven't had a private conversation with a Senator or Congressman and heard exactly the same thing?

There's nothing wrong with the Congress passing a proclamation heralding "Crime Victims Week", but that's no substitute for a comprehensive crime bill that actually does something to make people safer in their communities. They may pass "National Asparagus Month", but the problem in American agriculture is our national vitality not our national vegetable. (Haven't seen "National Broccoli Week" -- could have some trouble signing that one). For every one of these bills there is staff assigned, paper processed, constituents contacted, newsletters written, taxpayer money spent. Nearly one third of all the legislation that reaches my desk is like this. Much of what's left simply keeps the basic machine of government running. The focus is clearly not on addressing new challenges.

This all may sound like simply an election year blast at a Congress controlled by the other party. But it's not. We need a new way of looking at things. The gap between private sector efficiency and government's ineptness has become a chasm. I have made proposals to reform government -- proposals to bring back responsibility and accountability to a system answerable to no one but itself. They are based on some fundamental principles. Rely on what works. When possible, decentralize. Institute

choice to force competition into the system. Give people more power to make the big decisions in their lives. Make the system accountable. Understand the new realities of America's global position -- that we must become more competitive. These are important ways to reform and change America.

I have also called for the Congress to stop exempting itself from the laws it imposes on everyone else. I have called for Campaign Finance Reform to break the influence of special interest groups. I have talked about term limits for members of Congress. When the system is broken you have to fix it.

Chairman Fondren once said that "Leadership...requires forthrightness. Hidden agendas rarely, if ever, lead to progress and very often succeed in spoiling the brew." I've never been very good at hiding my agenda, and I'm not about to start now.

My agenda has been to create jobs, protect the family, and promote world peace. Too many times I run up against a wall -- a partisan guard more determined to takes sides than to take this country forward. March 20 will be an important date. If the Congress enacts my action plan on the economy by then, the real beneficiaries will not be me, nor my re-election, nor the Congress. The real beneficiaries will be the American people who will regain the confidence that they have lost in the ability of Washington to act in their best interest.

If the Congress cannot act, or if it sends to me a bill it knows today I cannot and will not sign, I will take this message to the American people: the problem is Congress. Send a new

Congress to Washington next November. In the meantime I will act on my own in the interests of the American people.

I drew a line in the sand a little over a year ago in the Persian Gulf. I kept my word then and we liberated Kuwait. I have drawn a line in the sand once again -- right here in our own backyard. I will keep my word again. And if we all do our part, we can ensure that our economy, and our government get back on the right track.

Thank you. And God bless you for all the good work you do.

# # #

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quotes?

1 This is a world of compensation; and he who would be no slave must consent to have no slave. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and, under a just God, cannot long retain it.

Letter to H. L. Pierce and others [April 6, 1859]

2 Public opinion in this country is everything.

Speech at Columbus, Ohio [September 16, 1859]

3 It is said an Eastern monarch once charged his wise men to invent him a sentence to be ever in view, and which should be true and appropriate in all times and situations. They presented him the words: "And this, too, shall pass away." How much it expresses! How chastening in the hour of pride! How consoling in the depths of affliction!

Address to the Wisconsin State Agricultural Society, Milwaukee [September 30, 1859]

4 What is conservatism? Is it not adherence to the old and tried, against the new and untried?

Address at Cooper Union, New York [February 27, 1860]

5 Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it. *Ib.*

6 No one, not in my situation, can appreciate my feeling of sadness at this parting. To this place, and the kindness of these people, I owe everything. Here I have lived a quarter of a century, and have passed from a young to an old man. Here my children have been born, and one is buried. I now leave, not knowing when or whether ever I may return, with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washington. Without the assistance of that Divine Being who ever attended him, I cannot succeed. With that assistance I cannot fail. Trusting in Him who can go with me, and remain with you, and be everywhere for good, let us confidently hope that all will yet be well.

Farewell Address, Springfield, Illinois [February 11, 1861]

7 If we do not make common cause to save the good old ship of the Union on this voyage, nobody will have a chance to pilot her on another voyage.

Address at Cleveland, Ohio [February 15, 1861]

8 I have never had a feeling, politically, that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence. . . . I have often inquired of myself what great principle or idea it was that kept this Confederacy so long together. It was not the mere matter of separation of the colonies from the motherland, but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but hope to all the world, for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weights would be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that all should have an equal chance. This is the sentiment embodied in the Declaration of Independence. . . . I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it.

Speech at Independence Hall, Philadelphia [February 22, 1861]

9 It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination.

First Inaugural Address [March 4, 1861]

10 If by the mere force of numbers a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify revolution—certainly would if such a right were a vital one.

Ib.

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

12 Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world?

Ib.

13 While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no administration, by any extreme of wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the government in the short space of four years. *Ib.*

14 We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break, our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature. *Ib.*

Thursday, March 26th
Philadelphia, PA

Event date: Wed. 4/1

4/1/87
5/25/87 POTUS spoke here as VP
Reagan spoke here twice

Old House Chamber / Congress Hall
≈ 250 attendees
prompters – yes!

open press

Speaker (where POTUS will be)

Sec. of House

??

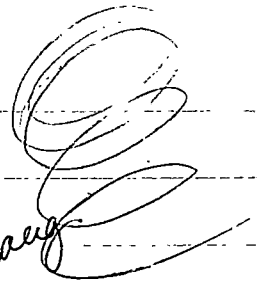
Used as capitol
1790–1800
when Philly was capital

upper gallery was for public

106 Congressmen
Tenn, KY, VT
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POTUS may face bust of Ben Franklin

In Congress Hall sat the 1st Sen.
& the first House of Rep.



G Washington was 1st inaug. in Cong. Hall
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would like POTUS
to write preamble
"We the people ..." etc.

Congress Hall was Cap. when Bill of Rts. was Rat
(that Congress was implementing the Constitution)
will ultimately go to Nat'l Archives

Burger Commission helped to fund this

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL TUESDAY, AUGUST 15, 1989

What Is Congress Trying to Hide?

By Mark B. Liedl

When Congress adjourned for its summer vacation it left behind a bombshell that could explode into a scandal. Buried in the 119-page appropriations bill funding the Interior Department is a clause that effectively prohibits department employees from making any record of their contacts with Capitol Hill. The clause is a perfect illustration of congressional micromanagement of executive branch operations, and it raises a serious question: What does Congress have to hide?

In an effort to curb congressional micromanagement of the executive branch, White House staffers and others recently proposed that executive branch employees be required to report all contacts with members of Congress and their staffs. The reason: to gauge the extent of congressional demands on the executive branch, to determine which demands result in better-managed federal programs and which impede effective execution of the law and encourage wasteful spending. Such a requirement would be consistent with current laws requiring agency officials to include in the public record any ex parte contacts that arise during the agency adjudication and rulemaking process.

Orwellian Tactics

There is one glitch, however: Congress doesn't like the idea. Tucked into the massive appropriations bill providing fiscal 1990 funding for the Interior Department is Section 117, which reads: "None of the funds available under this [bill] may be used to prepare reports on contacts between employees of the Department of the Interior and Members and Committees of Congress and their staff."

This means that department employees will be forbidden by Congress from telling their boss, the secretary of the interior, who on Capitol Hill is calling them, how often, and for what reasons. The section makes it illegal for staffers to communicate—either orally or in writing—such information to the secretary. Such Orwellian tactics might make Mikhail Gorbachev shudder, but they are becoming business as usual in a Washington increasingly divided by a constitutional power struggle between the executive and legislative branches of government.

Riders to appropriations bills are one of Congress's preferred vehicles for micromanaging the executive branch. Commerce Secretary Robert Mosbacher, for example, recently complained that Congress was forcing him to spend money on pork-barrel projects ineligible for funding under established federal guidelines. Five public-works projects proposed for the Economic Development Administration totaling $11.4 million were rejected this year by Mr. Mosbacher as being legally ineligible under EDA guidelines. Mr. Mosbacher was overridden, however, by congressmen seeking the projects for their home states. The secretary was directed in the department's appropriations bill to earmark funding for the five projects, as well as six others that the inspector general of the department determined were "inordinate," "inappropriate" and "flawed with respect to long-existing EDA policies."

Attorney General Richard Thornburgh has experienced similar problems. Earlier this year Mr. Thornburgh sought to merge the FBI regional office in Butte, Mont., into the regional office in Salt Lake City. The FBI had requested the change, confident it could perform its mission while saving $1.9 million by shutting down the Butte office. Montana Sen. Max Baucus, who is facing re-election in 1990, disagreed.

Determined to keep the office open, the Montana Democrat inserted in the Justice Department's supplemental appropriations bill the following clause: "None of the funds provided by this appropriation bill shall be available to relocate, reorganize, or consolidate any office, agency, function, facility, station, activity or other entity falling under the jurisdiction of the Department of Justice." Rep. Neal Smith (D., Iowa), chairman of the House Appropriations subcommittee with jurisdiction over the Justice Department, clearly expressed the congressional intent behind the appropriations bill rider. In a June 13 Scripps Howard news service story, he remarked: "Legally, they [Justice] can do it once. But the next year they'll have no flexibility at all on closing. We'll write it into the law that they can't change anything."

The congressional micromanagement story also can be told in numbers. Example: A Sept. 27, 1988, study by the Congressional Research Service found that 74 House and Senate committees and subcommittees exercise jurisdiction over the Office of National Drug Control Policy. Ironically, that number does not include the House Select Committee on Narcotics Abuse and Control.) Such mind-numbing oversight means that virtually every member of Congress sits on a committee with jurisdiction over the federal drug office, enabling hundreds to assert to constituents that they personally are overseeing the federal drug effort.

The Defense Department is another victim of oversight overkill. In a report submitted June 12 to the president, Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney, himself a former congressman, decried congressional micromanagement of the Defense Department.

During the HUD scandal years, 84 congressional committees and subcommittees had jurisdiction over HUD. Obviously, the oversight was ineffective.

Mr. Cheney reported that 107 congressional committees and subcommittees oversee his department. But that's not all. Every working day, the Defense Department receives an estimated 450 written inquiries and more than 2,500 telephone inquiries from Capitol Hill. Each day, according to the report, the department is required to submit to Congress nearly three separate written reports—each averaging more than 1,000 man-hours and costing about $50,000 to prepare. Senior Defense Department officials, meanwhile, spend 40 hours preparing for the average 44 hours of congressional testimony they provide each day that Congress is in session. None of this "oversight," however, prevented such wasteful spending as the massive Defense Department procurement fraud uncovered in 1988 by the FBI.

In the wake of the mismanagement of millions of dollars at the Department of Housing and Urban Development, many members of Congress are calling for increased oversight of HUD. Yet Congress is and has been exercising considerable jurisdiction over the department. During the HUD scandal years, 84 congressional committees and subcommittees had jurisdiction over HUD. Obviously, the oversight was ineffective.

The measure of proper and effective congressional oversight, therefore, is not the quantity of oversight but the quality of it. And improving the quality requires addressing this question: Is congressional oversight being used to improve federal programs and spend federal tax dollars wisely, or is it being used to strong-arm executive branch agencies into delivering political benefits to re-election-minded congressmen?

What is missing from the congressional hearings on the HUD scandal, for example, are details about the role congressmen played as lobbyists encouraging the mismanagement of funds. How often did congressmen call or write HUD officials pressing them to grant housing contracts to their own friends and supporters? As the Washington Post, the New York Times, and others have reported, several congressmen—even some who have expressed outrage over the scandal—worked hand-in-hand with professional influence peddlers to direct HUD contracts to campaign contributors and influential constituents. Yet, there is no official record of this congressional lobbying.

'Sunshine Laws'

Perhaps this explains why Congress would want to prevent Interior Department employees from reporting contacts with congressional offices. A record of contacts, after all, would help to expose congressional "politicking" masquerading as oversight. It would define the difference between effective oversight and politically motivated arm-twisting, and it would identify those members of Congress who use the oversight process simply to feather their own political nests. Congress in the 1970s passed "sunshine laws" to open the government process to public scrutiny. Now Congress, it seems, is closing the windows, pulling the shades, and barring the door, lest the public see the light.

Sometime, somewhere, the president needs to draw the line. A constitutional challenge to congressional micromanagement is in order, and Section 117 of the fiscal 1990 Interior Department Appropriations bill is an appropriate place to make a stand. It is an unconstitutional violation of the separation of powers, motivated by Congress's desire to evade public accountability. President Bush should say "let the sun shine in."

Mr. Liedl is director of the U.S. Congress Assessment Project at the Heritage Foundation in Washington. A related editorial appears today.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 25, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR PRE-ADVANCE PARTICIPANTS

FROM: ED MURNANE
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
AND DIRECTOR OF PRESIDENTIAL ADVANCE

SUBJECT: **PRE-ADVANCE TO PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA ON MARCH 26, 1992**

Attached for your information is a list of participants and an outline schedule for the Pre-Advance to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on March 26, 1992.

NOTE: * Indicates Pre-advance participants who are dropping in Philadelphia.

PRE-ADVANCE PARTICIPANTS

Office of Presidential Advance

John Herrick, Special Assistant to the President for Advance
Kris Goodwin, Trip Coordinator
Tim Simonson, Lead Advance Representative *
Topper Ray, Press Advance Representative (meet and drop in Philadelphia)
Jack McDougle, Site Advance Representative *

Office of Communications

Carol Aarhus, Researcher

United States Secret Service

Dick Rathmell, ASAIC, Presidential Protective Division
Nick Trotta, Lead Agent *
Phil Hyde, Site Agent *
Jim Bohr, Site Agent *
Jay Branchcomb, Site Agent *
Orland Orochena, Site Agent *
Bob Slamma, Site Agent *

White House Military Office

Maj. Russ Cancilla, USA Aide to the President
Maj. Jay Farmer, HMX Advance

White House Communications Agency

Bob Steele, Operations Officer
Dave Miller, Trip Officer *

PRE-ADVANCE SCHEDULE
Thursday, March 26, 1992

8:20 am — Van departs West Basement for those requiring transportation to Union Station.

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

8:35 am — Van arrives Union Station.

9:00 am — Amtrak Metroliner #106 departs Union Station en route Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

(Track Time: 1 Hour 36 Minutes)
(Time Change: None)

10:36 am (E.S.T.) — Amtrak Metroliner #106 arrives Philadelphia, 30th Street Station.

Contact:

Ms. Martha Aikens
Superintendent, Independence National Historical Park
215/597-7120

Staff Hotel:

Ritz-Carlton Philadelphia
17th and Chestnut Street
1 Liberty Plaza
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19135
215/564-1600
Contact: Patricia Stockinger

10:50 am — Depart 30th Street Station en route Independence National Historical Park (313 Walnut Street).

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

11:05 am — Arrive Independence National Historical Park and begin participation in Pre-advance Meeting.

12:05 pm	Conclude participation in Pre-advance Meeting and depart Independence National Historical Park en route Congress Hall (via Foot).
12:15 pm	Arrive Congress Hall and begin participation in Site Survey.
1:15 pm	Conclude participation in Site Survey and depart Congress Hall en route 30th Street Station.
	(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)
1:30 pm	Arrive 30th Street Station and proceed to Track.
2:10 pm (E.S.T.)	Metroliner #115 departs Philadelphia, Pennsylvania en route Union Station (Washington, D.C.).
	(Track Time: 1 Hour 43 Minutes) (Time Change: None)
3:53 pm (E.S.T.)	Metroliner #115 arrives Union Station.
4:10 pm	Van departs Union Station en route White House.
	(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)
4:25 pm	Van arrives White House.

PRELIMINARY SCHEDULE
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
WEDNESDAY, APRIL 1, 1992

9:20 am	Dp. South Lawn
9:30 am	Ar. Andrews
9:40 am	Dp. Andrews en route Philadelphia
10:20 am	Ar. Philadelphia
10:30 am	Dp. Airport en route Congress Hall
10:50 am	Ar. Congress Hall
11:00 am	Event
11:45 am	Conclude
11:55 am	Dp. Congress Hall en route Airport
12:15 pm	Ar. Airport
12:25 pm	Dp. Philadelphia en route Andrews
1:05 pm	Ar. Andrews
1:15 pm	Dp. Andrews
1:25 pm	Ar. South Lawn

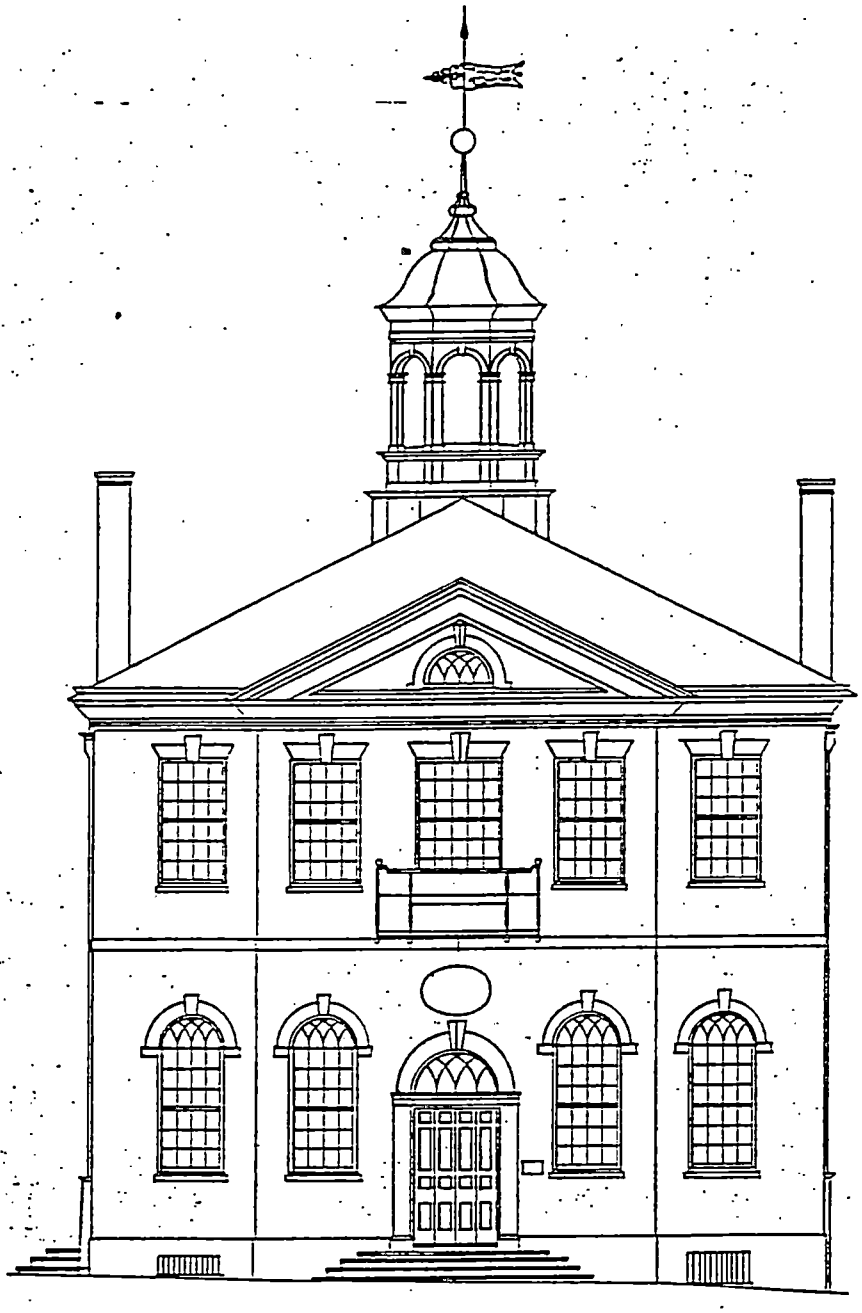
City/State: Philadelphia, PA
Event: Address Civic Groups
Date: 4/1/92

OFFICE OF PRESIDENTIAL ADVANCE

CONTACT SHEET

Ritz-Carlton Philadelphia: 215/563-1600 (Team Headquarters)

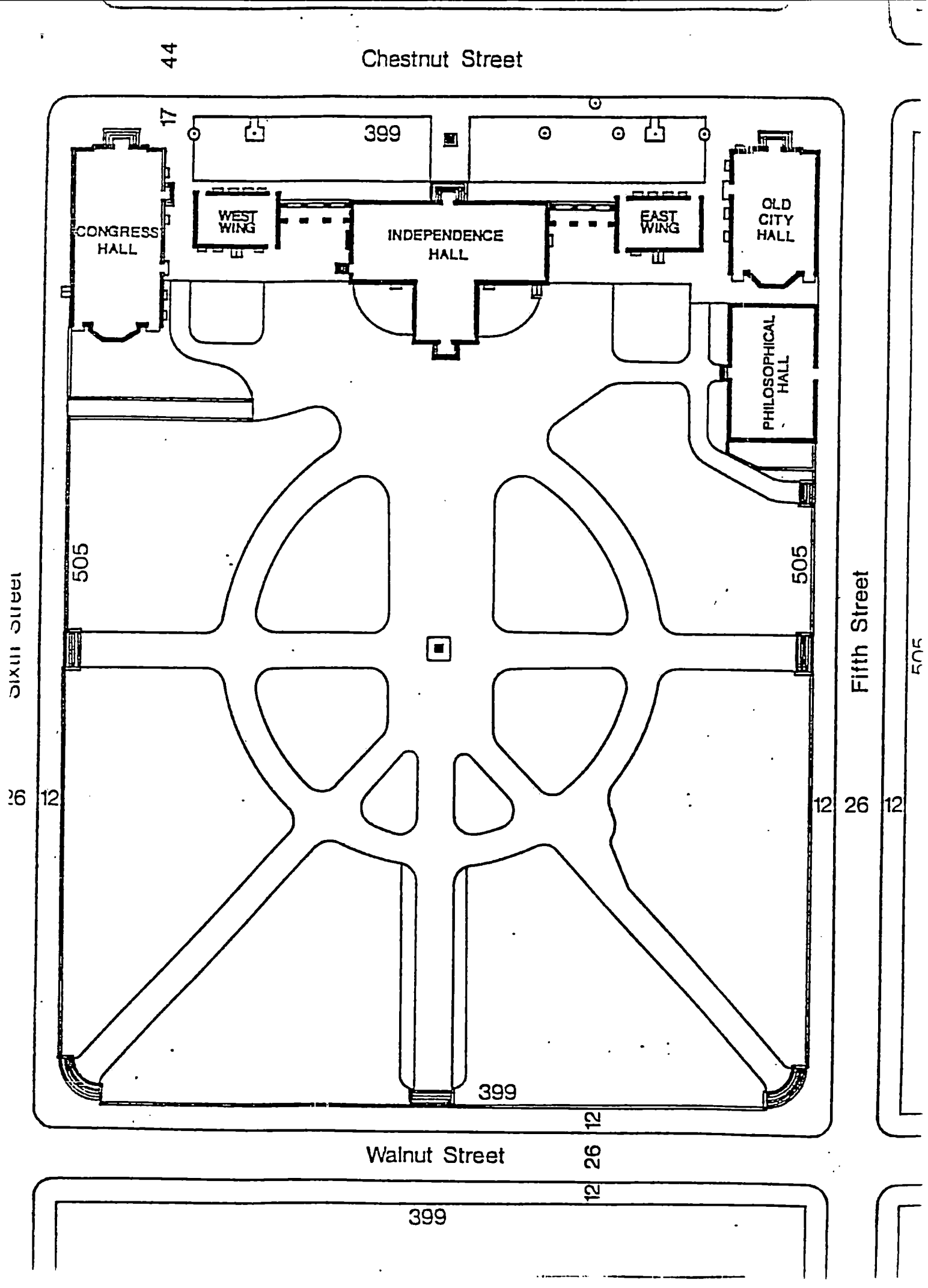
Name	Office	Phone Number
Presidential Advance Office		202/456-7565
Presidential Advance Fax Number		202/456-2820
John Herrick	WH Advance	202/456-7565
Kris Goodwin	" "	" "
Tim Simonson	" " - Lead Advance	Ritz-Carlton - Phila.
Topper Ray	" " - Lead for Press	" "
✱ Kathy DiLonardo	Inde - NPS Chief, Visitor Services	597-7130
Shane Branchcomb	USSS TSD (EOD/K9)	Ritz Carlton
ORLANDO A. ORCHENA	USSS TSD	ORE - 597-0600 / Ritz-Carlton
~~✱~~ Andres Dominguez	USSS - PHL	597-0600
Phil Hyde	USSS - PPD	597-0600 Ritz
Jim Bour	USSS - PPD - Transportation	597-0600 Ritz
Nicholas Trotta	USSS - PPD LEAD	597-0600 Ritz
Russ Cancilla	Military Aide	202 395-1747
Dave Miller	WHCA Lead	Ritz-Carlton 563-1600 Pager 2212
Bob Steele	WH Communications	202-757-2440
✱ Lee Dickinson	NPS, Special Events	597-9205
Bobby Spears	Asst. Chief Ranger	592 5437
Bob Reid	NPS-MARO-RMTVP	597-7057
Bob Byrne	Chief Ranger - INHP	597-5482
Don Luongo	USSS - Phila	597-0600
James Mitchell	PPD HEU/DPJ	592-5670
Jack McDayle	WH Advance	Ritz Carlton
Ron DeAngelo	U.S. Park Police, RLES	597-7057
Dick Rathmell	USSS - WDC	202-395-5473
~~TMS~~ Carol Aarhus	WH Speechwriting	202-456-7750 (ph.)

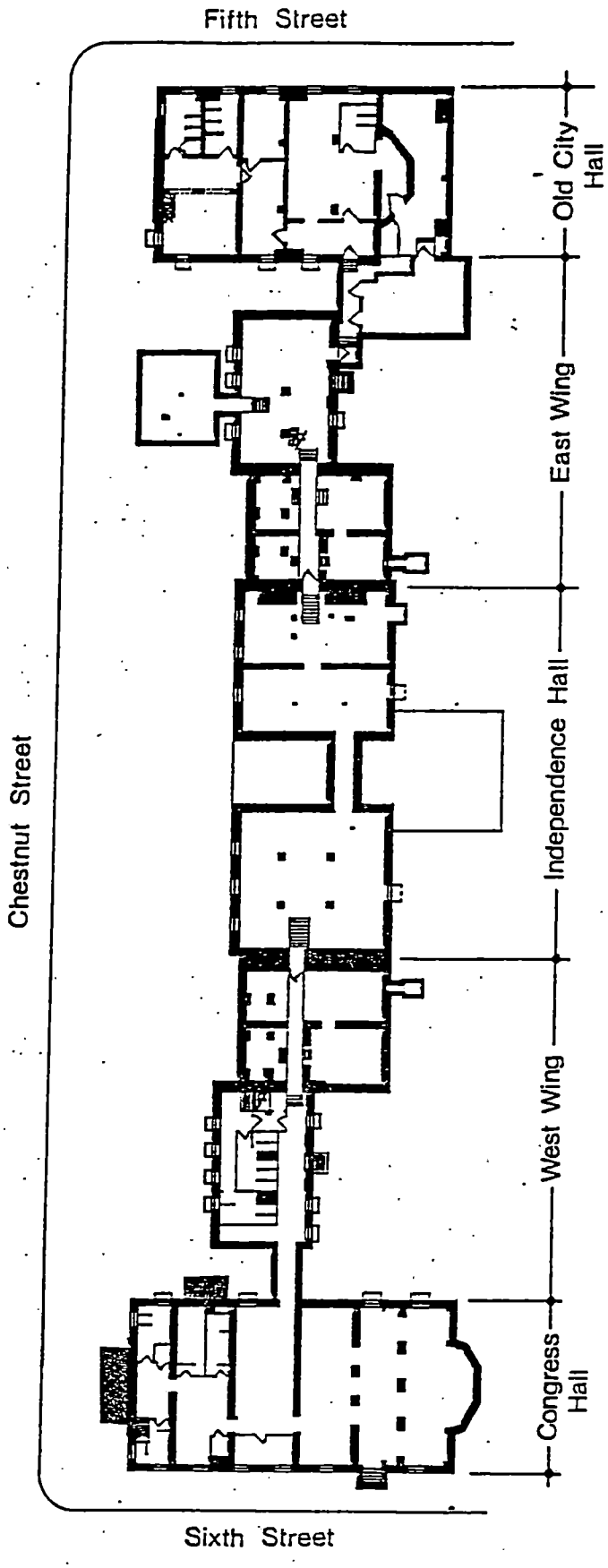


NORTH ELEVATION
CONGRESS HALL - 0102
Independence National Historical Park

Scale : 0 5 10 15 20 25 30 feet

1985


44
Chestnut Street
17
399
CONGRESS HALL
WEST WING
INDEPENDENCE HALL
EAST WING
OLD CITY HALL
PHILOSOPHICAL HALL
505
505
Sixth Street
Fifth Street
26
12
12
26
12
399
12
Walnut Street
26
12
399

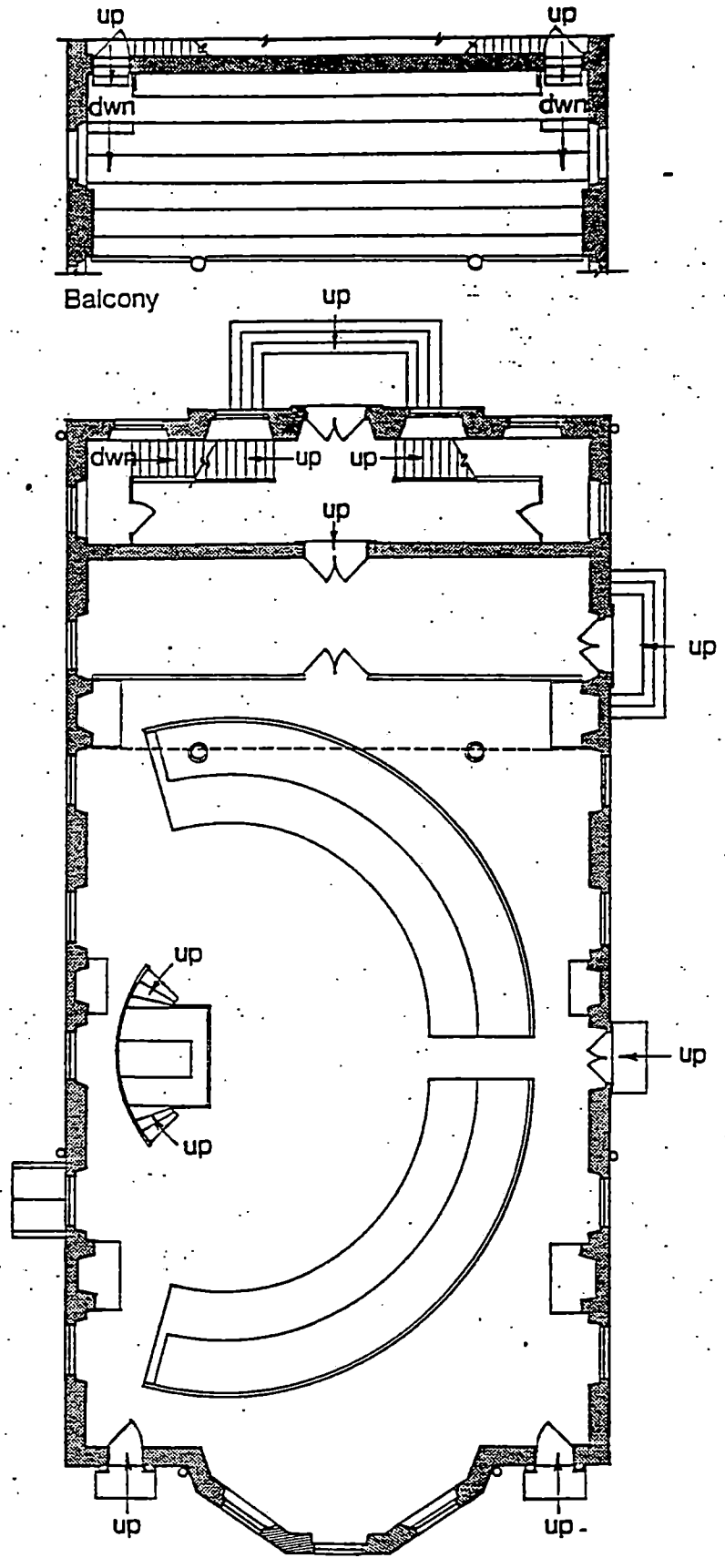


CELLAR PLAN
INDEPENDENCE SQUARE - 0100
Independence National Historical Park

N

Scale: 0 25 5 75 100 feet

1985

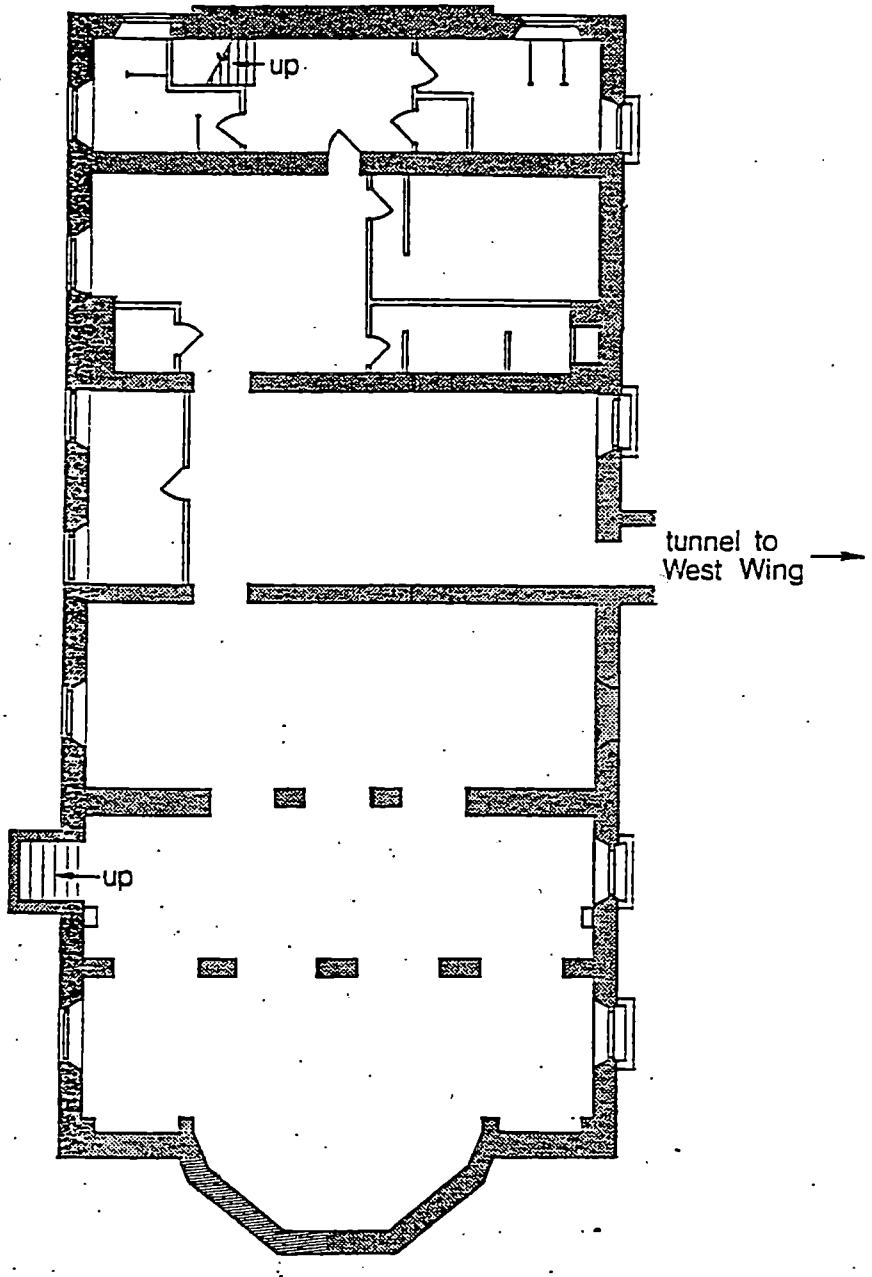


FIRST FLOOR PLAN
CONGRESS HALL - 0102
Independence National Historical Park

N

Scale: 0 5 10 15 20 25 30 feet

1985

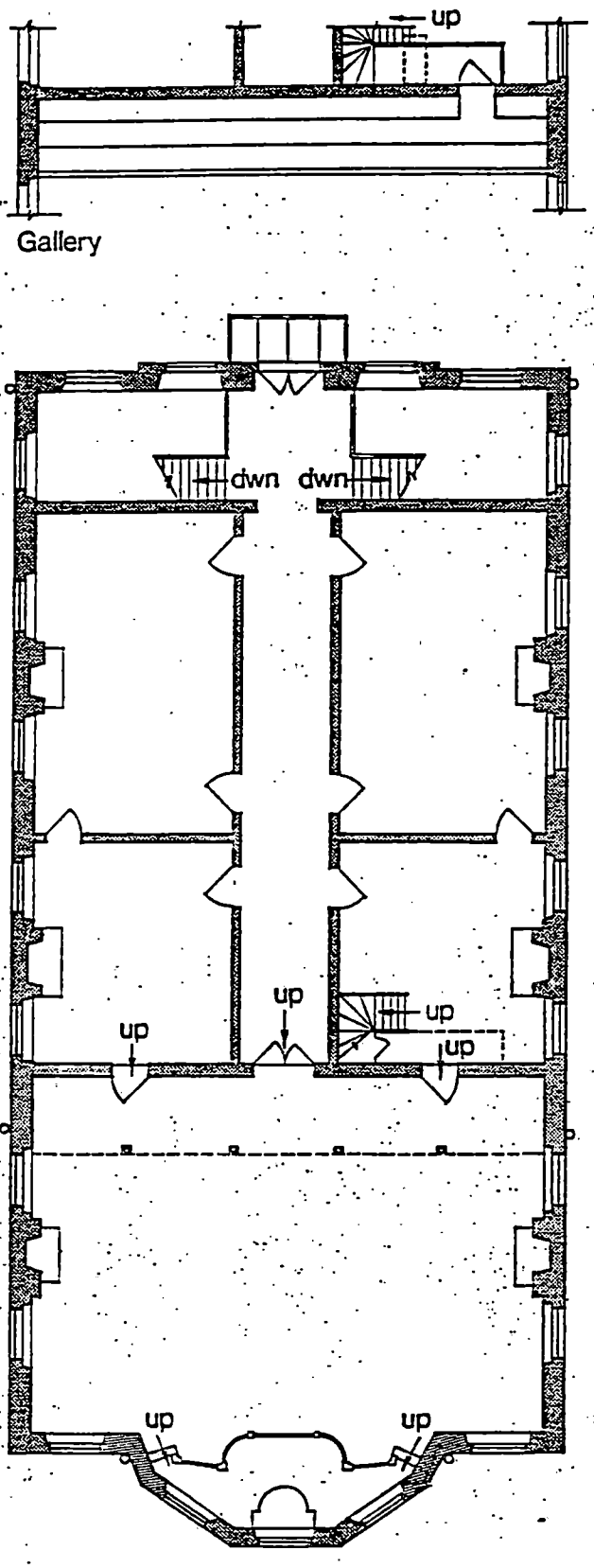


CELLAR PLAN
CONGRESS HALL - 0102
Independence National Historical Park

N

Scale : 0 5 10 15 20 25 30 feet

1985

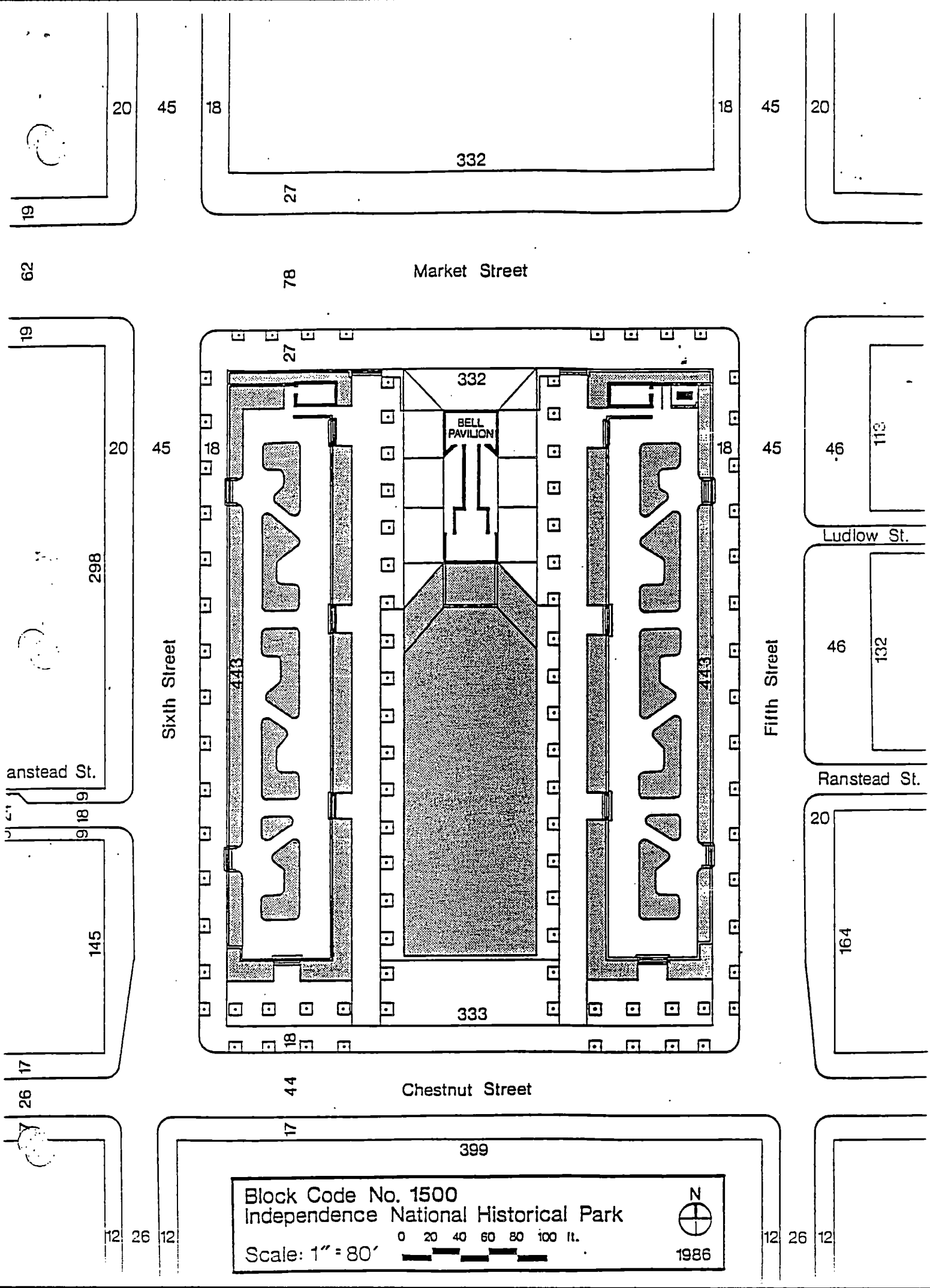


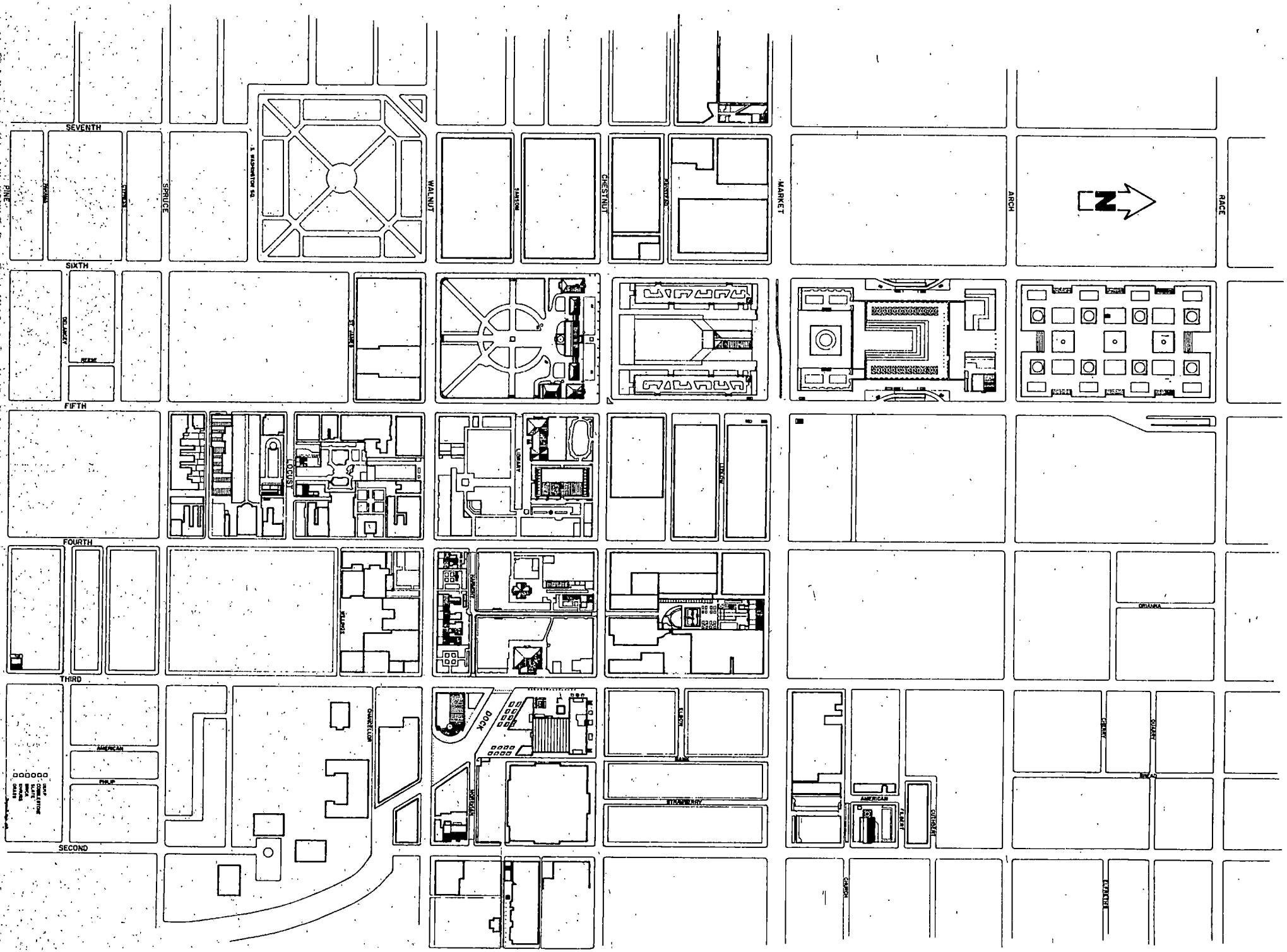
SECOND FLOOR PLAN
CONGRESS HALL - 0102
Independence National Historical Park

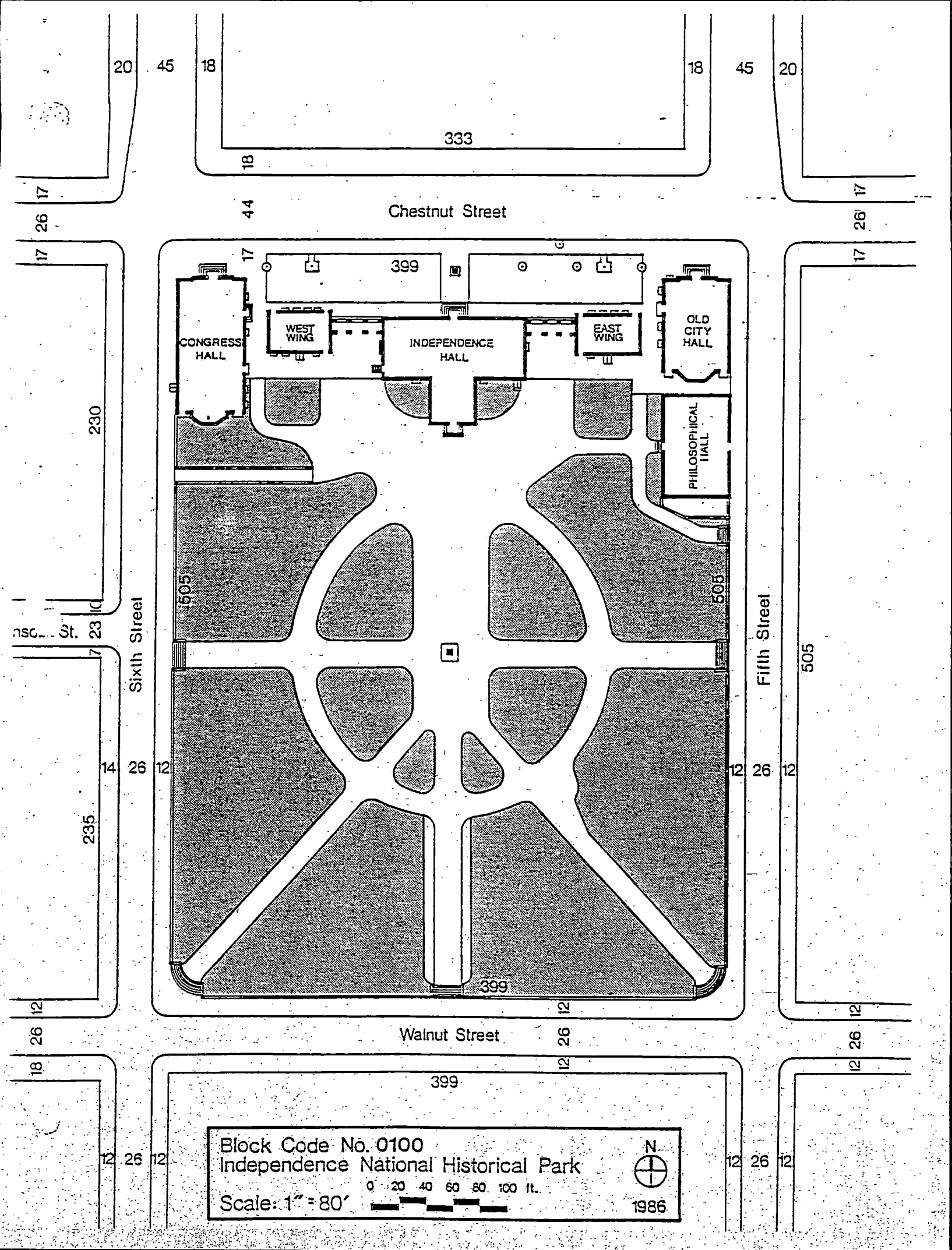
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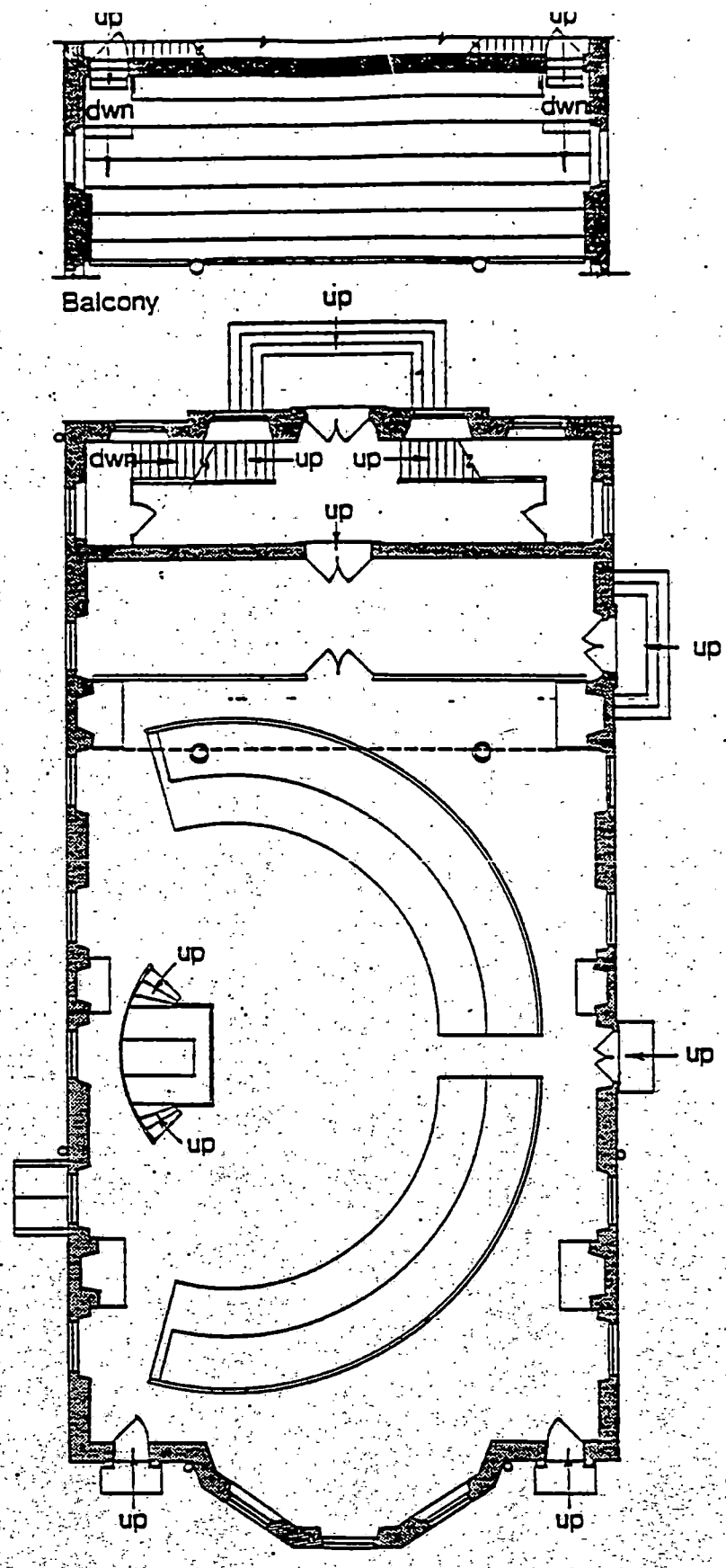
Scale: 0 5 10 15 20 25 30 feet

1985


Market Street
Sixth Street
Fifth Street
Chestnut Street
Ludlow St.
Ranstead St.
BELL PAVILION
332
333
443
298
145
164
399
Block Code No. 1500
Independence National Historical Park
Scale: 1" = 80'
0 20 40 60 80 100 ft.
N
1986


SEVENTH
SIXTH
FIFTH
FOURTH
THIRD
SECOND
PINE
SPRUCE
WALNUT
CHESTNUT
MARKET
ARCH
RACE
N
LIBRARY
LIBRARY
DOCK
STRAWBERRY
AMERICAN
PHILIP
CHERRY
CHERRY
BREAD
CHURCH
CHURCH


Chestnut Street
Walnut Street
Sixth Street
Fifth Street
CONGRESS HALL
WEST WING
INDEPENDENCE HALL
EAST WING
OLD CITY HALL
PHILOSOPHICAL HALL
399
333
505
230
235
Block Code No. 0100
Independence National Historical Park
Scale: 1" = 80'
0 20 40 60 80 100 ft.
N
1986

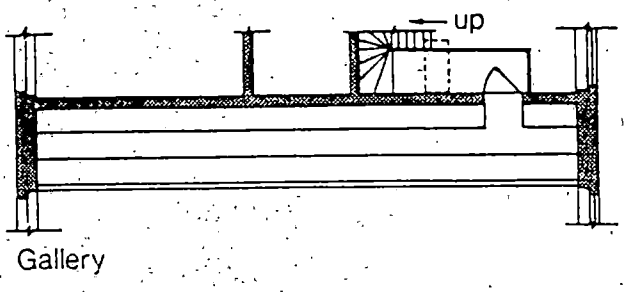


FIRST FLOOR PLAN
CONGRESS HALL - 0102
Independence National Historical Park

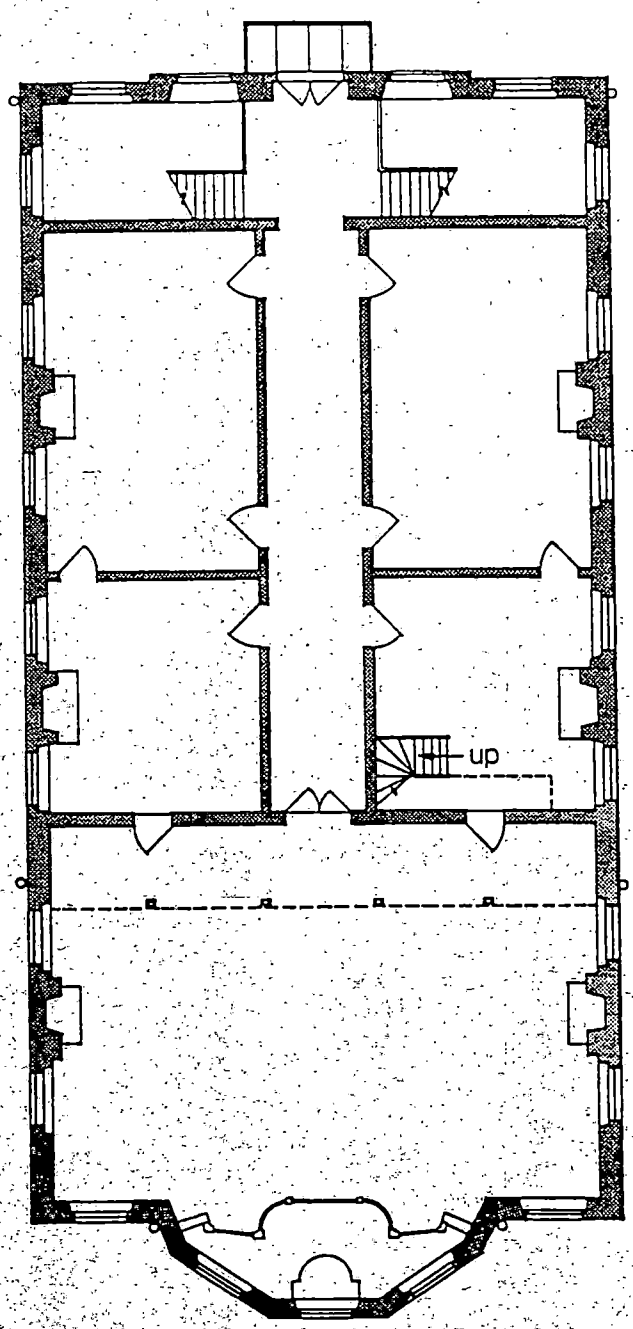
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N

1985



Gallery

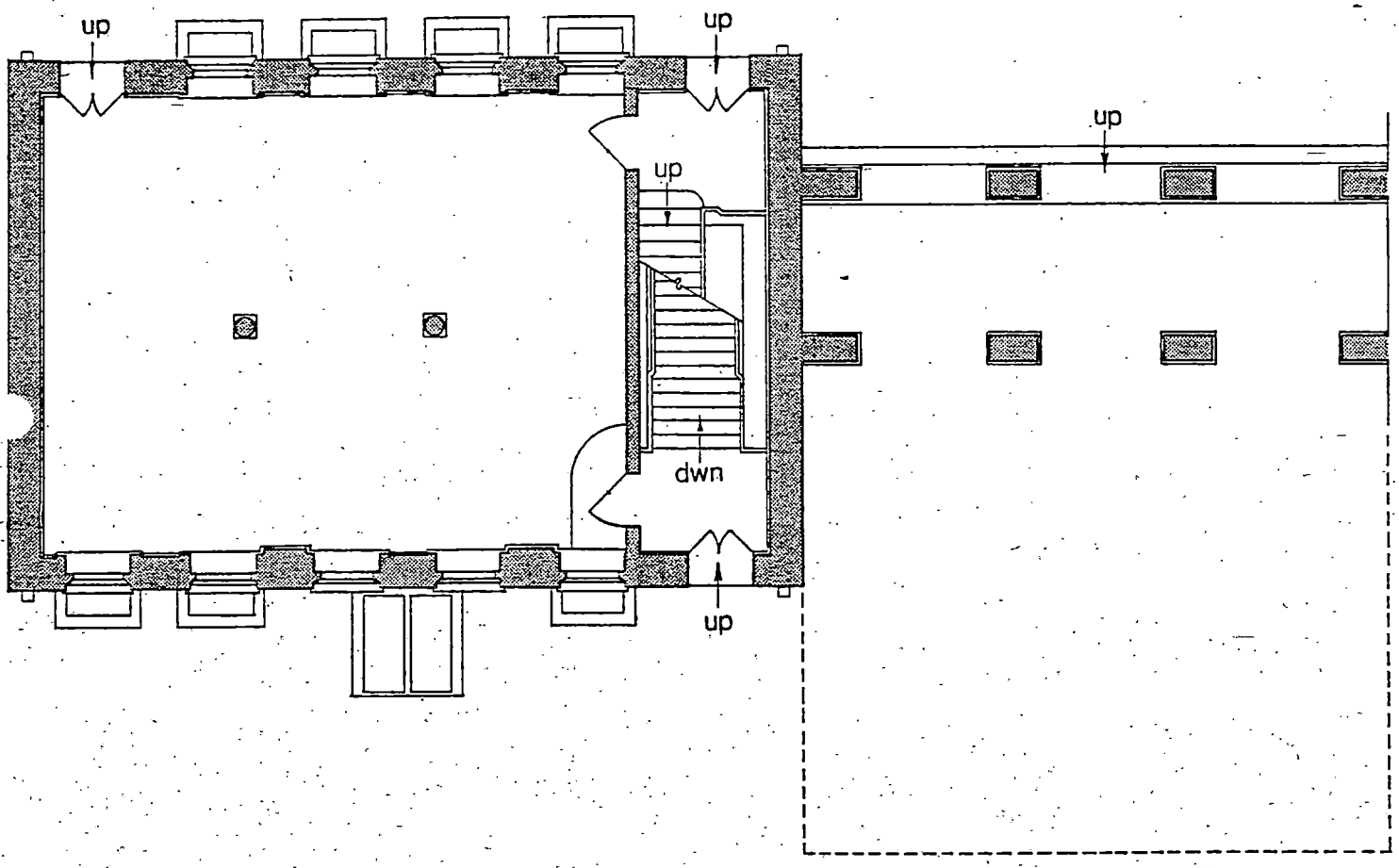


SECOND FLOOR PLAN
CONGRESS HALL - 0102
Independence National Historical Park

Scale: 0 5 10 15 20 25 30 feet

N

1985

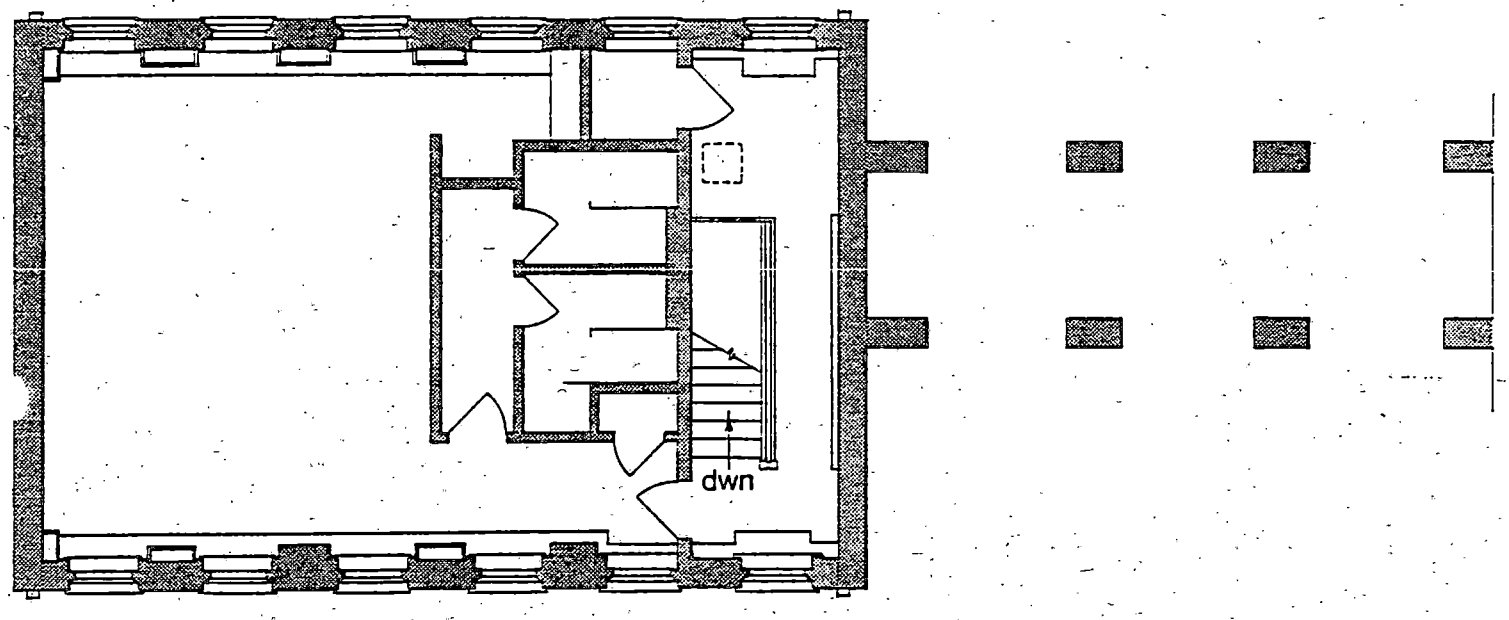


FIRST FLOOR PLAN
WEST WING and ARCADE - 0105
INDEPENDENCE HALL
Independence National Historical Park

Scale: 0 5 10 15 20 feet

N

1985

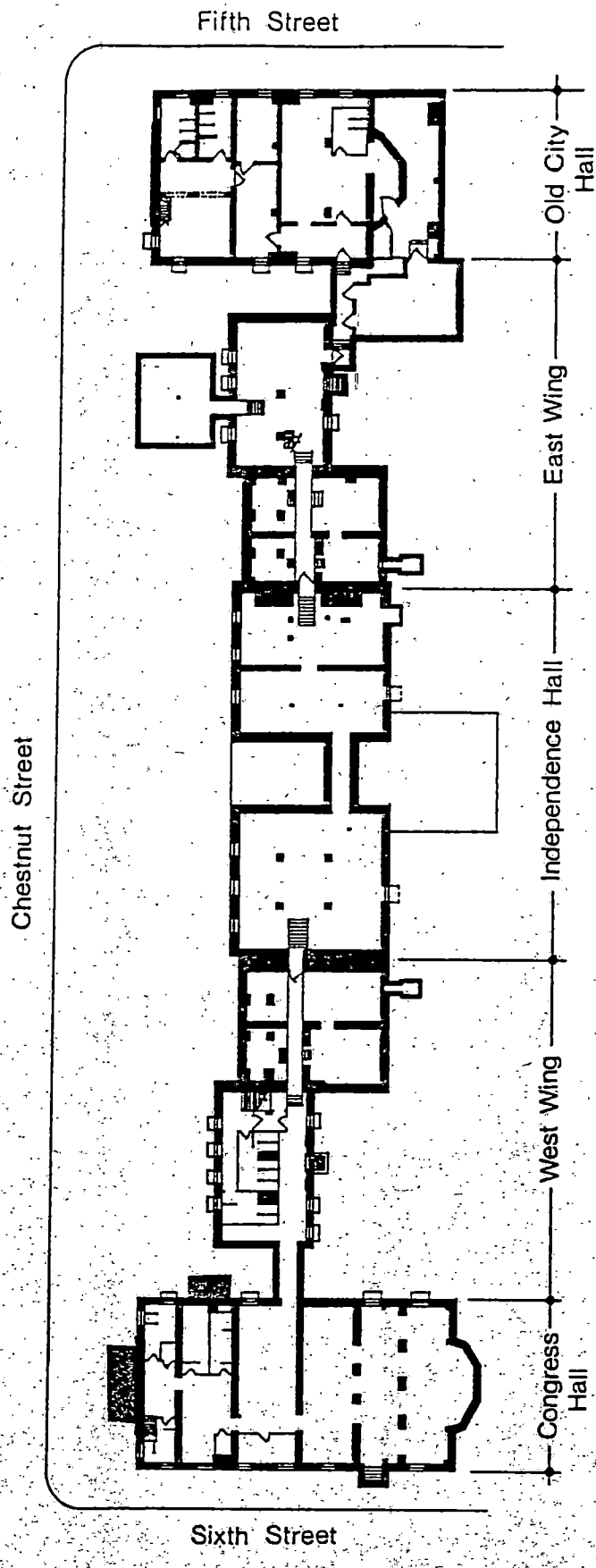


SECOND FLOOR PLAN
WEST WING and ARCADE - 0105
INDEPENDENCE HALL
Independence National Historical Park

Scale: 0 5 10 15 20 feet

N

1985



CELLAR PLAN
INDEPENDENCE SQUARE - 0100
Independence National Historical Park

Scale: 0 25 5 75 100 feet

N

1985

Demarest/Aarhus
Draft #1
Reform

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 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.

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. The world we knew just a few years ago is

altogether different now. Democracy and freedom once again have turned the world upside down. Our nation once again stood at the forefront of that great movement. We stood firm for our principles through some very difficult times. But we did indeed change the world. Now, as you have heard me say, if we 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, there are great challenges that we must address now, if we are to ensure that the next century is also the American Century.

There are five issues that must be addressed if we wish to guarantee a prosperous and compassionate America. First, our people must be educated, literate, and motivated to keep on learning. 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.

Next, our civil justice system must do what it was designed to do: dispense justice with civility. Eighteen million lawsuits a year are choking us -- costing individuals and businesses billions -- a tremendous drag on our spirits as well as our economy.

And in the next century, economic competition, as well as economic opportunity will come from beyond our borders. That demands we open more foreign markets for our firms and workers,

to sell American goods and services --and to sustain and create American jobs. Addressing these issues is absolutely fundamental to America's future.

Finally, we must address the issue that I am here to discuss 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.

In the private sector, or more specifically, in a business, it is called the crusade for quality. Whether its 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". Other times it emphasizes measuring performance, because that is the way to improve performance. In many ways, competition has been the driving force to improve quality, and not surprisingly, it has worked. Today, American products are quantifiably better than they were only a few years ago.

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 leaner, and smarter. Desert Storm proved it could be done. Most other institutions -- state government, local government, unions, trade associations, even charitable groups -- any organization that serves a public -- has been influenced by this drive for excellence.

Yet, the federal government has resisted reform and protected the status quo -- even in the face of unambiguous evidence supporting the need for change. The change that swept the rest of America, 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 government is too big and spends too much. 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, without compassion. As I've mentioned, we've got some very tough problems ahead, and government needs to play a role in solving those problems. Right now government, particularly the United States Congress is simply not up to the job. Let me tell you why that is the case, and how we must change things.

Political scientist Morris Fiorina paints a disturbing but familiar picture of how 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 more lethargic and unresponsive.

Then, the members and their increasingly powerful staffs become ombudsmen betweeen 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 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, 34,000 Capitol Hill employees and staff, 2 billion dollars of taxpayer financing, overlaid with $117 million dollars 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. He said, "Although I am not discouraged beyond repair, I am terribly frustrated."

Then 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", or a month of the year, "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, there's nothing wrong with Congress passing a proclamation heralding "National Crime Victims Week", but that should be no substitute for 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 one more demonstration of a

Congress that chooses to spend time and effort on the easy constiuent relations 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 the Congress ten days ago my anti-pork line-item recissions, I am telling the Congress today that the Executive Branch from this day forward 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 the mismatch between their willingness to help and their skepticism that government will use their hard-earned tax dollars wisely is greater now than ever before. 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 every letter a Congressional office receives, 12,000 go out. That adds up to real money -- taxpayer money.

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 the problem they were designed to solve. And the services it provides too often don't correspond to the services required.

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. It is the Congress that 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. With a Congressional subcommittee Chairman as godparent, they become stepchildren of the Congress.

A few examples will help drive home the point. [By the last count] Some thirty different Congressional committees, and seventy-seven subcommittees claim some degree of oversight responsibility for the Department of Defense. Seventy-four

committees and subcommittees try to exercise jurisdiction over the War on Drugs.

The time and resources earmarked to fulfilling Congressional demands for testimony as well as the thousands of required reports has reached ridiculous proportions. For example, each year Congress requires sixty reports from HUD, and over six hundred from the Defense Department.

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 offered many reform proposals in the past and I am proposing additional steps today: in sum they represent ten ways we can 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 should submit to the laws it imposes on others. Across the board. Civil Rights. Title ___. Americans with Disabilities Act. Freedom of Information Act. Age Discrimination laws, the Equal Pay Act of 1963.

Congress should also submit to the laws it imposes on the Executive Branch -- the Privacy Act, the independent counsel law, and title VI of the Ethics in Government Act of 1978. [Today, Senator John McCain is introducing a bill to do just that -- and it has this Administration's full support.] But that is only a first step toward rebuilding public confidence in our laws and our lawmakers.

Second, limits on Congressional terms. Once again I am reiterating my support for term limits on Members of Congress. The cycle of virtually guaranteed re-election through the built-in advantages of incumbency must be broken if we are truly going to fix the system.

Third, reform of the Congressional committee system. I support the bipartisan effort of Senators Domenici and Boren, Representatives Hamilton and Gradison, to trim the overgrown thicket of committees and subcommittees which is now paralyzing the Congress. 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.

Fourth, sweeping campaign finance reform. In 1989, I proposed the total elimination of Political Action Committees; limits on so-called "leadership PAC's"; an and to a practice called bundling where business and unions encourage or coerce contributions from employees or members and then give these contributions as a single donation. In return, I proposed that

we double the amount of money that the parties can donate to Congressional campaigns. That will 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" PAC's 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.

Fifth, regulatory reform. I have put a ninety-day moratorium on new government regulations. Today I am announcing [an extension/new review process]

Sixth, spending reform. I have already proposed to freeze domestic discretionary spending in federal 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 to 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 at my disposal including the line-item-recission to protect the taxpayer from the spending excesses of Congress. I will resist any attempt by the Congress to dismantle the spending caps implemented in the 1990 Budget Act.

Seventh, a new communications policty between the Congress and the Executive Branch.

Eighth, reform of the nomination process.

Ninth, a Balanced Budget Constitutional Amendment.

Tenth, I am proposing [a new commission to evaluate our civil service system to determine how we can best bring it into the 21st Century]

Conclusion

Change is sweeping America, just as it is sweeping the world. One institution after another is meeting the requirement to improve quality, enhance the choice of consumers meet new economic realities, take advantage of new opportunities. Government must not continue to lag behind.

Two weeks ago, I talked about the requirement to reform government. Today I would like to expand upon those remarks in three ways.

INSERT:

Right here in Philadelpia, people every day are faced with the fear of losing their life -- the streets just aren't safe anymore. People in cities and towns all across America who once had barbecues together in the park while their children played are now afraid to leave their doorstep. And what is Congress doing about this? They're passing National Digestive Disease Awareness Week. They're passing National Asparagus Month. What they don't realize is that if they don't give you tough new crime

laws, you may not be around long enough to enjoy that asparagus, or learn about digestive diseases. It's time for Congress to wake up and smell the coffee. People are dying out there, and if Senators and Representatives truly supported their constituents, they would pass new tougher crime laws... ((David -- I think it's important to stress that Congress is not holding back legislation from the President, they're holding it back from the American people -- the ones who put them in office. POTUS should not say "...give **me** a crime bill", instead, he should say... "give **you** new, tougher crime laws."))

-- I think it is important in the beginning to start out by saying why the President is even making these remarks. He thinks it's important that the government work for the people. He looks to what his father did as a Senator, and wishes it could all be hunky dory -- with people doing what is good -- what is right. He has got to let it be known that as <u>the leader of all the American people</u>, he is not going to put up with this crap anymore. Maybe POTUS can write a page or two about where he sees America in ten years. That may give us some insight and maybe he'll come up with something really good that we can use. The speech is good, a little long, but it does need that personal touch that maybe only he can give.

Franking re: campaign use
regular use
any fact sheets?

language used in 1984 speech (Pz has it)

- Budget res. is passed by House & Senate
  POTUS cannot veto it
  if POTUS signed off
  it would have force of law.

1) involves POTUS
2) b/c it would have force of law,
   Certain leg. could not be passed

→ ever since 1975 Budget Act, deficit has skyrocketed

veto future leg. that Congress won't apply to itself

(Ethics)
Rep.

Highlight news.

veto

Roger P's

March 27, 1992

Reform Proposals

I. Electoral Process Reform

Themes: Reduce the influence of special interests
Strengthen political parties
Restore competition in elections

A. Campaign Finance Reform

- Eliminate political action committees supported by corporations, unions, or trade associations and prohibit such entities from paying for the overhead or administrative costs of any independent PACs.
- Increase the amounts political parties can spend on behalf of congressional candidates.
- Prohibit the personal use of excess campaign funds
- Drastically reduce Congressional mailings under the frank
- Ban the rollover of campaign funds from one election cycle to the next
- Develop fair neutral criteria for the redistricting of Congressional and legislative seats

B. Term Limitations for Members of Congress → specify # of terms allowed?

II. Budget Reform

Themes: Reduce the growth of Federal spending
Establish needed fiscal discipline
Enhance the role of the President in the budget process

A. Budget Process Reforms

- X Formal Presidential involvement in the development of the Joint Budget Resolution (FY 1991, 1992 and 1993 budgets)
- X Biennial budgeting (FY 1991 and 1992 budgets)
- X Enhanced rescission authority (FY 1991, 1992 and 1993 budgets)
- X Subjecting to regular review the growth of mandatory

spending programs as part of the budget process (FY 1993 budget)

- Budgeting for deposit, pension, and other insurance (FY 1993 budget)

Use same 3 sentences as in 3/20 speech

- Instituting a regulatory budget (FY 1993 budget)

- Strengthening the Budget Enforcement Act (FY 1993 budget)

  - Extend deficit reduction requirements and enforcement procedures (FY 1993 budget)

  - Continue existing discretionary spending categories with limits (FY 1993 budget)

  - Continue pay-as-you-go requirements (FY 1993 budget)

  - Continue maximum deficit amounts (FY 1993 budget)

B. Budget-Related Constitutional Amendments

- Line-item veto (FY 1991, 1992, and 1993 budgets)

- Balanced Budget Constitutional Amendment (FY 1991, 1992, and 1993 budgets)

III. **Institutional Reform**

Themes: Enhance accountability of Governmental Officials
Increase efficiency of governmental institutions

A. Application of Statutes to the Congress

B. Boren-Domenici Committee Reforms Call for reform, use no names

(Quotes from the President, Senator Boren and Senator Rudman)

C. Confirmation Process (brief mention)

- Six week period between nomination and vote on confirmation

- Ensure confidentiality of information in confirmation process

D. [[Logging Reform]]

Conclusion

Change is sweeping America. There are few institutions that have escaped the requirement to improve quality, enhance the choice of consumers or participants. government is lagging behind. Why?

Two weeks ago, I talked about the requirement to reform government. Today I would like to expand upon those remarks in three ways.

Congress Hall

Capitol of the United States, 1790-1800



Official National Park Handbook

Handbook 147

Congress Hall

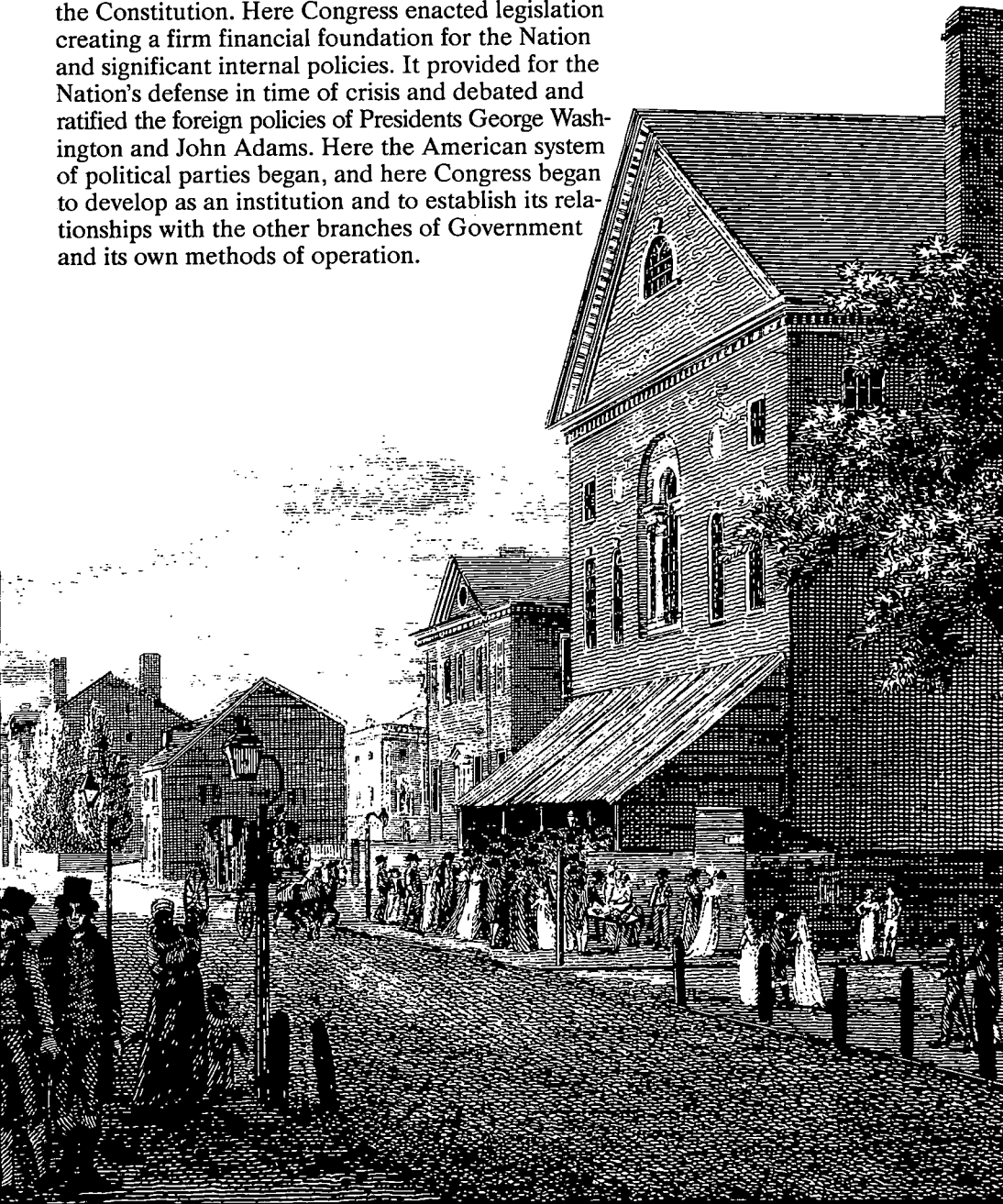
Capitol of the United States, 1790-1800

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



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.

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-

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.

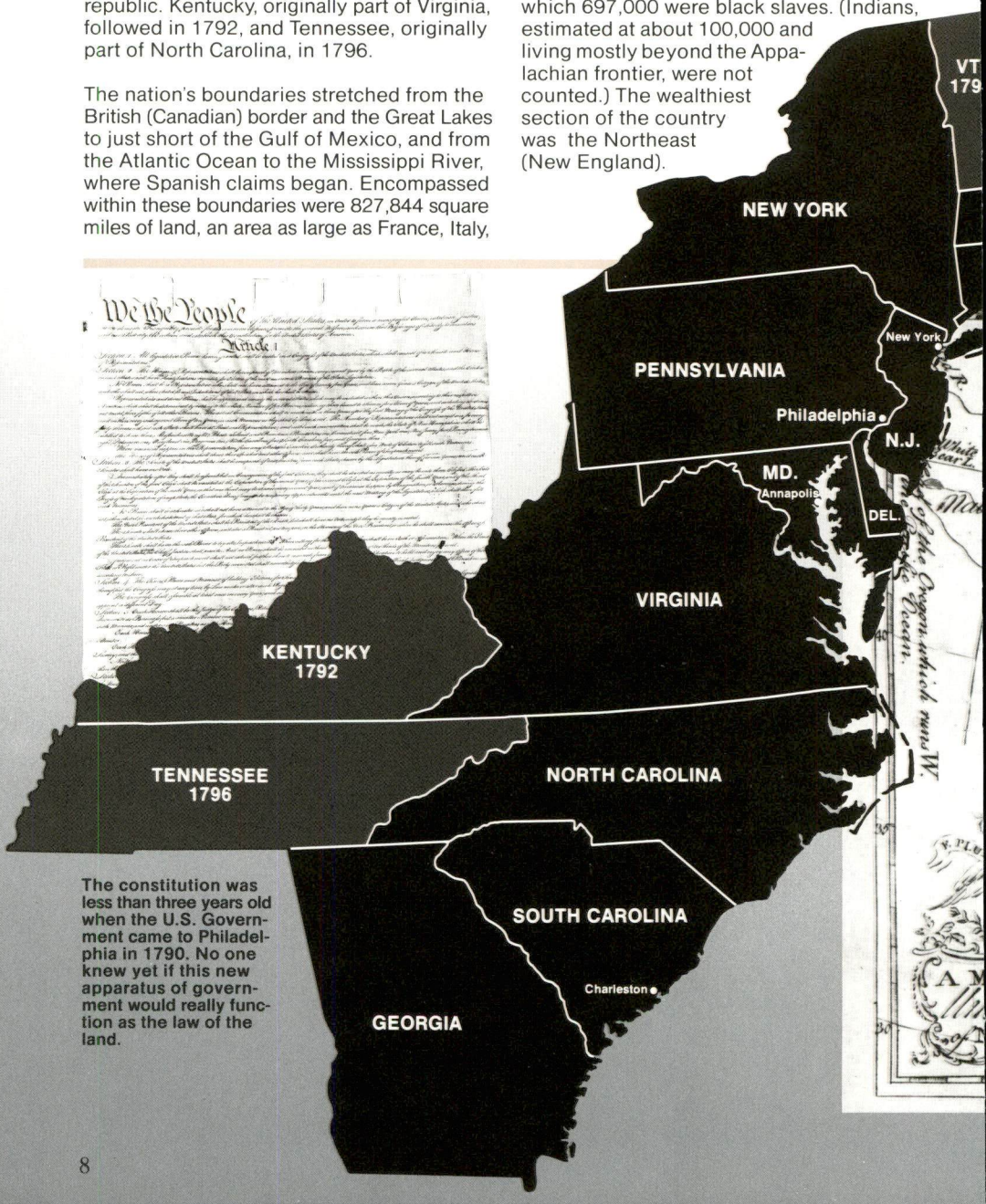
In 1795, the deliberations of the Senate were opened to the public, and a small, cramped gallery for about 50 spectators was erected in the chamber.

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.

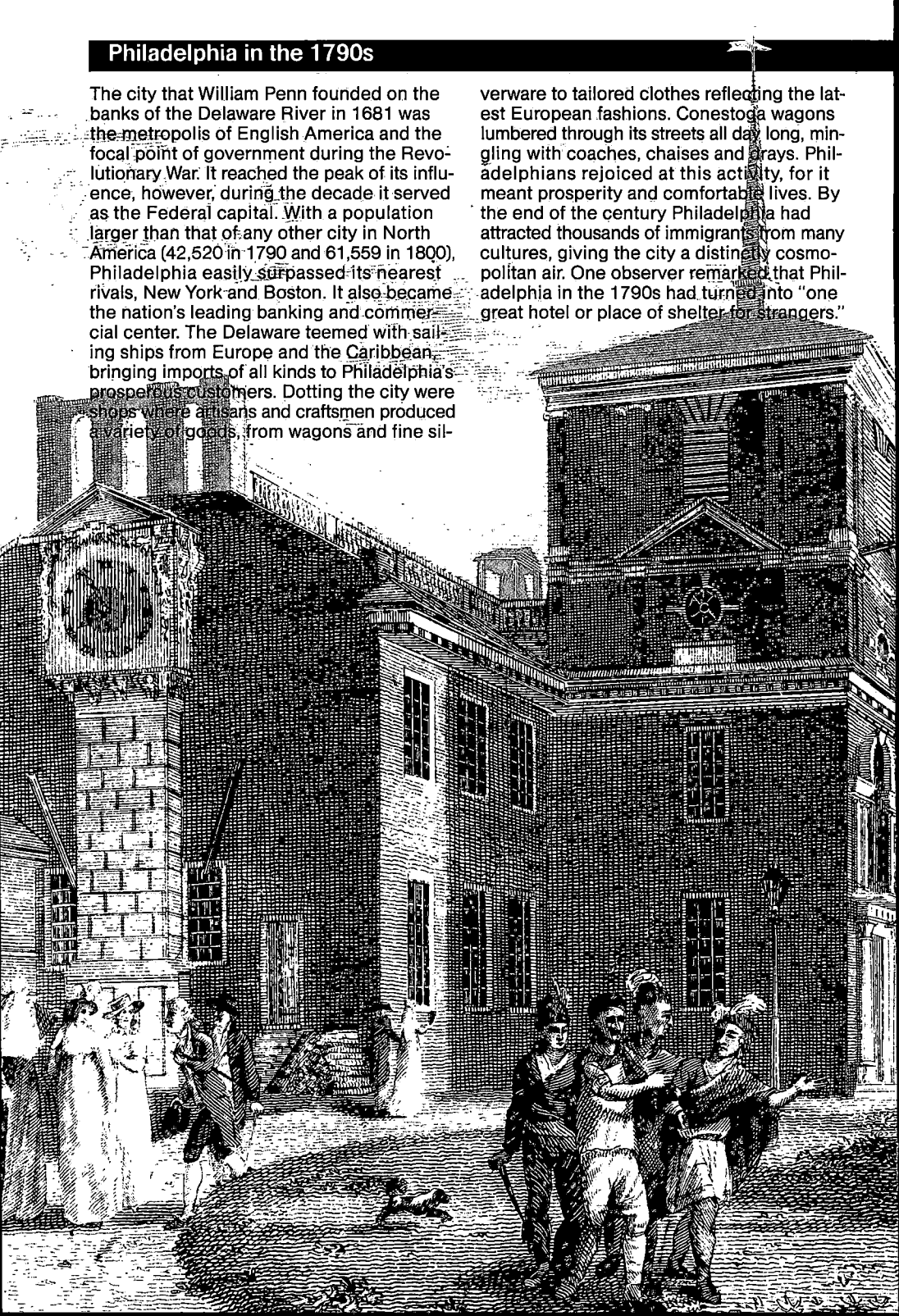


The map below was printed in Philadelphia in 1786 and shows the United States the year before 55 delegates met in the Pennsylvania State House (now Independence Hall) to create a new constitutional basis for American government.

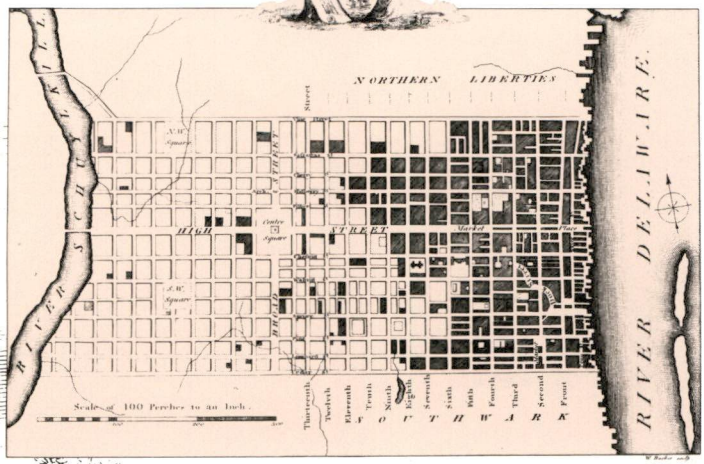
It specialized in commerce and fishing and its society was dominated by merchants, bankers, and shipowners. The Middle States (New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania) were an amalgam of commercial and agricultural interests. The South was basically agrarian and rural. Planters and farmers grew tobacco, 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.

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 silverware to tailored clothes reflecting the latest European fashions. Conestoga wagons lumbered through its streets all day long, mingling with coaches, chaises and drays. 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



permanent capital on the Potomac River. At the same time it stipulated that the temporary seat of government be located in Philadelphia for 10 years.

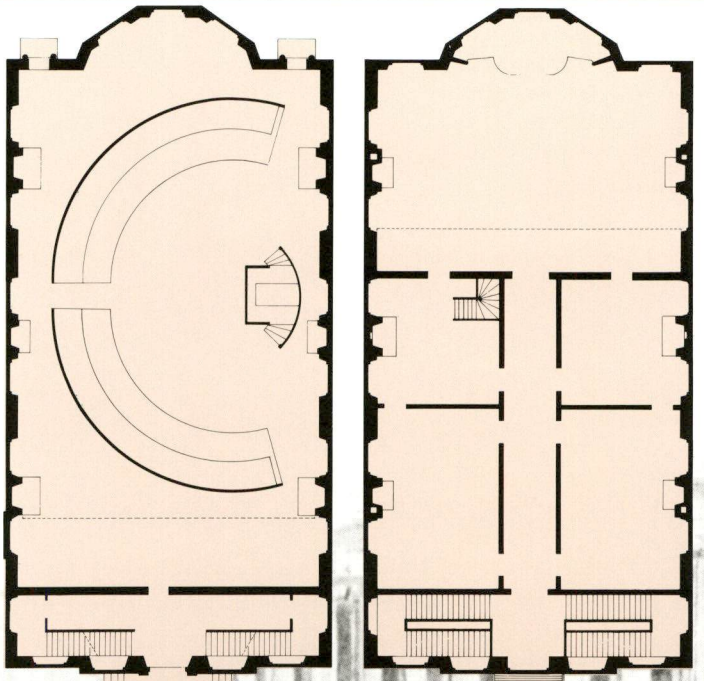
The backstage politicking necessary to arrive at this compromise was secretly engineered by Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton who needed Southern backing in Congress to pass his Funding Act, allowing the Federal Government to assume the States' war debts. Not everyone was pleased with the result, as the anti-Philadelphia cartoon on these pages suggests. Robert Morris, financier, entrepreneur, and senator from Pennsylvania, is generally credited with getting the capital moved to Philadelphia and was castigated by New Yorkers for his part in removing it from their city.


Farewell my Native Town
Farewell my Native Town
Farewell my Native Town

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 aldermen 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 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.

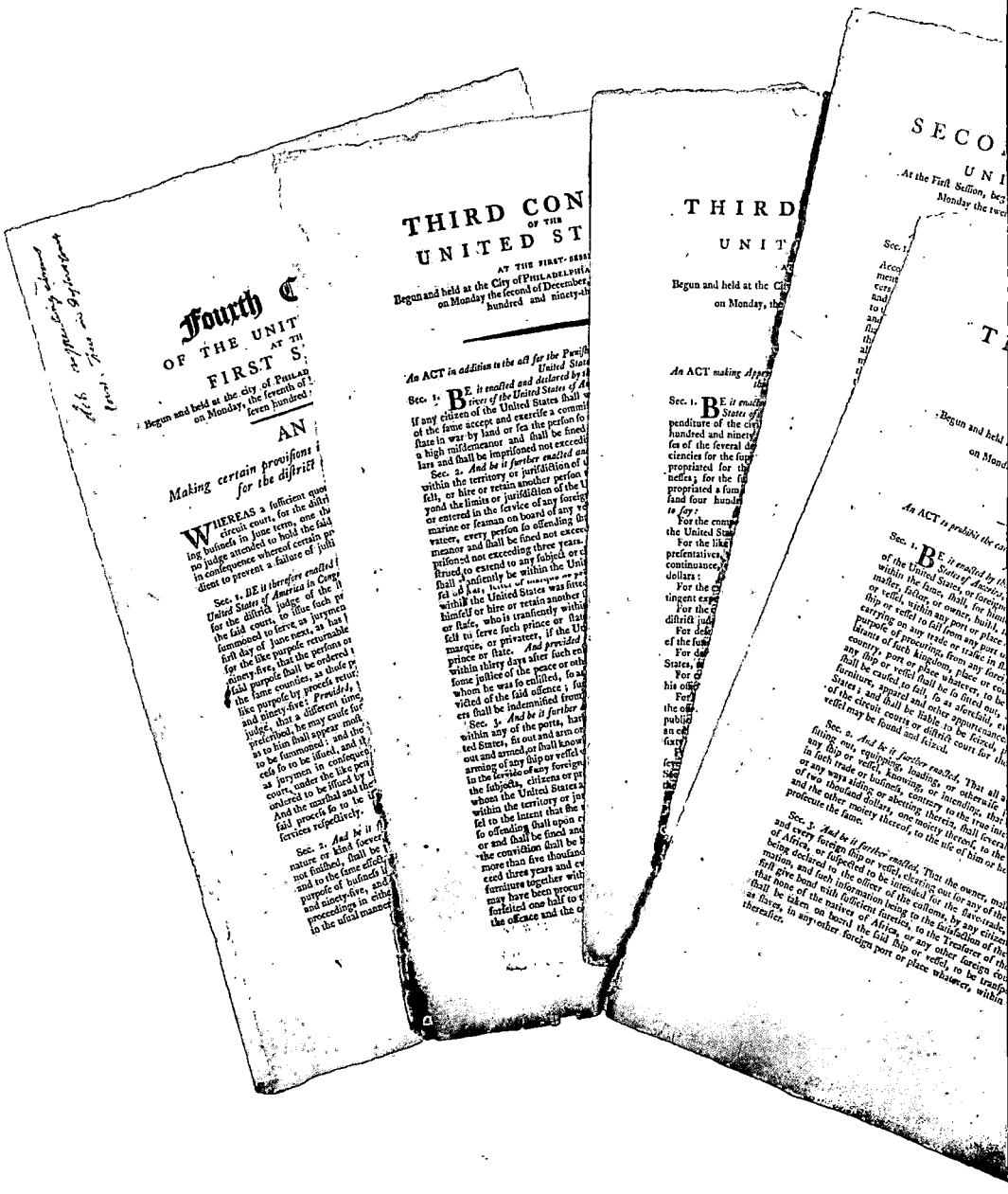


Right: **Floor plans of Congress Hall showing the arrangement of the House and Senate chambers. Representatives usually entered the building from the east side. Senators entered from Chestnut Street, ascended the stairs, and then proceeded down a corridor past a library and committee rooms in which hung 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."**

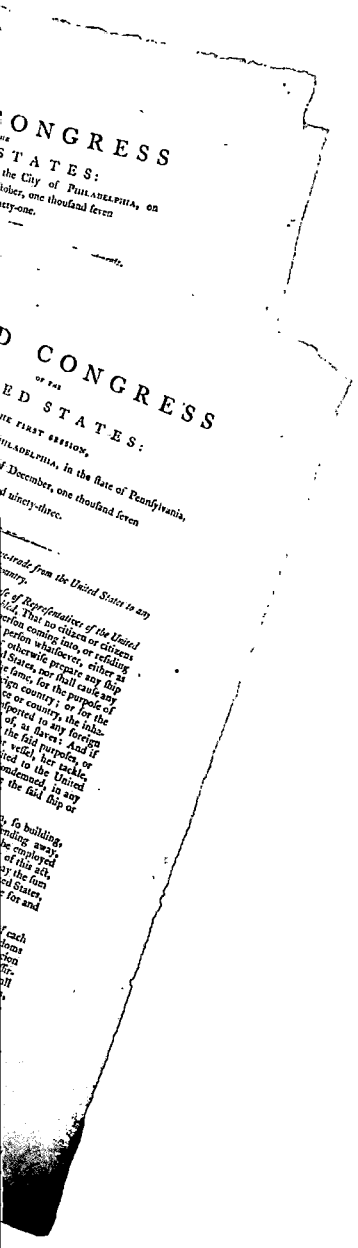


Representative Frederick A. Muhlenberg of Pennsylvania served as Speaker of the House during the First and Third Congresses. He had earlier served as Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly and was the presiding officer at his State's convention to ratify the Constitution. He remained in Congress until 1796, when his deciding vote for implementing the Jay Treaty angered his constituents and ended his political career.

The 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.


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The Work of Congress


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CONGRESS
OF THE
ED STATES:
THE FIRST SESSION,
HILADELPHIA, in the state of Pennsylvania,
December, one thousand seven
d ninety-three.

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.

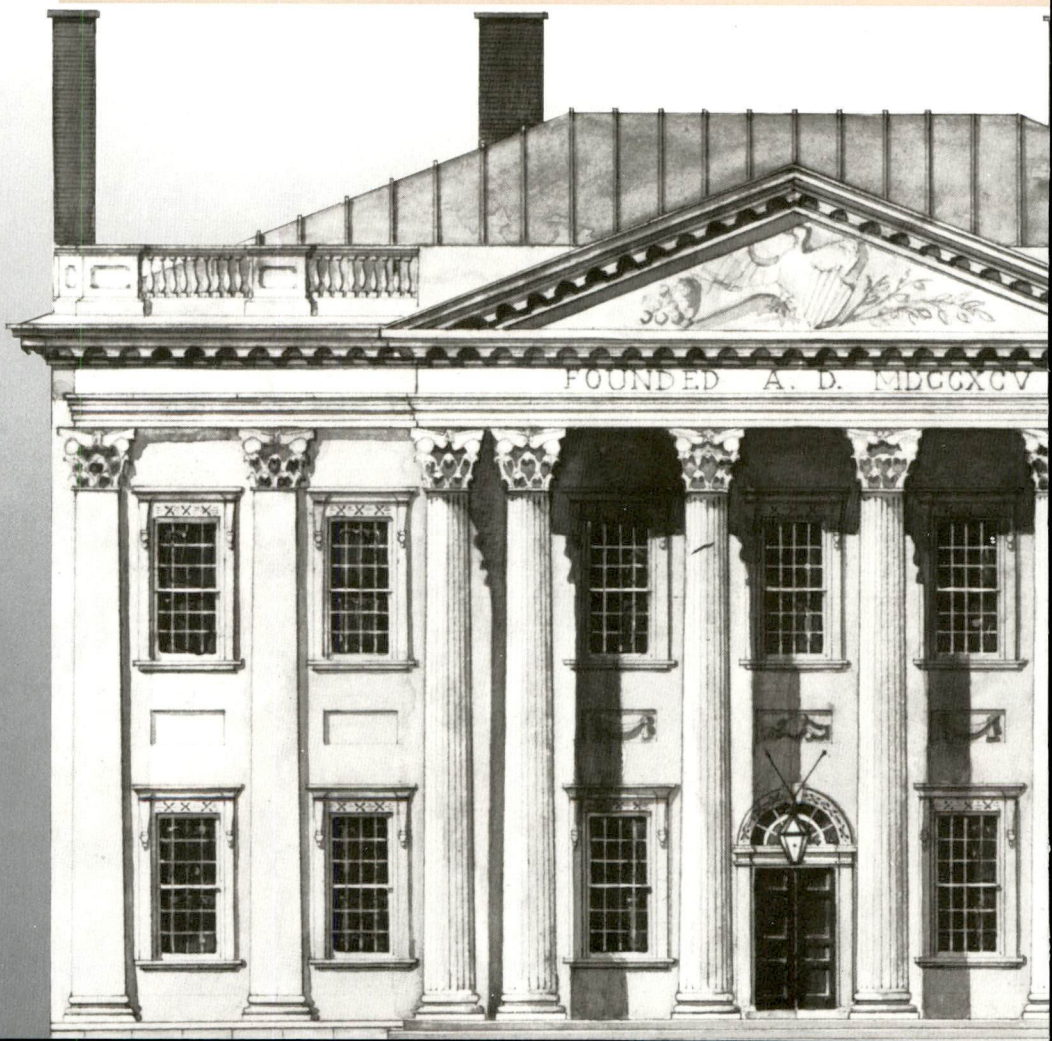
The committee system developed quickly in Congress. In each house, committees were established to prepare and draft bills, and conference committees of members from both houses met to resolve differences. The first Congressional investigating committee was set up in 1792 to look into the disastrous defeat 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

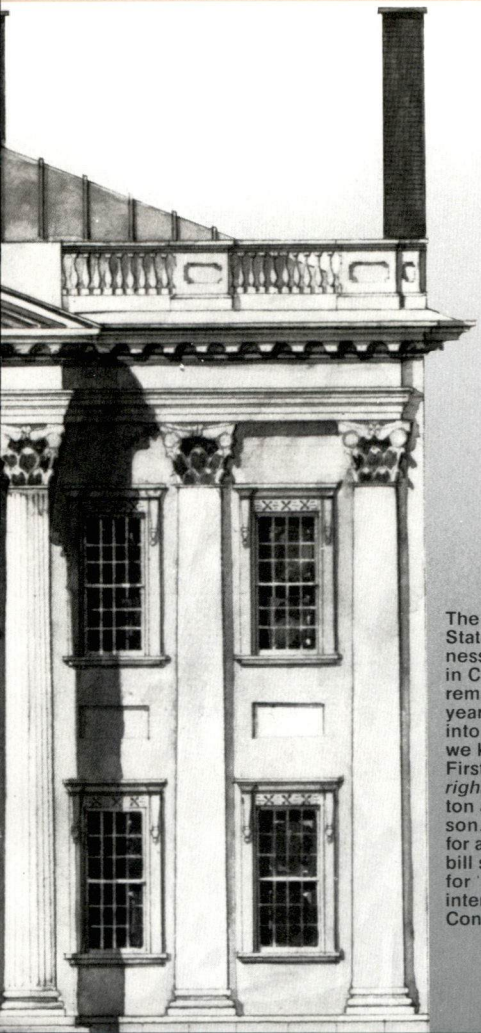
Two of the major tasks confronting Congress as it began its deliberations in Philadelphia's County Courthouse were the creation of an adequate currency and a national bank. On December 14, 1790, in a report to Congress, Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton proposed to remedy both by creating 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 February 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.







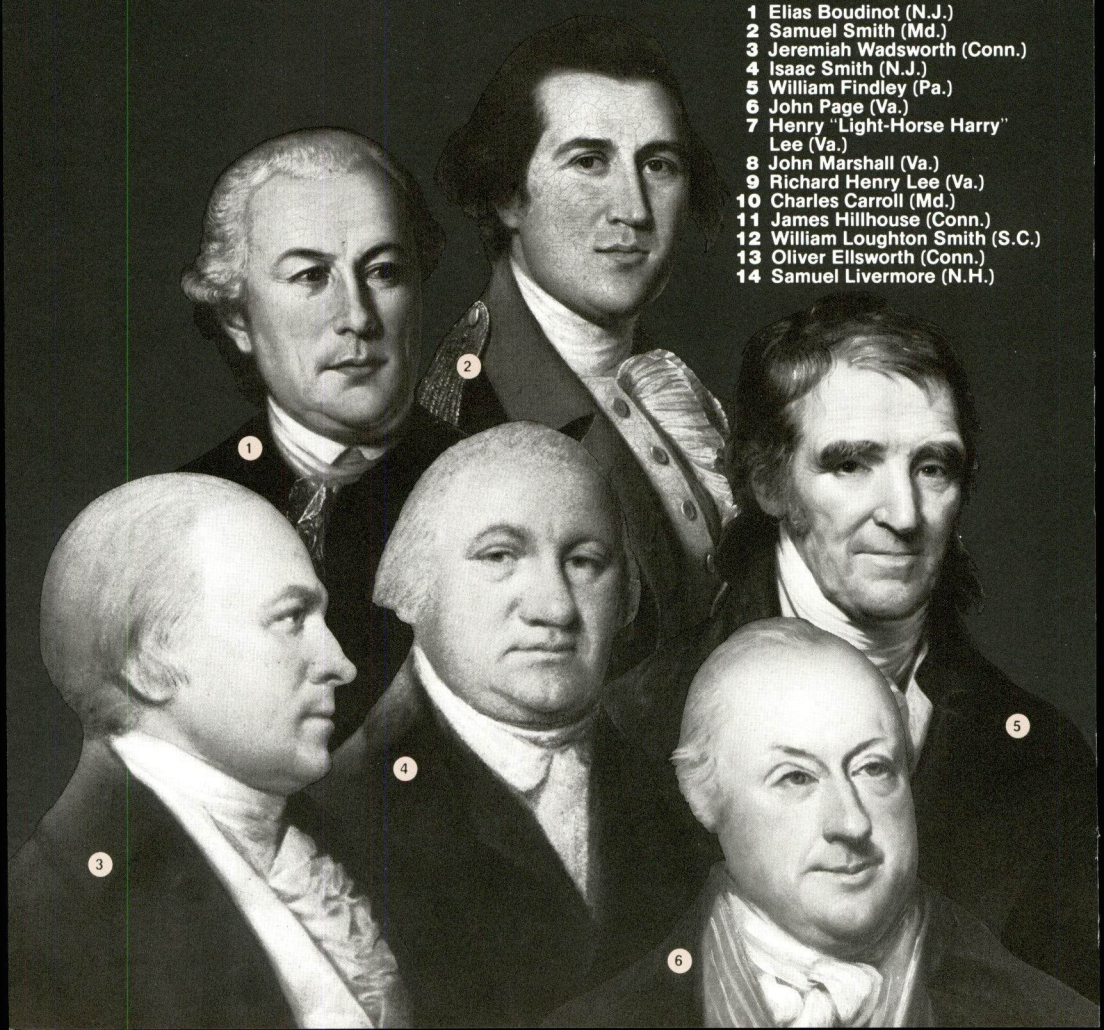
The Bank of the United States opened for business in February 1791 in Carpenters' Hall. It remained there for six years before moving into the building (*left*) we know today as the First Bank. *Above and right:* Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson. Their arguments for and against the bank bill set 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 and 19 were signers 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

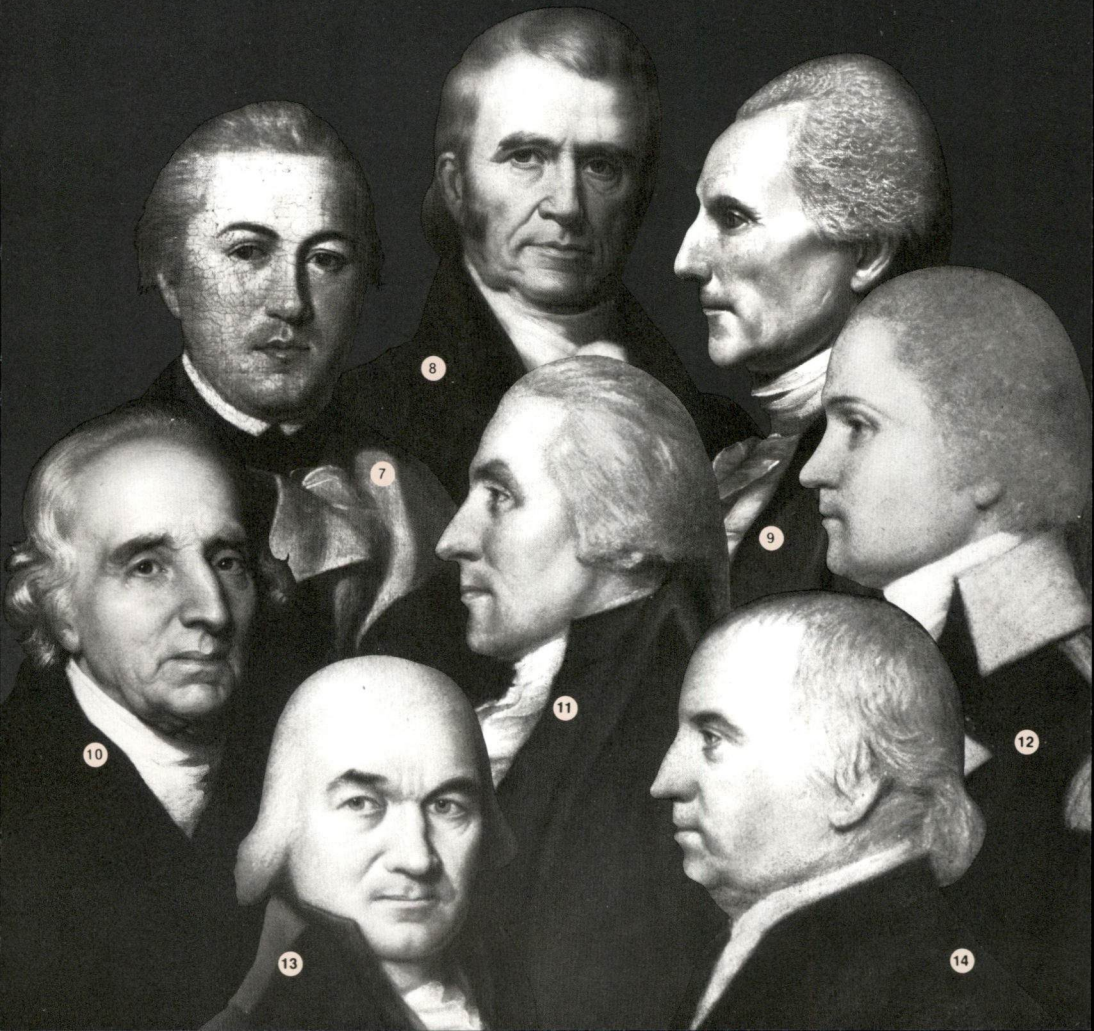


Tennessean Andrew Jackson, and William Henry Harrison from the Northwest Territory.

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.



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.

MORTALITY.

—EACH MOMENT has its ſickle, emulous
Of TIME's enormous ſcythe, whoſe ample ſweep,
Strikes empires from the root; each MOMENT plays



His little weapon in the narrower ſphere
Of ſweet DOMESTIC comfort, and cuts down
The faireſt bloom of ſublunary bliſs.

An Account of the BAPTISMS AND BURIALS in the United Churches of Chriſt Church and St. Peter's, by Matthew Whitehead and John Ormrod, Clerks; and Joſeph Dolby, Sexton.

Alſo---An abſtract of the Baptiſms and Burials of the various Congregations of the City and Suburbs of Philadelphia. From December 25, 1792, to December 25, 1793.

BAPTISMS,	Males,	74	BURIALS,	Males,	228
	Females,	65		Females,	170
		139			398

Difference of Baptiſms and Burials in Chriſt Church and St. Peter's between this year and laſt,

Baptiſms decreaſed	41	Burials increaſed,	373

Buried under one year,	23	From forty to fifty	37
From one to three	31	to ſixty	31
to five	19	to ſeventy	19
to ten	26	to eighty	18
to twenty	42	to ninety	7
to thirty	81	to a hundred	1
to forty	63	to a hundred and five	1

The Diſeaſes and Caſualties in Chriſt Church and St. Peter's, this year.

Apoplexy,	1	Gravel	2
Aithma,	1	Hooping Cough	5
Bilious Fever	3	Hives	5
Cholic	1	Mortification	3
Cancer,	2	Nervous Fever	5
Child-bed,	3	Old Age	3
Conſumption	12	Purging and Vomiting	9
Dry Gripes	1	Palſey	7
Dropſy	9	Small-pox	16
Decay	44	Suddenly	4
Fits	17	Teeth and Worms	10
Fever	7	Worms	6
Flux	6	Yellow Fever	214
Gout	2		

ST. PAUL's CHURCH.

Baptiſms	143	Decreaſed	2	Burials	94	Increaſed	54

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCHES.

ST. MARY's	Baptiſms	335	Decreaſed		13
	Burials	370	Increaſed		228
HOLY TRINITY,	Baptiſms	53	Increaſed		6
	Burials	53	Increaſed		40

BAPTISMS INCREASED or DECREASED.

Swedes	42	Decreaſed	10
German Lutherans	506	Increaſed	66
Ditto Reformed	200	Decreaſed	1
Firſt Preſbyterians	45	Ditto	9
Second Do.	50	Ditto	26
Third Do.	60	Ditto	5
Scotch Do.			
The Aſſociate Church	6	Decreaſed	2
Moravians	1	Ditto	6
Methodiſts	50	Ditto	30
Jews, or Hebrew Church	4		

BURIALS INCREASED or DECREASED.

Swedes	96	Increaſed	6
German Lutherans	802	Ditto	617
Ditto Reformed	224	Ditto	157
The Friends	482	Ditto	343
Firſt Preſbyterians	95	Ditto	58
Second Do.	147	Ditto	80
Third Do.	152	Ditto	104
Scotch Do.	31	Ditto	21
The Aſſociate Church	15	Ditto	9
Moravians	18	Ditto	11
Society of Free Quakers	43	Ditto	28
Methodiſts	50	Ditto	20
Baptiſts	87	Ditto	53
Jews, or Hebrew Church	4	Ditto	2

BURIALS in the STRANGER's GROUND.

Whites	1639	Increaſed	504
Blacks	305	Ditto	238

BAPTISMS this Year,	1634	Decreaſed	131
BURIALS Ditto,	5304	Increaſed	3939

BURIALS in the GRAVE-YARDS, ſince the FIRST of AUGUST.

Chriſt Church and St. Peter's	229	Roman Catholics—St. Mary's	278
St. Paul's	77	Ditto Holy Trinity	56
Swedes	79	The Aſſociate Church	18
German Lutherans	658	Moravians	15
Ditto Reformed	265	Society of Free Quakers	52
The Friends	385	Methodiſts	35
Firſt Preſbyterians	76	Baptiſts	72
Second Do.	129	Kenſington,	178
Third Do.	112	Jews or Hebrew Church	4
Scotch Do.	18	Stranger's Ground	1426
		TOTAL ſince Auguſt	5019

Printed by William W. Woodward, at Franklin's Head, Second-ſtreet.

HOW many precious ſouls are fled
To the vaſt regions of the dead!
Since to this day the changing ſun
Through his laſt yearly period run.

We yet ſurvive; but who can ſay?
That through this year, or month, or day,
"I ſhall retain this vital breath,
"Thus far, at leaſt, in league with death."

That breath is thine, eternal God;
'Tis thine to fix my ſoul's abode;
It holds its life from thee alone
On earth, or in the world unknown.

To thee our ſpirits we reſign,
Make them and own them ſtill as thine;
So ſhall they live ſecure from fear,
Though death ſhould blaſt the riſing year.

Thy children, panting to be gone,
May bid the tide of time roll on,
To land them on that happy ſhore,
Where years and death are known no more

No more fatigue, no more diſtreſs,
Nor ſin, nor hell ſhall reach that place;
No groans to mingle with the ſongs,
Reſounding from immortal tongues:

No more alarms from ghoſtly foes;
No cares to break the long repoſe;
No midnight ſhade, no clouded ſun,
But ſacred high eternal noon.

O, long expected year! begin;
Dawn on this world of woe and ſin;
Fain would we leave this weary road,
To ſleep in death, and reſt with God.



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.

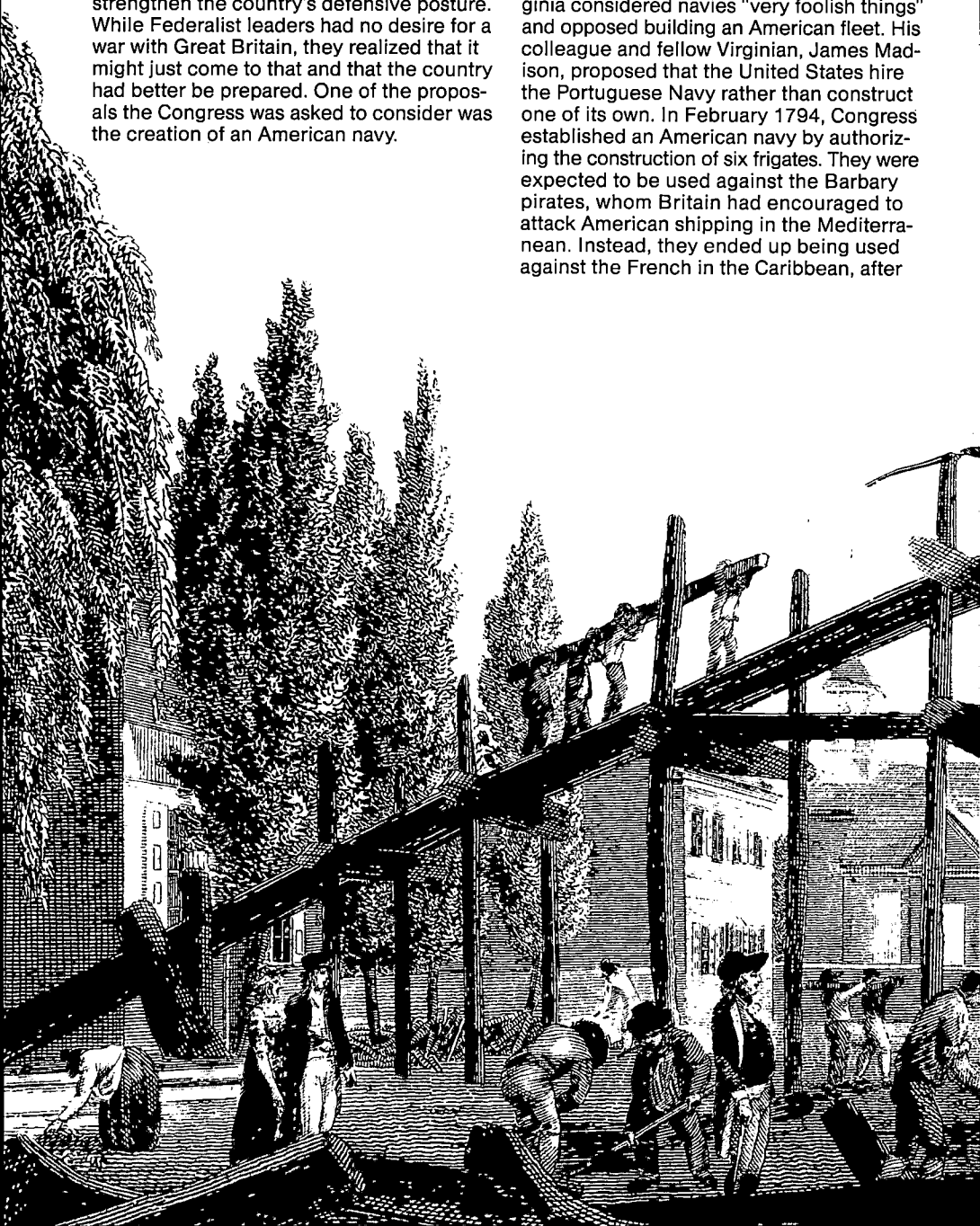


When Chief Justice John Jay (*above*) returned from England with the treaty he negotiated with Great Britain, he was not welcomed like a man who had helped prevent a war. Instead he found himself the center of a political firestorm. Federalist Senators in Congress generally approved the treaty's provisions 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*).

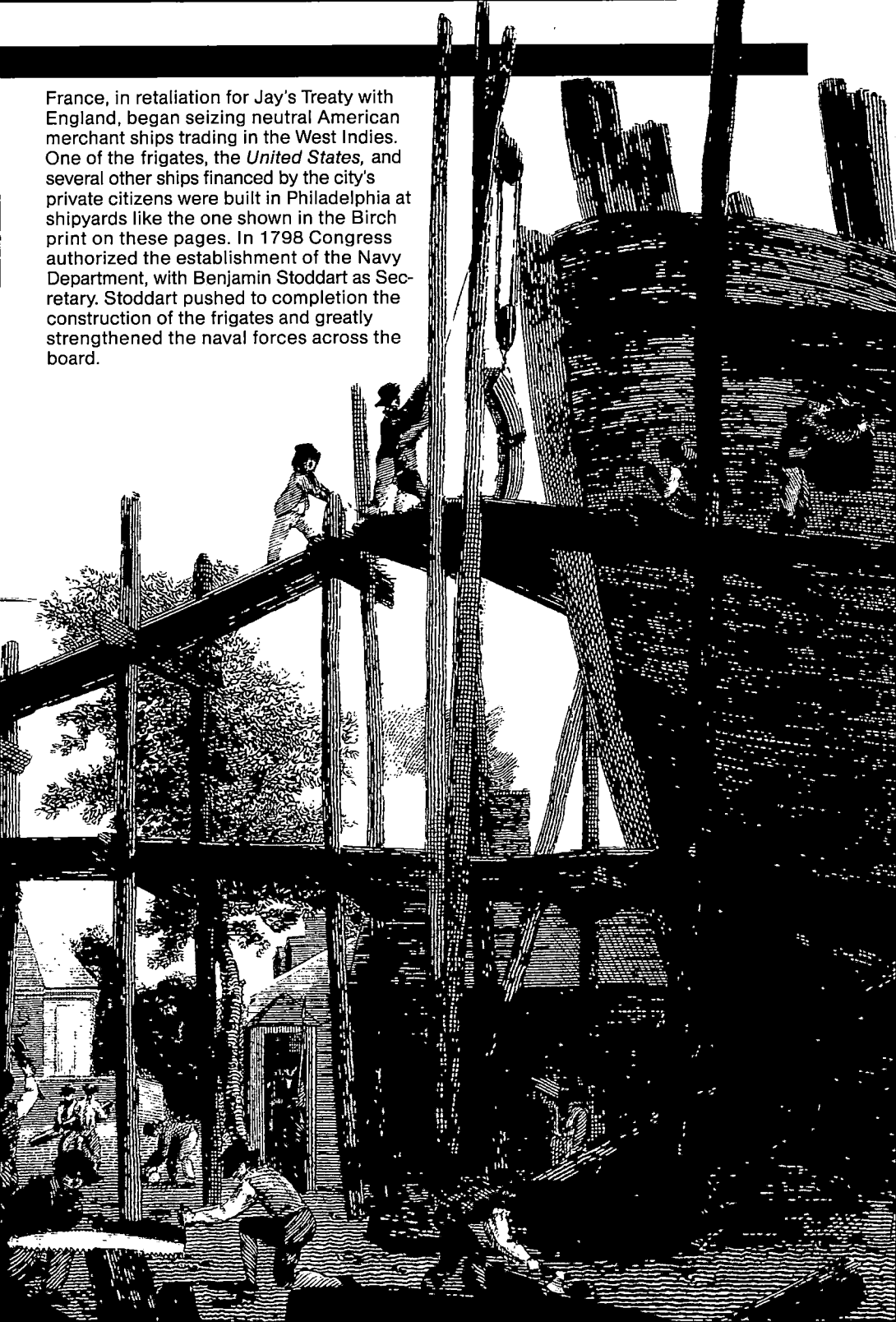
The Quasi-War and the Rebirth of the U.S. Navy

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



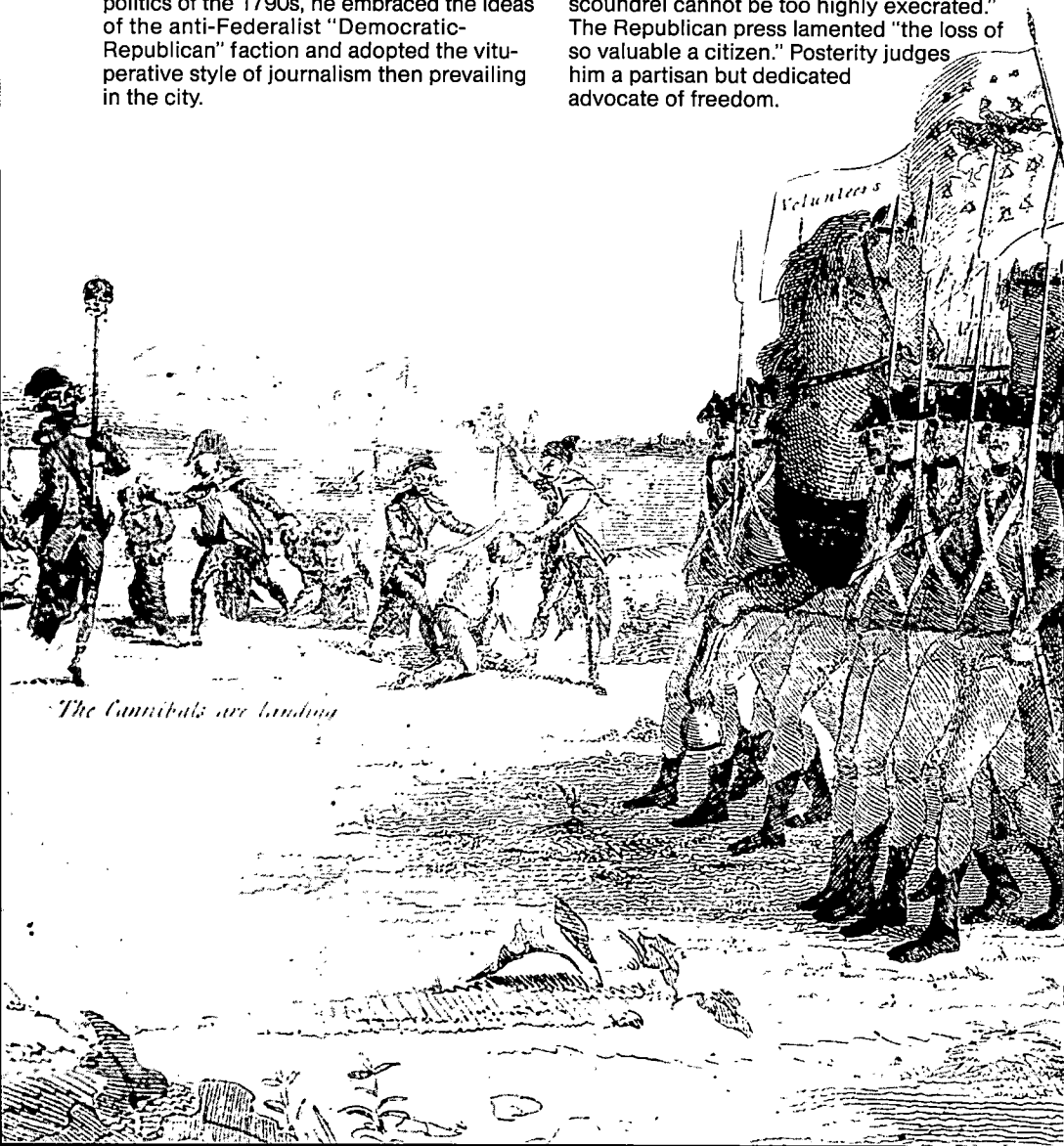
France, in retaliation for Jay's Treaty with England, began seizing neutral American merchant ships trading in the West Indies. One of the frigates, the *United States,* and several other ships financed by the city's private citizens were built in Philadelphia at shipyards like the one shown in the Birch 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

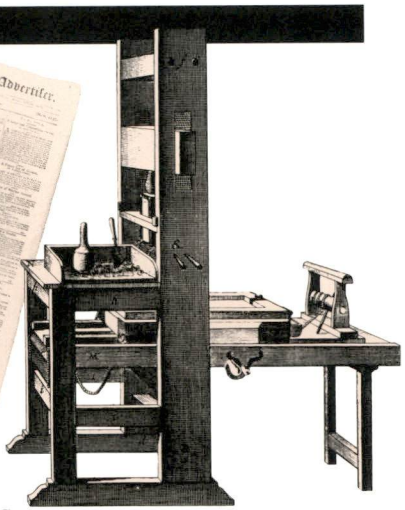
On October 1, 1790, Benjamin Franklin Bache launched a newspaper—the *General Advertiser,* and *Political, Commercial, Agricultural,* and *Literary Journal,* later renamed the *Aurora*. Like his grandfather and namesake, Bache considered a free press "the Bulwark of Liberty" and the primary means of 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.

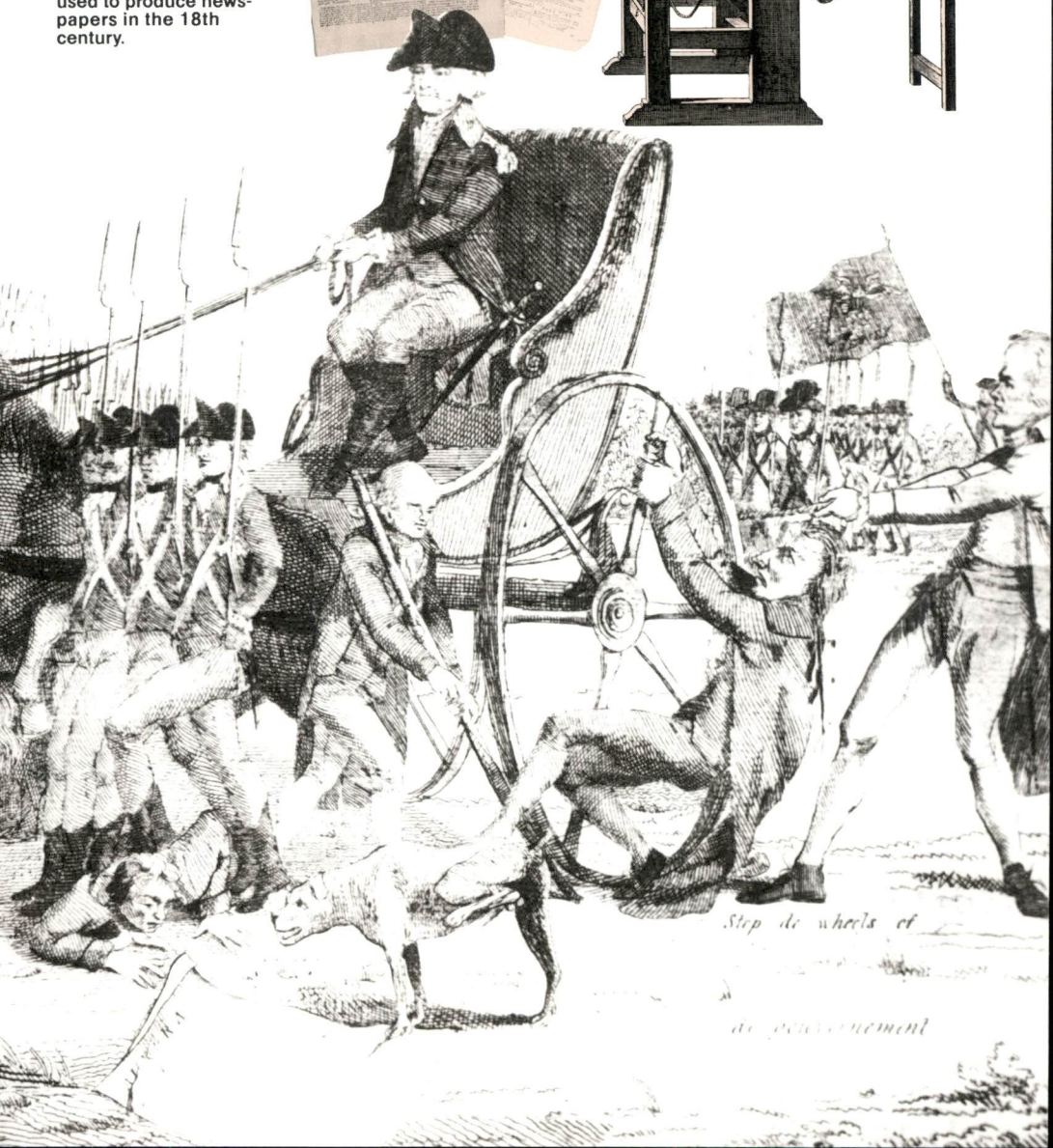
Bache blamed Washington for "all the misfortunes of our Country" and applauded his decision to retire from the Presidency. "If ever there was a period for rejoicing," he wrote, "this is the moment." By the summer of 1798 Bache was the object of much hostility, as the Federalist cartoon on these pages 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.


GENERAL ADVERTISER,
Political, Commercial, Agricultural and Literary Journal.
General
Advertiser.




Stop de wheels of
de gouvernement

From Washington to Adams: The Peaceful Transfer of Political Power

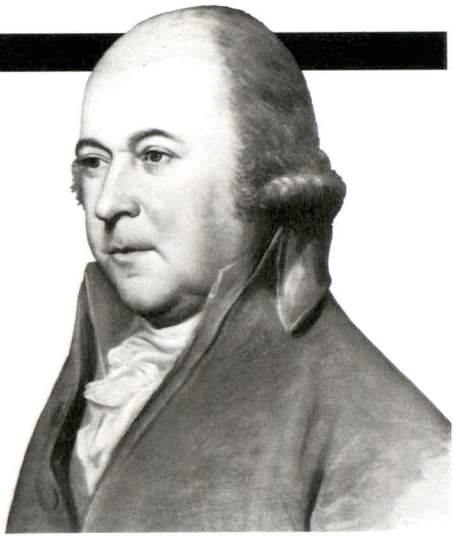
The Presidential election of 1796 was the first bipartisan election in the history of the United States. Since the Constitution made no provision for political parties, candidates for President and Vice President were selected by Congressional caucus and listed together on a ballot with no distinction 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



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.





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-





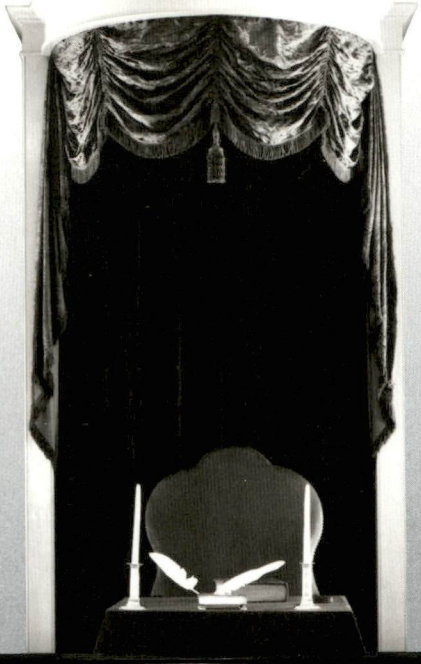
The House of Representatives chamber, where members sat in studded armchairs at mahogany desks arranged in a semi-circle. *Right:* The podium from which Frederick Muhlenberg presided as Speaker of the House during the First and Third Congresses.

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



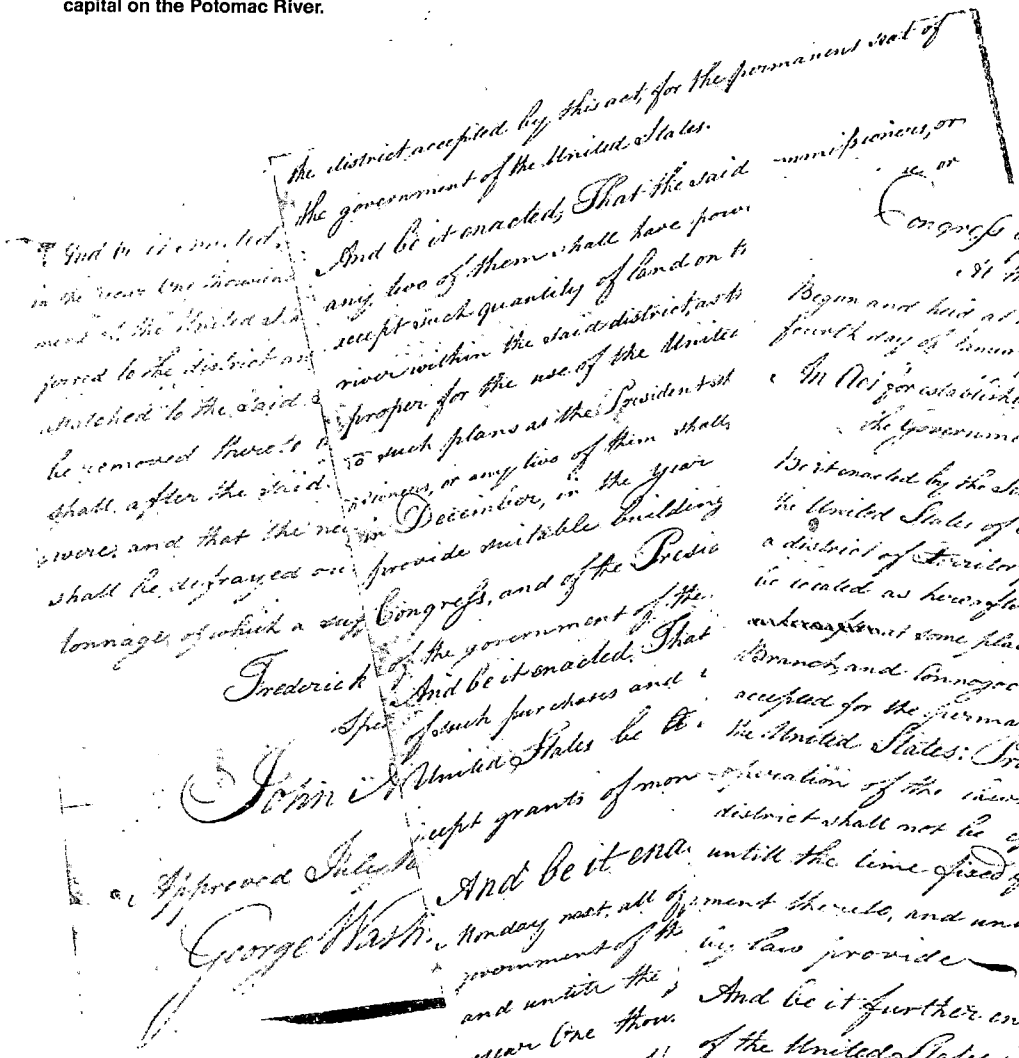




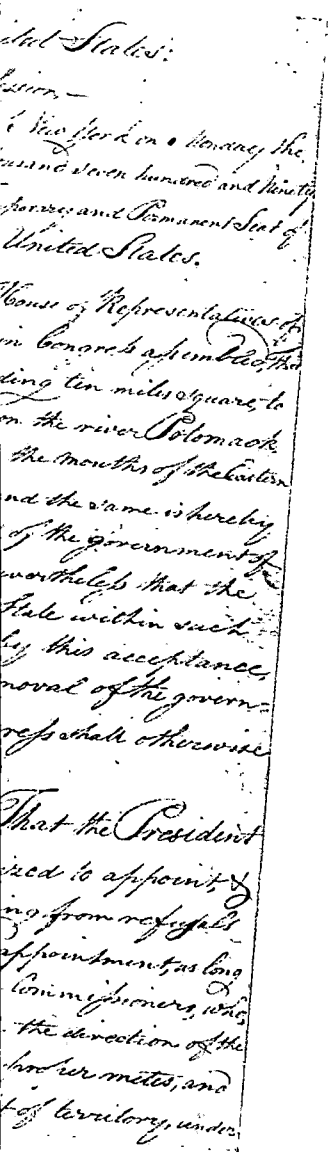


The Senate chamber, where members sat in red-leather armchairs at individual desks. Of the 32 armchairs made by Thomas Affleck, 20 are still in the room. *Left:* The podium from which first John Adams and then Thomas Jefferson presided as President of the Senate. *Top:* The foyer in Congress Hall, showing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



Congress Moves to Washington



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."

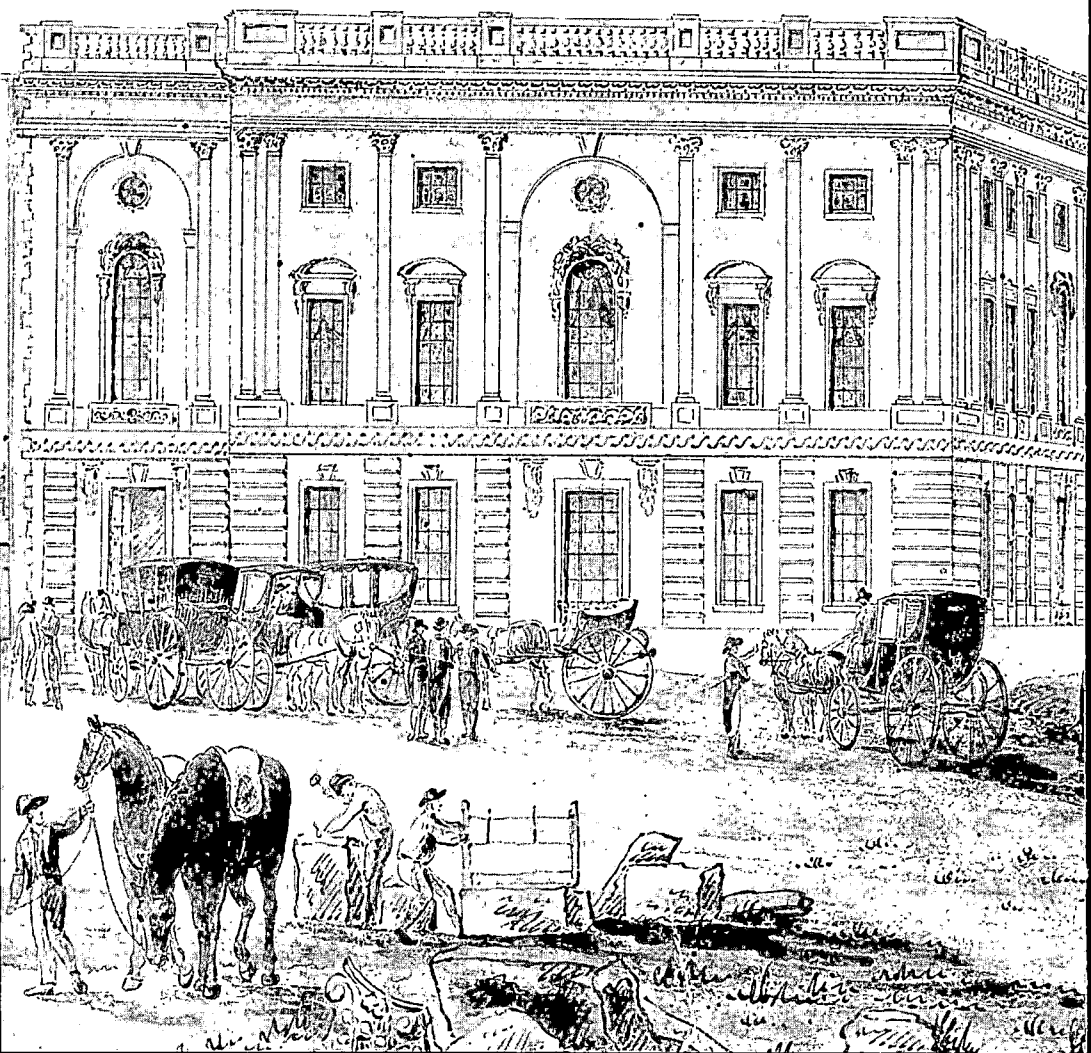
Congress paid its final tribute to Washington a week later. Both the Senate and House chambers were draped in black, and "in front of the Speakers chair [was placed] a coffin covered with a black pall, bearing a military hat & sword." Finally, Congress voted to name the new Federal Capital for Washington,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

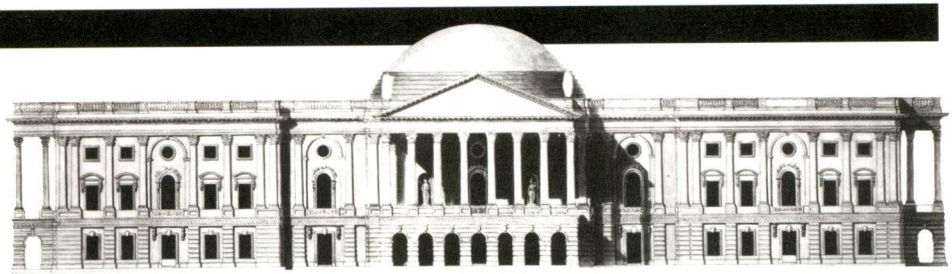
As Congress was winding up its business in Philadelphia, the Federalists warded off two attempts by the Republicans to repeal the Alien and Sedition Acts. On May 14, 1800, Congress adjourned, and the focus of national politics shifted to the swamps along the Potomac River where the new Capital was being 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

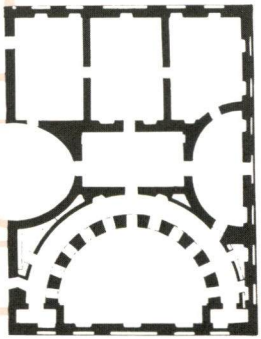
The same political bargain that made Philadelphia the temporary capital in 1790 established the permanent seat of government along the Potomac River somewhere between two of its tributaries, the Eastern Branch (now Anacostia River) on the south and Conococheague Creek (west of Hagerstown, Maryland) on 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 Washington) 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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Congress Hall

Capitol of the United States, 1790-1800

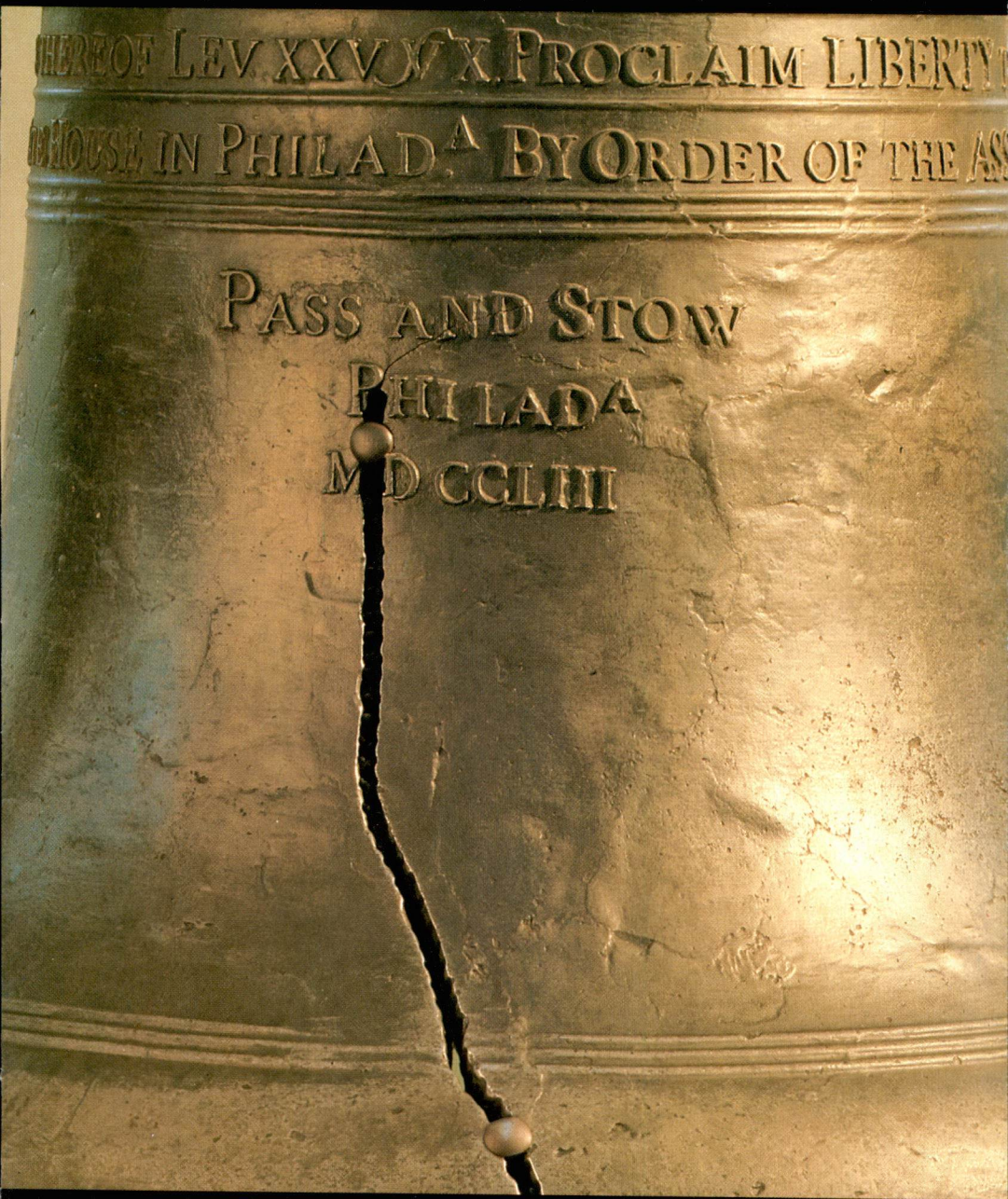


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Independence

A Guide to Independence National Historical Park



Handbook 115

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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 ratified 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

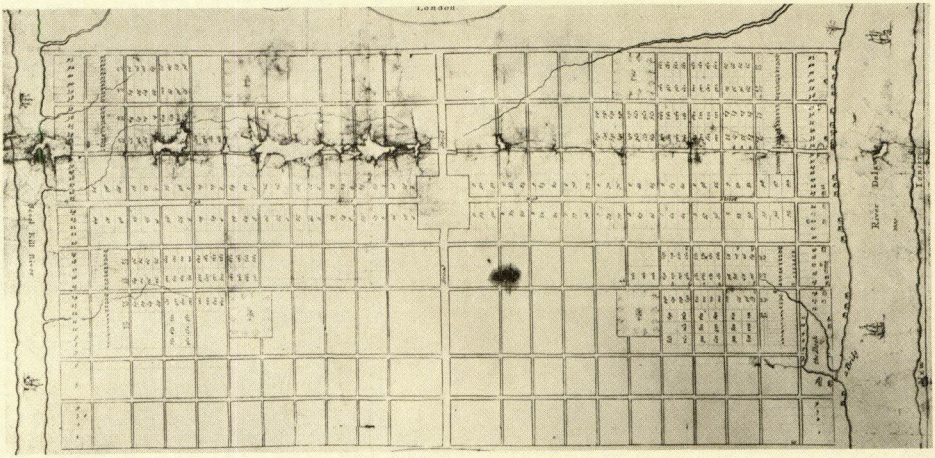
The Second Day of July 1776, will be the most memorable Epocha, in the History of America . . . it will be celebrated, by succeeding Generations, as the great anniversary Festival. It ought to be commemorated, as the Day of Deliverance by solemn Acts of Devotion to God Almighty. It ought to be solemnized 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.

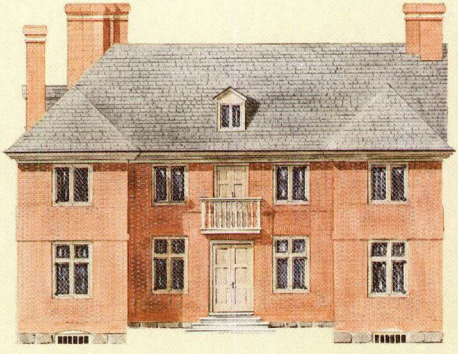
Metropolis of the Colonies

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.

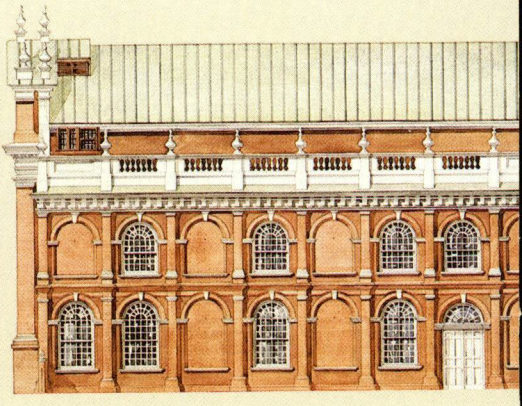
The city owed its prosperity to sea-going commerce, which tapped a rich hinterland and brought goods and new ideas from Europe. A



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

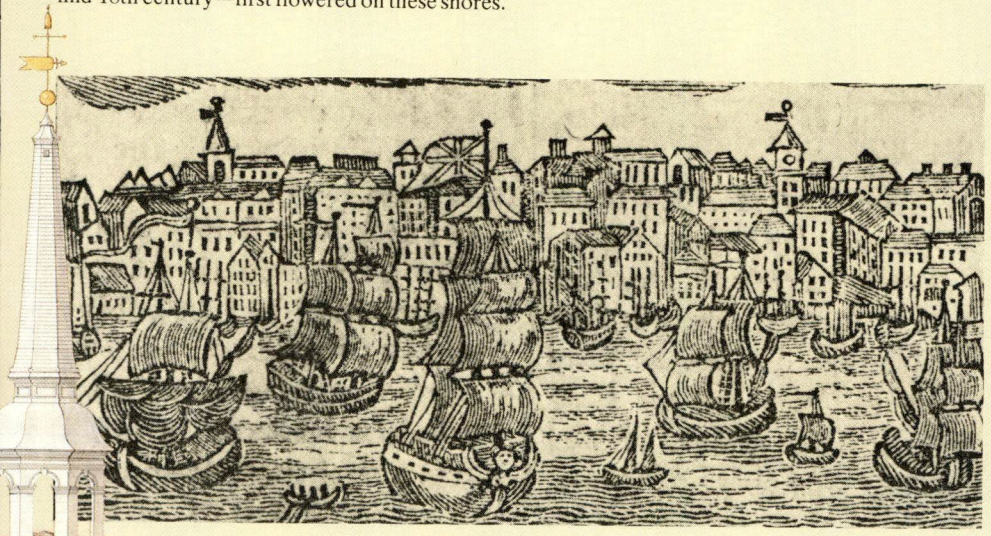


William Penn lived in the Slate Roof House (below left) from 1701-2. Christ Church (below) was founded in 1685, built 1727-54.



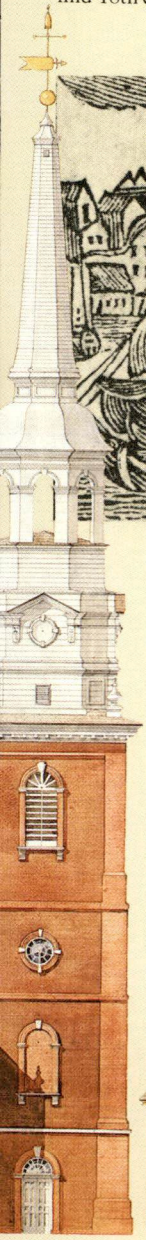
few great fortunes arose, but society was open and diverse, and persons of talent and enterprise could rise, as the lives of Franklin, David Rittenhouse, John Bartram and many others attest.

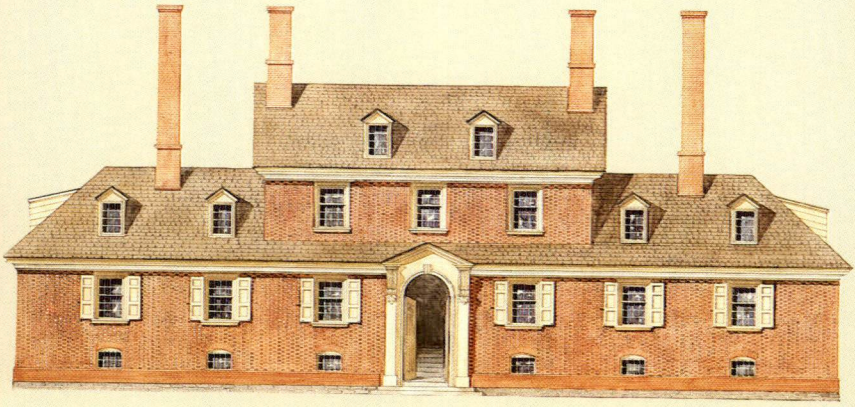
It was here that the Enlightenment—the intellectual awakening that swept Europe in the mid-18th century—first flowered on these shores. Philadelphians established libraries and discussion clubs, patronized science, painting, and music, undertook reform and civic improvement, opened schools for their 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.

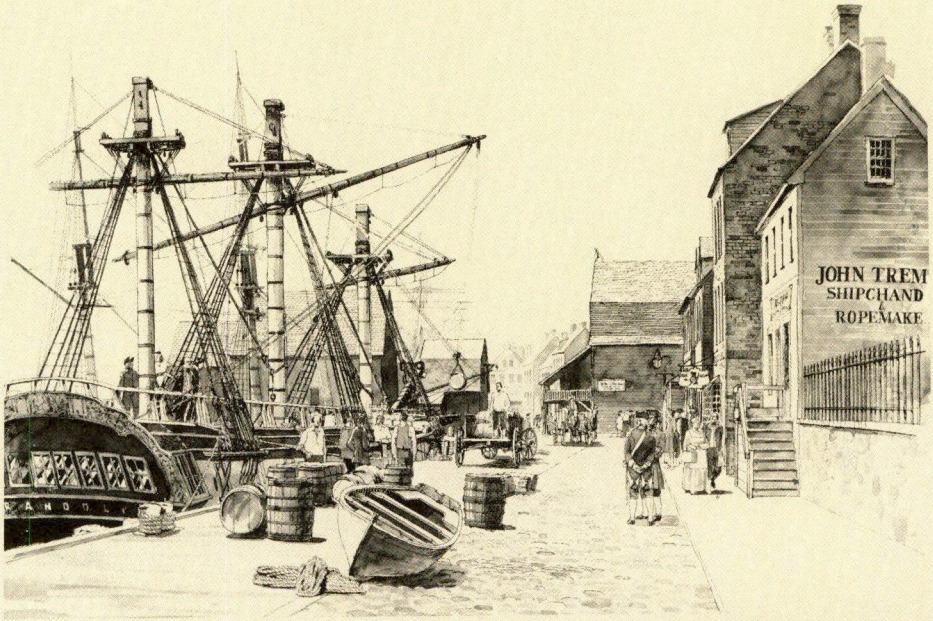
The Quakers took care of their poor. The Almshouse below, built in 1727, sheltered poor families in separate quarters.



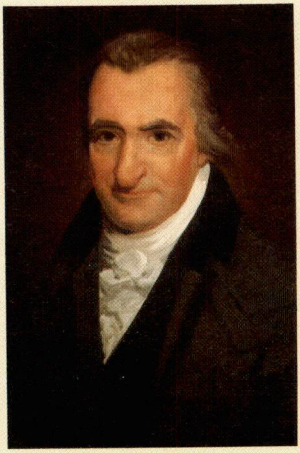


The City During the Revolution

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.



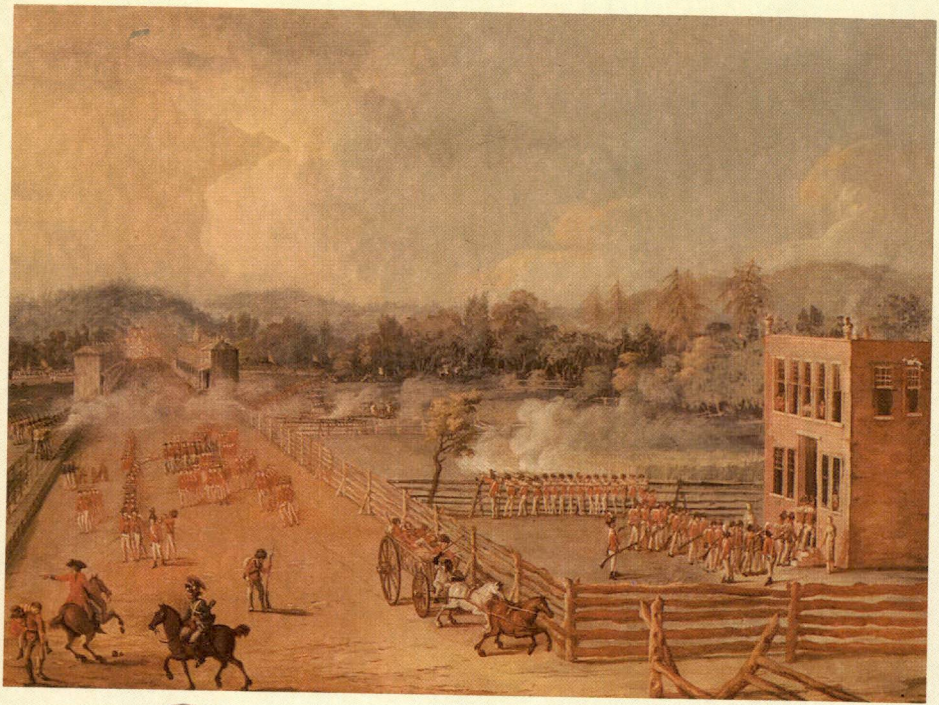
To combat the powerful Royal Navy, Congress in early 1776 commissioned the city's yards to build four frigates. The first one ready, the 32-gun Randolph, *put to sea in mid-July. The conjectural sketch above shows her being fitted out.*



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."

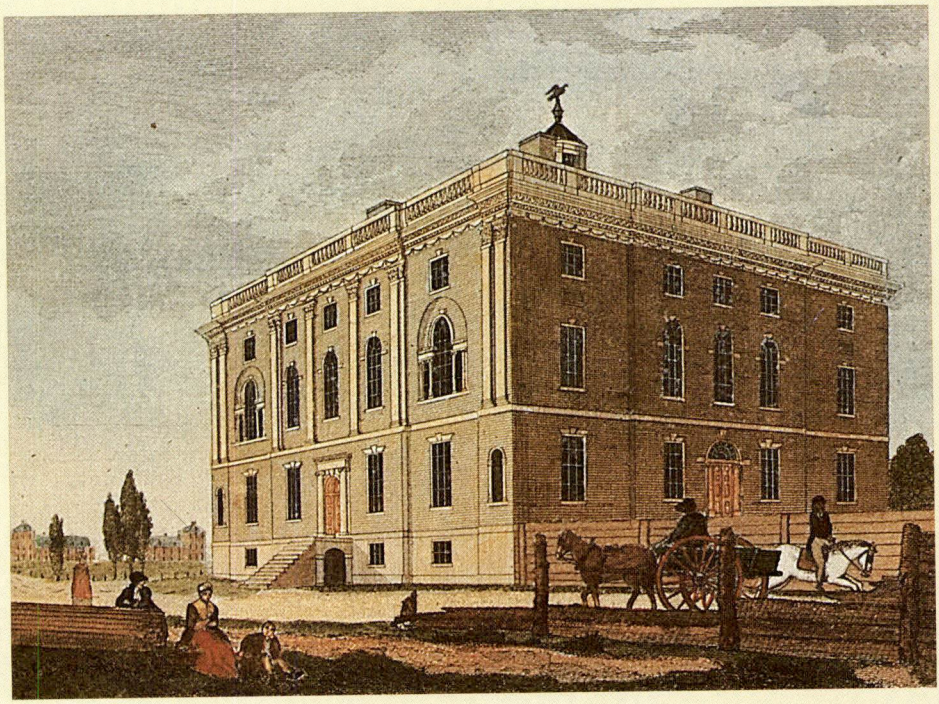




After Sir William Howe (left) occupied the city, Washington attacked his forward lines at Germantown on October 4, 1777. The assault was well planned but poorly executed. Fog and smoke from the firing blinded the American columns and prevented them from co-operating effectively. Some of the hardest fighting swirled around the Chew house, seen here in a painting made in 1782.

Capital of the New Nation

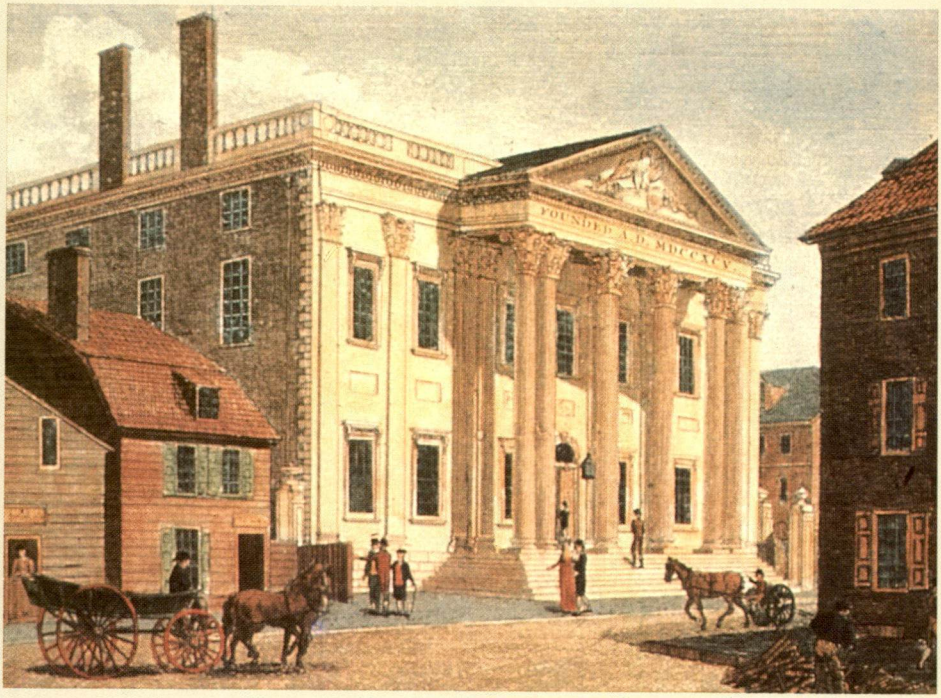
For 10 years, 1790-1800, while a new "Federal City" was building on the Potomac, Philadelphia was the capital of the young republic. To accommodate its Federal guest, the city offered the use of its public buildings. The County Courthouse, west of the State House, became the seat of Congress, the House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

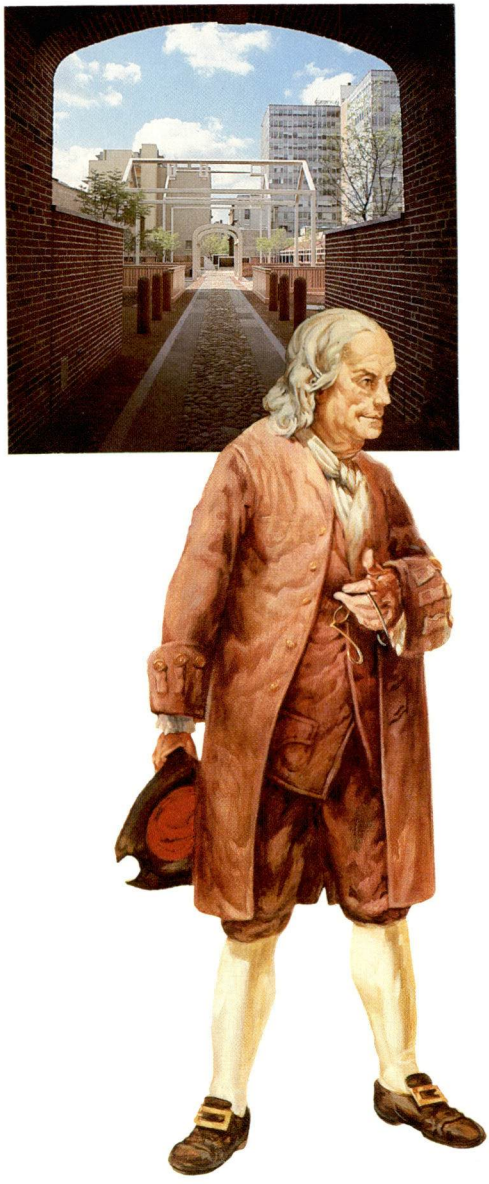


Even long before the issues of the American Revolution had begun to take form, a remarkable statesman shaped the course of events in this area. This person was so extraordinarily gifted, so triumphant in so many fields that his feats dating back a generation before the outbreak of war with Great Britain 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.



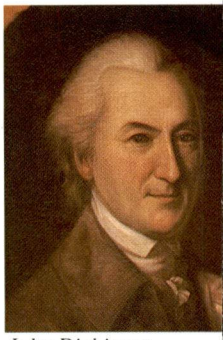
of such operations. The protest demonstrations and the boycott machinery developed in response to Parliamentary tax measures were largely centered or created in the area now covered by Independence National Historical Park.

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."

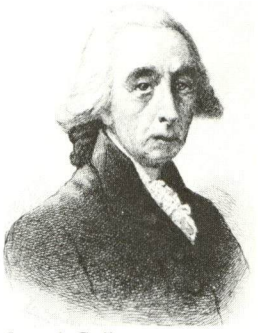
From these informal debates in City Tavern the groundwork was laid for the Revolution in Pennsylvania. When the governor refused a request of the populace to summon the Assembly, the popular leaders had committees set up in every county in the colony. Soon a de facto popular government by committee began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



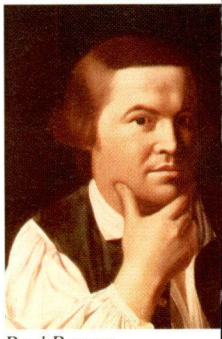
John Adams



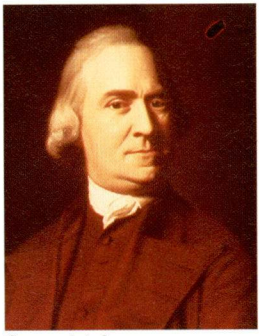
John Dickinson



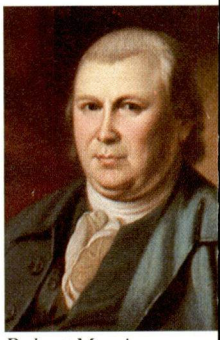
Joseph Galloway



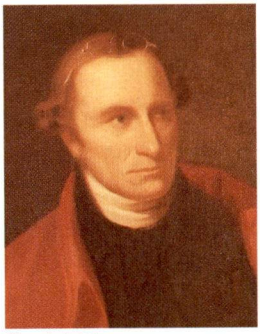
Paul Revere



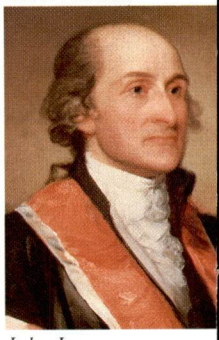
Samuel Adams



Robert Morris



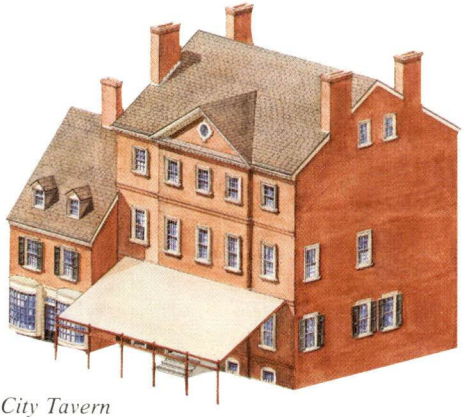
Patrick Henry



John Jay

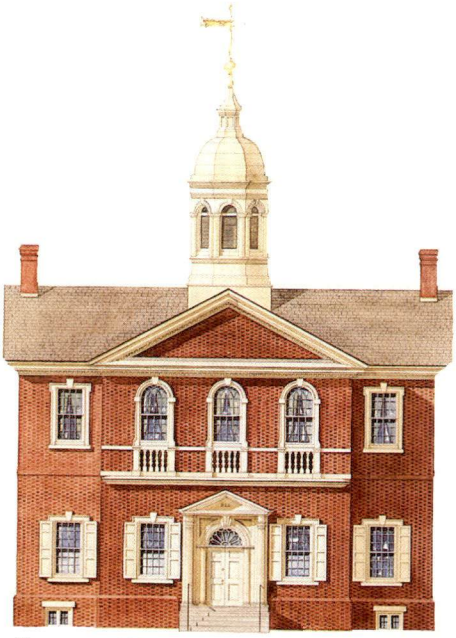
Assembly. The Philadelphia Committee of Observation, Inspection, and Correspondence, as it was called, operating out of its headquarters at City Tavern, proposed that a Congress of the Thirteen Colonies convene in September 1774. Where else but Philadelphia seemed more suitable?

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.



City Tavern

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

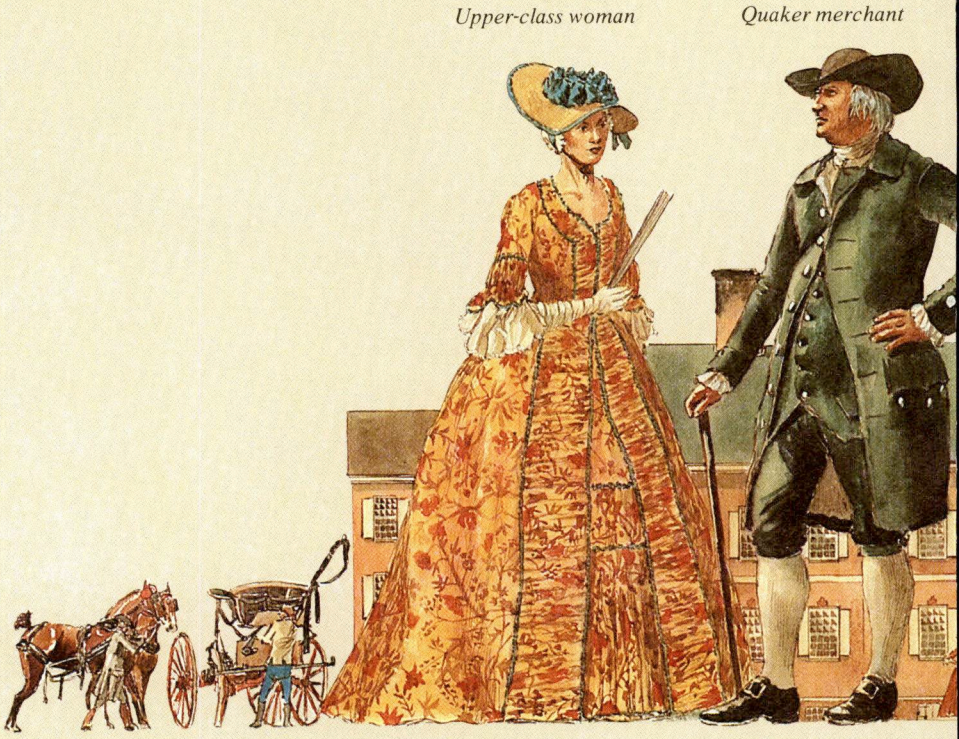


Carpenters' Hall

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.



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

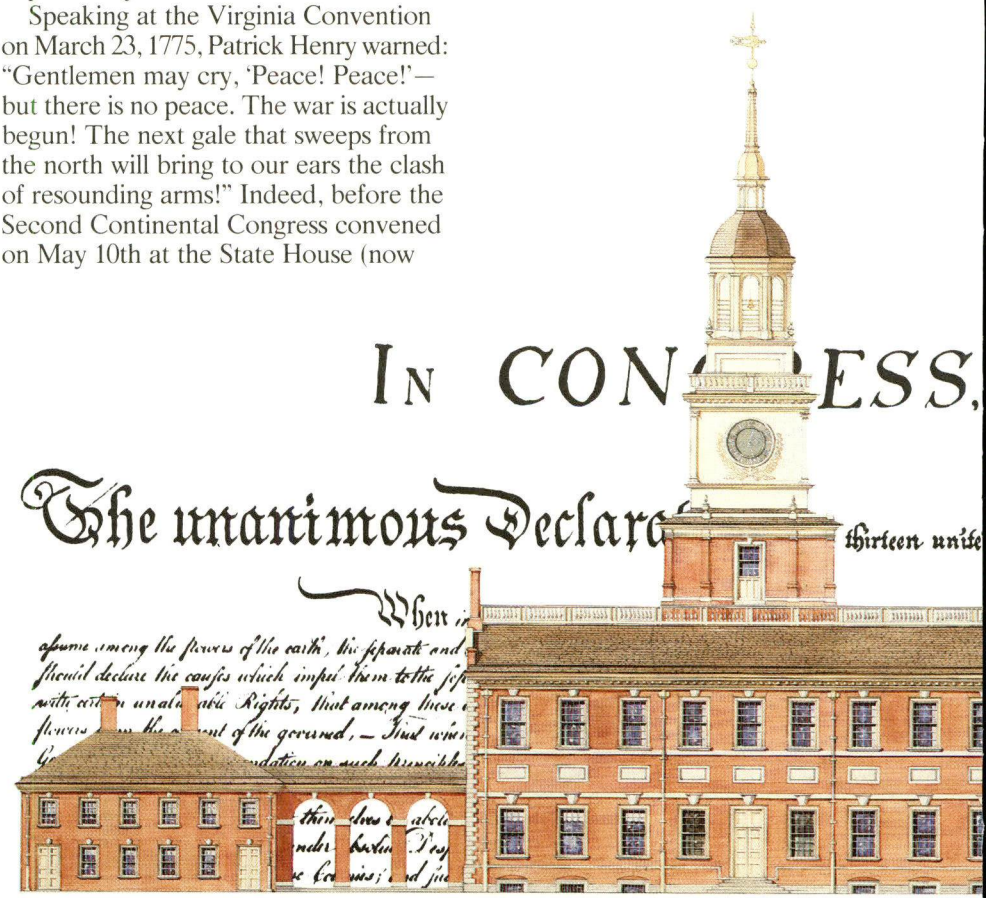
colonies to assert national sovereignty.

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.

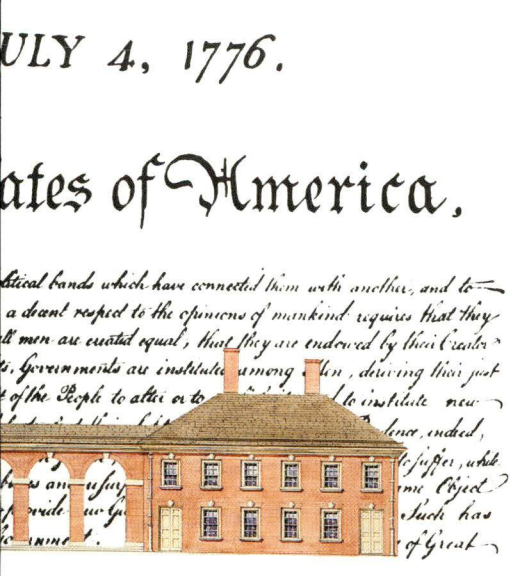


Independence Hall), two blocks west from Carpenters' Hall, Henry's prophecy had been fulfilled. The shooting war had broken out at Lexington and Concord in Massachusetts. Now arguments over constitutional theories of empire which had absorbed so much of the First Continental Congress' attention gave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


ULY 4, 1776.

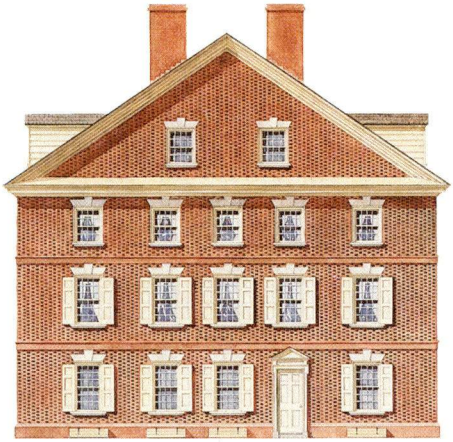
ates of America,

political bands which have connected them with another, and to
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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

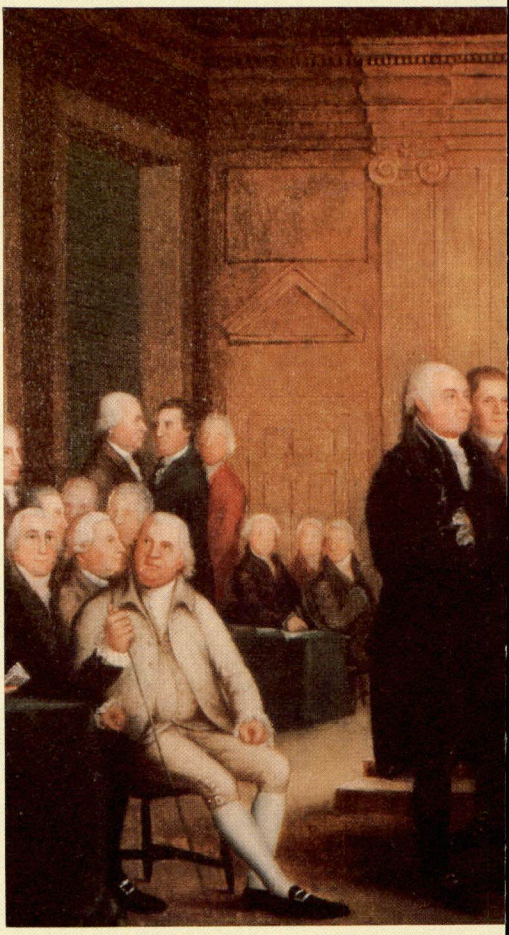
The National Compacts

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.

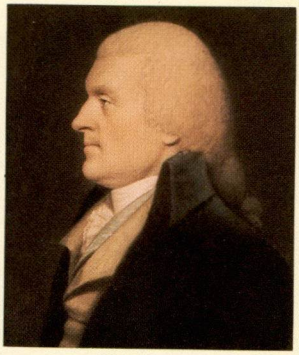
To the age-old problem of how to govern government, Americans found a brilliant solution in federalism—the distribution of powers between local and national levels. The Articles of Confederation, which went into effect in 1781, replaced an informal union with a central—if weak—government. They were the 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.

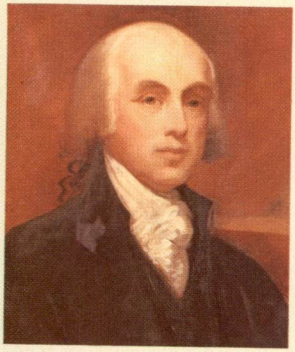


This painting, for all its matter-of-factness, conjures up one of the great scenes of the American Revolution. Jefferson, at center, hands the draft of the Declaration to President John Hancock as other members of the drafting committee—John Adams, Roger Sherman, Robert Livingston, and, sitting at center, 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.

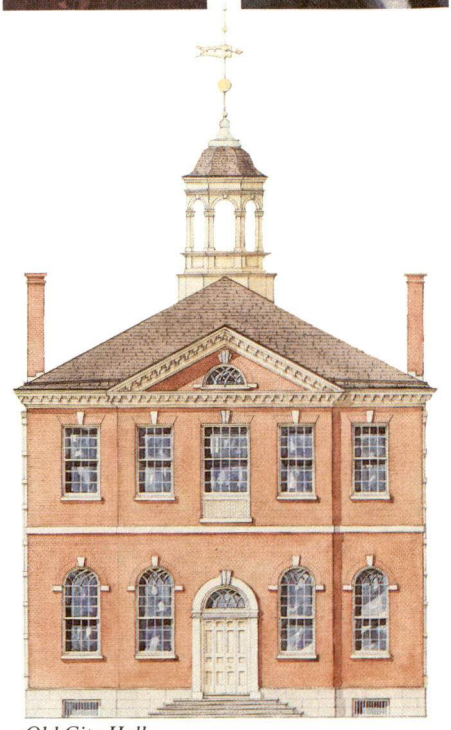
At the Philadelphia County Courthouse (**Congress Hall**) President Washington was inaugurated for his second

Roger Sherman



Oliver Ellsworth





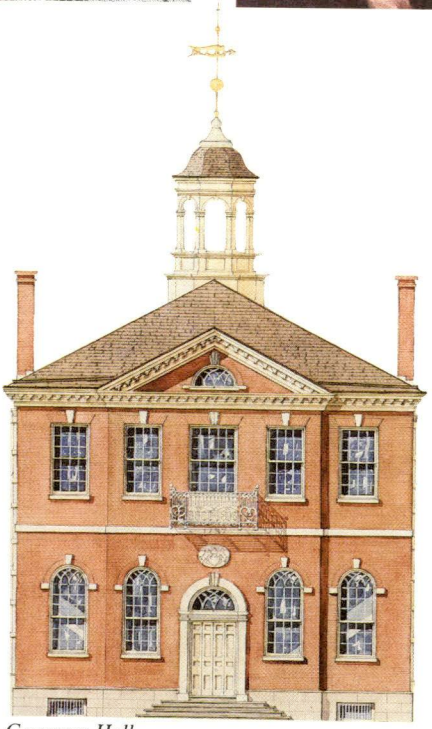
Old City Hall

Gouverneur Morris



James Wilson

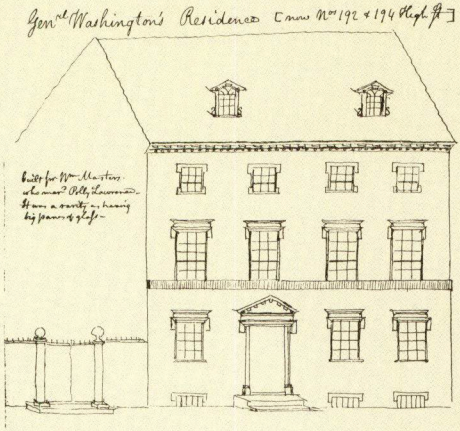




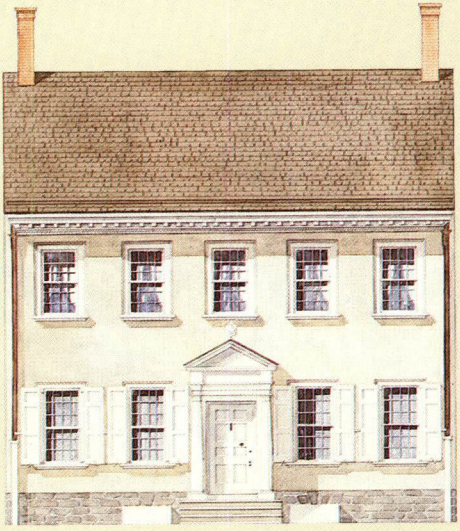
Congress Hall

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.

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



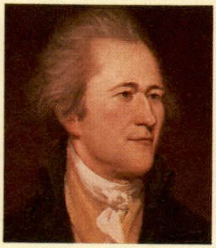
During their terms as president, both Washington and Adams lived in the Robert Morris house (above). This handsome Georgian building, now lost, was the scene of the weekly levees that Washington gave for officialdom and leading citizens. The Deshler-Morris House in Germantown (below) was Washington's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



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



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.

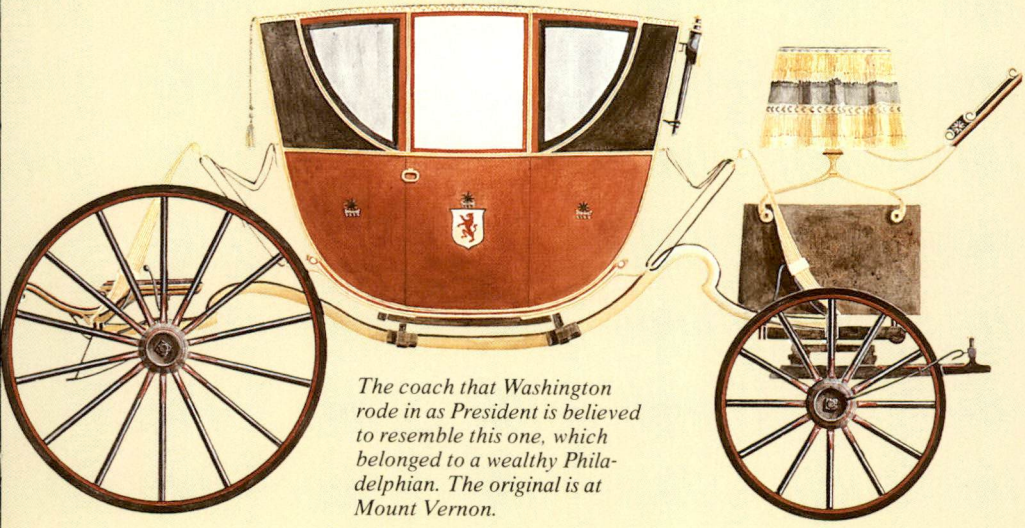





Washington was overwhelmingly the popular choice for president. No one else—not even the aged Franklin—had the range of experience, the esteem at home, and the prestige abroad to lead what insiders frankly regarded as an experiment in self-government.

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."

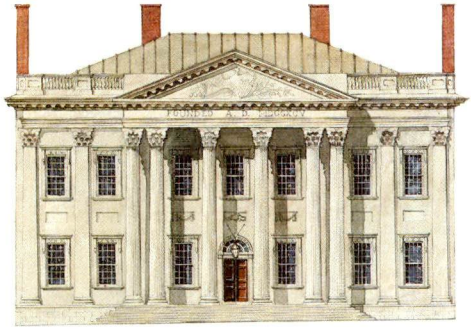


The coach that Washington rode in as President is believed to resemble this one, which belonged to a wealthy Philadelphian. The original is at Mount Vernon.

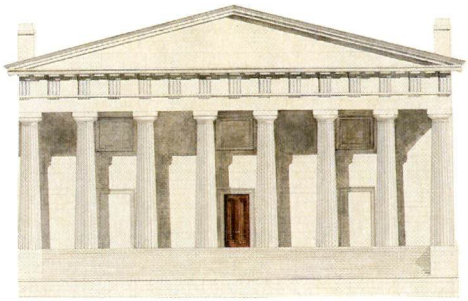
with a memorable speech that is still considered one of the supreme oratorical efforts in the history of Congress.

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

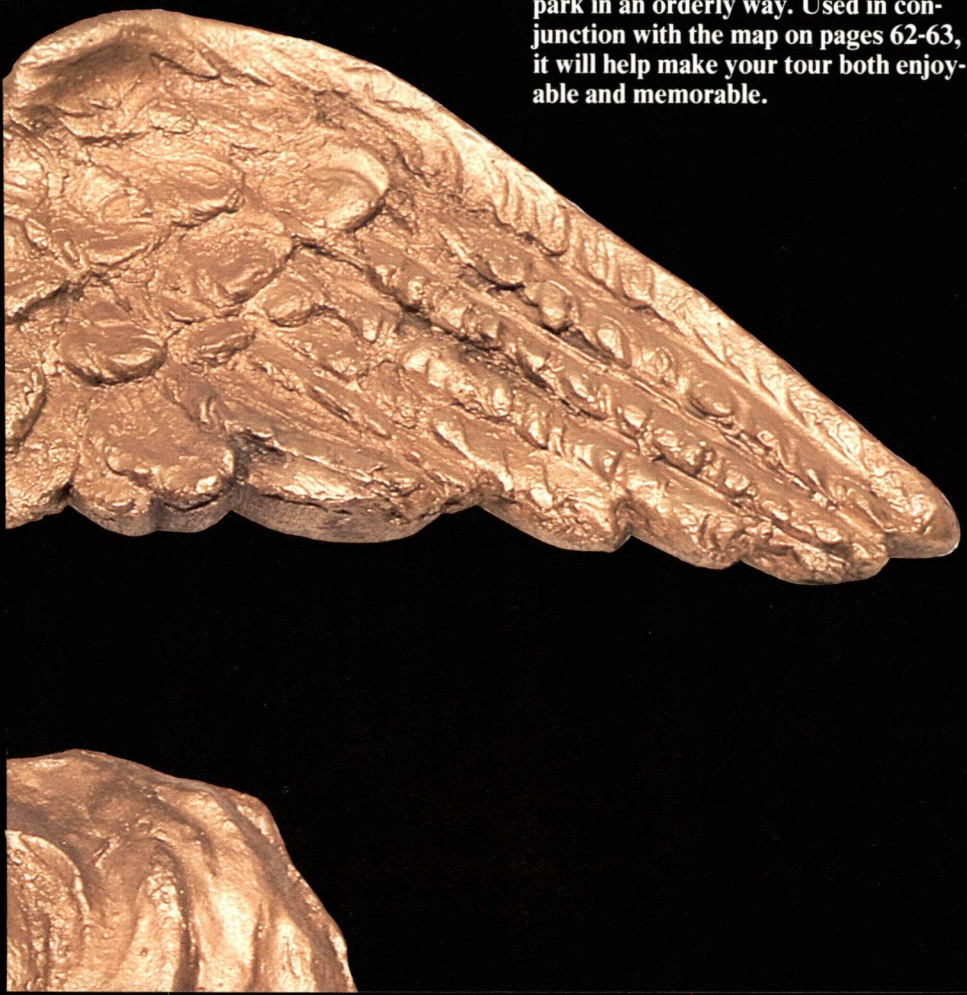
Part 3



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.



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.

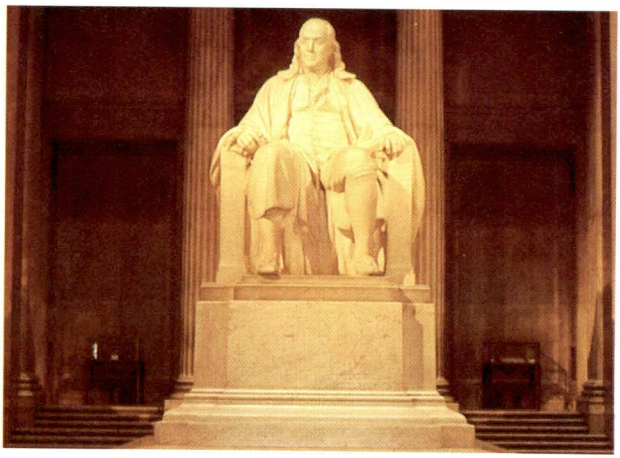
Army-Navy Museum (formerly Pemberton House) depicts the development of the U.S. Army and Navy from 1775 to 1800. Among the exhibits are regimental uniforms, battle dioramas, flags, weapons, and a full-scale replica of a section of a frigate's gundeck. The museum building is a reconstruction of the house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

❶ *Chestnut Street at Carpenters' Court*



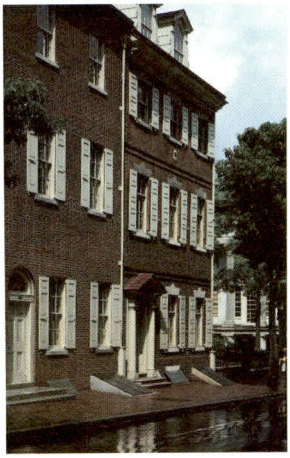
Benjamin Franklin National Memorial honors Philadelphia's most illustrious citizen. The memorial, located in the Franklin Institute at 20th Street and Benjamin Franklin Parkway, features a colossal statue of Franklin surrounded by a four-part exhibit of his personal possessions and scientific artifacts. 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.

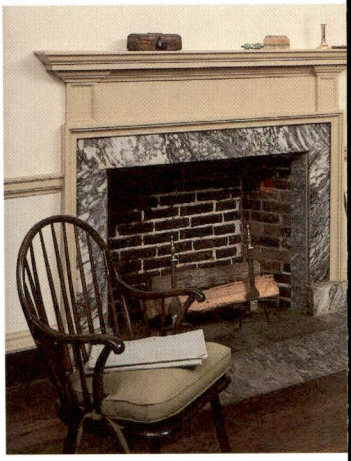
❷ *20th Street and Benjamin Franklin Parkway*



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.

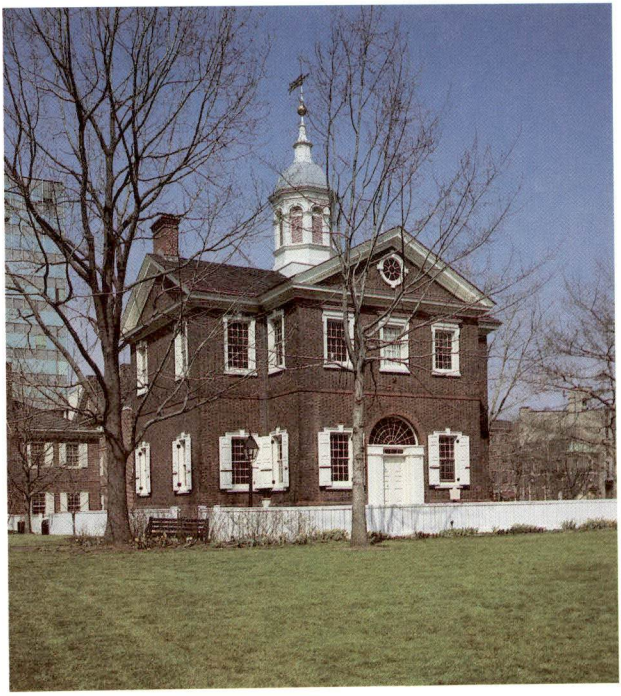
3 *309 Walnut Street*

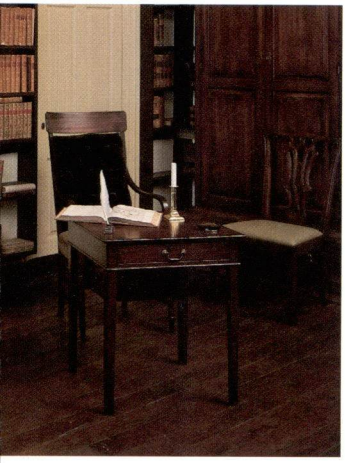


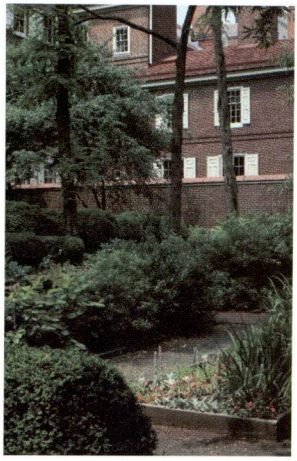


Carpenters' Hall was built in 1770 by the Carpenters' Company of Philadelphia, a guild founded in 1724 to help its members develop architectural skills and to aid their families in times of need. The delegates to the First Continental Congress met here in September 1774 to air their grievances against 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*



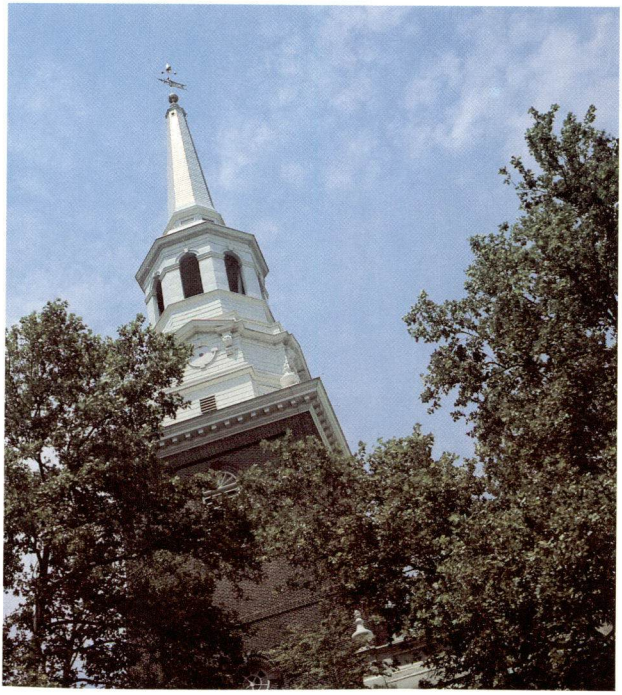






Christ Church, built between 1727 and 1754, is considered one of the most beautiful 18th-century structures in the United States—a monument to colonial craftsmanship. It numbered among its congregation both George Washington and Benjamin Franklin. Seven signers of the Declaration of Independence, as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

❺ *Second Street north of Market Street*

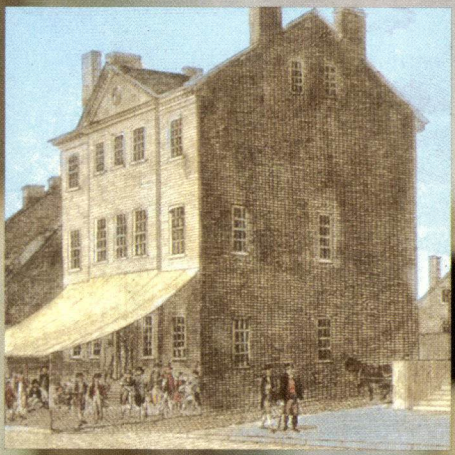


City Tavern

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.

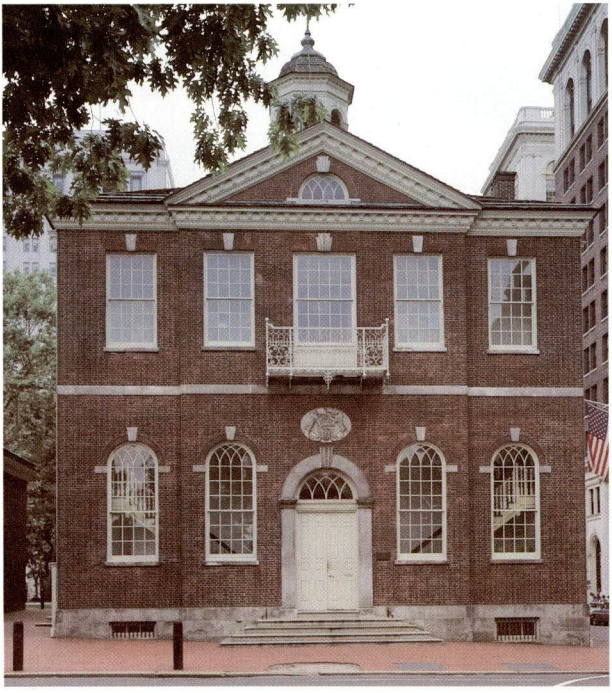
City Tavern, called the "most genteel" tavern in America by John Adams, was one of the social, political, and economic centers of late-18th-century Philadelphia. It was built originally in 1773 by a group of eminent Philadelphians who felt that their hometown deserved a fine tavern that reflected its 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.

❻ *Northwest corner, Second and Walnut Streets*



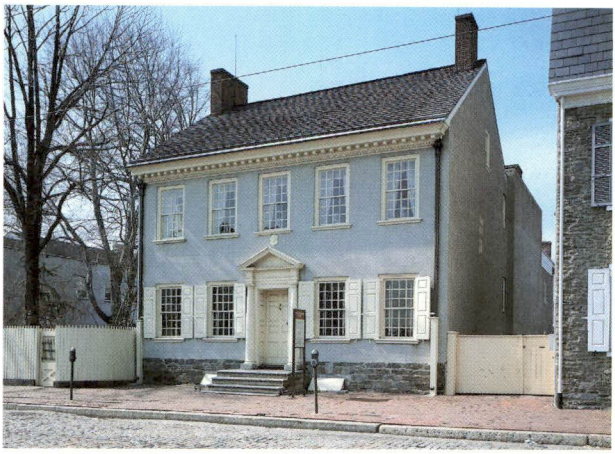
Congress Hall, constructed in 1787-89 as the Philadelphia County Court House, served as the meetingplace of the U.S. Congress from 1790 to 1800. The House of Representatives met on the main floor, while the Senate assembled upstairs. Among the historic events that took place here were the Presidential 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.

❼ *Southeast corner, Sixth and Chestnut Streets*



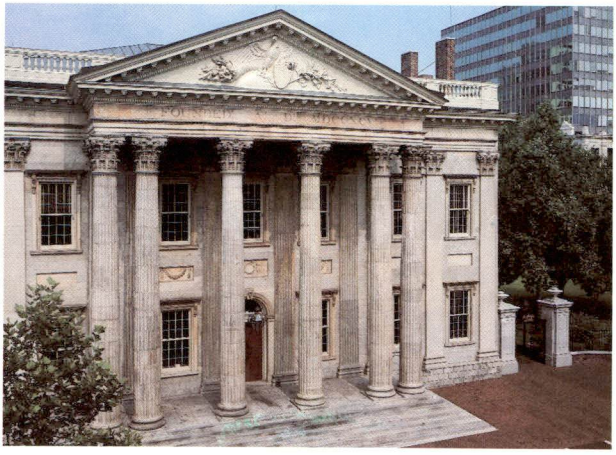
Deshler-Morris House was erected in 1772-73 as the summer home of David Deshler, a successful Philadelphia merchant. The house served as headquarters for British Gen. Sir William Howe during the Battle of Germantown in October 1777 and as the official residence of President Washington during the Philadelphia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

8 *5442 Germantown Avenue, Germantown*

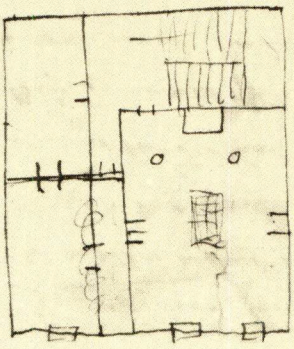


First Bank of the United States, built between 1795 and 1797 as the home of the "government's banker," is an excellent example of Neo-classical architecture and is probably the oldest bank building in the country. Formed in 1791 at the urging of Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton to bring order 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



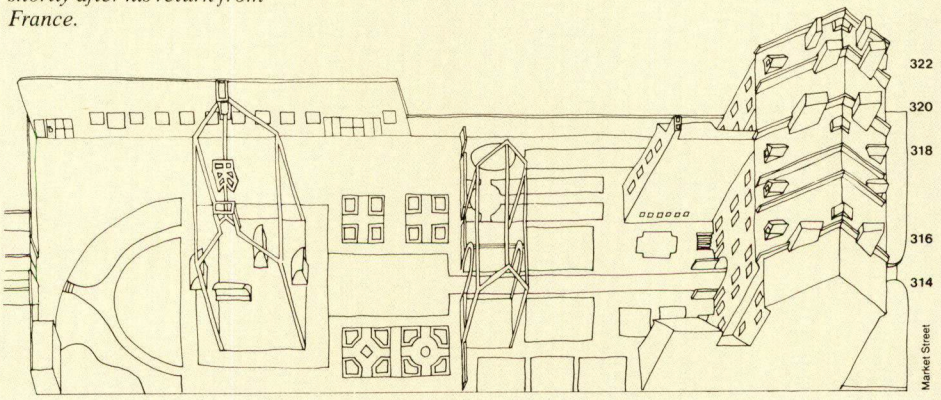
Franklin's sketch of the first floor, in his own hand.

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.

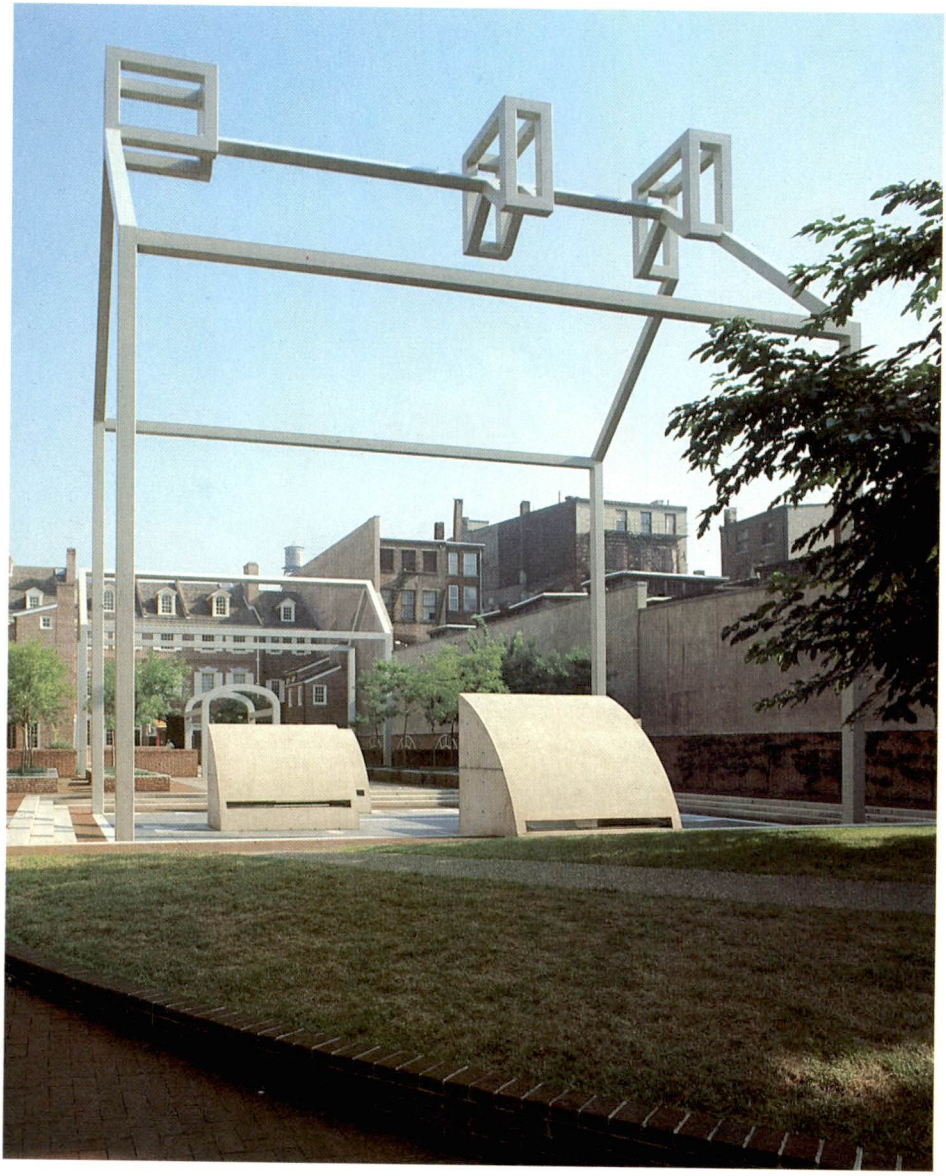
After Franklin's death in 1790, the house and property passed into the hands of descendents, who lived in it for a time before leasing it out to a succession of tenants. By 1812 there was little interest in the house, and it was torn down to make way for commercial development.

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.



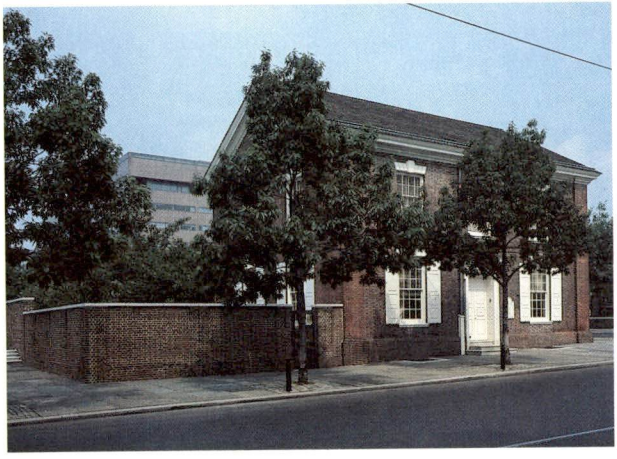
Franklin Court, is the site of the handsome brick home of Benjamin Franklin, who lived here while serving in the Continental Congress, the Constitutional Convention, and as President of Pennsylvania. Franklin died here in 1790; the house was torn down about 20 years later. Today the site contains a steel "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*



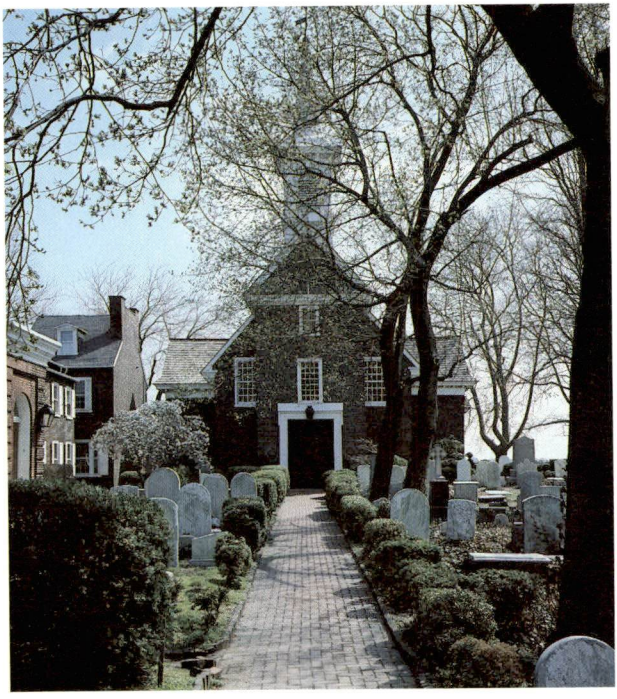
Free Quaker Meeting House which was built in 1783, is the oldest meetinghouse in Philadelphia. The Free Quakers, unlike the main body of Quakers which remained pacifist, supported and fought for the American cause during the Revolution. The building serves as headquarters for the Junior League of Philadelphia,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

11 *Fifth and Arch Streets*



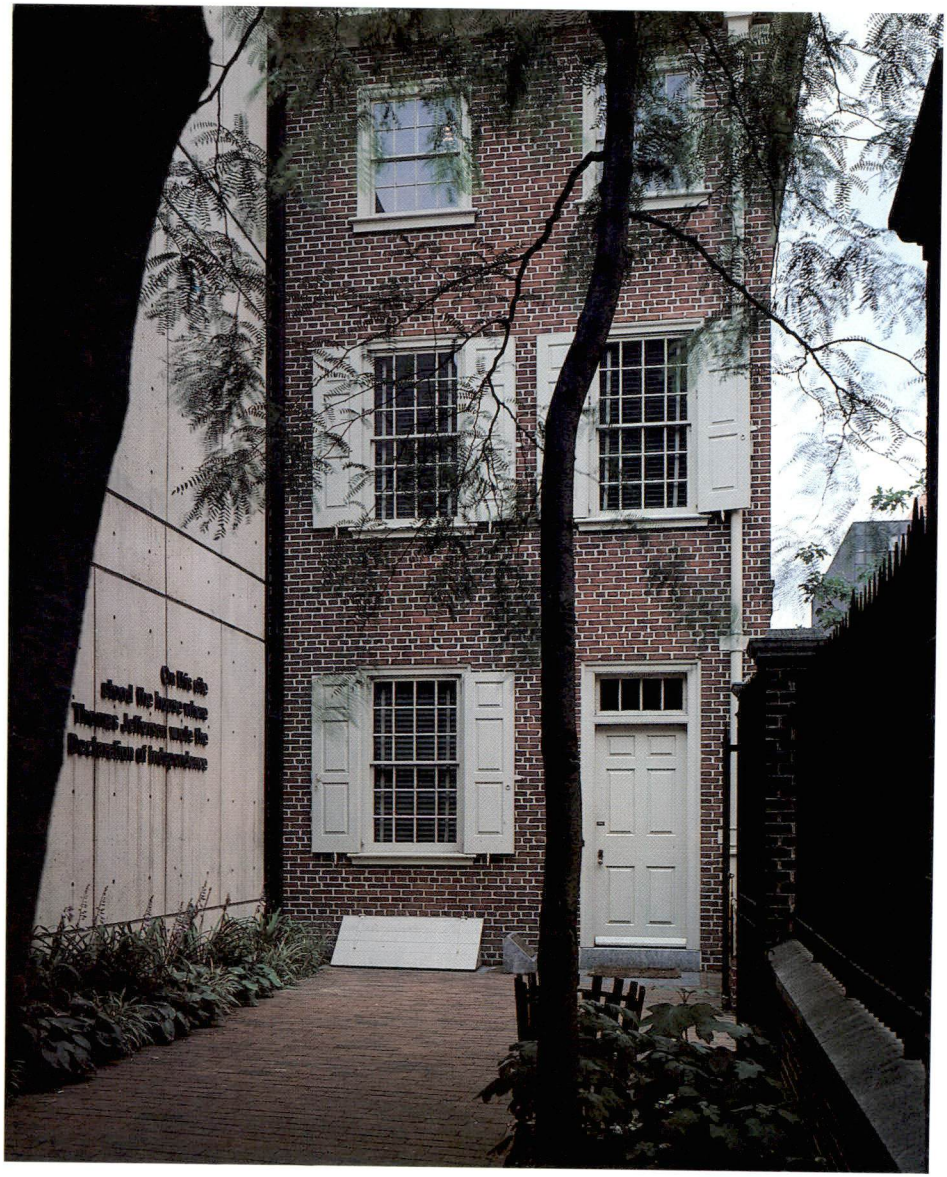
Gloria Dei (Old Swedes') Church was built in 1700 and is the oldest church in Pennsylvania. The Swedes preceded the English to this part of America and began the Gloria Dei congregation in 1646. For nearly two centuries this church was under Swedish hierarchy, but after the Scandinavians were absorbed 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.

⓭ *Southwest corner, Seventh and Market Streets*

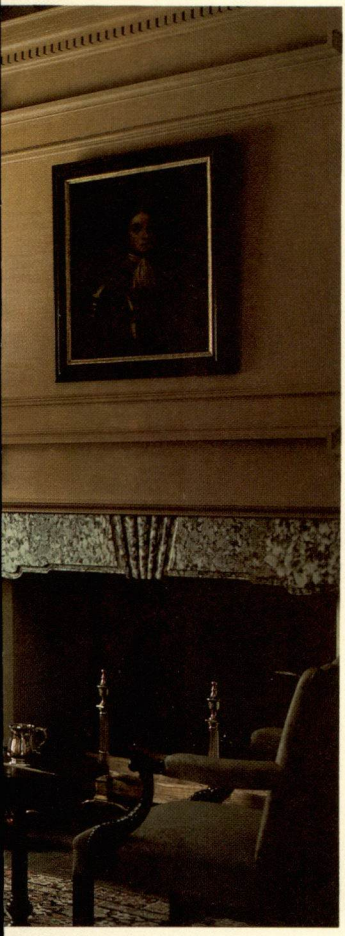


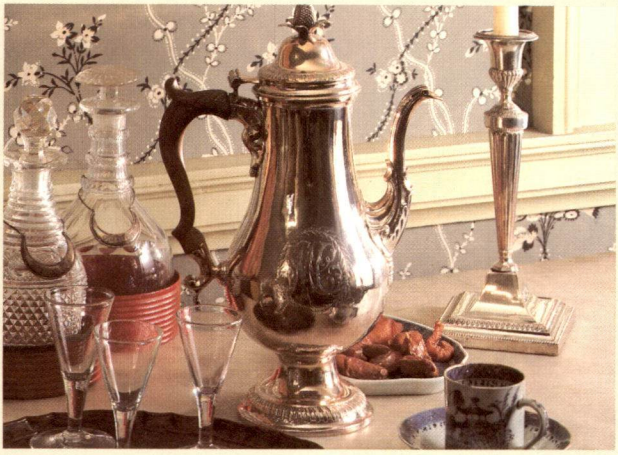
Treasures of Independence



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 cellarette for wine bottles (left of the fireplace) and the voluptuous walnut armchair silhouetted at left are Philadelphia made. The armchair is c. 1745, the cellarette 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.

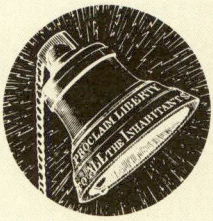
Independence Hall was constructed between 1732 and 1756 as the State House of the Province of Pennsylvania. It was planned and designed by lawyer Andrew Hamilton and is considered a fine example of Georgian architecture. From 1775 to 1783 (except for the period of British occupation) this was the meeting 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*

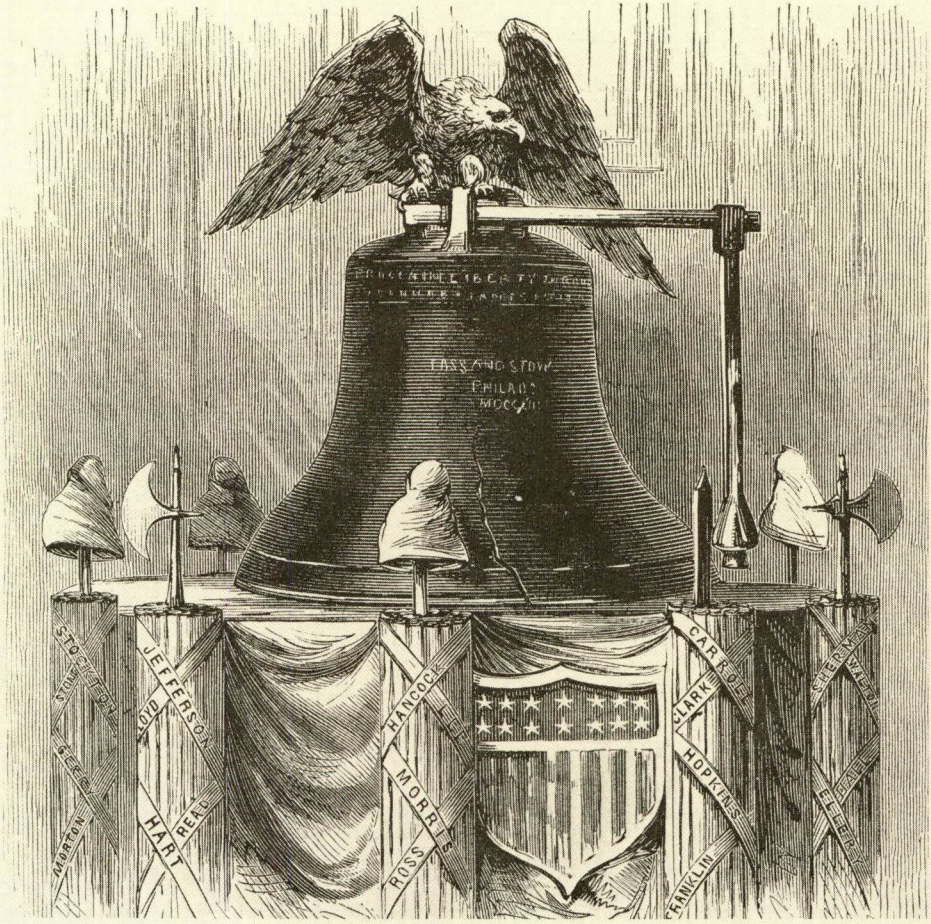




The Liberty Bell



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.

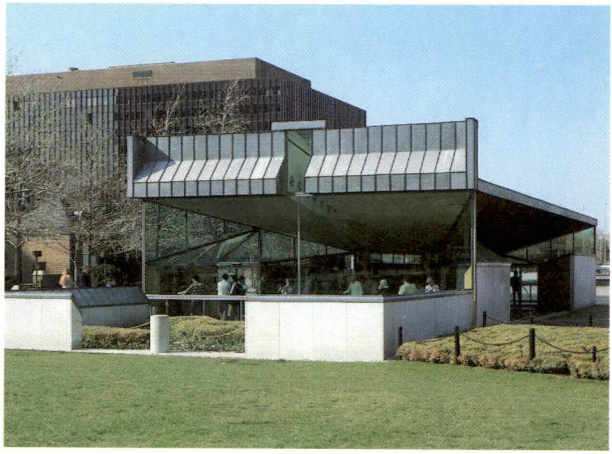


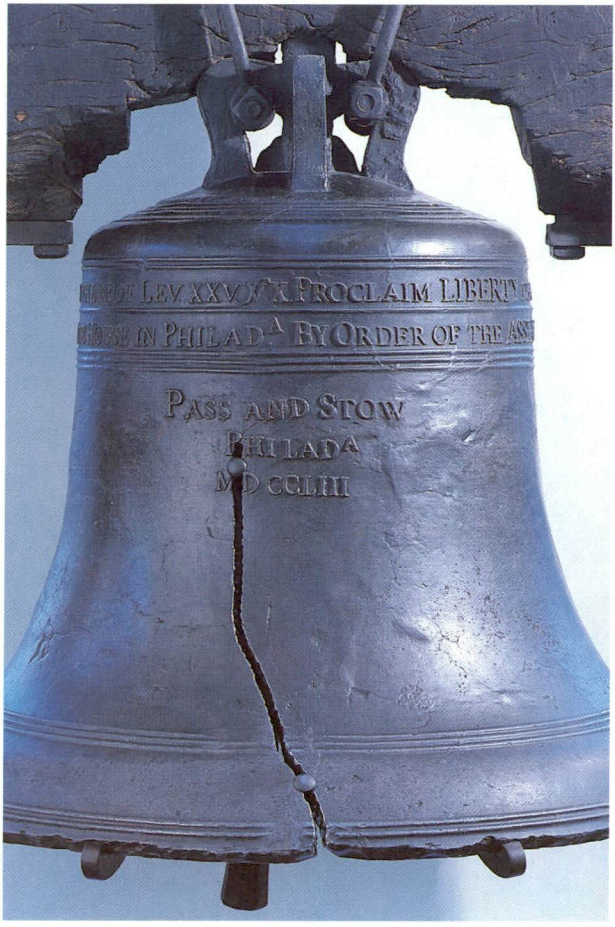
Liberty Bell Pavilion. Most people associate the Liberty Bell with the events of the American Revolution. Actually, however, the bell was created to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the Pennsylvania Charter of Privileges, the democratic constitution that William Penn granted his colony in 1701. Today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





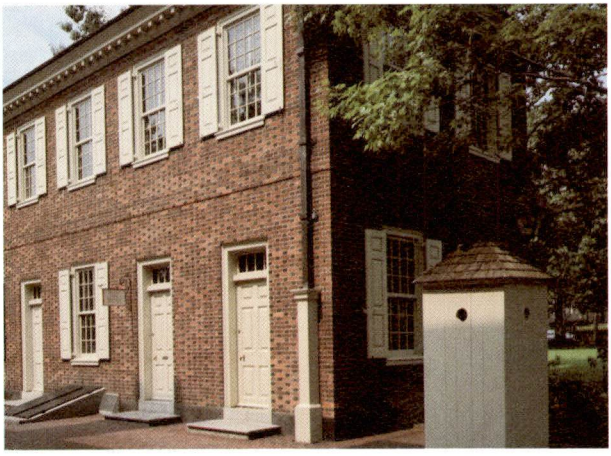
Library Hall was built originally in 1789-90 by the Library Company of Philadelphia, the oldest subscription library in the United States. Members of the Continental and Federal Congresses and the Constitutional Convention used the Library Company's facilities. The original building was demolished in 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*



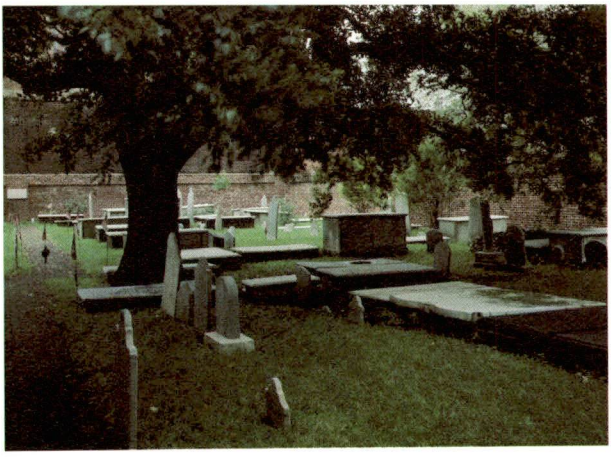
The Marine Corps Memorial Museum (formerly New Hall) contains exhibits depicting the founding of the U.S. Marine Corps in Philadelphia in 1775 and the exploits of the Corps during the American Revolution. The museum building is a reconstruction of New Hall, built by the Carpenters' Company in 1791 and 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*



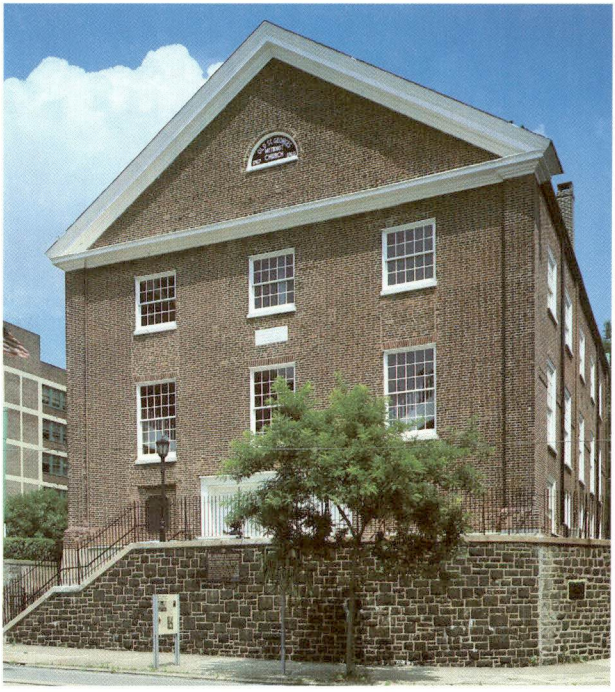
Philosophical Hall is the only privately owned building on Independence Square. It is the home of the American Philosophical Society, founded by Benjamin Franklin in 1743 and the oldest learned society in the United States. The society erected the building between 1785 and 1789 and still occupies it.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

21 *104 South Fifth Street*



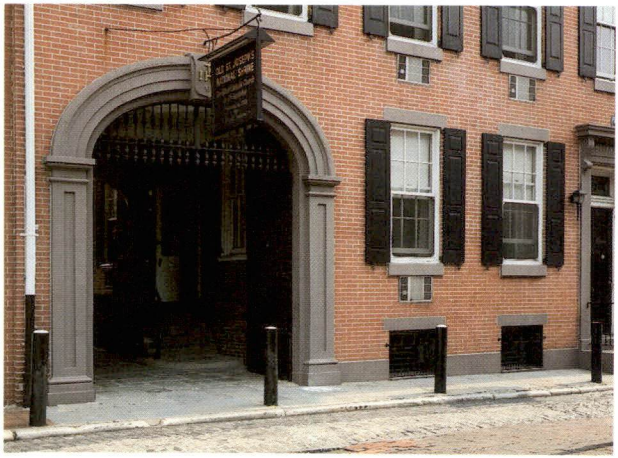
St. George's Church, at right, is the oldest Methodist Church in the United States. Except for the winter of 1777-78, it has been in constant use since 1769.

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*



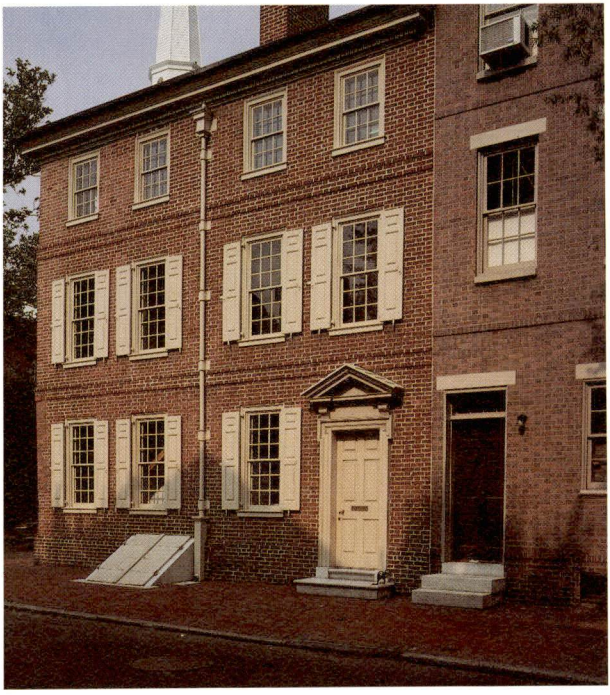
Second Bank of the United States, one of the finest examples of Greek Revival architecture in America, was designed by William Strickland and built between 1819 and 1824. The Second Bank, incorporated in 1816, was one of the most influential financial institutions in the world until 1832, when it became 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*



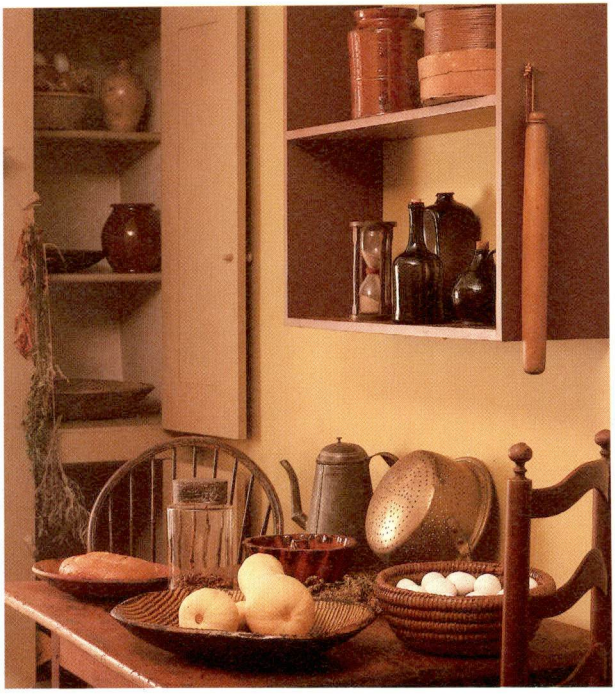
Thaddeus Kosciuszko National Memorial. The Polish military engineer who designed and constructed American defense works during the Revolution lived in this house in 1797-98 during his second visit to America.

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.

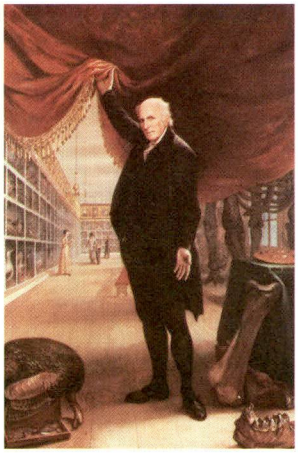
The splendor of Independence Hall now contrasted sharply with its deteriorating neighborhood. Up to this point the burden of preserving a national inheritance was borne by the city and a handful of private organizations. A broader concept and new resources were needed. A start was made in 1938 when the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

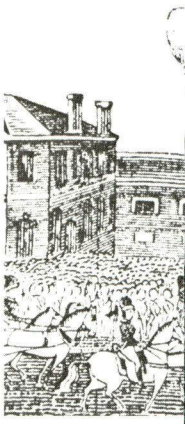
demolition, was designated a national historic site, followed by Gloria Dei Church in 1942, and Independence Hall itself a year later. Many individuals and groups had long been aware of the opportunities for both preservation and renewal in the heart of downtown Philadelphia. In 1942 the representatives 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.

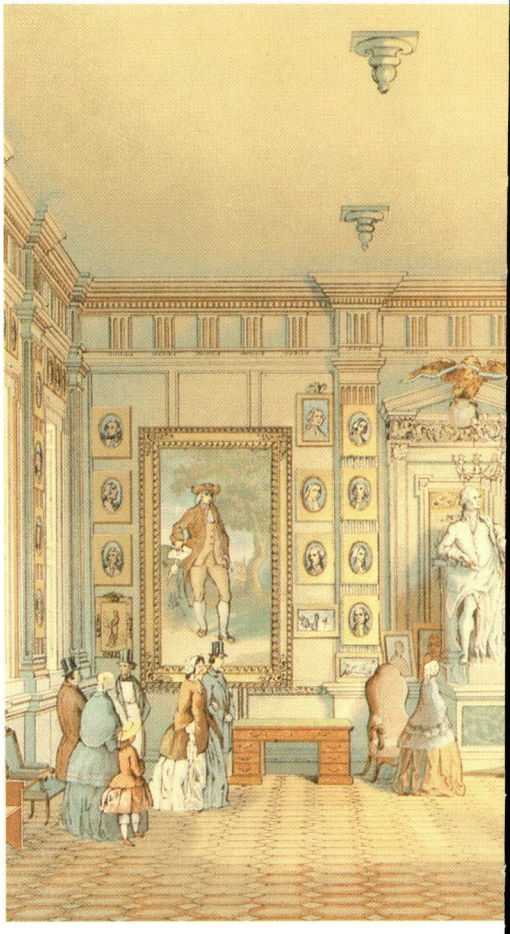
Congress defined the Federal area as the three city blocks between Walnut and Chestnut Streets from Second to Fifth Streets and a few important nearby areas, such as the site of Franklin's house. The significant buildings in this area include the First and Second Banks of the United States, the Philadelphia 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.

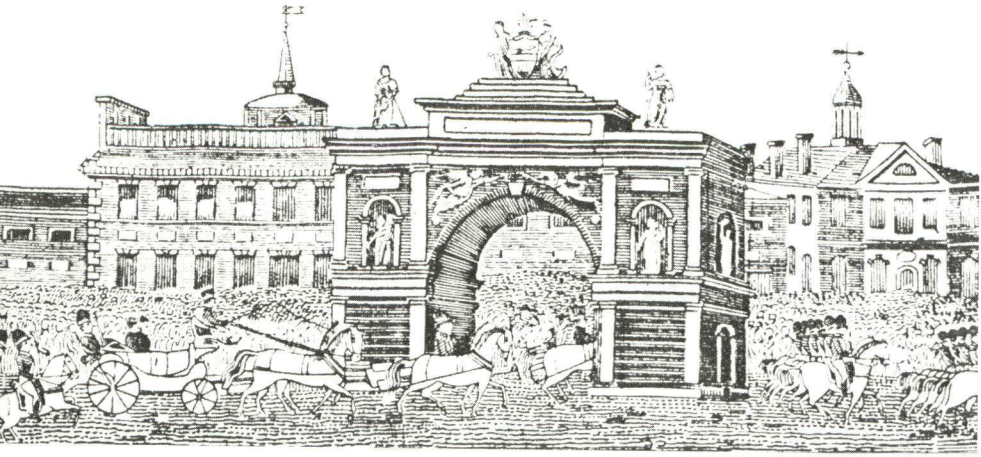
The city and the State have both made vital contributions to the park concept. The city, while retaining title, gave custody of the Independence Hall group of buildings and the square to the Park Service; the State assumed responsibility for the development of the three-block mall north of Independence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







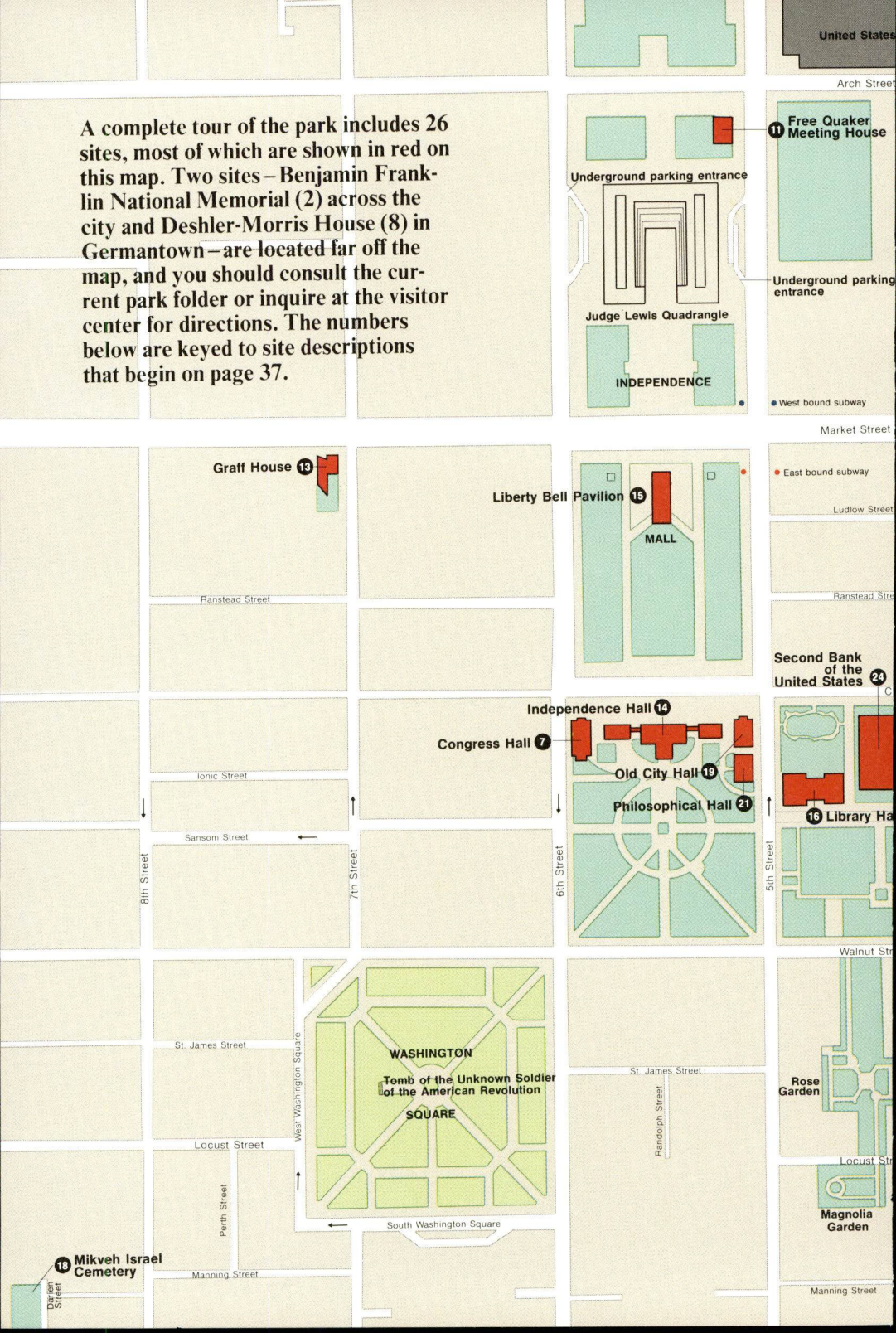


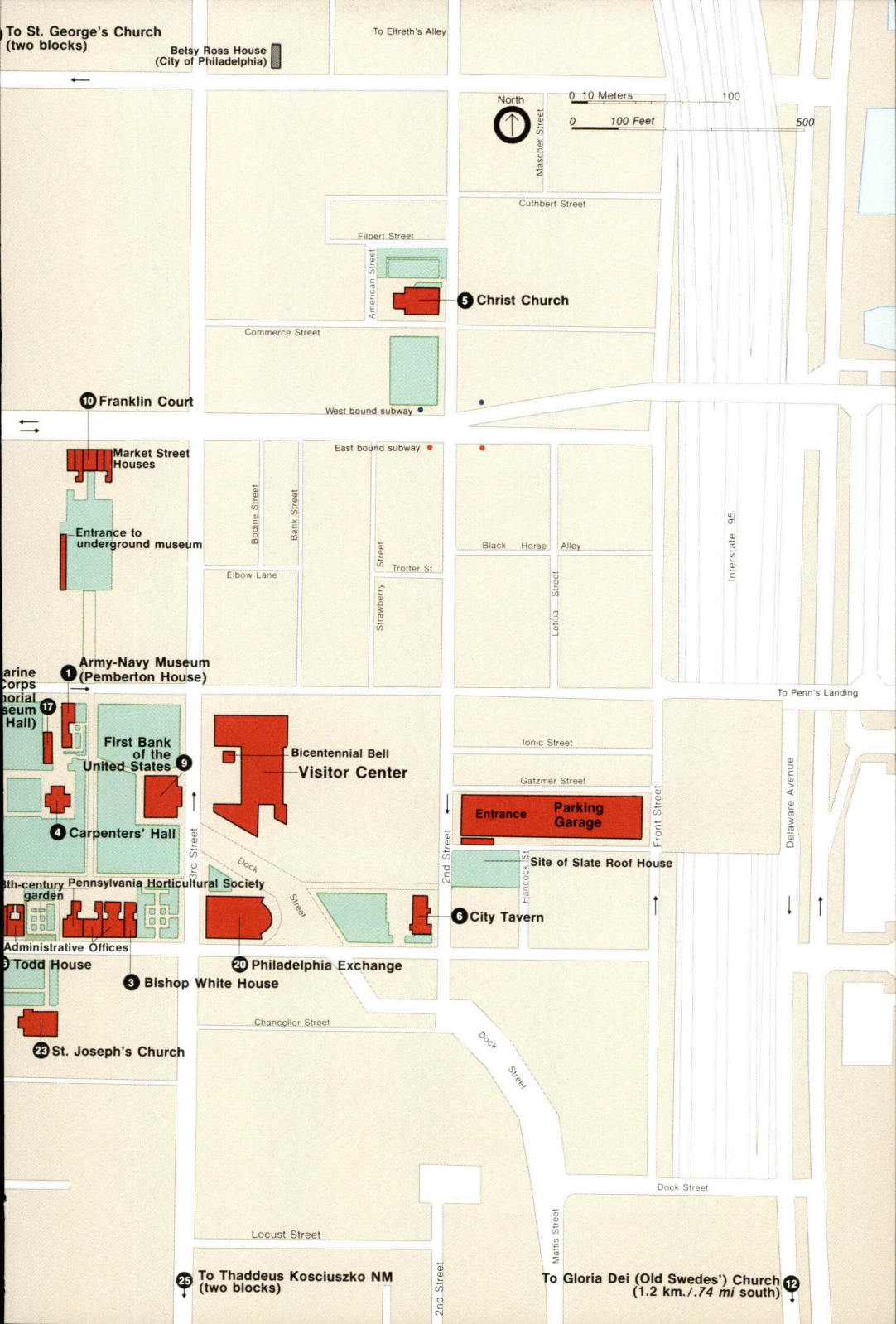




Before restoration, the Todd House (above) was a corner eatery.

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.
United States
Arch Street
11 Free Quaker Meeting House
Underground parking entrance
Judge Lewis Quadrangle
INDEPENDENCE
Underground parking entrance
West bound subway
Market Street
Graff House 13
Ranstead Street
Liberty Bell Pavilion 15
MALL
East bound subway
Ludlow Street
Second Bank of the United States 24
Independence Hall 14
Congress Hall 7
Old City Hall 19
Philosophical Hall 21
16 Library Ha
Ionic Street
Sansom Street
8th Street
7th Street
6th Street
5th Street
Walnut Str
St. James Street
WASHINGTON
Tomb of the Unknown Soldier of the American Revolution
SQUARE
West Washington Square
South Washington Square
St. James Street
Randolph Street
Rose Garden
Locust Street
Perth Street
Magnolia Garden
18 Mikveh Israel Cemetery
Manning Street
Darien Street
Manning Street


To St. George's Church (two blocks)
Betsy Ross House (City of Philadelphia)
To Elfreth's Alley
North
0 10 Meters 100
0 100 Feet 500
Mascher Street
Cuthbert Street
Filbert Street
American Street
5 Christ Church
Commerce Street
10 Franklin Court
West bound subway
East bound subway
Market Street Houses
Entrance to underground museum
Bodine Street
Bank Street
Elbow Lane
Trotter St
Strawberry
Black Horse Alley
Letitia Street
Interstate 95
1 Army-Navy Museum (Pemberton House)
17
First Bank of the United States
9
4 Carpenters' Hall
Bicentennial Bell
Visitor Center
3rd Street
Dock Street
Pennsylvania Horticultural Society
Administrative Offices
Todd House
3 Bishop White House
20 Philadelphia Exchange
Chancellor Street
23 St. Joseph's Church
Ionic Street
Gatzmer Street
Entrance
Parking Garage
2nd Street
Hancock St
Site of Slate Roof House
6 City Tavern
Front Street
Delaware Avenue
To Penn's Landing
Dock Street
Locust Street
Mattis Street
25 To Thaddeus Kosciuszko NM (two blocks)
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).
Independence National Historical Park Collection: 17, 18 (Adams, Dickinson, and Robert Morris by Charles Willson Peale and Patrick Henry by an unknown artist after Lawrence Sully), 24 (bottom), 27 (Madison by Peale and Jefferson by James Sharples), 28 (Sherman and Ellsworth), 29 (Wilson), 30 (Morris House and Rush Statue), 31 (Hamilton, Jefferson, and Knox by Peale), 60-61 (Rosenthal lithograph and 1951 photo).
Lautman, Robert: 16 (Franklin Court), 40, 45, 50-51.
Library Company of Philadelphia: 8 (Holme map), 12 (Birch engraving of Indians).
Library of Congress: 8 (map), 18 (Galloway), 29 (Gouverneur Morris).
National Gallery of Art: 10 (Paine), 18 (Jay by Gilbert Stuart).
Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts: 60 (Peale, *The Artist in His Museum*).
Philadelphia, city of: 6.
Philadelphia Free Library: 60-61 (1824 woodcut).
Schlecht, Richard: 10 (*Randolph*).
Troiani, Don: 20-21.
Valley Forge Historical Society: 11 (*Battle of Germantown* by Xavier Della Gatta, 1782).
Virginia State Library: 31 (Randolph).
Woodward, William: 16 (Franklin).

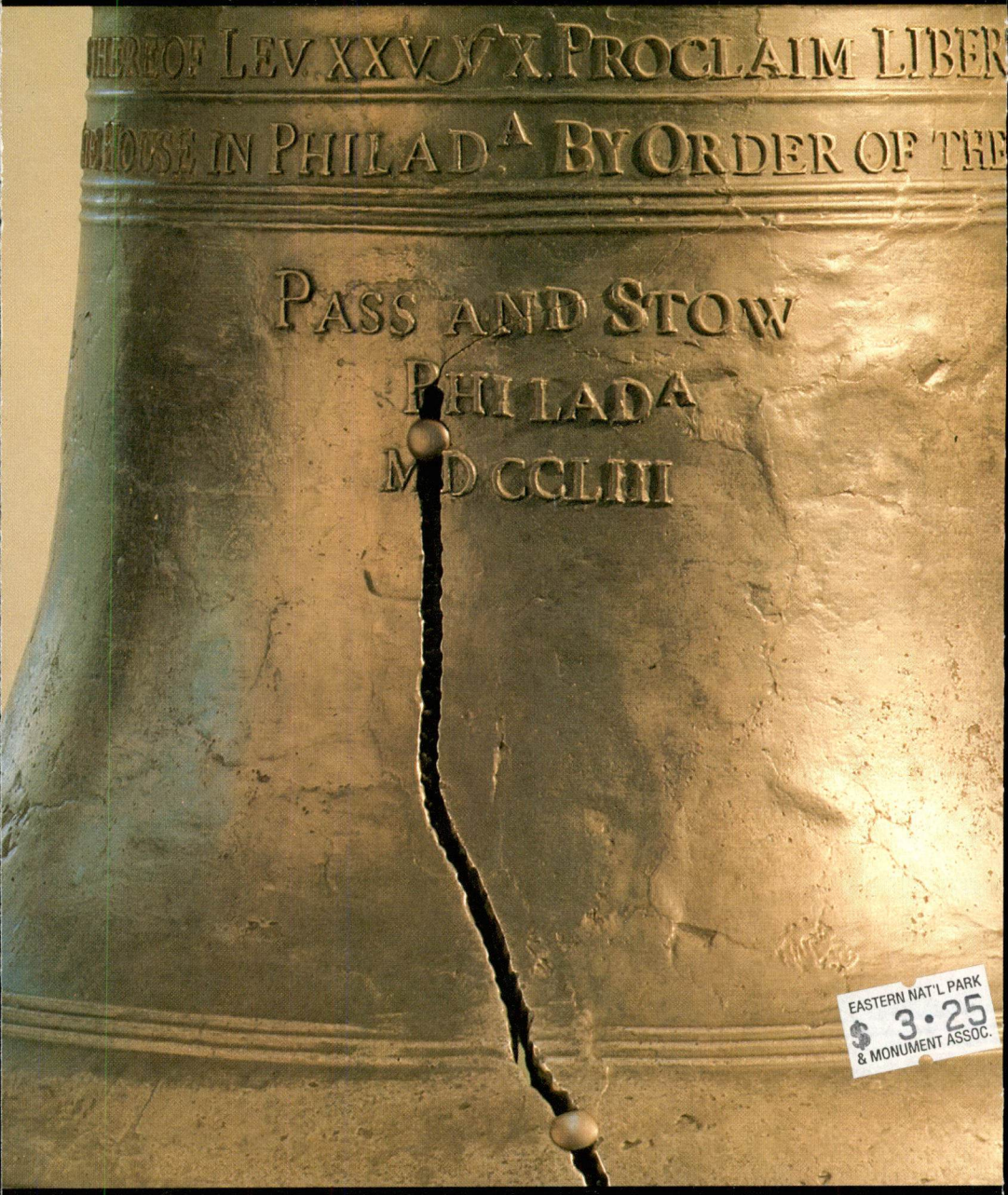
National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior

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



EASTERN NAT'L PARK
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