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# FOIA MARKER

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**Series:** Speech File Backup Files  
**Subseries:** Chron File, 1989-1993

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**OA/ID Number:** 13832  
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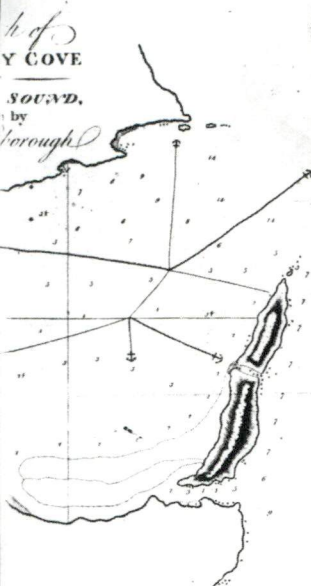
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**Folder Title:**  
Background Information for Christian Coalition 9/11/92 [OA 7580] [2]

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Alaska Sound, Vancouver Island, mouth of the 1789 expedition the British encampment

Cook's expedition, several competed for territorial and rights along the North, from Oregon to Alaska. Spain, Russia, and the Netherlands all had interests on the coast. Russia had Alaska, Spain had the Philippines, and England had Vancouver Island. The U.S. claimed the Columbia River (discovered by Captain Robert Gray in 1792). Subsequent territories would continue for over

View of the British settlement at Vancouver, a fur trading outpost



# 1786

12.

## THOMAS JEFFERSON: Virginia Statute of Religious Freedom

*The Virginia Declaration of Rights of 1776 had asserted the principle of religious freedom, but it was not until 1779 that the Anglican Church was disestablished in the state. There were, however, many Virginians who felt that even with denominational equality all religions should be tax-supported. Public opinion was soon strongly aroused to the contrary view by Madison's "Remonstrance Against Religious Assessments" in 1785. The Statute of Religious Freedom that was drawn up by Thomas Jefferson in 1779 passed the Virginia Senate on January 16, 1786. The act made religious taxes illegal and allowed for liberty of religious opinion. This victory for the separation of church and state soon became the law for the entire Union in the First Amendment to the Constitution. Jefferson's directions for his epitaph, found after his death in his own handwriting, read: ". . . On the faces of the obelisk the following inscription, and not a word more, 'Here was buried Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of American Independence, of the statute of Virginia for religious freedom, and father of the University of Virginia,' because by these, as testimonials that I have lived, I wish most to be remembered."*

Source: H. A. Washington, VIII, pp. 454-456.

I. *Whereas* Almighty God has created the mind free, so that all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments or burdens, or by civil incapacitations, tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness, and are a departure from the plan of the Holy Author of our religion, who, being Lord both of body and mind, yet chose not to propagate it by coercions on either, as was in His almighty power to do; that the impious presumption of legislators and rulers, civil as well as ecclesiastical, who, being themselves but fallible and uninspired men, have assumed dominion over the faith of others, setting up their own opinions and modes of thinking as the only true and infallible, and

as such endeavoring to impose them on others, has established and maintained false religions over the greatest part of the world, and through all time; that to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves is sinful and tyrannical; that even forcing him to support this or that teacher of his own religious persuasion is depriving him of the comfortable liberty of giving his contributions to the particular pastor whose morals he would make his pattern and whose powers he feels most persuasive to righteousness, and is withdrawing from the ministry those temporary rewards which, proceeding from an approbation of their personal conduct, are an additional incitement to earnest and unremitting labors for the instruction of mankind; that our civil rights have no dependence on our religious opinions, any more than our opinions in physics or geometry; that, therefore, the proscribing [of] any citizen as unworthy [of] the public confidence by laying upon him an incapacity of being called to offices of trust and emolument unless he profess or renounce this or that religious opinion is depriving him injuriously of those privileges and advantages to which in common with his fellow citizens he has a natural right; that it tends only to corrupt the principles of that . . . religion it is meant to encourage, by bribing with a monopoly of worldly honors and emoluments those who will externally profess and conform to it; that though indeed these are criminal who do not withstand such temptation, yet neither are those innocent who lay the bait in their way; that to suffer the civil magistrate to intrude his powers into the field of opinion, and to restrain the profession or propagation of principles on supposition of their ill tendency, is a dangerous fallacy which at

once destroys all religious liberty, because he, being of course judge of that tendency, will make his opinions the rule of judgment, and approve or condemn the sentiments of others only as they shall square with or differ from his own; that it is time enough for the rightful purposes of civil government for its officers to interfere when principles break out into overt acts against peace and good order; and finally, that truth is great and will prevail if left to herself, that she is the proper and sufficient antagonist to error, and has nothing to fear from the conflict, unless by human interposition disarmed of her natural weapons, free argument and debate, errors ceasing to be dangerous when it is permitted freely to contradict them.

II. *Be it . . . enacted by the General Assembly that no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burdened in his body or goods, nor shall otherwise suffer on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinion in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.*

III. And though we well know that this Assembly, elected by the people for the ordinary purposes of legislation only, have no power to restrain the acts of succeeding assemblies, constituted with powers equal to our own, and that therefore to declare this act to be irrevocable would be of no effect in law; yet as we are free to declare, and do declare, that the rights hereby asserted are of the natural rights of mankind, and that if any act shall hereafter be passed to repeal the present, or to narrow its operation, such act will be an infringement of natural right.

13.

## BENJAMIN RUSH: On th

*Dr. Benjamin Rusb's varied inter-  
improve education in America. Ru  
philosopher, on May 25, 1786. In  
involved giving greater freedom to  
and utilitarian subjects rather than*

Source: MHSP, 2nd series, XVII, pp.

MY LAST LETTER TO YOU by Captain  
dy contained an account of an  
convention of the states to assemb  
napolis in Maryland, next Septe  
the purpose of agreeing upon cer  
mercial regulations and of sugges  
alterations in the Confederation as  
more extensive and coercive powers  
gress. We entertain the most  
hopes from this convention, espec  
opinion seems to have pervaded  
of people that an increase of powe  
gress is absolutely necessary for  
and independence.

Most of the distresses of our cou  
of the mistakes which Europe  
formed of us, have arisen from a  
the American Revolution is over.  
far from being the case that we  
finished the first act of the great d  
have changed our forms of govern  
it remains yet to effect a revolut  
principles, opinions, and manners  
accommodate them to the forms c  
ment we have adopted. This is  
difficult part of the business of th  
and legislators of our country. I  
more wisdom and fortitude than t  
to reduce armies into captivity.

appointment of a bishop until some candidates are found fitted to receive holy orders; this we hope will be the case in a few years, as you will understand, Most Eminent Cardinal, from a special relation which I purpose writing. When that time comes, we shall perhaps be better able to make a suitable provision for a bishop than from our slender resources we can now do.

In the next place, if it shall seem best to His Holiness to assign a bishop to this country, will it be best to appoint a vicar apostolic or an ordinary with a see of his own? Which will conduce more to the progress of Catholicity; which will contribute most to remove Protestant jealousy of foreign jurisdiction? I know with certainty that this fear will increase if they know that an ecclesiastical superior is so appointed as

to be removable from office at the pleasure of the Sacred Congregation *de Propaganda Fide*, or any other tribunal out of the country, or that he has no power to admit any priest to exercise the sacred function, unless that congregation has approved and sent him to us.

As to the method of nominating a bishop, I will say no more at present than this, that we are imploring God in His wisdom and mercy to guide the judgment of the Holy See, that if it does not seem proper to allow the priests who have labored for so many years in this vineyard of the Lord to propose to the Holy See the one whom they deem most fit, that some method will be adopted by which a bad feeling may not be excited among the people of this country, Catholic and Protestant.

6.

### JAMES MADISON: Against Religious Assessments

*The occasion of Madison's "Remonstrance" was explained by him in a letter to George Mason of July 14, 1826: "During the session of the General Assembly [of Virginia], 1784-5, a bill was introduced into the House of Delegates providing for the legal support of the teachers of the Christian religion, and being patronized by the most popular talents in the House, seemed likely to obtain a majority of votes. . . . Your highly-distinguished ancestor, Col. Geo. Mason . . . and some others, thought it advisable that a remonstrance against the bill should be prepared for general circulation and signature, and imposed on me the task of drawing up such a paper. This draught having received their sanction, a large number of printed copies were distributed, and so extensively signed by the people of every religious denomination, that at the ensuing session the projected measure was entirely frustrated."*

Source: *Madison Letters*, I, pp. 162-169.

WE, THE SUBSCRIBERS, citizens of the said Commonwealth, having taken into serious consideration a bill printed by order of the last session of General Assembly, entitled "A Bill Establishing a Provision for Teach-

ers of the Christian Religion," and conceiving that the same, if finally armed with the sanctions of a law, will be a dangerous abuse of power, are bound as faithful members of a free state to remonstrate against it,

and to declare the reasons by which determined. We remonstrate against said bill:

1. Because we hold it for a fundamental and undeniable truth, "that religious duty which we owe to our Creator in the manner of discharging it, can be supported only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence." The religion, then, which every man must be left to the conviction and conscience of every man; and it is the right of every man to exercise it as these dictate. This right is in its nature an unalienable and sacred right. It is unalienable because the opinions of men, depending only on the evidence contemplated by their own minds, cannot follow the dictates of other men. It is unalienable, also, because what is a right toward men is a duty toward the Creator. It is the duty of every man to render to the Creator such homage, and such as he believes to be acceptable to him. This duty is precedent both in order of time and degree of obligation to the claims of all society. Before any man can be considered as a member of civil society, he must be considered as a subject of the Government of the universe; and if a member of a society who enters into any subordination must always do it with a reservation of his duty to the general authority of the universe, more must every man who becomes a member of any particular civil society, with a saving of his allegiance to the universal sovereign. We maintain, therefore, that in matters of religion no man is to be compelled by the institution of civil laws, and that religion is wholly exempt from the cognizance of the civil power. True it is that no other principle exists by which any question which divides a society can be ultimately decided than the will of the majority; but it is true that the majority may trespass on the rights of the minority.

2. Because if religion be exercised by the authority of the society at large, it can be subject to that of the

movable from office at the pleasure of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda or any other tribunal out of the country that he has no power to admit any one to exercise the sacred function, unless the Congregation has approved and sent us.

As to the method of nominating a bishop, I will say no more at present than this, that we are imploring God in His wisdom and mercy to guide the judgment of the Holy See, that if it does not seem proper to the Holy See, that the priests who have labored for so many years in this vineyard of the Lord to be united to the Holy See the one whom we think most fit, that some method will be found by which a bad feeling may not be excited among the people of this Catholic and Protestant.

## Assessments

... as directed by him in a letter to the General Assembly [of Virginia], which expresses providing for the legal support of the Christian Religion, and is authorized by the most popular talents of the country. Your highly-distinguished wisdom has judged it advisable that a remonstrance be drawn up and signed, and imposed on the clergy, having received their sanction, and extensively signed by the people in the projected measure was

... the Christian Religion," and conceived that the same, if finally armed with the force of a law, will be a dangerous encroachment on the power, are bound as faithful members of a free state to remonstrate against it,

and to declare the reasons by which we are determined. We remonstrate against the said bill:

1. Because we hold it for a fundamental and undeniable truth, "that religion or the duty which we owe to our Creator and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence." The religion, then, of every man must be left to the conviction and conscience of every man; and it is the right of every man to exercise it as these may dictate. This right is in its nature an unalienable right. It is unalienable because the opinions of men, depending only on the evidence contemplated by their own minds, cannot follow the dictates of other men. It is unalienable, also, because what is here a right toward men is a duty toward the Creator. It is the duty of every man to render to the Creator such homage, and such only, as he believes to be acceptable to him. This duty is precedent both in order of time and degree of obligation to the claims of civil society. Before any man can be considered as a member of civil society, he must be considered as a subject of the Governor of the universe; and if a member of civil society who enters into any subordinate association must always do it with a reservation of his duty to the general authority, much more must every man who becomes a member of any particular civil society do it with a saving of his allegiance to the universal sovereign. We maintain, therefore, that in matters of religion no man's right is abridged by the institution of civil society, and that religion is wholly exempt from its cognizance. True it is that no other rule exists by which any question which may divide a society can be ultimately determined than the will of the majority; but it is also true that the majority may trespass on the rights of the minority.

2. Because if religion be exempt from the authority of the society at large, still less can it be subject to that of the legislative

body. The latter are but the creatures and vicegerents of the former. Their jurisdiction is both derivative and limited: it is limited with regard to the coordinate departments; more necessarily is it limited with regard to the constituents. The preservation of a free government requires not merely that the metes and bounds which separate each department of power may be invariably maintained, but more especially that neither of them be suffered to overleap the great barrier which defends the rights of the people. The rulers who are guilty of such an encroachment exceed the commission from which they derive their authority, and are tyrants. The people who submit to it are governed by laws made neither by themselves nor by an authority derived from them, and are slaves.

3. Because it is proper to take alarm at the first experiment on our liberties. We hold this prudent jealousy to be the first duty of citizens and one of the noblest characteristics of the late Revolution. The freemen of America did not wait till usurped power had strengthened itself by exercise and entangled the question in precedents. They saw all the consequences in the principle, and they avoided the consequences by denying the principle. We revere this lesson too much soon to forget it. Who does not see that the same authority which can establish Christianity, in exclusion of all other religions, may establish with the same ease any particular sect of Christians, in exclusion of all other sects? That the same authority which can force a citizen to contribute threepence only of his property for the support of any one establishment may force him to conform to any other establishment in all cases whatsoever?

4. Because the bill violates that equality which ought to be the basis of every law, and which is more indispensable, in proportion as the validity or expediency of any law is more liable to be impeached. "If all men are by nature equally free and inde-

pendent," all men are to be considered as entering into society on equal conditions; as relinquishing no more, and therefore retaining no less, one than another, of their natural rights. Above all are they to be considered as retaining an "equal title to the free exercise of religion according to the dictates of conscience." While we assert for ourselves a freedom to embrace, to profess, and to observe the religion which we believe to be of divine origin, we cannot deny an equal freedom to those whose minds have not yet yielded to the evidence which has convinced us. If this freedom be abused, it is an offense against God, not against man: To God, therefore, not to man must an account of it be rendered. As the bill violates equality by subjecting some to peculiar burdens, so it violates the same principle by granting to others peculiar exemptions. Are the Quakers and Mennonites the only sects who think a compulsive support of their religions unnecessary and unwarrantable? Can their piety alone be entrusted with the care of public worship? Ought their religions to be endowed above all others with extraordinary privileges by which proselytes may be enticed from all others? We think too favorably of the justice and good sense of these denominations to believe that they either covet preeminencies over their fellow citizens or that they will be seduced by them from the common opposition to the measure.

5. Because the bill implies either that the civil magistrate is a competent judge of religious truths, or that he may employ religion as an engine of civil policy. The first is an arrogant pretension falsified by the contradictory opinions of rulers in all ages and throughout the world; the second an unhalloved perversion of the means of salvation.

6. Because the establishment proposed by the bill is not requisite for the support of the Christian religion. To say that it is, is a contradiction to the Christian religion itself; for every page of it disavows a depen-

dence on the powers of this world. It is a contradiction to fact, for it is known that this religion both existed and flourished, not only without the support of human laws but in spite of every opposition from them; and not only during the period of miraculous aid but long after it had been left to its own evidence and the ordinary care of Providence. Nay, it is a contradiction in terms, for a religion not invented by human policy must have preexisted and been supported before it was established by human policy. It is, moreover, to weaken in those who profess this religion a pious confidence in its innate excellence and the patronage of its Author; and to foster in those who still reject it a suspicion that its friends are too conscious of its fallacies to trust it to its own merits.

7. Because experience witnesses that ecclesiastical establishments, instead of maintaining the purity and efficacy of religion, have had a contrary operation. During almost fifteen centuries has the legal establishment of Christianity been on trial. What have been its fruits? More or less in all places, pride and indolence in the clergy; ignorance and servility in the laity; in both, superstition, bigotry, and persecution. Inquire of the teachers of Christianity for the ages in which it appeared in its greatest luster; those of every sect point to the ages prior to its incorporation with civil policy. Propose a restoration of this primitive state in which its teachers depended on the voluntary rewards of their flocks; many of them predict its downfall. On which side ought their testimony to have greatest weight, when for or when against their interest?

8. Because the establishment in question is not necessary for the support of civil government. If it be urged as necessary for the support of civil government only as it is a means of supporting religion, and it be not necessary for the latter purpose, it cannot be necessary for the former. If religion be not

within the cognizance of civil government, how can its legal establishment be necessary to civil government? What influence have ecclesiastical establishments on civil society? In some instances they have been seen to erect a spiritual tyranny in ruins of civil authority; in many they have been seen upholding the ruins of political tyranny; in no instance have they been seen the guardians of the liberties of the people. Rulers who wished to subvert the public liberty may have found established clergy convenient auxiliaries. A just government, instituted to secure and perpetuate it, needs them not. Such a government will be best supported by giving every citizen in the enjoyment of religion with the same equal hand who protects his person and his property; by not invading the equal rights of any sect, nor suffering any sect to invade those of another.

9. Because the proposed establishment is a departure from that generous policy which, offering an asylum to the persecuted and oppressed of every nation and every language, has promised a luster to our country and an accession to the number of its citizens. A melancholy mark is the bill of suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*; a more general mark is the bill of suspension of the writ of *admiralty*. Instead of holding forth an asylum to the persecuted, it is itself a persecution. It degrades from the equality of all citizens all those whose opinions do not bend to those of the legislative authority. Distant as it may be, in form, from the Inquisition, it differs from it only in degree. The one is a step, the other is the last in the career of intolerance. The magnanimous sufferer under this cruel scourge in foreign countries must view the bill as a beacon on the coast, warning him to seek some other port where liberty and philanthropy in its full extent may offer a more certain refuge from his troubles.

10. Because it will have a like tendency to banish our citizens. The allurements

the powers of this world. It is a fiction to fact, for it is known that on both existed and flourished, not without the support of human laws; the site of every opposition from them; only during the period of miracle, but long after it had been left to its decadence and the ordinary care of justice. Nay, it is a contradiction in itself for a religion not invented by human hands must have preexisted and been supported before it was established by human hands; it is, moreover, to weaken in those who profess this religion a pious confidence in its excellence and the patronage of its rulers; and to foster in those who still entertain a suspicion that its friends are too credulous of its fallacies to trust it to its own merits.

Because experience witnesses that ecclesiastical establishments, instead of maintaining the purity and efficacy of religion, have had a contrary operation. During almost thirteen centuries has the legal establishment of Christianity been on trial. What have been its fruits? More or less in all ages pride and indolence in the clergy; ignorance and servility in the laity; in both, intolerance, bigotry, and persecution. In the teachers of Christianity for the which it appeared in its greatest lustre of every sect point to the ages of its incorporation with civil policy. A restoration of this primitive state which its teachers depended on the voluntary rewards of their flocks; many of which predict its downfall. On which side their testimony to have greatest weight when for or when against their interests.

Because the establishment in question is necessary for the support of civil government. If it be urged as necessary for the support of civil government only as it is a means of supporting religion, and it be not necessary for the latter purpose, it cannot be necessary for the former. If religion be not

within the cognizance of civil government, how can its legal establishment be necessary to civil government? What influence in fact have ecclesiastical establishments had on civil society? In some instances they have been seen to erect a spiritual tyranny on the ruins of civil authority; in many instances they have been seen upholding the thrones of political tyranny; in no instance have they been seen the guardians of the liberties of the people. Rulers who wished to subvert the public liberty may have found an established clergy convenient auxiliaries. A just government, instituted to secure and perpetuate it, needs them not. Such a government will be best supported by protecting every citizen in the enjoyment of his religion with the same equal hand which protects his person and his property; by neither invading the equal rights of any sect, nor suffering any sect to invade those of another.

9. Because the proposed establishment is a departure from that generous policy, which, offering an asylum to the persecuted and oppressed of every nation and religion, promised a luster to our country and an accession to the number of its citizens. What a melancholy mark is the bill of sudden degeneracy! Instead of holding forth an asylum to the persecuted, it is itself a signal of persecution. It degrades from the equal rank of citizens all those whose opinions in religion do not bend to those of the legislative authority. Distant as it may be, in its present form, from the Inquisition, it differs from it only in degree. The one is the first step, the other is the last in the career of intolerance. The magnanimous sufferer under this cruel scourge in foreign regions must view the bill as a beacon on our coast, warning him to seek some other haven, where liberty and philanthropy in their due extent may offer a more certain repose from his troubles.

10. Because it will have a like tendency to banish our citizens. The allurements pre-

ented by other situations are every day thinning their number. To superadd a fresh motive to emigration by revoking the liberty which they now enjoy would be the same species of folly which has dishonored and depopulated flourishing kingdoms.

11. Because it will destroy that moderation and harmony which the forbearance of our laws to intermeddle with religion has produced amongst its several sects. Torrents of blood have been spilled in the Old World [by] vain attempts of the secular arm to extinguish religious discord by proscribing all differences in religious opinion. Time has at length revealed the true remedy. Every relaxation of narrow and rigorous policy, wherever it has been tried, has been found to assuage the disease. The American theater has exhibited proofs that equal and complete liberty, if it does not wholly eradicate it, sufficiently destroys its malignant influence on the health and prosperity of the state. If with the salutary effects of this system under our own eyes we begin to contract the bounds of religious freedom, we know no name that will too severely reproach our folly. At least let warning be taken at the first fruits of the threatened innovation. The very appearance of the bill has transformed "that Christian forbearance, love, and charity," which of late mutually prevailed, into animosities and jealousies, which may not soon be appeased. What mischiefs may not be dreaded should this enemy to the public quiet be armed with the force of a law?

12. Because the policy of the bill is adverse to the diffusion of the light of Christianity. The first wish of those who enjoy this precious gift ought to be that it may be imparted to the whole race of mankind. Compare the number of those who have as yet received it with the number still remaining under the dominion of false religions; and how small is the former! Does the policy of the bill tend to lessen the disproportion? No, it at once discourages those who

are strangers to the light of revelation from coming into the region of it; and countenances by example the nations who continue in darkness, in shutting out those who might convey it to them. Instead of leveling as far as possible, every obstacle to the victorious progress of truth, the bill, with an ignoble and unchristian timidity, would circumscribe it with a wall of defense against the encroachments of error.

13. Because attempts to enforce, by legal sanctions, acts obnoxious to so great a proportion of citizens tend to enervate the laws in general and to slacken the bands of society. If it be difficult to execute any law which is not generally deemed necessary or salutary, what must be the case where it is deemed invalid and dangerous? And what may be the effect of so striking an example of impotency in the government on its general authority?

14. Because a measure of such singular magnitude and delicacy ought not to be imposed without the clearest evidence that it is called for by a majority of citizens, and no satisfactory method is yet proposed by which the voice of the majority in this case may be determined or its influence secured. "The people of the respective counties are indeed requested to signify their opinion respecting the adoption of the bill to the next session of Assembly." But the representation must be made equal, before the voice either of the representatives or of the counties will be that of the people. Our hope is that neither of the former will, after due consideration, espouse the dangerous principle of the bill. Should the event disappoint us, it will still leave us in full confidence that a fair appeal to the latter will reverse the sentence against our liberties.

15. Because, finally, "the equal right of every citizen to the free exercise of his reli-

gion according to the dictates of conscience" is held by the same tenure with all our other rights. If we recur to its origin, it is equally the gift of nature; if we weigh its importance, it cannot be less dear to us; if we consult the declaration of those rights which pertain to the good people of Virginia as the "basis and foundation of government," it is enumerated with equal solemnity, or rather, studied emphasis. Either then we must say that the will of the legislature is the only measure of their authority; and that in the plenitude of that authority, they may sweep away all our fundamental rights; or that they are bound to leave this particular right untouched and sacred. Either we must say that they may control the freedom of the press, may abolish the trial by jury, may swallow up the executive and judiciary powers of the state, nay, that they may despoil us of our very right of suffrage and erect themselves into an independent and hereditary assembly; or we must say that they have no authority to enact into law the bill under consideration. We, the subscribers, say that the General Assembly of this Commonwealth have no such authority. And . . . that no effort may be omitted on our part against so dangerous an usurpation, we oppose to it this remonstrance; earnestly praying, as we are in duty bound, that the Supreme Lawgiver of the universe, by illuminating those to whom it is addressed, may on the one hand turn their councils from every act which would affront His holy prerogative, or violate the trust committed to them; and on the other, guide them into every measure which may be worthy of His blessing, may redound to their own praise, and establish more firmly the liberties, the prosperity, and the happiness of the Commonwealth.

7.

### JOHN ADAMS: Foreign

*Under the Articles of Confederation impossible for Congress to negotiate of the intense commercial rivalry commercial treaty would only in John Adams, American minister the control of a stronger central government victimized by unfair trade restrictions arguments in a letter to John Jay*

Source: C. F. Adams, VIII, pp. 242-

IN EXECUTING THE INSTRUCTIONS OF the 7th of March last, as well as the several orders which concern the trade with Great Britain, the Ministry will, I find my commission and letter of appointment to possess sufficient authority. But you will observe in your letter from the Duke of Dorset, written to the ministers here sometime since that the British cabinet have some doubts whether Congress have authority to treat of commercial matters, and whether our states should not separately possess full powers to a minister. I think it should be taken for granted that the states have authority to think of sending separate ambassadors, and to authorize directly those appointed to Congress.

The idea of thirteen plenipotentiaries meeting together in a congress, or a court in Europe, each with a full power, and distinct instructions from his state, to view such a picture of confusion, expense, and endless delay, will not convince every man of its impracticability. Neither is there less absurdity in supposing that all the states should unite in

Frederick (1891-1891). He was born in 1891. A year later he graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1914, and began working as a laboratory.

Frederick served as a cryptanalyst in the American Expeditionary Force in France. He wrote *The Index of Cryptograms*, his greatest work. In 1918 he was employed by the U. S. Army to write a cryptology and classification manual. In the late 1920's he worked on the decipher machines. In 1938 he wrote the famous paper, providing the intelligence concerning the Enigma machine in 1955 and died in 1969.

*"The Codebreakers"*

See FREDERICK.

Frederick Augustus (1774-1843), painter, whose work, like that of the romantic movement, is typical of the movement. He died on Sept. 5, 1843, in Copenhagen, where he had been working at the academy. He was born in Dresden. There he studied under the painter Ludwig Tieck, and was influenced by Wackenroder, and Runge, all involved in the romantic movement. Friedrich became a painter in 1816 and died in Dresden on

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Columbia University

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**FRIENDS, The Religious Society of**, a Christian religious body usually known as *Quakers*. The term "Quaker" was originally a disparaging nickname, derived either from the saying of George Fox, "Tremble at the word of the Lord," or from the Quakers' habit of quivering with religious emotion. It soon lost its derogatory meaning, and members of the society call themselves either Friends or Quakers.

**History.** The society was founded in England about 1652 by George Fox. It was one of several sects that sprang up in the 17th century in protest against the domination of the church by the state and against certain church doctrines and ceremonies that were believed to incline toward Roman Catholicism. The teaching of George Fox was based on the belief that there is "that of God in every man" and that by following this Divine Spirit, the Inner Light, one can discover true belief and righteous conduct without the help of any minister.

Fox attracted many followers, who were known at first as "Children of Light," "Publishers of Truth," or "Friends of Truth" and finally as the Religious Society of Friends. Early Friends were by no means quiet and peaceful people. They often attracted attention by interrupting church services and by holding unauthorized meetings, a criminal offense in England under the Conventicle Act of 1664. They refused to pay tithes, and they objected to taking oaths, holding that oaths are forbidden by the Scriptures and that if one always tells the truth, one need not promise to do so on any particular occasion. They would not remove their hats as a mark of respect, even before the king. Plain dress, modeled after the clothes of ordinary working people, and plain speech, using the informal "thee" instead of the more respectful "you," were adopted as protests against the meaningless formalities and extravagances of the time. The common names of months and days of the week were considered pagan by the Friends, who used such terms as "First day" and "Second month."

The Friends met with violent persecution both from the Church of England and from the Puritans. Many of them were imprisoned and fined, but they were not discouraged. If all the adult members of a meeting were in prison, the children would continue the meeting. In 1656, George Fox estimated that there were seldom less than 1,000 in prison.

**The Friends in America.** When they reached New England, the Friends found even more persecution, and strict laws were passed against them. The first to arrive, in 1656, were Ann Austin and Mary Fisher, who were imprisoned and deported. Others, who came later, were flogged and driven from town to town, and four were hanged, including a woman, Mary Dyer. Many Friends found refuge in Rhode Island, where Roger Williams had established a colony on the principle of absolute religious freedom.

William Penn, who had joined the Friends in 1666, obtained the charter of Pennsylvania from Charles II in 1681 in payment of a debt of £16,000 owed to his father, Adm. Sir William Penn. Pennsylvania was established in 1682 as a "holy experiment" on religious principles. Penn was notably successful in maintaining friendly relations with the Indians.

At an early stage in their history the Friends developed a strong objection to slavery. One of the earliest abolitionists was John Woolman

of Mount Holly, N.J., whose *Journal* has become a literary classic. Other famous Quaker opponents of slavery were Lucretia Mott and John Greenleaf Whittier. In the period before the Civil War many Friends maintained stations of the Underground Railroad for the assistance of fugitive slaves.

Members of the society were deeply interested in other aspects of social reform. Elizabeth Fry was active in promoting the reform of prisons, and Dorothea Dix devoted most of her life to securing better treatment for the insane. Susan B. Anthony, a pioneer of woman suffrage like Lucretia Mott, also came from a family of Friends.

**Divisions and Changes.** In 1827 a separation occurred in the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting and in some others between the orthodox Friends and the followers of Elias Hicks, who advocated more liberal doctrines and objected to the assumption of authority by elders. Separate meetings were established, known unofficially as "Orthodox" and "Hicksite." In the 20th century the reasons for the separation seemed less important. The two meetings often worked together, and they were kept apart by questions of property and organization rather than by disagreements on doctrine. A joint meeting held in November 1946 marked the beginning of unity for the Orthodox and Hicksite branches in Philadelphia. In March 1955 they were formally united as the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends. Within a few months other Yearly Meetings in the United States and Canada followed their example and so ended the separation that had lasted for 128 years.

Another division among the Friends occurred in 1845-1854 from differences of opinion between Joseph John Gurney, brother of Elizabeth Fry, and John Wilbur, who regarded Gurney's views as too evangelical. The followers of these two men formed separate meetings in New England, Ohio, and Canada.

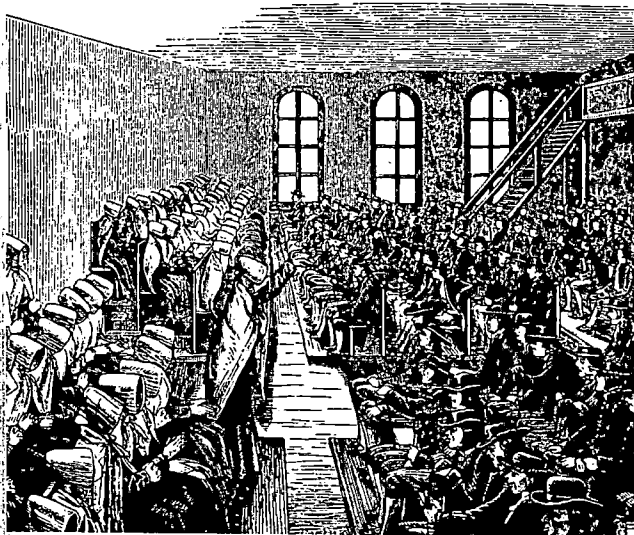
In the 19th century the Friends passed through a period of quietism, in which they withdrew from worldly activities and maintained a strict supervision of the private lives of their members. Many otherwise loyal Friends were disowned by their meetings for marrying persons of other faiths.

Later generations of Friends and newly convinced members accomplished many changes, and in the 20th century the society became an active and progressive organization with an increasing membership. Plain dress was abandoned when the need for it was no longer evident; by the middle of the 20th century it had almost disappeared. Plain speech, using "thee" and "thy," but not "thou," was retained largely as a special intimate form of address.

**Organization.** The founders of the society had no definite plan of organization; organizational forms were developed gradually. Local usage varies, but in general each congregation is known as a Monthly Meeting, from the practice of holding business meetings once a month. Sometimes several small preparative meetings unite as a Monthly Meeting. All Monthly Meetings in a given area come together four times a year as a Quarterly Meeting, for worship, fellowship, the transaction of business, and the discussion of common problems. Once a year the meetings in a much larger area unite for a Yearly Meeting, the largest administrative unit of the society.

Much of the work in Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings is done on a voluntary basis by committees, many of whose members give a great deal of time to their duties. Each Monthly Meeting has a clerk, a committee of overseers, and a committee of ministry and counsel, or of elders, as well as a varying number of other committees. There is no paid ministry. The term "minister" has sometimes been applied to a man, or often a woman, with an outstanding talent for speaking or a particular interest in visiting other meetings, but this term is not common in modern times.

Collections are not taken at meetings for worship. Every year the expenses of the meeting, which are usually very small, are divided among the adult members, who receive notice of the budget and estimated income. A quota of the funds collected by Monthly Meetings is paid to Quarterly and Yearly Meetings.



QUAKER MEETING in Philadelphia, with members in traditional dress, from an 1888 wood engraving.

The business meetings of Friends, even large gatherings of several hundred people, are conducted in a distinctive manner. No votes are taken, but after a free discussion the clerk takes "the sense of the meeting" and records it in a minute, which is read immediately so that members may approve or disapprove of its form. If no decision can be reached, the action is postponed.

Friends support many schools, of which Westtown School, George School, and Friends Central School, all near Philadelphia, are among the best known. They also maintain several colleges, including Swarthmore and Haverford colleges in Pennsylvania, Earlham College in Indiana, Guilford College in North Carolina, and Whittier College in California. Pendle Hill, at Wallingford, Pa., is a center for graduate study courses, conferences, seminars, and religious retreats.

The American Friends Fellowship Council, with headquarters in Philadelphia, encourages cooperation and understanding among the various branches of Friends in the United States and Canada, and sponsors the Wider Quaker Fellow-

ship for members of other faiths who are interested in the Friends. The Friends World Committee for Consultation brings together representatives from over 50 countries.

**Form of Worship.** From the beginning of their history, Friends have recognized the value of silence for encouraging religious meditation and for promoting human fellowship. Many households observe the custom of silent grace before meals, and business meetings regularly open and close with a period of silence. Meetings for worship are silent until someone feels moved to speak or to pray. A meeting may be entirely silent, and the amount of speaking depends largely on local preference.

A fairly large number of Friends, especially in the United States, have adopted a form of worship like that of other churches, with professional ministers. Their meetings are called Friends Churches.

First-day schools for children are customary in most meetings, and adult members often have classes for study and discussion.

Friends have no outward form of baptism and no communion service, since they regard fellowship in the kingdom of God as a spiritual rather than an external experience. There is no ceremony for the adoption of new members. Children of Friends become birthright members; anyone else who wishes to join the society applies for membership and is accepted by the meeting after a thorough investigation. Membership is recorded in the Monthly Meeting.

Marriages are supervised by members of the meeting. The couple who wish to be married notify the meeting of their intention, and a committee of oversight is appointed. In the presence of their friends the couple exchange the vows of marriage, and all who are present sign the certificate as witnesses.

Funerals are as simple as possible, with vocal and silent prayer, a reading from the Bible, and a few spontaneous tributes from personal friends.

**Distinguishing Views.** The Friends as a group have no written creed. As individuals they may be liberal or conservative; they may or may not believe in the Trinity and the divine nature of Christ.

They often study the Bible, emphasizing the value of its teaching rather than the necessity of belief in miracles. Many believe that it is not the final word of God to man but a part of the "continuing revelation" of the Divine Spirit.

The essence of their doctrine is the Inner Light, the Divine Spirit within every human being. By following this light, everyone may learn to distinguish the truth and to judge between right and wrong. This belief implies the essential worth of the individual, the brotherhood of man, and the necessity of respect for human rights. The religion of the Friends is an attempt to put these ideals into practice.

The basic principles of conduct and belief on which Friends agree are stated in books published by the Yearly Meetings. These books have various titles, such as *Book of Discipline or Faith and Practice*, and are often revised.

Each book contains a set of queries to be studied and answered by meetings. The queries deal with such subjects as the conduct of the meeting, personal life, family relationships, education, moderation in the use of narcotics and stimulants, social and political responsi-

bilities, fair practice and peace. The quaker

creed. The flexibility shown by the change in the virtue of live in the virtue. Look away the occasion, they absolute in war, and those their meetings. An attitude has been Revolutionary War patriotism above Civil War a conserved the abolitionist than the feeling against what relaxed, and bear arms took an and relief work. In question of military individual conscience.

Members who wished to urge them to do so. to the basic cause ignorance, and later toward eliminating significant work of

Membership. In approximately 200,000 Friends in the United States and other European countries and 45,000 in Africa.

The American Friends Service Committee in 1917 nearly all British Friends joined the American Friends Service Committee in Philadelphia a small group of help and resource ambitious program

They worked in other countries during the war. Similar work especially among religious relief work 1950-1953, mostly

the American Friends Service Committee of the British Society of Friends the Nobel Peace Prize

The Vietnam War the Friends. The Yearly Meetings find alternate Friends Service Committee to civilians of

Friends Service Committee United States began of children of committee became problem of minorities and migrant workers

by voluntary contributions in projects in Africa believe suffering and DELIGHT ANSLEY,

Further Reading: Varieties of Religious Thought (Pendle Hill Mutual Bk. 1985); Religion and Spirituality: Selected

abilities, fair practices in business, race problems, and peace. The queries serve the purpose of a creed.

The flexibility of Friends' doctrine is clearly shown by the change in their methods of opposition to war. George Fox urged his followers to live "in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars." In the beginning, they absolutely refused to take any part in war, and those who did so were disowned by their meetings. Among Friends in America, this attitude has been subject to change since the Revolutionary War, when many Friends placed patriotism above pacifism. At the time of the Civil War a considerable number of them regarded the abolition of slavery as more important than the evils of war. In World War I the feeling against military service was somewhat relaxed, and those who were not willing to bear arms took an active part in medical service and relief work. In world War II and later the question of military service was left to the individual conscience. Meetings helped their members who wished to resist the draft but did not urge them to do so. Friends gave their attention to the basic causes of war, including poverty, ignorance, and lack of understanding. Effort toward eliminating these causes became the most significant work of the society.

**Membership.** In the early 1970's there were approximately 200,000 members of the Society of Friends in the world, including 119,000 in the United States and Canada, 24,000 in Britain and other European countries, 6,000 in Latin America, and 45,000 in Africa.

**The American Friends Service Committee.** In 1917 nearly all branches of the Friends in the United States joined together to form the American Friends Service Committee, with headquarters in Philadelphia. A few paid workers and a small group of trained volunteers, using local help and resources if possible, carried out an ambitious program of relief and reconstruction. They worked in Germany, France, Russia, and other countries during World War I and afterward. Similar work was done in World War II, especially among refugees and exiles. Friends did extensive relief work in the Korean conflict of 1950-1953, mostly for homeless children. In 1947 the American Friends Service Committee and the British Society of Friends Service Council shared the Nobel Peace Prize.

The Vietnam War posed another challenge to the Friends. The Youth Services Division offered counsel to conscientious objectors and helped them find alternatives to military service. The Friends Service Committee also sent medical supplies to civilians on both sides of the conflict.

Friends Service Committee work within the United States began in the 1920's with the feeding of children of unemployed miners. Later the committee became actively concerned with the problem of minorities, including Negroes, Indians, and migrant workers. The committee, supported by voluntary contributions, has also engaged in projects in Africa, Asia, and Europe to relieve suffering and promote understanding.

DELIGHT ANSLEY, Author of "The Good Ways"

**Further Reading:** Brinton, Howard H., *Quaker Journals: Varieties of Religious Experience among Friends* (Pendle Hill 1983); Fowler, Albert, *Two Trends in Modern Quaker Thought* (Pendle Hill 1983); Hay, Hope, *The Quakers* (State Mutual Bk. 1985); Russell, Elbert, *History of Quakerism* (Friends United Press 1980); Steere, Douglas V., ed., *Quaker Spirituality: Selected Writings* (Paulist Press 1984).

**FRIES' REBELLION**, frēz, the Federalist name for demonstrations in 1799 by Pennsylvania German farmers in Bucks and Northampton counties, Pa., against a federal property tax. Angry crowds intimidated tax assessors. John Fries, a former Revolutionary War militia captain, organized a band of armed Milford Township men, and on March 7 frightened a federal marshal into releasing prisoners held in Bethlehem, Pa. But no shots were fired, no one was hurt, and the crowd dispersed.

Nevertheless, to suppress the "rebellion," President John Adams, on April 3-5, sent troops into the area. Fries was tried by judges, who ruled that the acts he confessed constituted treason. Twice convicted and sentenced to hang, Fries was pardoned in May 1800 by President Adams, who privately deplored the judges' decision. The Fries case swayed Pennsylvania against the Federalists in the election of 1800.

FRANCIS JENNINGS, *Cedar Crest College*

**FRIESE-GREENE**, frēs'grēn, William (1855-1921), English photographer and motion picture experimenter. He was born William Edward Greene in Bristol on Sept. 7, 1855. In 1874, while apprenticed to a Bristol photographer, he married Helena Friese. Under the name William Friese-Greene, he opened studios in Bath, Bristol, and Plymouth.

In 1880 he improved a lantern slide projector invented by J. A. R. Rudge that, by throwing successive slides intermittently upon a screen, gave the illusion of motion. Then in 1889, with Mortimer Evans, he patented a combination camera-projector that used sensitized material on rolls. He next turned to color and stereoscopic motion pictures, for which he took many patents, notably in 1905 for a 2-color process. In 1915 he was sued by Charles Urban, who claimed this infringed his 1906 Kinemacolor patent. Friese-Greene won the case.

Friese-Greene also devised bulk printing techniques, an inkless printing process, and a system for the electrical transmission of photographs. He died in London on May 5, 1921.

BEAUMONT NEWHALL

*George Eastman House, Rochester, N. Y.*

**FRIESLAND**, frēs'lānt, is a province in the north-eastern Netherlands. The IJsselmeer and the North Sea border it on the west and north, the provinces of Groningen and Drenthe on the east, and Overijssel on the south. Groningen also separates Friesland from the German region of East Friesland.

Friesland (also spelled *Vriesland*) has an area of 1,250 square miles (3,240 sq km). Most of the land is low, and except for clay areas in the north and sand areas in the south much of it consists of drained marshes and moors. There are many lakes and canals.

The capital of the province is Leeuwarden (Ljouwert). The chief port is Harlingen. The urban centers are small because the economy of the province is predominantly agricultural.

**Economy.** Of the land under exploitation, 90% is used for grazing. Pedigreed Frisian cattle are raised for milk rather than for beef and are also an important export product. Industry is predominantly connected with dairying and is often organized in the form of dairy farmers' production cooperatives.

Since World War II, Friesland has suffered

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## THOUGHT AND CULTURE

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### Religion

The fact that the American religious experience has been pluralistic has contributed substantially to the complete separation of church and state, while at the same time fostering religious liberty. Although the Roman Catholic faith had maintained an establishment on the North American continent some two centuries before the arrival of Protestantism, it was the latter, in diverse forms, which dominated the Thirteen English Colonies. Formally separating from the Church of England were the Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Baptists, along with a number of more radical sects such as the Quakers, and to this latter group were added various Pietist sects that migrated to America from central Europe, starting in the 1680s. While the Church of England was established in the Southern colonies and in the 4 lower counties of New York, the Puritan Congregationalists effectively established their churches throughout New England save for Rhode Island.

Organized religion felt the thrust of the great revivals of the colonial period and the nineteenth century, with a quasi-establishment of evangelical Protestantism emerging, dominated by Methodists and Baptists, along with other indigenous groups, and the black churches having a separate and distinctive experience. More recently, the religious scene has responded to the powerful neo-orthodox impulse, with its thoroughgoing reconsideration of judgments rendered by a previous generation of liberal churchmen. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century immigration has given increasing prominence in numbers and influence to Roman Catholicism, Judaism, and the Eastern Orthodox churches, while mystical cults have recently emerged in response to youthful disillusionment and malaise.

c.1000. **CHRISTIANITY IN THE NEW WORLD.** According to the Icelandic *Saga of Eric the Red*, Leif Ericson (pp. 16, 17) introduced Christianity in Greenland and along the North American coast.

1492-1769. **CATHOLICISM IN NEW SPAIN.** Spanish explorers and conquistadores, supported by the church, introduced Catholicism into the Caribbean islands and the continents of North and South America as a culmination of a long

The Massachusetts Bay Company acted differently. An agreement of 1629 provided that its members who migrated should take the company's charter with them and should constitute the general court. Thus the governing body of an English corporation was transferred to the American wilderness. In 1634 the leaders adopted a plan that allowed the various towns to choose deputies to represent them in the general court. In all the New England colonies the deputies who composed the lower house of the legislature were elected by the freemen or inhabitants in their town meetings.

In most cases the elected assembly soon became subject to an upper house. In governing their provinces the proprietors appointed councillors who shared in the lawmaking power and thus served as a senate, with a veto on the lower house. The proprietary governors (personal agents of the proprietors) could also veto bills. After 1701, Pennsylvania had a unicameral legislature, for the council then ceased to act as an upper house, although the governor possessed the veto power. After Virginia became a royal colony in 1624, the king appointed the governor and the council; each could veto the measures of the House of Burgesses. In Massachusetts and Connecticut the freemen elected the governors and the high executive-judicial officers, who were known as councillors, assistants, or magistrates. In neither colony did the governor have the veto power, but in each the council became an upper house of the legislature (1644, 1645). The lesser folk among the Puritans believed that leaders of substance, education, and experience should have a check on the ordinary settlers who controlled the house of deputies.

Qualifications for voting varied from colony to colony. Everywhere the suffrage franchise was denied to bonded servants and slaves. Otherwise, the colonies tended to become practical democracies because landowners were generally given the right to vote, and the ease with which one could acquire a small farm rapidly enlarged the body of freeholders. They soon formed the backbone of the American population and made the elected house the most important part of colonial government.

**Political Role of the Church.** Religion also fostered self-government. Churches were then subjected to and regulated by numerous civil laws. The 13 colonies were notable for the prominence and importance of about a dozen religious sects, each of which found it necessary to engage actively in politics, either to ward off persecution or to secure laws favorable to itself. In the end, religious diversity promoted both religious toleration (which confers the right to worship as one pleases) and religious freedom (which recognizes that all churches are equal before law). Rhode Island granted complete religious freedom to all its inhabitants. Maryland adopted a Toleration Act in 1649 guaranteeing religious toleration to Christians who respected the rights of the proprietor. Government in the Carolinas was so weak that the settlers were free to worship as they chose. New Jersey and Pennsylvania both reflected the liberal ideas of the Quakers. All who believed in God enjoyed religious toleration in Pennsylvania, although only Christians were privileged to vote and to hold office. Virginia, the Carolinas, Maryland, and Georgia established the Church of England as the official church, but generally political influence of the church was

so slight that dissenters were not seriously oppressed. Both Connecticut and Massachusetts designated the Puritan, or Congregational, Church as the legal state-supported church. The persecution of Seekers, Antinomians, and Quakers defaced the history of Massachusetts, but the spirit of intolerance abated after the witchcraft delusion of the 1690's, and thereafter the trend was toward religious freedom and toleration.

#### COLONIAL ECONOMIC LIFE

America provided amply for the primary needs of the settlers as regards food, shelter, and simple clothing. Since the colonists sought to attain a higher standard of living, they were obliged to import from England or the Continent a variety of manufactured goods of superior quality. Many of their economic activities served to furnish them with exports which they used to pay for their imports.

**Production and Specialization.** With respect to production, the colonies comprised four distinct areas. New England combined agriculture with maritime pursuits. Its main farm products—Indian corn, wheat, cattle, fruits, and vegetables—merely supplied the needs of its people and were not exported in quantity. The forests and the sea provided the area with the means of buying European goods. The leading industries—lumbering, shipbuilding, shipping, and fisheries—yielded products or services which were sold to the West Indies, Newfoundland, Africa, and southern Europe, thereby providing New Englanders with money for purchases in Britain.

The middle colonies (New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania) engaged in diversified agriculture and produced an export surplus of wheat, flour, breadstuffs, beef, and pork, which went chiefly to the West Indies. Maryland, Virginia and North Carolina provided themselves with food and livestock but relied on their tobacco crops to supply exports with which they could pay for the manufactured goods purchased in Britain. The fourth area, comprising South Carolina and Georgia, supplemented its food crops and livestock, which were locally consumed with three principal export products: rice, indigo, and deerskins, the latter obtained from the Indian trade of the Southwest.

Under the spur of freedom, opportunity, and landownership, the colonists were inspired to work with a good will. Owing to England's liberal immigration policy, which freely admitted non-British settlers and people of diverse religious faiths, and by reason also of the large families of the time, the population of the colonies doubled about every 25 years. In the economic sense the colonies soon became highly productive. Land once given by the crown to colonizers as worthless was transformed into an important asset to British commerce.

As an inducement to start a colony, the king had given promoters the right to govern the colony and special privileges as regards trade. After a colony had become productive, the crown manifested a new interest in regulating trade, in order that English traders might gain a maximum benefit and so that the crown itself might obtain added revenue, to be collected in England. To this end the king and Parliament subjected colonial commerce to a host of regulatory laws, but private colonial governments (companies or proprietors) often failed to enforce such regulations. Such remissness led the

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by nature democratic; it needs the illusion of democracy even where it cannot have the reality.

Political theory in the West has had a "bias" towards democracy from the time that the modern state arose and long before it became democratic. It has held that the legitimacy of government derives from the consent of the governed, and has spoken of this consent as if it consisted, not in mere acquiescence or acceptance of custom, but in a specific act, a social contract. No doubt, it began by relegating this contract to a mythical past; and yet contract implies deliberate agreement. This is already clear in Locke's political philosophy, when he says that every man must consent for himself, since the consent of his ancestors cannot bind him. Locke, of course, was no democrat, and qualified his initial assertions so as to draw no democratic conclusions from them. But he spoke of rights that all men have, merely because they are men, and he argued that governments are obliged to protect these rights, and that subjects have the right to resist or remove governments when they fail in this duty. His argument has democratic implications, though neither he nor his contemporaries drew them.

Marxists and others, to explain how such a thinker as Locke came to speak as he did, have said that a rising class, though themselves a minority, when they challenge the supremacy of another class, try to gain popularity by using arguments that appeal to the people generally. They try to make the interest of their class look as if it were the interest of all. This is what happened in the seventeenth century, when the rising bourgeoisie challenged the supremacy of the old nobility, especially in England. Rights that could in fact, given social conditions at that time, be exercised effectively only by the wealthy and the educated were claimed for the whole people, or for some part of them supposed to be acting as their representatives.

This Marxist argument is akin to another, which has perhaps more to be said for it. According to this second argument, a new kind of economy and social order required the assertion of rights to be shared by all, or by all adult males, regardless of status, occupation, or wealth. Though this economy and social order allow of great inequalities of status, wealth, and education, there are rights that all men must have if the economy and social order are to function properly. These rights are asserted in all societies where commerce and industry are growing fast, and there is increasing social mobility; where the least educated are required to be literate, and where the maintenance of social discipline takes the form of the modern state.

2. *Liberty of Conscience.* In Europe in the Middle Ages two ideas were widely accepted: that salvation, or union with God in an afterlife, depends not just on

leading a good life, but on holding certain beliefs about God and his relations to man; and that there is a church, a community of the faithful, having sole authority from God to teach the beliefs (and administer the sacraments) necessary to salvation. To most people in medieval Europe, these two ideas may have meant very little, for most people were illiterate and incapable of understanding them. No doubt, to most people everywhere, religion has been more a matter of ritual than of doctrine. But these ideas were important to persons in authority, both clerical and lay.

At the Reformation the first of these ideas—that salvation depends on holding certain beliefs—was not challenged, and the second was challenged only up to a point. Luther rejected the authority of the pope and of other ecclesiastical superiors who disagreed with him; and he taught that every Christian must interpret for himself the Holy Scriptures containing the truths necessary to salvation. Yet he proved in the end unwilling to admit that avowed Christians whose interpretations of the Scriptures differed widely from his own should be allowed to propagate their beliefs. It is arguable that he wanted them silenced only because he thought their doctrines dangerous to the social order and not because they had misinterpreted Holy Scripture. But the Lutherans after him certainly wanted some of their opponents silenced on the ground that their doctrines were false and not merely dangerous. So too did the Calvinists. What is more, the idea of a true church with sole authority to teach a faith necessary to salvation long remained widely attractive to Protestants, even though their beliefs about how the faithful should be organized were sometimes incompatible with this idea. So there were soon, over large parts of Western Europe, several organized bodies of Christians, each claiming, if not a monopoly of the truth, a privileged status in declaring it and in deciding what false beliefs were intolerable. Most of them were intolerant, though some less so than others; and the more tolerant were so often from motives of prudence, being more liable to persecution by others than able to persecute them.

Nevertheless, with time, belief in toleration grew stronger. In the wake of a growing belief that toleration is expedient, there grew another—that it is just. Yet toleration was mostly from motives of expediency until quite recent times. Governments learned by experience that they were more likely to provoke disorder by trying to establish uniformity of religious belief by force than by allowing diversity. Religious leaders learned that the number of the faithful was as likely to grow if they gave up being persecutors where they were strong in return for not being persecuted where they were weak.

tolerance

The long period of religious conflict that started with Luther's defiance of the papacy had two lasting effects. It strengthened and spread more widely the belief that "faith" is important, and it made people keener to associate for the defense and propagation of beliefs that they cared deeply about. These beliefs were at first mostly religious, but they came in time to be much more than merely religious, or ceased altogether to be so. Beliefs about how men should live and society be organized had long been associated with beliefs about God and his purposes for man. As the association between these two kinds of belief weakened and for many people (agnostics and atheists) was quite severed, beliefs about man, morals, and society still kept something of the "sacred" character of religious beliefs. The idea survived that nothing matters more about a man than his faith, than the beliefs he cares deeply about because they form or justify his aspirations or his way of life.

The idea that faith is important can be used to justify either persecution and indoctrination or toleration and freedom of speech. It was used at first much more for the first purpose than the second, and in our day is still used widely for both purposes. In the West it is now more often used for the second purpose. And yet, though it was used for this second, this "liberal," purpose later than for the first, there has been no steady movement away from the first use to the second.

Tolerance and freedom of speech are not, of course, peculiarly modern any more than are persecution and indoctrination. There was a great deal of tolerance and of this freedom, in some places at some times, in the ancient world. But it is in the modern age and in the West, in a part of the world where persecution and indoctrination were for a long time peculiarly fierce and thorough, with bitter conflicts between rival faiths, that tolerance and freedom of speech are most highly prized. This is not to suggest that periods of persecution and indoctrination are always followed by periods of toleration and freedom of speech; but to suggest only that, in a part of the world where peculiar importance was attached to faith, after a long period of conflict between persecuting and proselytizing churches and sects, none of which gained complete ascendancy, tolerance and freedom of speech came to be more highly valued than they had ever been anywhere before. They were not merely practiced, as they had been in other places and other times; they were put forward as principles that ought to be practiced as far as possible.

In the West until the eighteenth century, persecutors and advocates of toleration were concerned mostly with religious beliefs, and have since that time turned their attention more to social and moral doctrines. Or, rather, the beliefs that now concern them are less often

religious, as well as social and moral, than they used to be; for religious beliefs that have attracted persecution have nearly always been closely connected with social and moral doctrines.

So, too, since the eighteenth century, the impulse to form associations to maintain and propagate religious beliefs and practices has broadened into a readiness to form them to promote and protect any beliefs and practices important to those who share them. The right to associate for such purposes has been widely asserted and recognized as one of the most precious of all.

In the West in the Middle Ages it was the church rather than the state that was responsible for defending as well as teaching the true faith, the temporal magistrate acting rather as an auxiliary to punish persons condemned by priests. Hence an idea more widely accepted in the West than in other parts of Christendom, that matters of faith are beyond the jurisdiction of the state, that its business is to prevent people from acting harmfully rather than to ensure that they hold true beliefs. Defense of the church against the state, even when it has not been defense of religious freedom, has nevertheless been, or appeared to be, a defense of faith against the state or the Temporal Power, against organized force. For the organ of coercion has been the state or the Temporal Power and not the church, even when that Power has acted in defense of the church or to promote its aims. Hence in the West two important social functions, organized coercion and organized indoctrination, have long been separate or more nearly separate than elsewhere.

hole — with an attention to the manners of the inhabitants, their customs, and institutions. Such a tour at least precede a tour to Europe, nothing can be more ridiculous than traveling in a foreign country when he can give no account of his own. When, therefore, young men have finished an academic education, let them travel through America, and return to Europe, if their time and fortune permit. But if they cannot make a tour through both, that in America is certainly to be preferred, for the people of America, with all their information, are yet ignorant of the geography, policy, and manners of their neighboring states. A few gentlemen whose public duties in the Army and in Congress have extended their knowledge of America, and who are in this country, even of the highest rank, have not so correct information of the United States as they have of England or France. Such ignorance is not only disgraceful but is material to our political friendship and operations.

Let us, therefore, unshackle your minds and act as independent beings. You have been long enough, subject to the control of a government convenient to the interest of a haughty monarch. You have now an interest of your own to augment and defend: you have an interest to raise and support by your exertions a national character to establish and by your wisdom and virtues. To these great objects, it is necessary to form a liberal plan of policy and build it on a solid system of education. Before this plan can be formed and embraced, the people must believe and act from the conviction that it is dishonorable to waste life in following the follies of other nations and in the sunshine of foreign glory.

86.

## On the Blessings of Civil and Religious Liberty

*In the summer of 1790, George Washington toured the new republic. When he arrived at the seacoast town of Newport, Rhode Island, he was greeted with enthusiasm. Moses Seixas, the warden of the town's Hebrew congregation and a friend of Washington, warmly welcomed him to Newport in a letter of August 17, which is reprinted here. There had originally been a plan for all of the Jewish congregations in the United States to send a joint memorial of congratulations to the President. But the Newport synagogue had been reluctant to join in an earlier message, owing to Rhode Island's peculiar position with regard to the Constitution. The state had taken no part in the Philadelphia convention and had not ratified until May 1790. Washington's tour of 1790 to consolidate the new government's position seemed the appropriate time for the congregation at Newport to express its appreciation for the tolerance of the new government. The second part of this selection is Washington's reply to the Hebrew congregation.*

Source: Seixas original in the possession of B'nai B'rith Committee on Jewish Americana, Washington, D.C.  
Washington original in the "Letter Book" in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress.

I.  
Moses Seixas to  
George Washington

PERMIT THE CHILDREN of the stock of Abraham to approach you with the most cordial affection and esteem for your person and merits — and to join with our fellow citizens in welcoming you to Newport.

With pleasure we reflect on those days, those days of difficulty and danger when the God of Israel, who delivered David from the peril of the sword, shielded your head in the day of battle; and we rejoice to think that the same Spirit who rested in the bosom of the greatly beloved Daniel enabling him to preside over the provinces of

the Babylonish Empire rests and ever will rest upon you, enabling you to discharge the arduous duties of chief magistrate in these states.

Deprived as we heretofore have been of the invaluable rights of free citizens, we now (with a deep sense of gratitude to the Almighty Disposer of all events) behold a government, erected by the majesty of the people — a government which to bigotry gives no sanction, to persecution no assistance, but generously affording to all liberty of conscience, and immunities of citizenship, deeming every one, of whatever nation, tongue, or language, equal parts of the great government machine. This so ample and extensive federal Union whose basis is philanthropy, mutual confidence, and public vir-

tue, we cannot but acknowledge to be the work of the Great God, who rules in the armies of heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth, doing whatsoever seems to Him good.

For all these blessings of civil and religious liberty which we enjoy under an equal and benign administration, we desire to send up our thanks to the Ancient of Days, the great preserver of men, beseeching him that the angel who conducted our forefathers through the wilderness into the promised land may graciously conduct you through all the difficulties and dangers of this mortal life. And, when like Joshua full of days, and full of honor, you are gathered to your fathers, may you be admitted into the heavenly paradise to partake of the water of life and the tree of immortality.

## II.

### Washington to the Hebrew Congregation at Newport, R.I.

WHILE I RECEIVE with much satisfaction your address replete with expressions of affection and esteem, I rejoice in the opportunity of assuring you that I shall always retain a grateful remembrance of the cordial welcome I experienced in my visit to Newport from all classes of citizens.

The reflection on the days of difficulty and danger which are past is rendered the more sweet from a consciousness that they are succeeded by days of uncommon pros-

perity and security. If we have wisdom to make the best use of the advantages with which we are now favored, we cannot fail, under the just administration of a good government, to become a great and a happy people.

The citizens of the United States of America have a right to applaud themselves for having given to mankind examples of an enlarged and liberal policy, a policy worthy of imitation. All possess alike liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship. It is now no more that toleration is spoken of as if it was by the indulgence of one class of people that another enjoyed the exercise of their inherent natural rights. For happily the government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens, in giving it on all occasions their effectual support.

It would be inconsistent with the frankness of my character not to avow that I am pleased with your favorable opinion of my administration, and fervent wishes for my felicity. May the children of the stock of Abraham, who dwell in this land, continue to merit and enjoy the good will of the other inhabitants, while everyone shall sit in safety under his own vine and fig tree, and there shall be none to make him afraid. May the Father of all mercies scatter light and not darkness in our paths, and make us all in our several vocations useful here, and in His own due time and way everlastingly happy.

Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, NOTES ON VIRGINIA

87.

### PATRICK HENRY: RES

*Though the vocal anti-Federalists of the Constitution, he continued Hamilton proposed to have the First Report on the Public Credit power that properly belonged to that the Virginia Assembly pass as "the first symptom of a spirit of the United States."*

Source: Hening, XIII, pp. 237-239.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY of the wealth of Virginia to the United Congress assembled represent:

That it is with great concern themselves compelled from a sense to call the attention of Congress of their last session entitled "An provision for the debt of the States," which the General Assembly receive neither policy, justice, nor tutition warrants. Republican opinion of your memorialists, could have suggested those clauses in the act which limit the right of the States in their redemption of debt.

On the contrary, they discern a resemblance between this system which was introduced into England by the Revolution; a system which has upon that nation an enormous weight has moreover insinuated into the executive an unbounded power which, pervading every branch of government, bears down all opposition daily threatens the destruction of that appertains to English liberty causes produce the same effects!

...y possible opposition, in every progression. I opposed the system with the same explicit frankness I have here given you a history of proceedings, an account of my own conduct in a particular manner I regard as having a right to know. I endeavored to act as became me and the delegate of a free state. My conduct obtained the approbation of those who appointed me, I will not deny myself satisfaction; but to me satisfaction was at most no more than a consideration — my first was to be left to myself to act according to the dictates of my discretion, my conduct would have been the same had I been even assured would have been my only duty. I hold it sacredly my duty to be free of poison, if possible, from the state or an individual, however one or the other might be to me, sir, in a single observation there are persons who endeavor to persuade the idea that this system is only for the officers of government. I, sir, am in that predicament. I have the honor of an appointment in this state. I have not considered any objection, I should not have been appointed to this Convention. If it could have had any effect in my mind, it would only be that of giving me a heart with gratitude, and rendering me more anxious to promote the interests of that state which has conferred the honor of that appointment on me, and to heighten the obligation, and to heighten the honor had I joined in sacrificing its interests. But, sir, it would be well to know that this system is not calculated to increase the number or the value of offices. On the contrary, if adopted, it will be the cause of an enormous increase in their number, and any of them will also be of great emoluments.

...sir, in this variety of appointments, I am in the scramble for them, I have as good a prospect to ad-

vantage myself as many others is not for me to say. But this, sir, I can say with truth, that, so far was I from being influenced in my conduct by interest or the consideration of office, that I would cheerfully resign the appointment I now hold; I would bind myself never to accept another, either under the general government or that of my own state; I would do more, sir — so destructive do I consider the present system to the happiness of my country — I would cheer-

fully sacrifice that share of property with which Heaven has blessed a life of industry; I would reduce myself to indigence and poverty; and those who are dearer to me than my own existence I would entrust to the care and protection of that Providence who has so kindly protected myself — if on those terms only I could procure my country to reject those chains which are forged for it.

37.

### OLIVER ELLSWORTH: On a Religious Test for Holding Public Office

*Oliver Ellsworth is best known for his activities as a Connecticut delegate to the Convention of 1787. He worked diligently to arrange the great mutual concession known as the Connecticut Compromise. When the Constitution was approved by the Philadelphia delegates on September 17, 1787, Ellsworth continued his efforts on its behalf by explaining the document to the people of his state. The following selection, written on December 17, 1787, is one of several "Letters to a Landholder" by Ellsworth that were printed in the Connecticut Courant and in the American Mercury. Aimed at influencing the landholders and farmers of the region, the letter attempted to explain the constitutional clause that prohibits any religious test for public office.*

Source: Scott, II, pp. 580-583.

I HAVE OFTEN ADMIRING the spirit of candor, liberality, and justice with which the Convention began and completed the important object of their mission. "In all our deliberation on this subject," say they, "we kept steadily in our view that which appears to us the greatest interest of every true American, the consolidation of our Union, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence. This important consideration, seriously and deeply impressed on our minds, led each state in the Convention to be less rigid on points of inferior magnitude than might otherwise have been expected; and thus the Constitu-

tion which we now present is the result of a spirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and concession which the peculiarity of our political situation rendered indispensable."

Let us, my fellow citizens, take up this Constitution with the same spirit of candor and liberality; consider it in all its parts; consider the important advantages which may be derived from it; let us obtain full information on the subject, and then weigh these objections in the balance of cool, impartial reason. Let us see if they be not wholly groundless; but if upon the whole they appear to have some weight, let us



Yale University Art Gallery

Portrait of Oliver Ellsworth by John Trumbull, 1792

consider well whether they be so important that we ought on account of them to reject the whole Constitution. Perfection is not the lot of human institutions; that which has the most excellences and fewest faults is the best that we can expect.

Some very worthy persons who have not had great advantages for information have objected against that clause in the Constitution which provides that no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States. They have been afraid that this clause is unfavorable to religion. But, my countrymen, the sole purpose and effect of it is to exclude persecution and to secure to you the important right of religious liberty. We are almost the only people in the world who have a full enjoyment of this important right of human nature. In our country every man has a right to worship God in that way which is most agreeable to his conscience. If he be a good and peaceable person, he is liable to no penalties or incapacities on account of his religious sentiments; or, in other words, he is not subject to persecution.

But in other parts of the world it has been, and still is, far different. Systems of religious error have been adopted in times of ignorance. It has been the interest of tyrannical kings, popes, and prelates to maintain these errors. When the clouds of ignorance began to vanish and the people grew more enlightened, there was no other way to keep them in error but to prohibit their altering their religious opinions by severe persecuting laws. In this way persecution became general throughout Europe. It was the universal opinion that one religion must be established by law; and that all who differed in their religious opinions must suffer the vengeance of persecution. In pursuance of this opinion, when popery was abolished in England and the Church of England was established in its stead, severe penalties were inflicted upon all who dissented from the established church. In the time of the civil wars, in the reign of Charles I, the Presbyterians got the upper hand and inflicted legal penalties upon all who differed from them in their sentiments respecting religious doctrines and discipline. When Charles II was restored, the Church of England was likewise restored, and the Presbyterians and other dissenters were laid under legal penalties and incapacities.

It was in this reign that a religious test was established as a qualification for office; that is, a law was made requiring all officers, civil and military (among other things), to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the usage of the Church of England, within six months after their admission to office, under the penalty of £ 500 and disability to hold the office. And by another statute of the same reign, no person was capable of being elected to any office relating to the government of any city or corporation unless, within a twelvemonth before, he had received the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. The pretense for making these severe laws, by which all but churchmen were made incapable of any of-

fice, civil or military, was to exclude Protestants; but the real design was to exclude Protestant dissenters. From this test laws, there arises an unfavorable presumption against them. But if we take the nature of them and the effect they are calculated to produce, we find that they are useless, tyrannical, and particularly unfit for the people of this country.

A religious test is an act to be performed by a person in his public profession to be made relating to certain rites and forms, or to one's belief of certain doctrines) for the purpose of determining whether his opinions are such that he is admissible to public office. A test in favor of a nomination of Christians would be the last degree absurd in the United States. If it were in favor of either Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, or Quakers, it would incapacitate three-fourths of the American people from any public office and thus degrade them from the rank of freemen. There is no argument to prove that the interests of our citizens would never submit to such a degradation of their dignity.

If any test act were to be made, the least exceptionable would be one requiring all persons appointed to office to declare, at the time of their admission to office, their belief in the being of a God, and in the divine authority of the Scriptures. If such a test, it may be said that a man who believes these great truths will be likely to violate his obligations to his country as one who disbelieves them. The answer is: His making a declaration of a belief is no security at all. For him to be an unprincipled man who believes neither the Word nor the will of God, and to be governed merely by his own motives; how easy is it for him to make a public declaration of his belief in the Word of God which the law prescribes and ex-

other parts of the world it has still is, far different. Systems of error have been adopted in times of ignorance. It has been the interest of tyrants, kings, popes, and prelates to maintain errors. When the clouds of ignorance vanish and the people grow enlightened, there was no other way to keep them in error but to prohibit their religious opinions by severe laws. In this way persecution was general throughout Europe. It was the general opinion that one religion must be established by law; and that all who differed from their religious opinions must suffer the consequences of persecution. In pursuance of this opinion, when popery was abolished and the Church of England was established in its stead, severe penalties were laid upon all who dissented from the established church. In the time of the civil war, the reign of Charles I, the Presbyterians got the upper hand and inflicted penalties upon all who differed from their sentiments respecting religious doctrine and discipline. When Charles II was restored, the Church of England was restored, and the Presbyterians and dissenters were laid under legal incapacities.

In this reign that a religious test was established as a qualification for office; a law was made requiring all officers of civil and military (among others) to receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the usage of the Church of England, within six months after their admission to office, under the penalty of £500 and disability to hold the office. And by another statute of the same reign no person was capable of being appointed to any office relating to the government of any city or corporation unless, a twelvemonth before, he had received the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. The pretense for these severe laws, by which all but dissenters were made incapable of any of-

fice, civil or military, was to exclude the Papists; but the real design was to exclude the Protestant dissenters. From this account of test laws, there arises an unfavorable presumption against them. But if we consider the nature of them and the effects which they are calculated to produce, we shall find that they are useless, tyrannical, and peculiarly unfit for the people of this country.

A religious test is an act to be done or profession to be made relating to religion (such as partaking of the sacrament according to certain rites and forms, or declaring one's belief of certain doctrines) for the purpose of determining whether his religious opinions are such that he is admissible to a public office. A test in favor of any one denomination of Christians would be to the last degree absurd in the United States. If it were in favor of either Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Baptists, or Quakers, it would incapacitate more than three-fourths of the American citizens for any public office and thus degrade them from the rank of freemen. There need be no argument to prove that the majority of our citizens would never submit to this indignity.

If any test act were to be made, perhaps the least exceptionable would be one requiring all persons appointed to office to declare, at the time of their admission, their belief in the being of a God, and in the divine authority of the Scriptures. In favor of such a test, it may be said that one who believes these great truths will not be so likely to violate his obligations to his country as one who disbelieves them; we may have greater confidence in his integrity. But I answer: His making a declaration of such a belief is no security at all. For suppose him to be an unprincipled man who believes neither the Word nor the being of God, and to be governed merely by selfish motives; how easy is it for him to dissemble! How easy is it for him to make a public declaration of his belief in the creed which the law prescribes and excuse himself

by calling it a mere formality.

This is the case with the test laws and creeds in England. The most abandoned characters partake of the sacrament in order to qualify themselves for public employments. The clergy are obliged by law to administer the ordinance unto them, and thus prostitute the most sacred office of religion, for it is a civil right in the party to receive the sacrament. In that country, subscribing to the Thirty-Nine Articles is a test for admission into Holy Orders. And it is a fact that many of the clergy do this, when at the same time they totally disbelieve several of the doctrines contained in them. In short, test laws are utterly ineffectual; they are no security at all, because men of loose principles will, by an external compliance, evade them. If they exclude any persons, it will be honest men, men of principle who will rather suffer an injury than act contrary to the dictates of their consciences. If we mean to have those appointed to public offices who are sincere friends to religion, we, the people who appoint them, must take care to choose such characters, and not rely upon such cobweb barriers as test laws are.

But to come to the true principle by which this question ought to be determined: The business of a civil government is to protect the citizen in his rights, to defend the community from hostile powers, and to promote the general welfare. Civil government has no business to meddle with the private opinions of the people. If I demean myself as a good citizen, I am accountable not to man but to God for the religious opinions which I embrace and the manner in which I worship the Supreme Being. If such had been the universal sentiments of mankind and they had acted accordingly, persecution, the bane of truth and nurse of error, with her bloody axe and flaming brand, would never have turned so great a part of the world into a field of blood.

But while I assert the rights of religious liberty, I would not deny that the civil

power has a right, in some cases, to interfere in matters of religion. It has a right to prohibit and punish gross immoralities and impieties; because the open practice of these is of evil example and detriment. For this reason, I heartily approve of our laws against drunkenness, profane swearing, blasphemy, and professed atheism. But in this state, we have never thought it expedient to adopt a test law; and yet I sincerely believe we have as great a proportion of religion and morality as they have in England,

where every person who holds a public office must either be a saint by law or a hypocrite by practice. A test law is the parent of hypocrisy, and the offspring of error and the spirit of persecution. Legislatures have no right to set up an inquisition and examine into the private opinions of men. Test laws are useless and ineffectual, unjust and tyrannical; therefore the Convention have done wisely in excluding this engine of persecution, and providing that no religious test shall ever be required.

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### Reasons for Dissent by the Anti-Federalists of Pennsylvania

*On December 12, 1787, Pennsylvania became the second state to ratify the Constitution. However, the haste in which the state gave its approval did not reflect unanimity at the Pennsylvania convention. Partly because the Federalists hoped to gain the new federal capital for their state, they pushed for a prompt acceptance of the Constitution. Their opponents were scarcely heard amidst the political maneuvering for fast action. Recommendations from the anti-Federalists to amend the Constitution were rejected without discussion and were not even entered into the convention's journal. Nevertheless, under the leadership of William Findley, Robert Whitebill, and John Smilie, the anti-Federalists continued to oppose the Constitution. On December 18, 1787, they published "The Address and Reasons of Dissent of the Minority of the Convention of the State of Pennsylvania to their Constituents," in the Pennsylvania Packet and Daily Advertiser.*

Source: McMaster, pp. 454-482.

THE CONTINENTAL CONVENTION met in the city of Philadelphia at the time appointed. It was composed of some men of excellent character; of others who were more remarkable for their ambition and cunning than their patriotism; and of some who had been opponents to the independence of the United States. The delegates from Pennsylvania were, six of them, uniform and decided opponents to the constitution of this common-

wealth. The convention sat upward of four months. The doors were kept shut, and the members brought under the most solemn engagements of secrecy. Some of those who opposed their going so far beyond their powers, retired, hopeless, from the convention; others had the firmness to refuse signing the plan altogether; and many who did sign it, did it not as a system they wholly approved but as the best that could be then

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obtained; and notwithstanding the expense spent on this subject, it is agreed hands to be a work of haste and acceleration.

While the gilded chains were fastened on the secret conclave, the meaner insinuations of the despotism without were employed in alarming the fears of the people with dangers which did not exist, and in dissipating their hopes of greater advantage than the expected plan than even the best government on earth could produce. The proposed plan had not many hours issued from the womb of suspicious secrecy, such as were prepared for the purpose of carrying about petitions for people to sign, signifying their approbation of the plan, and requesting the legislature to call a convention. While every measure was taken to intimidate the people against opposition, the public papers teemed with the most violent threats against those who should dare to think for themselves, and *tar and feathers* were liberally promised to all those who would not immediately join in support of the proposed government, be it what it would. Under such circumstances, petitions in favor of calling a convention were signed by great numbers in and about the city before they had leisure to read and understand the system, many of whom — not being better acquainted with it and having no time to investigate its principles — were heartily opposed to it. The petitions were speedily handed in to the legislature.

Affairs were in this situation when, on the 28th of September last a resolution was proposed to the assembly by a member of the House, who had been also a member of the federal Convention, for calling a convention to be elected within ten days for the purpose of examining and adopting or rejecting the proposed Constitution of the United States, though at this time the House had not received it from Congress. This attempt was opposed by a minority, who, after every argument in their power to

made under the terms of the "Walking Purchase." Whatever opprobrium this famous transaction deserves belongs to Thomas Penn, who must have authorized it directly. He was unsuccessful in conciliating even the white colonists, either by personal graciousness during his presence or by effective skill and sympathy in dealing with them through his agents. Nevertheless, as the first Penn to visit the colony after 1704, and as the holder for nearly thirty years of three-fourths of the proprietary and family land in Pennsylvania and Delaware, he was an important figure in the public affairs of Pennsylvania and, except for his father, more influential in its history than any other member of the family. The proprietary form of government was one that could not last, however, and the colony became increasingly intransigent and covetous of complete liberty. It is significant that ten years before Thomas Penn's death and the beginning of the American Revolution the Pennsylvanians were petitioning that jurisdiction over the province be transferred from the proprietors to the Crown.

[See bibliography under John Penn, 1729-1795.]

H. J. C.

**PENN, WILLIAM** (Oct. 14, 1644-July 30, 1718), founder of Pennsylvania, born near the Tower of London, was the son of Admiral Sir William Penn (1621-1670) and Margaret Jasper, whose father was John Jasper, a merchant of Rotterdam, later of Ireland. Even in childhood Penn was religiously inclined and, although his father adhered to the Anglican faith, the son early came under occasional Puritan influences. After completing about two years at Christ Church College, Oxford, he was expelled in 1662 on account of his non-conformist scruples and activities. This was much to the chagrin and anger of his father, who next sent him on a continental tour to turn him from his extreme religious inclinations. In Paris young Penn seemed for a time to be influenced by court society, as his father desired. Later, however, attending for a time a Huguenot Academy at Saumur, he seems to have received impressions favorable to his later peace principles and to inward spiritual religion (Brailsford, *post*, pp. 120-24). Recalled home by his father at the outbreak of the Dutch War (1665), he had a glimpse of naval activities, sailing with the fleet and returning with dispatches for the King. In this year his mind was again turned to serious contemplation by the horrors of the Great Plague. At this period also he attended Lincoln's Inn for about a year, learning enough law to help him later in business affairs and in meet-

ing the legal issues of religious persecutions. Early in 1666 he went to Ireland, where he took charge of some estates near Cork owned by his father. At this time he again tasted worldly pleasures at the brilliant court of the Duke of Ormonde, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He also showed some military prowess in helping to quell a mutiny—and at this time his well known portrait in armor was made.

The great turning point of his life was, however, at hand. He heard again the powerful preaching of Thomas Loe, an early Quaker apostle, who had influenced him some years before. Continuing to attend the meetings of Friends, he was soon in trouble with the authorities and was for a time in prison—where he composed his first appeal for liberty of conscience (*Works*, 1726, I, 2-3; Janney, *post*, 1 ed., pp. 24-25). Released from prison and summoned sharply to England by his father, he soon became an avowed and active Friend. With tongue and pen he vigorously advocated the doctrines of Friends and of political liberalism. Thus the great convictions of his life were definitely shaped and settled. In 1669, while imprisoned in the Tower of London for publishing his unorthodox work, *The Sandy Foundation Shaken* (1668), he composed the first draft of his famous *No Cross, No Crown* (1669; see also edition 1930, p. X), directed against luxury, frivolity, vicious amusements, and economic oppression. Near this time also, besides many religious tracts, he wrote several on political subjects, which together formed a noble and convincing plea for religious toleration, security of person and property, and other rights of free Englishmen. In 1670, after he and William Meade had been arrested for preaching in Gracechurch Street, the liberties of Englishmen were so ably pleaded by Penn himself that the case (the noted "Bushell's Case") resulted first in an acquittal for the defendants, and later in an outstanding victory for the freedom of English juries from the dictation of judges (Braithwaite, *post*, pp. 70-73, with references). In 1670 Admiral Penn died, with a blessing on his lips for the son who came from prison to his bedside. Soon after this the son made a missionary journey through Holland and parts of Germany, spreading the Quaker faith. Returning to England he married, on Apr. 4, 1672, the beautiful and devoted Gulielma Maria Springett, daughter of Mary (Proude) Penington by her first husband, Sir William Springett.

The next half-decade of Penn's life, 1675-1680, saw a continuation of his activities in religion and politics, and the beginning of his connection with America. He made a second mis-

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sionary journey to the Continent in 1677, in the company of prominent Friends, including George Fox. He visited many towns of Holland and western Germany, winning the interest and affection of various groups of Protestant mystics who were later to settle in his American province. He and some of his fellow apostles formed a notable friendship with the learned and pious Elizabeth, Princess Palatine, upon whom the Quaker teachings made a lasting impression. Returning to England, Penn threw himself with renewed zeal into the political struggles of the last troubled years of the Stuart régime. In these labors he received little support and some opposition from the Quakers, who suffered periodic persecutions and tended to withdraw from "worldly" activities. Penn urged them to take their proper part in the struggle for liberal government. He threw himself actively into two political campaigns for the election to Parliament of his Whig friend, Algernon Sidney. Some of his finest political pamphlets are of this period. In spite of the friendly connections at Court, inherited from his father, he was a forthright champion of toleration for dissenters, frequent elections, and uncontrolled Parliaments (see especially "England's Great Interest in the Choice of this New Parliament," *Works*, 1726, II, 678-82).

His first connection with America was with New Jersey. By a series of transactions West Jersey came into the hands of Friends, and Penn became one of the trustees to manage the property. In 1677 the ship *Kent* arrived in the Delaware River with two hundred settlers to found the town of Burlington. The colonists brought with them the famous Concessions and Agreements for their government (W. A. Whitehead, ed., *Archives of the State of New Jersey*, 1 ser., I, 1880, pp. 241 ff.). Historians are in general agreement that this great charter of liberties came largely from the hand of William Penn. It was the first fruit of his hard schooling in English politics, and his first gift to American government. The charter guaranteed to the settlers the right of petition and of trial by jury. It provided against arbitrary imprisonment for debt, and made no provision for capital punishment even for treason. It guaranteed religious freedom, stating that "no Men, nor number of Men upon Earth, hath Power or Authority to rule over Men's Consciences in religious Matters" (*Ibid.*, I, 253). It provided friendly methods for the purchase of Indian lands. In jury trials in which Indians were concerned the jury was to be composed of six Indians and six whites. These guarantees of personal rights and

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of justice formed a rather complete bill of rights, and they were reinforced by the first clear statement in American history of the supremacy of the fundamental law (in the Concessions) over any statutes that might be enacted (*Ibid.*, I, 266). The Assembly was to dominate the government of the province. It was to be freely elected by the settlers and was to serve for one year only—a gesture against the long and controlled Parliaments of the Stuart régime in England. There was to be complete freedom of speech in the Assembly, and the public was to be admitted freely "to hear and be witnesses of the votes." There was no clear and definite provision for an executive, and the Assembly later conceded to the proprietors the appointment of governors. Yet the Assembly was to be "free and supreme" and there was no provision for an executive veto. Thus it was not without justification that Penn and his friends said of these Concessions and Agreements: "There we lay a foundation for after ages to understand their liberty as men and Christians . . . for we put the power in the people" (Samuel Smith, *History of the Colony of . . . New Jersey*, 1765, pp. 80-81). Penn later became a member of a large group of proprietaries, a majority of whom were Quakers, who secured title to East Jersey. However, the rights of government held by this proprietorship were soon brought into question, and by another chain of events Penn transferred his chief interest to his great province west of the Delaware River. His greatest gift to the Jerseys was his part in the Concessions and Agreements of 1677, which have been called "the broadest, sanest, and most equitable charter draughted for any body of colonists up to this time" (C. M. Andrews, *Colonial Self-Government*, 1904, p. 121).

Penn's next and greatest venture into the realm of practical politics was in Pennsylvania. He had inherited from his father, besides a considerable fortune immediately available, a large claim for funds loaned by the Admiral to Charles II. On petition of Penn, the King granted him in 1681, as payment for this debt, a great tract of land north of Maryland. Penn wished to call his province New Wales, or Sylvania, but the King insisted that it be named, in honor of the late Admiral, "Pennsylvania." In 1682 Penn secured from his friend the Duke of York the territory of Delaware, which was at first joined to the government of Pennsylvania but later became a separate province. Penn called his new project a "Holy Experiment" and threw himself with enthusiasm into his plans for it. In 1681 he sent over his cousin, William Markham [*q.v.*], to act as his deputy, and himself followed the

next year. to settlers, continent of chase or rent attracted lar.

Penn's first province was to it a few Agreed upon Frame of Government (burg, Pa.). was not so s Jersey described influenced per holders who *History of sylvania*, 18 powers were with the Assembly were a rather min of the individ treason were death. All be molested or suasion or P ship, nor sha frequent or Place or Mil lief in a dem in the prefa ment: "Any under it (w Laws rule, a Laws." Man ment were cl The Assembly and the Pro reasonable r that he could the time, an mocracy is f before he w contending p your animos and the poor so noisy, an (Robert Pro I, 297, note). The bright is the story Indians. Eve sylvania he s "I have great I desire to w ship by a kind 1726, I, 122)

next year. He spread broadcast his proposals to settlers, not forgetting his converts on the continent of Europe. His terms for the purchase or rental of land were very liberal and soon attracted large numbers of settlers.

Penn's first Frame of Government for his province was dated Apr. 25, 1682, and appended to it a few days later (May 5) were the Laws Agreed upon in England (Original copy of the Frame of Government in State Library, Harrisburg, Pa.). The government thus provided for was not so strikingly democratic as that of West Jersey described above, the Proprietor being influenced perhaps by the prospective large landholders whom he consulted (W. R. Shepherd, *History of Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania*, 1896, p. 237, note 1). Thus very large powers were given to the Council, as compared with the Assembly. Yet both Council and Assembly were elective, and the governor was given a rather minor place. The fundamental liberties of the individual were guaranteed. Murder and treason were the only crimes made punishable by death. All believers in God "shall in no ways be molested or prejudiced for their religious Persuasion or Practice in Matters of Faith and Worship, nor shall they be compelled at any Time to frequent or maintain any religious Worship, Place or Ministry whatever." Penn's basic belief in a democratic system was tersely expressed in the preface to his great Frame of Government: "Any Government is free to the People under it (whatever be the Frame) where the Laws rule, and the People are a Party to those Laws." Many details of Penn's plan of government were changed upon his arrival in America. The Assembly was self-assertive from the start and the Proprietor was disposed to grant all reasonable requests. He soon learned, however, that he could not please all of the people all of the time, and that the perennial demand of democracy is for more democracy. It was not long before he was driven to write to a group of his contending provincials: "I am sorry at heart for your animosities. . . . For the love of God, me, and the poor country, be not so governmentish, so noisy, and open, in your dissatisfactions" (Robert Proud, *History of Pennsylvania*, 1798, I, 297, note).

The brightest page in Penn's political record is the story of his dealing with the American Indians. Even before his own arrival in Pennsylvania he sent them his message of friendship: "I have great Love and Regard towards you, and I desire to win and gain your Love and Friendship by a kind, Just and Peaceable Life" (*Works*, 1726, I, 122). Perhaps the tradition of the Pro-

prietor's jovial fraternizing with the Indians in their feasts and games has been overemphasized. No doubt the glorification of his Quaker peace policy by uncritical historians has been overdone. Yet the residue of plain truth is a worthy testimonial to William Penn. He did take measures to protect the Indians from the ravages of rum and the rapacity of white traders. He did make every effort to satisfy them in his negotiations for their lands. His best testimonial is that the Indians themselves were deeply loyal to him and always held his name in loving respect (R. W. Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians, 1655-1917*, 1917, pp. 62 ff., *et passim*). Not until his descendants, who forsook his faith and his just policy, had betrayed and defrauded the natives, did the frontiers of Pennsylvania know the terrors of savage warfare. Thus the Indians were faithful on their side to the promises made to William Penn at various treaties with him, "that the Indians and English must live in Love as long as the Sun gave Light." Tradition has fused these treaties into one great treaty "under the elm tree at Shackamaxon," made famous by the brush of Benjamin West, and aptly idealized by Voltaire as the only treaty "between those people and the Christians that was not ratified by an oath, and was never infringed" (*Letters Concerning the English Nation*, 1926 reprint, p. 22).

Penn's first stay in his colony lasted only a year and ten months, but he crowded much into that time. Aside from his cares of government he superintended the laying out of Philadelphia and began the building of his own mansion-house at Pennsbury, some miles up the Delaware River. He made a tour of inspection into the interior of Pennsylvania. He visited New York, Long Island, and the Jerseys. He went to Maryland and later to New Castle to discuss his unhappy boundary dispute with Lord Baltimore. He attended Friends' meetings, and preached when he felt "called." He composed his long and well-known letter (Aug. 16, 1683) to the Free Society of Traders in England, describing with great fulness the woods, waters, animals, men, produce, and all the various possibilities of his great province (*Works*, 1726, II, 699-706). Then, in the midst of his arduous but happy tasks, conditions compelled his return to England, where the Quakers were suffering renewed and bitter persecution and needed his influence at Court. Lord Baltimore, moreover, had already gone to urge his boundary claims in London. Wisdom required Penn to follow, and on Aug. 12, 1684, he sailed for England.

On his arrival there he entered another period

## Penn

of strenuous activity. His old friend the Duke of York succeeding to the throne in 1685 as James II, Penn was able by his enhanced influence at Court to secure the release from prison of about 1,300 Friends. In 1685 he made his third missionary journey to Holland and Germany, and soon afterward was engaged in a preaching tour of England. As a close friend of the King and a constant advocate of toleration, he was now charged, not for the first time, with being a Jesuit in disguise. Nor was this accusation forgotten by his enemies when King James, in 1687, issued on his own royal authority, his famous Declaration of Indulgence. Penn naturally applauded the new policy, although his political liberalism compelled him to urge the King to buttress the Declaration with the sanction of Parliament. As a loyal friend of James he was greatly compromised by the Revolution of 1688 and the accession of William and Mary. More than once he had to answer accusations of disloyalty before the Privy Council and for a time he went into partial retirement in London until the storm of charges and suspicions abated. For nearly two years (1692-94) his governorship of Pennsylvania was forfeited, but was restored after his full and final vindication of all treasonable activities. Yet during these troublous times he wrote his charming maxims of faith and life, *Some Fruits of Solitude* (1693). Also, in 1693, during a war of alliances in Europe, came his famous *Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe, by the Establishment of an European Dyet, Parliament, or Estates*, a significant early plan for confederation, arbitration, and peace. In 1694 died his devoted and beloved wife Gulielma, and on Mar. 5, 1695/96, he married Hannah Callowhill, who proved to be a loyal and efficient helpmeet. In this period he continued his writing and speaking on religious subjects, influencing among others by his ministry Peter the Great, of Russia, who was visiting England. In 1698 he made a business and preaching journey to Ireland. The effectiveness of his public ministry at this time is indicated by a remark of the Dean of Derry, who heard him preach and afterward said that "he heard no blasphemy nor nonsense, but the everlasting truth . . . [and] his heart said Amen to what he had heard" (Graham, *William Penn*, p. 241).

During these busy and troublous years in England the Proprietor of Pennsylvania was not forgetful of his interests in the New World. In 1697 he drew up and presented to the Board of Trade in London the first thorough-going plan for a union of all the American colonies. In this plan he proposed a central Congress to fix

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quotas of men and money in time of war, and to deal with common problems in time of peace (Copy in E. B. O'Callaghan, *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, IV, 1854, pp. 296-97). He secured a partial settlement of his boundary dispute with Lord Baltimore, although the main issue remained unsettled during his lifetime and long after his death. He gave orders in 1689 for the establishment of a public grammar school in Philadelphia, which was opened in that year and still exists as the William Penn Charter School. Yet his own presence was called for in Pennsylvania and he had long desired to answer the call. There were religious troubles, including the schism of George Keith [*q.v.*]. There were administrative problems and political disputes that had long demanded his presence. Finally "the way opened" and he embarked, this time with his family, arriving at Chester, Pa., Dec. 1, 1699, after an absence of fifteen years from his beloved "woodlands" and his "fine greene Country Towne" of Philadelphia. On his second visit he showed his continued interest in the Indians by various meetings with them, making new agreements and renewing old covenants of friendship. He did what he could to mitigate the evils of slavery in Pennsylvania and made a will providing for the later emancipation of his own slaves. He continued his religious activities and, on a visit to Tredhaven (Easton), Md., preached in the presence of Lord and Lady Baltimore. He took measures for the suppression of piracy, granted a charter to Philadelphia, and most important of all, granted the Charter of 1701 to Pennsylvania. In this he renewed his old guarantee of religious liberty, but changed the form of government as established, 1682-83, and modified under Governor Markham in 1696. The new charter made possible the early establishment of separate legislatures for the province and the territories (Pennsylvania and Delaware). The Council ceased to be an elective body and became practically an advisory board to the governor. The Assembly became a single-chamber legislature, elected yearly by the people, on a wide suffrage. Although the governor retained the veto power, the Assembly could usually find means to coerce him. Its existence did not depend upon his call, and it could "sit upon its own Adjournments." Thus it continued practically supreme in the legislative field until the Revolution. The Charter of Privileges of 1701 came to be revered by the people of Pennsylvania as the palladium of their liberties (printed in *Votes and Proceedings of House of Representatives of Pennsylvania*, I, 1752, part II, pp. I-111).

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Penn had hoped to remain a resident of Pennsylvania but this hope was not realized. On the outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession a proposal was made in the English Parliament to annex all proprietary colonies to the Crown. Penn's presence in England thus became essential and late in 1701 he again said farewell to his province, this time not to return. Indeed it appears that the constructive work of his life had now been largely accomplished. He was able to retain his proprietorship but his last years were full of trouble and disappointment. He was harassed by almost endless disputes between his governors and the Pennsylvania Assembly. His own choice of deputies and helpers was not always happy. He had serious pecuniary embarrassments and for a time languished in a debtor's prison. He suffered great humiliation and sorrow because of the dissolute life of his son, William Penn, Jr. Yet he continued to some degree his activities of writing and speaking. In 1709, at sixty-five years of age, he traveled "in the ministry" through several counties of England. In 1712 he had almost arranged for a sale of his proprietary government to the Crown when he suffered an attack of apoplexy which soon destroyed his memory and rendered him incapable of further administering his affairs. His faithful wife, Hannah Penn, ably supervised his business interests until his death in 1718 at the age of seventy-four years. In 1727, after her death and that of their youngest son, the proprietorship of Pennsylvania passed into the hands of the surviving sons, John, Thomas [*q.v.*], and Richard Penn.

As a youth Penn was described as well-built, handsome, athletic, and of courtly manners. In later life he became somewhat corpulent but "using much exercise, retained his activity." The portrait as a youth in armor and the Bevan bust show the strength of his facial features. He was an unusual combination of mystic, courtier, and statesman. Apart from his important religious labors, he founded or helped to found three American commonwealths (New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware), and made a worthy contribution to the political thought of England and Europe. The Quaker "testimony" concerning him (photostat at Haverford College) drawn up after his death by Reading Monthly Meeting of Friends, England, was no doubt a deserved tribute: "He was a Man of great Abilities, of an Excellent sweetness of Disposition, quick of thought, & ready utterance; full of the Qualification of true Discipleship, even Love without dissimulation . . . he may without straining his Character be ranked among the Learned good & great."

## Pennell

[There are two authentic portraits of Penn: the one of him as a youth in armor, of which an original, or an authentic contemporary copy, is in the Hall of the Hist. Soc. of Pa., Philadelphia; and an ivory medallion bust of him in old age, made from memory after his death by his friend, Sylvanus Bevan. Possibly the portrait by Francis Place is also authentic (Graham, *post*, p. 330). There are biographies as follows: "Journal of His Life," prefixed to Joseph Besse, *A Collection of the Works of William Penn* (2 vols., 1726); Thomas Clarkson, *Memoirs of the Private and Public Life of William Penn* (2nd ed., 2 vols., 1814); W. H. Dixon, *William Penn: An Historical Biography* (2nd ed., 1852); S. M. Janney, *The Life of William Penn* (1852); S. G. Fisher, *The True William Penn* (1900), reprinted as *William Penn* (1932); J. W. Graham, *William Penn, Founder of Pa.* (1917), containing a summary, pp. 310-13, of the various refutations of Macaulay's aspersions upon Penn; M. R. Brailsford, *The Making of William Penn* (1930); Bonamy Dobree, *William Penn, Quaker and Pioneer* (1932); C. E. Vulliamy, *William Penn* (1934). On his relation to Stuart politics, see P. S. Belasco, *Authority in Church and State* (1928). For the family see H. M. Jenkins, *The Family of William Penn* (1899); and Arthur Pound, *The Penns of Pennsylvania and England* (1932). For the setting of his life work see W. C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism* (1919); and R. M. Jones, *The Quakers in the Am. Colonies* (1911). The *Dictionary of National Biography* emphasizes the European side of Penn's life, as the above account does the American side. A small but important contribution by A. C. Myers, "William Penn, His Own Account of the Delaware Indians, 1683," announced for early publication, contains a brief sketch of Penn's life.

The writings of Penn are largely listed in Joseph Smith, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books* (2 vols., 1867), and *Supplement* (1893); also M. K. Spence, *William Penn: A Bibliography* (1932). Besides the collection of Joseph Besse (above), may be cited *Select Works of William Penn* (1771); *The Select Works of William Penn* (5 vols., 1782); Deborah Logan and Edward Armstrong, *Correspondence between William Penn and James Logan* (2 vols., 1870-72; Pubs. of Hist. Soc. of Pa., vols., IX, X). The largest collection of Penn materials, printed and manuscript, in England, is in Friends' Library, Euston Road, London. For this and other collections in England see C. M. Andrews and F. G. Davenport, *Guide to the Manuscript Materials for the Hist. of the U. S. to 1783, in the British Museum* (1908). The largest collections in America, including the important private collection of A. C. Myers, are at 1300 Locust St., Phila., Hall of the Hist. Soc. of Pa. The libraries of Haverford and Swarthmore colleges should also be consulted. Some biographers have been at odds as to whether Penn's mother was actually Dutch, as stated by Pepys, or Anglo-Irish. A. C. Myers stands with Pepys and thus holds that William Penn was "half a Dutchman."] R. W. K.

**PENNELL, JOSEPH** (July 4, 1857-Apr. 23, 1926), etcher, sprang from an unbroken line of Quakers. His ancestors left Nottinghamshire, England, in 1684, for Pennsylvania, and for generations were husbandmen, until Larkin Pennell, Joseph's father, broke the family tradition by becoming a teacher and later a shipping clerk. He married Rebecca A. Barton. Joseph, born in their quiet house on South Ninth Street, Philadelphia, was their only child. He attended Quaker schools in Philadelphia and later in Germantown, to which place his family moved in 1870. He was a nervous, moody child and preferred to be alone to draw pictures. Often ill, he had fre-

## 9. Religion

American religious development, during the past three centuries and more, has been marked by several characteristics that distinguish it from religion in European countries. One is pluralism, or sectarianism, the result of many groups of colonists and later immigrants seeking, along with economic independence, religious liberty from some national church in Europe. Another is the all-pervasive influence of the frontier upon American life.

A third characteristic is an emphasis on lay activity and an absence of clericalism and of clerical interest in politics. This characteristic has yielded certain by-products: a nontheological "activism," which amazes and baffles many Europeans; an interest in ecumenism (Christian reunion); a great enthusiasm for missionary work; a keen, if chiefly idealistic, interest in the social applications of Christianity; and a flamboyant utopianism that generously supports popular causes but has less interest than Europeans have in higher education.

A final characteristic is a whole-souled devotion to the ideal of democracy, even when it falters in practice, and a faith in its ultimate victory, since it is on the side of God, who created men to be free and equal. This American democratic spirit is a heritage from English dissent, but behind it is Catholic theology and indeed the whole Judeo-Christian tradition.

Religion in America has grown prodigiously, as evidenced by the wealth of churches and synagogues and their large memberships. But the materialism of modern culture and the worldwide decline in moral standards hinder further development. Whether religious forces can meet these challenges from outside their domain remains uncertain. See also CATHOLIC CHURCH, ROMAN; JEWISH HISTORY AND SOCIETY; MISSIONARY MOVEMENTS; PROTESTANTISM; and articles on denominations.

### EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD

From the early colonial period, the diversity of colonial settlements produced diversity in American religion. Protestant and Catholic, dissenting and established, evangelistic and ceremonious, "enthusiastic" and educated—all varieties of western European Christianity were brought to American shores. Judaism arrived also.

**Virginia.** One of the declared purposes of the English trading company chartered to colonize Virginia was the propagation of Christianity among the "savages," and from the first this mission was kept in view. The civil and ecclesiastical authorities alike, who both took an oath of allegiance to the crown, were drawn from the conservatives in the Church of England. The new English Bibles, combined with the old Catholic ritual modified under the "Elizabethan settlement," seemed to satisfy all parties. They were content with the general supervision of the bishop of London, there being no resident bishops in the colonies, and with the ultimate authority of the crown, at least in spiritual matters. During the period of the English Commonwealth, prayers for the king were omitted, but services were otherwise continued as before. The College of William and Mary was founded in 1693, and by the Revolution half the clergy of Virginia were its graduates. The other half were supplied by the bishop of London.

As dissenters from the Church of England moved into the colony, the vestries of the Established Church, acting as county officials, taxed them to support the parishes and the poor. Quakers were banished when they refused to bear arms in the face of the ever-present threat of Indian massacres. Itinerant Baptist ministers were arrested for preaching without a license. On the other hand, French Huguenots and German Protestants were permitted to organize their own congregations and were released for a time from all taxes payable to the Established Church. Scotch-Irish Presbyterians were welcomed by the governor to the Shenandoah Valley. Hanover parish, near Richmond, built a chapel for dissenters and paid the dissenting minister.

**New England.** Totally different from the Virginia conservatives were the Puritans in Massachusetts. These radical Calvinists disapproved of the doctrines and practices of the Church of England and could not accept the harsh measures taken by James I to enforce the Act of Uniformity. The first group, who arrived in Plymouth in 1620, were Separatists, extreme Puritans who had left the Church of England to found their own church in the New World. The second, much larger, group, who arrived in Massachusetts Bay in 1630 with a royal charter, were Puritans who wanted simply to purify the English Church. At first the Puritans in Salem accepted two Anglican clergymen, but the principle that every congregation had the right to call and ordain its own minister was soon recognized. Harvard (1636) and Yale (1702) colleges were founded to train men for the ministry.

The early Congregationalists, as the Puritans came to be called, did not believe in religious toleration. They expelled two men for holding a service in accordance with the Anglican Book of Common Prayer and later the Antinomian radical Anne Hutchinson and the liberal Roger Williams. Williams founded Rhode Island, which welcomed Baptists and others. Thomas Hooker and John Warham removed their Congregational parishes to Connecticut but remained for a while under the government of Massachusetts.

The New England Congregationalists originally limited suffrage to church members and membership to those who had a personal experience of conversion and to their children. In 1662 the Halfway Covenant provided that children of church members might be baptized even if the members had not experienced conversion. There was much opposition to this ruling, however, and a new charter basing suffrage on property qualifications eventually was adopted.

**Middle Colonies.** The Middle Colonies were settled by a number of religiously diversified groups: English Friends (Quakers), Welsh Calvinists, Dutch Calvinists (Dutch Reformed Church), Swedish Lutherans, and Germans, including Lutheran and Reformed Protestants, Mennonites, Moravians, and Brethren (Dunkers). Under Lord Baltimore and his son, both Roman Catholics and Protestants settled in Maryland with toleration for all Christians guaranteed by the Toleration Act of 1649. But as a result of Puritan pressure during the English Civil War, toleration was limited and then abolished in 1692. In 1718, Roman Catholics were disfranchised. There were no resident bishops, and Catholics migrated to other colonies.

In several of the Middle and other colonies Jews were found from an early date. A band of



John Eliot,

Sephardic Jews went to New England although there is record of traders arriving earlier notwithstanding the prohibition there. Some small settlements were established in the 18th century in England or by way of Europe, especially Germany. Newport, R. I., was a center of Jewish life. Other settlements were in New York, Charleston,

### 18TH CENTURY

Despite the religious intolerance of the colonialists, the vast majority of the population went to America for freedom but economic independence or adventure. It is estimated that 6% of the population was Jewish. Nevertheless, that is a significant number in colonial life.

**Denominational Distribution.** The colonies had an established church in Rhode Island, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. The Anglican Church in Virginia from the beginning after the Glorious Revolution in England and Georgia; and in New York in 1693. In New England, the Congregationalists were established. The Baptists in Pennsylvania had churches, nor had the Presbyterians. H. M. Muhlenberg formed a synod (1748) among Pennsylvania churches under the classis of Amsterdam with the majority forming a denomination.

After 1714 an enormous Scotch-Irish Presbyterian migration began when their farm lands in England by prohibitive duties. Some went to New York and modified the congregation. The denomination of presbyterianism, and

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 29, 1991

31 OCT 29 P4:56

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: DAVID DEMAREST  
TONY SNOW *TS*

FROM: CURT SMITH *CS*

SUBJECT: REAGAN LIBRARY DEDICATION

I. SUMMARY

On Monday, November 4, at 11:00 a.m., you will dedicate the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library in Simi Valley, California. Over 5,000 people are expected.

Presidents Nixon, Ford, Carter, and Reagan, along with their wives, will attend. This gathering is historically unprecedented.

II. DISCUSSION

The remarks (12 minutes, on cards) pay tribute to the life and presidency of Ronald Reagan -- both what he accomplished and what he stood for. In addition to plaudits for Nancy Reagan, there are also brief tributes to the other living presidents and First Ladies.

*who else speaks  
how long*

(Smith/Simon)  
October 29, 1991  
Draft Five  
GIPPER

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: REAGAN LIBRARY  
SIMI VALLEY, CA.  
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1991  
11:00 A.M.

*and Nancy*

President Reagan, Barbara and I are delighted to be with you on the eleventh anniversary of your election as President. //

~~OUR dear friend Nancy Reagan.~~ My special greetings to your fellow Californians -- President and Mrs. Nixon, and also President and Mrs. Ford -- and to President and Mrs. Carter. / Senior members of the Reagan Cabinet. Ladies and gentlemen. //

Thank you, Mr. President, for that introduction. And to all of you, for the privilege of helping to dedicate this library of my predecessor and mentor -- the 40th President of the United States. //

((Yesterday, I mentioned to one of my grandkids that I was going to the Reagan Library in California, and he said, "Isn't that a long way to travel to return a book?")) // I said: "I would travel around the world to be in the Simi Valley today." //

*self depicted  
travel  
photo*

This marks an historic occasion. For the first time, five Presidents and five First Ladies / past and present / have gathered together in the same locale. // Individually, today is even more special to Barbara and me. // Here are four former Presidents -- *and* four *work that* former First Ladies -- *dedicated* superb public servants // each part of the American story. //

*April Provo Carlyn Simon  
in some photo and Nancy too*

We begin with the 37th President of the United States, Richard Nixon, and the woman we know, and love, as Pat. / Mr. President, you helped achieve a generation of peace by being a true architect of peace. // Here, too, are Betty Ford and America's 38th President, Gerald Ford. / To a son of Michigan, I say: "We are grateful for your <sup>deceit &</sup> leadership." // Finally, we salute the 39th President, Jimmy Carter, and his wife Rosalynn. America salutes your life-long commitment to human rights. // <sup>and helping others</sup>

Today, we honor an American Life -- which is the title of his autobiography. We also honor an American Original. / Ronald Reagan was born on February 6th -- but his heart is pure 4th of July. /

((With his disarming sense of humor, President Reagan was something refreshingly different in Washington: A politician who was funny on purpose.) <sup>(Mr. President, since you left the</sup> // He was also a visionary, a crusader, and a prophet in his time. //

He was a political prophet -- leading the tide toward conservatism. ((People forget that he wasn't always a Republican, he used to be Democrat. But a prominent Republican once took him aside and said, "I see a day when you will switch to our party." / And sure enough, Abraham Lincoln was right.) //

Next, Ronald Reagan was a Main Street prophet. He understood that America is great because of what we are -- not what we have. // Politics can be cruel, uncivil. Unfailingly, Ronald Reagan was strong and gentle. / He ennobled public service. He embodied the American character: What he described

in his second Inaugural as "hopeful, big-hearted, idealistic, daring, decent, and fair." //

Think of whistlestops that lift our memory -- like a sirensweet postcard from the past. Dixon / Tampico [Tam-PEE-koe] / Eureka College / WHO Radio, Des Moines. Ronald Reagan came from the heart of America -- geographically, and culturally. / Not even a bullet from the gun of a would-be assassin could stay his spirit. On that terrible day in March 1981, he looked at the doctors in the emergency room and said, "I hope you're all Republicans." // Republicans or Democrats, his courage and humor made all of us proud -- proud to be Americans. //

For eight years, I was proud to be Ronald Reagan's Vice-President. I saw a man who was thoughtful and sentimental / sending money to strangers whose stories touched him / writing letters on yellow legal paper. He then asked that they be retyped -- because he wanted to make it easier for the recipients to read. // Here is another instance of Ronald Reagan's compassion -- again, I return to a decade ago. / One day, still weak from gun-shot wounds, he spilled water from the sink. Soon after, aides came into the room, and tried vainly to find him. He wasn't in bed -- but in the bathroom / on his hands and knees / trying to wipe up the water so the nurse wouldn't get into trouble.

As President, Ronald Reagan was unmoved by the vagaries of intellectual fashion. He treasured values that endure. / I speak of family and civility and generosity and kindness --

values etched in the Sermon on the Mount. // Once, asked whom he most admired in history, he answered, "The Man from Galilee." / Mr. President, your faith in what is true, and good, helped renew our faith in the United States of America. //

This brings me, next, to how Ronald Reagan was also a national prophet. He didn't merely make the world believe in America. He made Americans believe in themselves. / I remember Inauguration Day in 1981 -- and how the clouds on a gloomy morn gave way as President Reagan began his speech. // He turned the winter of our discontent into a springtime of possibility. What a harbinger of how, under him, America again became, yes, that "shining city on a hill." //

Ronald Reagan believed in returning power to the people. So he helped the private sector create more than 16 million new jobs. // He sought to enlarge opportunity, not government. / So Ronald Reagan lowered taxes and spending, cut inflation, and helped create the longest peacetime boom in American history. // He knew, too, that our judiciary should interpret, not legislate. So he appointed judges who upheld the Constitution. // He knew that America was divinely blessed -- so he urged, as I do, restoring voluntary prayer to our schools. //

How ironic that the oldest President of the United States would prove as young as the American spirit. / ((It's believed that the fountain of youth was born in Florida. I think Ronald Reagan makes a good case for its existence in California.)) // Here -- as in Washington -- he was aided by the true love of his

life. As First Lady, Nancy Reagan championed the foster grandparents program, and heightened breast cancer awareness. She refurbished the White House with the dignity that is her legacy. *(and she sure left us a nice cozy place to live in)* // To the scourge of drugs, she urged America's children to "Just say no." / ~~To America's future, she supplied a lyric "yes."~~ //

*Too much* / ~~Nancy, you know more than anyone:~~ This quintessential Westerner viewed horizons from the perspective of horseback -- and because of his vision, America rides tall in the saddle again. // Not only did he bring optimism to the White House -- that optimism was contagious. Which is why I say: Mr. President, we'll get you on Mt. Rushmore yet. //

Finally, Ronald Reagan was a global prophet. // Today, the world is safer because he believed that we who are free to live our dreams, have a duty to support those who dream of living free. /

✓ Ronald Reagan predicted that Communism would land in the dust bin of history -- and history proved him right. / He knew that when it comes to national defense, finishing second means finishing last. So he rebuilt our military and pioneered the Strategic Defense Initiative. His vision paid off for every American in the sea and sands of the Gulf. // Yet he believed, too, in human brotherhood. So he transcended East and West to engage in diplomatic summitry -- and advanced the cause of peace among Nations. //

Mr. President, history will record the 1980s were not only among America's finest hours. They became perhaps democracy's finest era. / Our friend -- the Iron Lady -- as usual, said it best. I speak of Margaret Thatcher -- your fellow liegeman of liberty. ??

Recently, she spoke of how great leaders are summed up in a sentence. "Ronald Reagan," she said, "won the Cold War without firing a shot. He had a little help -- at least that's what he tells me. But that imperishable achievement will be seen by history as belonging primarily to him." / Go to Gdansk or Budapest or the hills of Nicaragua. Travel anywhere where those once enslaved now are free. They will tell you: Ronald Reagan is a founding father of the New World Order. //

((I'm not saying these things about Ronald Reagan in case he decides to run for President again in <sup>1992</sup> 1996. I say them because they're true. / Each year he adds another chapter to the story of an amazing American. Each year we say / all together, now / "There he goes again.")) // He was the Great Communicator, and also the Great Liberator. From Normandy to Moscow -- from Berlin to the Oval Office -- no leader since Churchill used words so effectively to help freedom unchain our world. //

can't know  
???

Let me close with a story, and a salute. Mr. President, when your favorite President died in 1945, the New York Times wrote, "Men will thank God on their knees, a hundred years from now, that Franklin D. Roosevelt was in the White House." // It will not take 100 years -- millions do so today -- for us to

thank God that you were in that White House. You loved America -  
- knew America. You blessed America as few men ever have. //

You were prophet, and President -- and I want to thank you  
for your many kindnesses to Barbara and to me. / Now, it is my  
distinct privilege and honor to introduce ~~the Dutchman / the~~  
~~Gipper / my predecessor / my friend.~~ The 40th President of the  
United States, Ronald Reagan.

# # # #

# Bush: What Bo

**Houston didn't give the president the lift he was looking for. Will his nasty campaign backfire?**



George Bush was eerily confident, even jovial. Presiding at a family dinner at *The Houstonian* on the eve of his acceptance speech, he offered needling toasts, gently teasing his grandson George P., who would have to shill for "Gampy" that night on national television. To hand-wringing Republican leaders who dropped by the president's condo, he offered a soothing mantra: read the new biography of Harry Truman. Just like Give 'Em Hell Harry, the president would come from behind and confound the pundits. He had a game plan, ancient but serviceable: he would savage Bill Clinton as yet another "out of the mainstream" liberal. His

old buddy Jim Baker was back to run the show. Clinton wasn't so tough—"a mile wide and an inch deep," said a Bush family member. No need to worry. It would all work out.

Well, maybe. But maybe not. It's just possible that a traditional slash-the-liberals campaign—with nothing else to soften it or give a sense of optimism and energy—will seem too jagged, too desperate and too obviously beside the point to work in 1992. Polls gyrated wildly after the GOP's Houston convention. Some had Bush gaining much ground—due, in large part, to attacks that had undermined Clinton. But *NEWSWEEK*'s Poll, conducted later than most others, showed that Bush had gotten not a bounce but a dribble. Clinton's lead had been nicked by only 3 points, from 17 percent on Aug. 14 to 14 percent last week. Inside the Astrodome, 45,000 Republicans—most

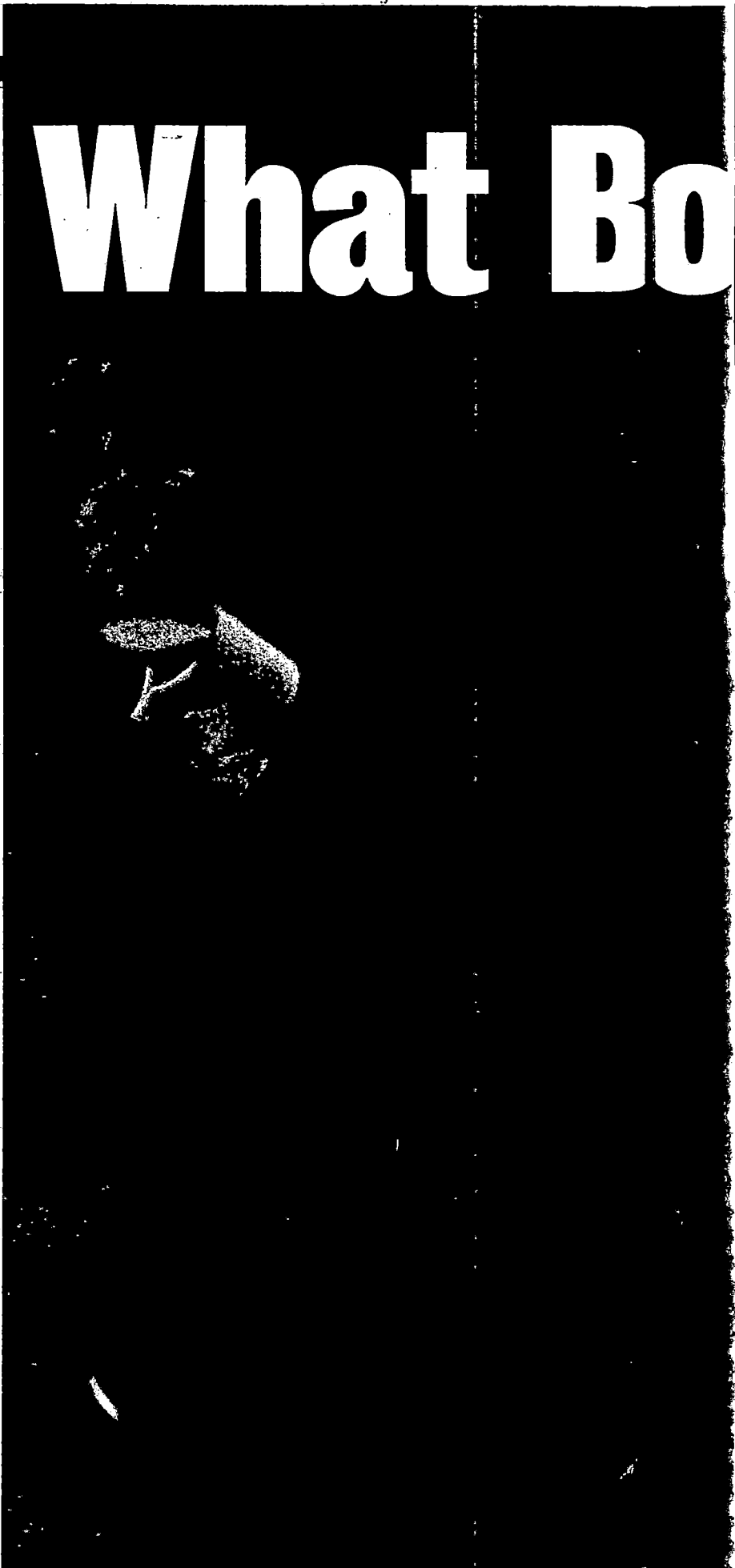
★ ★

**If the election were held today, whom would you vote for?**

**Current**  
**39% Bush**  
**53% Clinton**

**Aug. 13-14**  
**36% Bush**  
**53% Clinton**

For this *NEWSWEEK* Poll, The Gallup Organization telephoned 750 registered voters Aug. 21. Margin of error +/- 4 percentage points. "Don't know" and other responses not shown. The *NEWSWEEK* Poll © 1992 by *NEWSWEEK*, Inc.



**BY HOWARD FINEMAN AND ANN MCDANIEL**



**Bouncer?**



ALLAN TANNENBAUM—SYGMA

A hope that 'family values' will move the voters: Barbara Bush with children and grandchildren after her speech

**On the big question—the economy—Bush has little more than gimmicks to offer, and his advisers know it**

of them white, well educated and well off—cheered wildly while Bush and Dan Quayle lit into Clinton, the Congress and the Democrats with grim fury. Outside the hall it didn't play so well. The NEWSWEEK Poll showed that voters resented the personal attacks on Clinton and his wife, Hillary, and thought less of the Republicans and barely more of Bush after watching what amounted to a four-day festival of fear and social antagonism.

Grim as it was, Bush had little choice. On the big question—the economy—he has little more than gimmicks to offer, and his advisers know it. In Bush's term, economic growth rates have been lower than at any time since Herbert Hoover. That fact was underscored when dismal new unemployment figures were released on the eve of his speech, while the dollar plunged to new lows on world markets. Bush is trapped by the weak economy he presides over. The income-tax and spending-cut proposals in his acceptance speech were nothing more than righteous talk—a way, one aide said, to "sharpen the contrast" with Clinton. But Bush can't seriously offer the supply-side elixir of unconditional tax cuts; the deficit is already too large. Nor can he list the specifics of the "mandatory" spending cuts he supposedly wants; that would mean whacking Medicare, college loans and other

goodies that the middle class has come to expect.

What Bush can do is attack Clinton, portraying him as someone who *wants* to raise taxes and is eager to expand the role of government in American life. The Bush strategy calls for encouraging the fears of the suburban heartland—fears about congressional Democrats, about the metropolitan "them," about Clinton as their front man. The unsubtle message: however bad things may be now, a

dangerous liaison of Democrats on both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue would be worse. The approach is based on the theory that voters, especially suburban "swing" voters in the South and elsewhere, have minimal respect for government, even if they receive benefits from it. The symbolism of holding the GOP convention in the Astrodome couldn't have been more apt: a mecca of the New South, surrounded by acres of parking lots and suburban tracts, in a city where zoning laws were once considered a communist plot.

Now that the Soviet Union is gone, Bush must look for new devils. If taxes can't scare 'em (especially since Bush moved his lips in 1990), then "social issues" will have to. Invoking them is a more complicated task with Clinton on the other side: the Democrat favors the death penalty, for example, and last week he won the endorsement of the National Association of Police Officers. So



LARRY DOWNING—NEWSWEEK

A plea for compassion: Mary Fisher

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LARRY DOWNING—NEWSWEEK

**Delegates inside the Astrodome cheered while Bush and Quayle lit into Clinton, but outside there was more skepticism**

there was a new sum-of-all-fears list of GOP demons on display after Houston: gay and lesbian "activists," "radical feminists," bureaucrats, "environmental extremists," teachers' unions, trial lawyers, the media, Hollywood, even Woody Allen. Gays seem like an especially tempting target to the Republican right. With the battle lines on abortion already drawn, the growth stock for fundamentalist groups looking for new recruits (and funds) is gay-bashing.

High on the new enemies list is an old demon, the media. In Houston, "Blame the Media" T-shirts did a brisk business—and not all of them were bought by reporters. Aside from explaining away bad news, the Bush team is trying to guilt-trip the Big Media (especially conservative publishers and network owners) into easing up on the White House. "Right now Bill Clinton has 15,000 press secretaries," groused Bush adviser Roger Ailes. "At some point even you guys will have to get embarrassed."

The newest entry was a group that Americans have long loved to hate: lawyers. The organized bar has historically been friendly to Republicans, but trial lawyers—the ones who actually do battle in court—have swung their support and their checkbooks to the Democrats. The reason is that insurance companies and doctors want to limit jury awards. The trial bar has gone to the Democratic-controlled Congress to protect its profitmaking. In a fight between doctors and lawyers, Bush is happy to side with the doctors.

Focusing on interest groups like the trial lawyers helps Bush get around a basic problem. The link between Clinton and Congress is not obvious, since the Arkansas governor was never more than a college intern on the Hill. The rhetorical answer is to tie Clinton into the "hopelessly tangled web of PACs, perks, privileges, partisanship and

paralysis" that plagues the Democratically controlled Hill. There is just enough truth to Bush's alliterative litany to force Clinton to respond.

Bush's aides want to target the social issues with the precision of a smart bomb. Their aim is not to sweep the nation—no one is even thinking landslide this year—but to round up the bare minimum of 270 electoral votes. In the must-win state of Michigan, Republicans will aim at Clinton's running mate, Al Gore, who wants tougher clean-air regulations on autos and a higher gasoline tax. In the Bible-belt states, such as North Carolina, the GOP will play an MTV video of Clinton telling teens that if he had to do it all over again, he'd inhale. To try to make California competitive, the GOP will make a farmer's bogeymen out of "environmental extremists" determined to save the gnat catcher and the spotted owl.

The Clinton campaign, which prides itself on its quick response time, hit right back after Houston. Clinton bitterly called Bush a "great fearmonger" and accused him of having lied about Clinton's record. The latter was an eerily familiar charge—once leveled by the man who introduced Bush in Houston, Sen. Bob Dole. Indeed, Bush's bashing had its risks, both in its method and its message. Polls showed that the convention's attacks on Hillary and its stridency on abortion may have opened up the gender gap again. Marilyn Quayle seemed at times to look down on anyone who had ever been divorced or any mother who worked outside the home. (Bar-

★ ★

**Did Republicans at the convention spend too much time or too little time on the following:**

- Targeting Bill Clinton**  
54% Too much  
7% Too little
- Targeting Hillary Clinton**  
52% Too much  
6% Too little
- Targeting gays**  
37% Too much  
11% Too little
- Targeting feminists**  
31% Too much  
11% Too little
- Talking about their plans for the future**  
13% Too much  
39% Too little

NEWSWEEK Poll, Aug. 21, 1992

bara Bush was less judgmental, accepting a family by any definition.) The other risk is that voters, already turned off by traditional politics, would find the attack strategy too blatant. At least the Clinton crowd hopes so. "Real voters care about real issues," says George Stephanopoulos, Clinton's deputy campaign manager. "Swing voters especially are turned off by negative politics."

The Democrats also insist that Bush's tax-cut proposal only shreds what was left of his tattered credibility. "When we told a focus group about it, they laughed out loud," claims Stephanopoulos. (The NEWSWEEK Poll showed that 65 percent of voters viewed the tax cut as "just politics.") The Democrats regard demon politics as a diversion—and trust that voters will, too. Hanging from the wall in the "war room" of Clinton's Little Rock campaign headquarters is a sign reminding Democrats to stick to their message. It says THE ECONOMY, STUPID.

In fact, the economy is not the only central issue. Of equal importance to voters is the basic question of trust.

Bush, Clinton charged, is "personally untrustworthy. How can we trust him? He promised 15 million new jobs; he's 14 million short. He promised no new taxes." Yet Bush was at his best last week playing the role of Trusted World Leader, reminiscing about the glory days of Desert Storm and the fall of the Berlin wall. By recalling his night watch on the USS Finback, the submarine that rescued the 20-year-old aviator in 1944, Bush was able to subtly remind voters that his opponent slid past the draft during Vietnam. Trust is also code for Clinton's alleged womanizing, though Bush was not as crude as the delegates on the convention floor who carried signs saying IF HILLARY CAN'T TRUST HIM, HOW CAN WE?

The voters may not buy Bush's message, but they should have no trouble understanding it. After months of drift and incoherence, there is not much doubt that the Bush campaign will be, in campaign lingo, "on message." Baker will demand it. He has left no doubt in the White House or in campaign headquarters that he is in total control. When

PROSPECTS

# Eyes on the Prize

that the successors to Ronald Reagan and George Bush can sustain the GOP's shaky coalition of supply-siders, fundamentalists, country-club moderates and blue-collar ethnics. A guide to the civil wars ahead:

**The monarchists:** If James Baker engineers George Bush's re-election, he could inherit the throne in 1996. He

will be at the very least a shadow vice president, the heir apparent poised to usher in another eight years of Republican rule. Baker has not faced a voter since he ran for attorney general of Texas in 1978 (he lost), but among Republicans in one key state, New Hampshire, he ranks first, according to a poll taken last week.

Dan Quayle finished a distant fourth in the same poll. Some GOP strategists are spreading the word that Quayle will not run in '96 if he's an underdog. Quayle operated under the radar in Houston, quietly assuring party activists that he's no quitter. He met with the Ohio delegation, telling them that he'd been bucked up by Ronald Reagan. "The harder your critics go after you, the more you know you're right," Quayle said the former president had told him.

A strong ideologue, Quayle is an outcast among the pragmatic, inner-circle Bushies. If

Quayle is the dauphin, Baker is Cardinal Richelieu; his new White House role allows him to be the arbiter of Quayle's future. Baker could restore the moderation on social issues that Bush abandoned. In a party obsessed with where its politicians stand on abortion, Baker is one of the few whose views are unknown. What does that tell you? "That he's a canny politician," says Schlafly. Conservative activists vow not to allow a pro-choice candidate to be nominated in '96. "It would provoke a rupture that would lead to a third party," predicts Rep. Vin Weber.

**Value conservatives:** The party's moralist streak was a mile wide in Houston. Not since the New Hampshire primary, when he won 37 percent of the vote against

It's known as working the room. There's the smile, the extended hand, a few warm words and you're outta there. But for the GOP's '96 hopefuls, working the party in Houston was more than a social obligation. Each fleeting encounter was a chance to look presidential and send the faithful home with something to remember. "I can only hold my stomach in so long," gasped Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp as he took turns posing in a hotel lobby with delegates. Wooing Northern allies, Texas Sen. Phil Gramm was said to have offered the '96 vice presidency to at least two governors. On the floor of the Astrodome, Marilyn Quayle's sisters buttonholed key delegates and escorted them to the vice president's private suite. Moments after pro-choice forces gave up trying to force a floor fight, Massachusetts Gov. William Weld, sporting a PRO BUSH, PRO CHOICE button, sought out right-to-life activist Phyllis Schlafly. "I wanted to see if she would shake my hand," said Weld. She did, and with a smile frozen on her face, noted that she liked half his button.

The jockeying for position in '96 goes well beyond the individual styles of a populist, puppy-dog Kemp or a cool, aristocratic Weld. The potential candidates represent different wings of the GOP, and if they all try to take off at once in 1996, the party could fly apart. It's not at all clear



JOHN FICARA—NEWSWEEK

A strong ideologue: Dan and Marilyn Quayle



Jockeying for '96 goes well beyond individual styles. The Republican Party could go in at least four directions.

BY ELEANOR CLIFT

the president first suggested that Baker come over to serve as "counselor" to the president, leaving Samuel Skinner as chief of staff, Baker said forget it. He wanted Skinner and his sidekicks out. Skinner was duly shuffled off to a nonjob in the Republican National Committee, and his aides were shown new quarters far from the Oval Office.

Baker's own team—Bob Zoellick, Dennis Ross, Margaret Tutwiler and Janet Mullins—will virtually take over the campaign (not to mention the executive branch, which this fall will be one and the same). Campaign chieftains Robert Teeter and Fred Malek will still be in the loop but shorn of decision-making power. Ross is a policy maven, while Zoellick is a combination speechwriter, enforcer and sounding board for his boss. Tutwiler, an old hand at beguiling reporters, will be communications czar while Mullins handles politics. Resurrected from political purgatory is budget director Richard Darman, who couldn't balance the budget but can offer clever political tricks to his mentor Baker. (It was

Darman, predictably, who cooked up the taxpayer-check-off gimmick in Bush's acceptance speech.) There will be a few other voices in the room, like Darman's polished young No. 2, Bob Grady, but Baker will brook no dissent. "In the White House, they'll be scared to death because the body bags will be right outside the door," said one recent victim of the purge.

No matter how clever or disciplined, Bush's campaign will not succeed unless enough voters share his basic belief about the role of government at home. For such an upbeat man, it is a basically downbeat view. Bush doesn't think that government can do a whole lot to make the economy better; the best thing Washington can do is stay out of the way. Clinton, for all his neojargon, retains a dogged belief in the liberal faith that government is the engine of betterment. The waffling polls show that the public is still not sure whom—or what—to believe. But for all the sideshows and fearmongering, the basic choice is clear enough. The voters have 70 days to decide. ■

Bush, has Pat Buchanan gotten such respect. But no one, including possibly Buchanan himself, takes the heat-seeking commentator seriously as a potential president. Former drug czar William Bennett, a possible candidate under the values banner should Quayle falter, has said that his goal is to reshape American institutions in the

to Bennett that he wouldn't run for president if Bennett did. As reporters scribbled down the quote, Kemp grinned and protested, "That's off the record." The truth is if Kemp runs, Bennett won't.

**Economic conservatives:** Kemp is the sentimental favorite of Reagan Republicans. He has the same optimism and

true-blue belief in supply-side economics as the former president. He also has an evangelistic fervor about expanding the party to include minorities. "He's the RFK of their side," says Frank Mankiewicz, Robert Kennedy's press secretary. Kemp was a whirling dervish in Houston, popping in on New Hampshire delegates to talk for "a minute . . . no, that's an oxymoron, I can go 10 minutes without using a verb." But Kemp couldn't translate the strong feelings for him into votes in 1988, and GOP strategists question whether he has the discipline for a sustained run in 1996. Gramm is Kemp's evil twin. Where Kemp wants to pump up the economy with tax cuts for everyone, Gramm comes at it with a starve-the-fover approach, coupled with a reputation for being mean-spirited. His keynote address at the convention was widely regarded to have bombed. Asked if the speech flopped because Gramm's "persona" had not come through on TV, a GOP official winced: "He should hope it doesn't." But Gramm has more than \$4 million in the bank and a bloodlust for winning that will make him a player.

**The Yuppies:** Because the GOP's '96 field is crowded with right-to-life conservatives, there is an opening for a Yuppie moderate to slip through. The religious right controlled the party

machinery this time around. But the voices of moderation vow they won't be caught off guard again. "Pro-choice Republicans will be very active and very loud the next four years," says GOP polltaker Frank Luntz. Half the GOP voters in New Hampshire say they would prefer a pro-choice candidate in '96. Some GOP strategists believe that Weld and California Gov. Pete Wilson represent the future of the party. But first, each must survive a contentious re-election fight in his home state. Wilson didn't even attend the convention because of California's budget crisis. Weld thinks he has found a formula for the future: fiscal conservative, social liberal. But in a party that still celebrates the values of the 1950s, the past dies hard. ■



**If Baker engineers Bush's victory, he will be a shadow vice president, the heir apparent**



ROBERT MAASS—SIPA

**The sentimental favorite of Reagan Republicans: Kemp in Houston**

same way that the Supreme Court has been transformed. But Bennett, who has no appetite for the grunt work of politics, spent the week hobnobbing with the "media elite" as a PBS commentator. Spotted in the Astrodome with right-wing radio-talk-show host Rush Limbaugh and conservative activist Paul Weyrich, Bennett wryly declared they were there to ensure that Jerry Brown got a chance to speak. When the quote showed up in an Indiana newspaper, a literal-minded conservative called Bennett to ask exactly what he stood for. Bennett is something of an intellectual provocateur, which may make him a better dinner guest than presidential candidate. On the floor of the convention before a dozen onlookers, Kemp effused

OPINION

# A Feast of Hate and Fear

**A**fter the first night of the Republican convention, Murray Kempton, the venerable grouch and newspaper columnist, said, "I don't mind the four more years. It's the three more days that is more than I can stand." The Republican convention was sour, mean and dull.

The high point was Pat Buchanan's speech, the only Republican oratorical effort chock full o' nifty ideas. Religious warfare, for example. Gad, think of the fun we can have—mass slaughter in the name of God, killing for Christ, pogroms, heretic hunts. We, too, can at long last enjoy the charming ambience of Northern Ireland and Lebanon.

Cultural cleansing, there's another fab proposal. Why should the Bosnians have all the fun? We can have a cleansing of our very own right here at home. In the Battle of Stalingrad portion of his speech, Buchanan set forth his program for the inner cities: M-16s. We will retake the cities, block by block from the Americans who have, with fiendish cleverness, infiltrated their own country.

That Buchanan's story about the young army troops who saved the home for the elderly from mob menace turned out to be untrue is a mere trifle. At the Republican convention, we approached truth in a larky spirit, with imagination, flexibility and insouciance. Nor were we hobbled by hypocrisy. We felt perfectly free to call Bill Clinton a draft dodger. Never mind that Clinton, who hated the war in Nam, finally signed up for the draft lottery out of conscience. Whereas Buchanan, that fearless Commie killer, couldn't go because his knee hurt.

Tuesday night shall be passed over in merciful brevity. Jack Kemp seems to be a nice man with silly economic ideas. Two hours of bad buildup to Phil Gramm's excruciatingly boring lecture. But look at it this way, he wasn't nearly as nasty as he can be.

Wednesday we got wives. Marilyn Quayle gave us a bizarrely foreshortened version of some debate among upper-middle-class white women about whether they should choose fulfilling careers or be true to their "essential natures" by staying home with their children. The fact that most American women work because they have to, at lousy jobs for lousy pay, does not seem to have made it onto her radar screen.

I can't help it, I'm a Barbara Bush fan. The press was all



Phyllis Schlafly greets the faithful

atwitter about how Mrs. Bush was being "combative," "feisty" and even "nasty." Oh poot, she's always been tough as old boots: I like her anyway, or maybe on account of it. If the press was dumb enough to think she was nothing but a sweet, white-haired granny in the first place, let them eat chocolate chips.

Thursday brought us an unusually surreal exercise, even for Dan Quayle. First he steals Al Gore's theme line, and then he reprises his own most memorable public humiliation by stealing Lloyd Bentsen's "you're no JFK" bit. Will someone hire the poor man a speechwriter who doesn't plagiarize?

His hour come round at last, George Bush stood before us, ready after four long years to reveal his Vision Thing. This was the speech that would definitively define his domestic agenda. This was the speech that would unveil his bulletproof plan for getting us out of the recession. And also tell us who the hell has been president for the last four years.

Speculation, fed for days by Bush's campaign advisers, was rife. Would he announce a dramatic tax cut as a stimulus? Would he match it with a spending cut, perhaps even in the supposedly untouchable entitlement programs? Maybe he would even knock everyone out with some self-

less, statesmanlike version of the Perot plan—the stark truth at last, pain for everyone for patriotism's sake—showing a heretofore unimagined degree of political courage? Voodoo or Keynes? Politics or guts?

The start was boffo! Fifteen minutes on foreign affairs, his forte, in which he took sole credit for everything good that's happened during his watch except the birth of a couple of long-awaited babies in Bolivia. Whatthehell, this is politics and you get to do that. Now comes the Vision Thing:

Congress is awful and the other guy is a louse.

OK. That was the Congress-and-Clinton bashing bit. Now the Vision Thing:

Congress is super-awful and the other guy's a dreadful louse.

All right, now here it comes. George Bush's plan to get us out of this mess:

Congress is just dreadfully awful, it has never done one single thing except prevent George Bush from carrying out all his perfectly wonderful plans, and the other guy is the worst louse in history.

Bound to be an economic plan in here somewhere. He has to come up with one. He's in deep doodoo. And the



**A capital-gains tax cut, plus Congress is awful and the other guy is a louse. That was it for Bush's speech.**

BY MOLLY IVINS

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OUTSIDER

# Ross Perot's New Tease



ROBERT TRIPPETT—SIPA

Trying to erase the quitter's stigma: Perot in Washington

**T**he volunteers' lounge, with the free vending machines and big-screen TV, was deserted at mid-afternoon. Down the hall, the phone bank that once took toll-free calls for Ross Perot 24 hours a day is gone, turned back into another carpeted prairie of vacant north Dallas office space. Those keeping the flame now work from a smaller room once used for press briefings. They staff 12 lines, 9 to 5, weekdays. A sign proclaims that **THE SECOND WAVE HAS BEGUN**. Tanya Altmyer, a Perotian since March, believes The Return is inevitable. "I don't think people are going to let him go away," she says.

This is the headquarters of the headless campaign. Ross Perot ended his plans to enter the presidential race last month, but he's not acting like a man who's comfortable with his decision. He was on television last week promoting a new book ("United We Stand") that outlines the tough tax-hike and spending-cut regimen he wouldn't take to voters as a candidate. He also kept the door on his political plans ajar, suggesting that "the American people have a place to come" if they're unhappy with the economic plans of George Bush and Bill Clinton, and hinting that he could air TV ads aimed at both this fall. Just in case his 118-page paperback gets overlooked in bookstores, he's bought 100,000 copies himself for free distribution. Perot continues to pay the rent on 64 volunteer offices across the country. In the six weeks since he quit, workers in 17 states have submitted nominating petitions; he's now on the ballot in 36 states. By fall, the total could be close to 50. For the last month a full-time Perot field operative from Dallas has been in New York overseeing a petition drive and supplementing volunteers with paid workers.

What's Perot up to? Those who know him see political

and personal motivations at work. One is to deny George Bush a second term. They say he considers the president an incompetent on economic issues and is bitter about Republican attacks that helped drive him from the race. Perot was also stunned by the angry reaction from many of his volunteers when he pulled out July 16. "He recognizes that he hurt a lot of people. I don't think he really comprehended how deep the feelings were," says Orson Swindle, head of United We Stand, America, a new organization of Perot volunteers that plans to press the presidential candidates to adopt the Perot platform. Perot-watchers say the straddle may be his attempt to erase the quitter stigma and feed his own compulsive need to be a player, without assuming the risks of candidacy. "He may ultimately do nothing except show that he hasn't tucked his tail," says Texas political consultant George Christian.

Perot could still be a significant force as protest vote in a close fall election. One GOP polltaker said last week that Perot continues to pull double digits in California and Texas. Those numbers are likely to dwindle, but ex-Perot polltaker Frank Luntz says he will draw at least 5 percent nationally in November. "And this election will not be decided by anything more than that," he says. Some analysts say he remains positioned to do more damage to Bush than Clinton, especially in Republican bastions like Dallas-Ft. Worth and Orange County. Bush's tax-cut ploy may make it even more difficult to win over Perot voters. "The

thoughtful, disaffected suburban voter who is disenchanted with Bush has a sense that something honest and credible must be done about the economy," says Democratic consultant George Shipley. "The tax cut is pitiful pandering. The Perot voters will want no part of it."

Most of Perot's book recapitulates deficit-fighting proposals he made this spring and early summer. His plan calls for new taxes on tobacco and gasoline, marginal rates as high as 35 percent for families making more than \$89,250 (or individuals over \$55,550) and levies on social-security benefits. He would also limit the mort-

gage-interest tax deduction to mortgages of \$250,000 or less. Perot would cut federal discretionary spending by 15 percent, chopping items that range from the space station to the Rural Electrification Administration. He says the package would save \$754 billion over five years. It's a blockbuster plan, but one from a man who can't decide if he's on or off the field. The in-again, out-again tease seems singularly cruel to his volunteers and is bound to diminish the impact of his ideas. In the book's afterword, Perot writes, "A person doesn't become a politician without learning to dance the two-step." Right now, Ross Perot is dancing as fast as he can. ■

★ ★  
How do you regard the following?

**Bush's call for an across-the-board tax cut tied to spending reductions**

**29% A serious proposal**  
**65% Just politics**

**His saying taxpayers could check a box on their tax return to allow up to 10% of their payments to go toward reducing the deficit**

**34% A serious proposal**  
**60% Just politics**

NEWSWEEK Poll, Aug. 21, 1992



What's he up to? Those who know him see political and personal motives at work.

BY BILL TURQUE AND GINNY GARROLL

voters care only about the economy. Ah, here it comes, right now, this is it, my pencil's poised, here it comes: *Zip*. There it went. I consult my notes.

A capital-gains tax cut, plus Congress is awful and the other guy is a louse. That was it. Same damn tax cut for his rich friends Bush has been pushing since the Bronze Age, with no chance Congress will pass it because it will not do one bit of good. Some vague one-sentence pledge got the headlines. *I'll cut taxes if they cut spending*. What taxes? What spending? But that was all. More mush from the wimp. In the clueless mode again.

He went on again about a balanced-budget amendment. The man has never submitted anything remotely resembling a balanced budget. If he wants one, why doesn't he come up with one? He seems to think an amendment is like pixie dust: you sprinkle it on and—poof—the deficit disappears. He wants a balanced budget and no new taxes. You look at the numbers and tell me if this fool can add.

I've spent too many years listening to Texas legislators mangle English, the favorite blood sport in our state, to mistake bad grammar for low IQ. But Bush's hopeless incoherence whenever he speaks without a TelePrompTer does seem to me related to some impairment in his ability to think clearly. I suspect the reason no one knows what he really stands for (except a capital-gains tax cut) is because he doesn't, either.

Many of the lies at the convention were told so often, they lost their power to startle. "What?! Clinton raised taxes 128 times?! That can't be right!" Became instead, Clinton-who-raised-taxes-128-times. Likewise, the initially odd sound of "Gays-who-are-demanding-special-treatment-and-special-preferences-under-the-law" stopped being astonishing ("They are?! I didn't know that! Well that's terrible, I don't agree with that."). In fact, no gay organization has ever asked for special preferences, hiring quotas or any form of affirmative action under the law.

I live in Austin, Texas. Last Dec. 9, the newspaper for which I had worked for 10 years bit the dust. The Dallas Times Herald was a classic example of the '80s. It was bought sequentially by entrepreneurs leveraged up to their eyeballs. Every penny it made for the last years of its life went to pay off the interest on those debts. When the paper, still making money, could no longer cover the

interest, it folded. Just under 1,000 full-time employees were on the street.

Most of us, at least from the news side, are OK now. One friend who hasn't landed yet is the best copy editor I ever worked with. His wife, a teacher, got cancer the summer before the Herald died. Because her health insurance was through the local school district, he couldn't leave the area. The last letter I got from him, he asked me to let him know if I heard of any openings on the Austin paper. "I could come down five days a week; I've got a tent I could sleep in. And then go back to take care of her on the weekends. I'll take any job that's open. I have a little business now, mowing lawns."

George Bush told the convention the American people don't want a health-insurance system. "Who wants health care with . . . the efficiency of the House post office and the compassion of the KGB?" he asked.

Many of the genuinely nice Republicans I met in Houston won't recognize themselves in the description of a convention dominated by hatemongering and fearmongering, all done for political purposes. But it was there, it was real, and it was what that convention was about.

*Ivins is a columnist at the Fort Worth Star-Telegram*



**Pro-choicers hid their faces, pro-lifers held babies**



PUBLIC LIVES

# Little Lies and Big Whoppers

**T**he whole week was double-*ply*, wall-to-wall ugly. The tone was set early on. "We are America," Rich Bond, the Republican National Committee chairman, told NBC. "These other people are not America." This, of course, has been the battle cry of bigots since the founding of the republic—and a leading indicator of political catastrophe.

Okay, okay. Allowances should be made for rhetorical excess; it comes with the territory. Politicians . . . exaggerate. Allowances might even be made for the sort of good-natured whopper Jack Kemp floated in his speech—about the woman (who wasn't really) on welfare who was so proud of the new home (which she didn't get through Kemp's Department of Housing and Urban Development). But, even so, the Republican Party reached an unimaginably slouchy, and brazen, and constant, level of mendacity last week. There were little things, like the line—spoken from the podium by the entrepervangelist Pat Robertson and spread through the back alleys of the convention by others—that Bill Clinton wouldn't let his 13-year-old daughter get her ears pierced "but wants to give your . . . daughter the choice, without your consent, to destroy the life of her unborn baby." Wrong. As any radical feminist can tell you, Clinton is in favor of parental consent. There were also not-quite-lies, like the constant refrain that Hillary Clinton was in favor of children suing their parents—which she is, but only in extreme cases (a child of drug-addicted or violent parents who seeks asylum), instances many non-"feminazis" agree are appropriate.

And then there were the Big Lies: that Clinton had raised taxes 128 times; that he was proposing a \$150 billion tax increase, the largest in American history. These were particularly nervy: both *The Wall Street Journal* and columnist Michael Kinsley had punctured them a week earlier. By a more sober accounting, Clinton raised taxes 59 times (mostly for education and highways)—but he also lowered them 48 times. As for Clinton's proposed "largest" tax hike, it would be offset by \$104 billion in tax cuts, for a net increase of \$46 billion. This is chicken feed compared with Ronald Reagan's 1982 festival of confiscation, which raised a net \$150.2 billion (Bush's 1990 Read My Lips "mistake" was the second largest in history). Remarkably, none of this deterred the

president of the United States from reprising these oft-reprised slanders during his acceptance speech.

There was also a certain amount of mean-spirited hokum to the much-heralded "cultural war" launched by the GOP's evangelical wing last week. Make no mistake, there is serious cause for concern about the devastating impact of the sexual revolution on children—a mountain of data attests that those raised in nontraditional families are likely to suffer in a mind-numbing multitude of ways. But, last week, "family values" seemed more a tactic than a cause. In any case, the evangelistas have a perverse, distorted view of what really matters. They seem to see homosexuals as a greater threat to the republic than the corrosive effects of a violent, vulgar and thing-obsessed popular culture—the real "family values" battle most parents fight every day. The level of hypocrisy on such issues, and especially abortion, is stunning. When convenient, the Party of the Righteous lapses into a moral relativism worthy of the Party of Perversion: the national anthem was sung on Monday by Tanya Tucker, an un-

apologetically unmarried single mother. Gerald McRaney, the actor who introduced Marilyn Quayle's speech, is working on his third marriage. The Bush family arrived on the podium to the strains of a homosexual love song from the musical "La Cage Aux Folles."

**Radical middle:** Of course, it might plausibly be argued, Democrats are no less egregious; they just did a better job keeping a lid on their maniacs this summer. The evangelical "family values" right has its mirror image in the lifestyle liberals of the Democratic left, who celebrate "alternative living situations" and put Anita Hill in the same league as Mother Teresa. Both parties also have their economic tradi-

tionalists. For Democrats, the agenda was set by Samuel Gompers, the pioneering labor leader: "More." More money, more programs, more bureaucrats. For Main Street and Wall Street Republicans, the obvious corollary is "Less." But there is also, now, a tiny—but intellectually powerful—radical middle in both parties, post-socialist activists who seek to achieve liberal goals (better education, housing, health care, environment) through conservative, market-oriented means like choice, competition, tax incentives for public-spirited behavior and privatization.

This is the agenda of the future, and both candidates have been nosing around it. Bill Clinton has touted it in the past but is limited now by the special interests in his party for whom "more" is still everything. George Bush might have a less-cluttered path to the future, if he chose to take it. Beneath the furor and ugliness of the convention last week, Republican intellectuals were making a more plausible case for *their* version of a new activist domestic policy than Democrats have made for theirs. But the president has never been much interested in such things and is in "campaign mode" now, which means mendacity doesn't matter, aggression is all and wall-to-wall ugly is the order of battle for the duration. ■



KEN HAWKINS—SYGMA

Getting hammered: House-building in Atlanta



The GOP reached a brazen level of mendacity. The whole week was double-*ply*, wall-to-wall ugly.

BY JOE KLEIN

BETWEEN THE LINES

# The Buck Stops There

**W**e knew Harry Truman, Harry Truman was a friend of . . . And Harry Truman would punch the guy who tried to flog that line one more time. But before scrapping it entirely, let's be clear: George Bush really is no Harry Truman. While Truman lambasted Congress, the one thing every schoolchild knows (or should know) about him is the old sign on his desk, **THE BUCK STOPS HERE**. The tag team of young aides who wrote Bush's speech somehow forgot to put that one in.

Stripped of all the name-calling and petty diversions, the basic question in this election is a serious philosophical one about accountability. Bill Clinton thinks the president should use government to try to fix the economy and plan for the future, and that he should be held responsible for the results. George Bush thinks central economic planning has been discredited by the forces of history. He believes that on the domestic side, the president should prevent Congress from doing any more damage, sign free-trade pacts, then get the hell out of the private sector's way. The subtext of Bush's acceptance speech was, Hey, all of you know deep down that the government can't do much of anything about the economy, so we might as well spend less of your money in the meantime.

That's why Bush gave up on his long quest for the "vision thing." In fact, the one time he was supposed to use the V word in his speech, it came out "version." But there's nothing Freudian about the Congress-bashing. Beyond the political hay lies a clear message about his philosophy of governing: paralysis as a policy objective. Bush campaigned after the convention last week against the "gridlocked Congress," but he was actually campaigning *in favor* of the continued gridlock of divided government—Republican president, Democratic Congress. As retiring Rep. Vin Weber, a Bush campaign cochairman, says, "Our chances of winning control of the Congress are slim to none."

Under the logic that prevailed in the White House until now, this would have meant urging a vote for Clinton. "Let us elect a president—Republican or Democrat—and give him a Congress that responds to presidential leadership," Dan Quayle said in a June 12 speech to the Federalist Society. "Give one party the authority and responsibility to govern." This was Bush's position, too. Never mind.

The irony is that everyone knows that Bush's basic attack on the congressional pork-sausage factory has merit. How bad is the Hill? So bad that the administration is occasionally in the strange position of being more "liberal" than Congress. In recent years Bush has actually asked for more money for the homeless than Congress has appropriated (members put the funds in other porky HUD projects instead). And the White House, which has been viciously attacked for underfunding AIDS, actually sought more for AIDS research than Congress eventually provided. (Congress's overall AIDS budget is only slightly higher than Bush requested.)

Bush and Clinton agree on one remedy: the president needs a line-item veto, which would allow him to slice off wasteful pieces of bills without vetoing the whole thing. Bush will never get it from Congress. Clinton would have

a better—though still slim—chance. Bush's new proposal for an income-tax "checkoff," which would devote 10 percent of tax returns to shrinking the deficit, sounds gimmicky to cynical Washington ears, but it's exactly the sort of Perot-style starvation diet that deserves serious debate. The president has also shown more courage than Clinton in agreeing to take on so-called mandatory spending (the new GOP synonym for entitlements), which is where the real savings are in the budget. But by refusing to explain the sacrifice involved in making these cuts, Bush shows he's not yet serious about it, except as a political weapon.

The president's basic claim—"Our policies haven't failed; they haven't been tried"—is false. Beyond pushing hard for capital-gains tax cuts, it's George Bush who hasn't tried. All up and down Bush's tepid agenda, the story is the same. On housing, Jack Kemp's innovative tenant-ownership plans have been largely stymied by Congress. But did Bush fight for Kemp? No. Dit-

to on school choice, an issue on which Bush lip-syncs the music but hasn't even taken the time to learn the elementary details. Or take cracking down on lawyers, where Bush is clearly right and Clinton and the Democrats are clearly in the pocket of the trial attorneys. Although legal reform was first raised more than a year ago, it turns out that neither Bush nor Quayle has lobbied at all for it on Capitol Hill.

Even if a second-term Bush approached Congress with the energy he applied to the Desert Storm coalition, he would still fail. Especially after all of this bashing. Only Nixon could go to China, and only a Democratic president could seduce a Democratic Congress into doing anything. Of course, for voters who believe that "anything" is inevitably worse than "nothing," the answer is to opt for more gridlock. In a cheesy political year, that's a meaty basis on which to make a decision.



LARRY DOWNING—NEWSWEEK

Did he fight hard enough? After the speech



**Beyond the Congress-bashing lies a clear message about Bush's view of governing: paralysis as a policy objective**

BY JONATHAN ALTER

(Smith/Aarhus)  
Draft Three  
September 6, 1992  
TOLERANCE

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: EVANGELICALS  
VIRGINIA BEACH, VA.  
FRIDAY, SEPT. 11, 1992

President \_\_. Director \_\_. My good friend Pat Robertson --  
and I want to salute your leadership. Ladies and gentlemen.

((It is often said of a group or individual that "He hasn't  
got a prayer." Today I am pleased to be with an audience about  
whom that will never be said.)) //

I am delighted to be in the heart of America's evangelical  
community. ((It's always good to know that if it takes divine  
intervention to save my speech, help is close at hand.)) //

In the spirit of the occasion, I'd like to make two vows.  
First, I plan to be brief today. ((As Zsa Zsa Gabor said to each  
of her husbands, I'll let you go fairly soon.)) //

The ~~second~~ <sup>first</sup> vow is for those of you in the back of the room.  
I'll try to speak up. ((Ben Kinchlow warned me earlier that the  
agnostics in this hall are very bad.) //

I want to talk to you today less as President than as  
husband, father, <sup>cell mate</sup> church-goer, friend. Talk about the timeless  
teachings of the Sermon on the Mount -- lessons which recall that  
while God can live without man, man cannot live without God. //

The Good Shepherd taught us many things. Faith, fidelity,  
compassion, courage. He also taught that we could not be a light  
unto others if we embraced darkness in ourselves. Nation or  
individual -- we were put here to love, not hate, each other.

*Tolerance is a virtue -- not a vice. I know that the tolerance is a vice -- not a virtue.*

Which is why I believe -- believe deeply: Conviction without tolerance is like Pat Robertson without Sheila Walsh. //

Last year -- perhaps some of you remember -- I spoke about Saddam Hussein's attempt to cast Desert Storm as a religious war. I said he was wrong: Our conflict had nothing to do with religion per se. It had, however, everything to do with what religion embodies. //

The War in the Gulf was not America vs. a madman. It was freedom against oppression -- dignity versus intolerance. It was not a Christian or Jewish -- not a Moslem war. It was a just war -- a war in which by God's providence, which good did prevail. //

I know some opposed my view that aggression must not stand. Yet I had no bitterness toward them then -- nor have I anger, now. / I was convinced I was right -- and history has proved it. Yet I refuse to blame, or recriminate. You see: I believe that tolerance is a virtue -- not a vice. /

*All or is the difference between tolerance and intolerance.*

I learned about tolerance as a kid at the dinner table -- when each day mother or dad read a Bible lesson. [[Well, up to a point. I don't think that even Divine counsel from above could get me to eat broccoli.]] // As a teenager, I memorized the Navy hymn: "O hear us when we cry to thee / for those in peril on the sea" -- and learned how death knows no ideology. /

From Barbara I learned, as the Bible says, "to act justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly." [[Course, when I compare my polls to her's, I have a lot to be humble about.]] / Ironically, it was war that helped teach me civility. I remember how aboard the submarine Finback after being shot down, I'd go on deck at



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people don't think  
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low  
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9/11, see  
reckless: 12/01, 9/11

but their intent, and motive. I don't like how terms used  
recklessly -- "bigot, racist, fellow traveler, neanderthal"  
demean America, and place public discourse in the gutter. //

relat.  
her  
her

Now, I'll admit. I have trouble speaking from the heart --  
you know us Episcopalians. Yet I know that when America chooses  
a President -- it elects not only programs, but a person. Two  
men this year seek your support. You must know -- inside -- what  
I feel,

inside - 1/28, 12/1/01

I believe that the definition of a successful life must  
include serving others. I know we cannot serve each other as  
long as we are screaming one another. / I believe that decency,  
and courtesy, are not character flaws. Instead, they show how  
America is great because her people are good. // I believe that  
family -- whether single-parent or traditional -- is America's  
umbilical cord -- and that family structure means less than  
personal responsibility. / I believe in empowerment -- not  
dependency. /

So I believe in the rule of reason -- not the rule of force --  
in respect for the minority -- not tyranny of the minority. // I  
believe that we are all God's children -- and that we should  
treat each other gently. / I believe we should not just listen to  
but also hear one another -- that we are mortal, not infallible  
and that our fate is indivisible. Above all, I believe -- I  
believe this deeply: Only God has a monopoly on truth. //

When the rights of unborn children are abolished -- that's  
not tolerance but intolerance. When our children's textbooks





World based classes "In Sage" ~~with first~~ inset  
ridiculous apathy in the US, & ally's to side the US, since  
all well, P.C. is not USA. There's no more the intellectual stability  
or non-shirking in the last of that, the 5th. we learn  
faced up to the risks for health and the world - why not  
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in experience

(think over, the internet)

Frank. There is no reason -- ever -- it should not be read. No small minority has the right to impose its will and dictate their view of morality on the rest of society. That applies to perhaps the ultimate intolerance. As the following story shows.

A principle walked into a classroom and found the teacher praying. The principal said, "According to the Supreme Court, you're not allowed to do that." //

The teacher was not deterred. "Really?" she said. "Well, the Supreme Court isn't a substitute teacher who's just been thrown into a classroom filled with eight-year-olds." //

Talk about Solomon. This teacher knew something's wrong when kids can get condoms at school but -- like teachers -- can't say a prayer. /

~~If Congress can raise its pay in a midnight session / if Congress can install new lighting so their faces will be better lit for TV / if Congress can spend time debating Vanna White's appearance on the Home Shopping Network -- then, surely, Congress can allow our kids to thank Almighty God. //~~

So I throw down the gauntlet. Let's defend tolerance against religious intolerance by bringing the Faith of our Fathers back to the classrooms of America. I call on Congress, and I challenge my opponent to support me: Let's pass a Constitutional Amendment restoring voluntary prayer to our schools. //

Now, I'll admit many Americans ~~haven't~~ heard of ~~this~~ intolerance. <sup>all the</sup> The reason is -- well, Dan Quayle has said it best.

*Handwritten notes:*  
- "no longer of the first amendment" (circled)  
- "it's the same as the 1st amendment" (circled)  
- "the 1st amendment is the 1st amendment" (circled)  
- "the 1st amendment is the 1st amendment" (circled)



... how all will be 9

sight. I know all are welcome at the table of America -- and will be as long as I am President.

Once, two ladies were discussing the merits of two Presidents -- Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis of the Confederacy. The first said, "I think Jefferson will succeed because he is a praying man."

The second answered, "But so is Abraham a praying man."

"Yes," replied the first lady, "but the Lord will think Abraham is joking."

I believe this is how we should approach public and private life -- with conviction yet tolerance; passion yet humor. It is why I would rather be a one-term President who unites America than a two-term President who divides America.

In the only election that really counts, God will not ask. Were you rich? Were you successful? Did you frequent the finest parties -- and attend the best schools?

He will ask instead the only questions that matter. Were we kind? Were we honest? Did we lend a hand / tend a wound / and truly love thy neighbor?

Three weeks ago an event occurred which showed how tolerance can be best when tragedy is worst. Hurricane Andrew -- perhaps the worst natural disaster since the 1906 earthquake in San Francisco. / We saw how as the Good Book reminds us: "If one member suffers, all suffer together." / We also learned how nothing can match the spirit of neighbor-helping-neighbor. //

Prophets of the Lord... Did we... We also learned how...

providing shelter beneath

Amid the rubble of hurricane, strangers <sup>opened</sup> ~~wallets~~ / ~~their~~ arms / and <sup>opened wide</sup> ~~ultimately~~, their hearts. <sup>exposed</sup> ~~They~~ provided blankets, food, and shelter <sup>proved</sup> ~~and ultimately~~, hope <sup>proving</sup> ~~proving~~ how though Americans could be physically beaten -- we will never be defeated.

Perhaps a man -- put it best "It makes you cry -- just the love, the generosity, the   ." He knew that matters is not race, creed, sex, or religion. What counts is that we are Americans -- and children of the same humane and loving God. //

Without God's help we can do nothing. With it we can do everything -- for ourselves and for the world. Thank you for your support, and your faith in the future. God bless this wondrous land -- the United States of America.

# # # #  
Matta 6.21 says us,  
When you receive, the you learn  
the love in  
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(Smith/Aarhus)  
Draft One  
September 8, 1992  
GOLDEN

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: REAGAN EVENT  
ORANGE COUNTY, CA.  
SUNDAY, SEPT. 13, 1992

[[ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS]]. President and Mrs. Reagan. Ladies  
and gentlemen. //

Thank you for that gracious introduction -- and for the  
privilege of saluting the American Life of an American Original.  
A man who was born on February 6, 1911 -- but his heart is pure  
Fourth of July. //

This man made the world believe in America again. He made  
Americans believe in themselves. Let me put it so that even our  
liberal friends can understand: Ronald Reagan is one of the  
greatest Americans of all time. //

I love Ronald Reagan for the same reasons you do. First,  
his terrific sense of humor. ((President Reagan was something  
wondrously different in Washington: A politician who was funny  
on purpose.)) //

I'm a Reagan fan for another reason: His facility with  
language. From Normandy to the Kremlin -- from a wall in Berlin  
to an Oval Office in Washington -- no leader since Churchill used  
words so effectively to help freedom unchain the world. //

This bring me to the best reason America is Reagan Country.  
The Great Communicator was also the Great Liberator. //

Abroad, he helped liberate millions from the tyranny of Communism. At home, he helped liberate free a people from a government that's too big and spends too much. / What Ronald Reagan began, we must now build upon. This November, let's win One for the Gipper -- and for freedom around the globe. //

((Now, I'm not saying these things about Ronald Reagan in case he decides to run for President again in 1996. / Though I'll confess if it weren't for the 22nd Amendment, he would now be well into the 12th year of his Presidency -- and I'd be halfway around the world at some funeral right now.)) //

I say these things because they're true. Because I believe them -- as Orange County has since before there was Ronald Reagan entered politics. / Most of all, I say them because Ronald Reagan and I think alike. He worked too hard in 1980 to take the government from the liberals of Mr. Jimmy Carter for it now to be recaptured by my left-wing opponent, Mr. Refried Carter. //

Ronald Reagan predicted that Communism would land in the dust bin of history -- and he was right. Unlike my opponent, I want a defense strong enough to keep it there. / ((Perhaps Governor Clinton should visit Moscow. Someone told me that visitors to Lenin's Tomb haven't been able to get a good look at him since Communism's collapse. Lenin's still spinning.))

Ronald Reagan made that possible. Just as he rebuilt our military -- and made the uniform again a matter of pride. / I guess my opponent -- that noted military expert -- doesn't grasp that. Just as he doesn't get the importance of one of Ronald

Reagan's greatest legacies -- the Strategic Defense Initiative. /

When the Scuds came raining down in Desert Storm, thank God we didn't rely on some abstract theory of deterrence. Thank God we had the technology to shoot those Scuds out of the sky. / My opponent wants to kill SDI. Maybe he should visit Tel Aviv and Jerusalem -- where Ronald Reagan's idea saved lives. Vote for me -- and keep that idea alive. Let's go forward with SDI.

((People keep asking me why Governor Clinton keeps trashing defense as he travels around the country. Beats me. Maybe he's inhaled too many bus fumes.)) // The fact is -- you know it -- last year "Peace through strength" paid off for every American in the seas and sands of the Persian Gulf. / Kuwait is free because of those who held the line, and kept the faith. Held the line against liberals for whom \_\_. Kept the faith with those who know: When America stands fast -- freedom stands tall. //

This election is also about standing tall at home. / Ronald Reagan knew that our judiciary should interpret -- not legislate. Governor Clinton disagrees -- thinks the courts should be a mouthpiece for the ACLU agenda. / Here's a reason to vote for me: I won't put Mario Cuomo on the United States Supreme Court.

Here's another reason. Unlike my opponent, Ronald Reagan and I believe there's something wrong when kids are free to get condoms at school but not free to say a prayer. / I believe America is divinely blessed. So today I call on Congress, and I challenge Governor Clinton to support me: Let's pass a

Constitutional Amendment restoring voluntary prayer to our  
schools. //

(Smith/Aarhus)  
Draft Three  
September 7, 1992  
TOLERANCE

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: EVANGELICALS  
VIRGINIA BEACH, VA.  
FRIDAY, SEPT. 11, 1992

President \_\_. Director \_\_. My good friend Pat Robertson --  
and I want to salute your leadership. Ladies and gentlemen.

((It is often said of a group or individual that "He hasn't  
got a prayer." Today I am pleased to be with an audience about  
whom that will never be said.)) //

I am delighted to be in the heart of America's evangelical  
community. ((It's always good to know that if it takes divine  
intervention to save my speech, help is close at hand.)) //

I want to talk to you today less as President than as  
husband, father, believer, friend. Talk about the teachings of  
the Sermon on the Mount -- lessons which recall that while God  
can live without man, man cannot live without God. //

The Good Shepherd taught us many things. Faith, fidelity,  
compassion, courage. He also taught that we could not be a light  
unto others if we embraced darkness in ourselves. / Nation or  
individual -- we were put here to love, not hate, each other.  
Which is why I believe that tolerance is a virtue -- not a vice.

All of us learn different lessons at different stages of our  
lives. / For instance, I learned about prayer as a kid at the  
dinner table -- when each day mother or dad read a Bible lesson.

[[Well, up to a point. I don't think that even manna from above could get me to eat broccoli.]] // As a teenager, I memorized the Navy hymn: "O hear us when we cry to thee / for those in peril on the sea" -- and learned how death knows no ideology. /

From Barbara I learned, as the Bible says, "to act justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly." [[Course, when I compare my polls to her's, I have a lot to be humble about.]] / Ironically, it was war that taught me civility. After being shot down, I'd go on deck at night aboard the submarine Finback, stand watch on the bridge, and look out at the dark. I was 18 -- same age as many of the enemy. Japanese or Americans -- it didn't matter. I knew how God would want us both to "be thy brother's keeper." //

Then came the post-war years -- for me, a place called Texas -- where I learned about tolerance. Lived the dream -- Little League, PTA, backyard barbeques. Saw how whether black or white, red or brown -- God was color-blind. It was here I truly learned how to "do unto others." It was lesson I have never forgot. //

It's not easy to "love thy neighbor as thyself." If it were, you and I would be camels passing through the eye of a needle. Yet recall the Good Book: If Jesus could break bread with Zacheus the tax-collector, so can Americans with each other.

//

Our Nation was forged on tolerance. First came an early surge of bigotry. Baptists preachers arrested for preaching without a license / voting and property limited to chosen denominations / clerical heresey could mean banishment -- or

worse. Then came the counter-surge. Jefferson said of

"Intolerance: ~~It~~ is a departure from the plan of the Holy author of our religion." Washington spoke -- and I quote -- of "how the government of the United States gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance." His America would be great because its people were good: "Where everyone [could] sit in safety, and there shall be none to make him afraid." Remember Roger Williams and William Penn, the Huguenots and Quakers. They showed how in a pluralistic society tolerance could pull us together -- and keep hate from pulling us apart. //

By tolerance, I mean the principle and the act: One without the other is like Pat Robertson without Sheila Walsh. / A story underlines that point. In 1956, the Queen of Belgium visited Warsaw, then under Soviet domination. She asked the chief of protocol, "Are you a Catholic?"

The man replied, "Believing -- but not practicing."

"Then in that case," the Queen observed, "you must be a Communist."

The man demurred. "Practicing, Your Majesty, but not believing." //

Today, we need both to believe in and practice tolerance -- as they say in Louisiana, to walk the walk, not just talk the talk. That is why I am troubled by what I see in America. I see people attacking not judgement -- but other's intent, and motive. I see certain topics declared off-limits -- people denied the right to honestly think and speak one's mind. I hear insults

hurled recklessly. "Bigot, racist, fellow traveler." These terms demean America -- and put public discourse in the gutter.

Now, I'll admit. I have trouble speaking from the heart -- you know us Episcopalians. Yet I know that when America chooses a President -- it elects not only programs, but a person. Two men this year seek your support. You must know what I believe inside -- and, yes, what I honor.

I believe that the definition of a successful life must include serving others. I know we cannot serve each other if we demean each other. / I believe that decency, and courtesy, are not character flaws. I believe that family -- whether single-parent or traditional -- is America's heirloom of the heart -- and that family structure means less than personal responsibility.

I believe in the rule of reason -- not force -- in respect for the minority -- not tyranny of the minority. // I know that we are all God's children -- and that we should treat each other gently. I believe not just in listening to but also hearing each other -- for we are mortal, not infallible. Above all, I believe this: Only God has a monopoly on truth. //

When the rights of unborn children are abolished -- that's not tolerance but intolerance. When our children's textbooks become value-neutral -- with the historical role of religion in America repudicated -- that's liberal amnesia which demands a November wake-up call. /

When a teacher in Colorado is ordered to refrain from silent reading of the Bible during pre-class time and remove all Bibles from his class -- there's a word for this. Prejudice. //

When my favorite group -- the American Civil Liberties Union -- tries to ban the "Sex Respect" sex education program because it teaches -- you guessed it -- abstinence: Here's another term -- grossly unfair. //

And when television's Emmy Awards are used to trash traditional values / when network TV offers countless programs which glorify sex and profanity / and when it refuses to even acknowledge the millions of Americans who believe in goodness, generosity, modesty, integrity. Here is my response. Not a rose is a rose is a rose. Enough is enough is enough. //

Hollywood doesn't like to hear it -- but truth makes me say it: We need a Nation closer to The Waltons than The Simpsons. / Look at it another way: How can networks which flaunt shows like Married With Children even refuse to air prime-time programs which reflect the values of Middle America? / I believe television should respect all Americans. Thus, I believe in balanced programming: For every Murphy Brown, fairness requires an Andy Griffith Show. / Let conservatives respect the diversity of America. But let us also demand a decent respect for right versus wrong in television, Hollywood, our churches, and schools.

Now, I don't want to belabor the point. [[As Zsa Zsa Gabor said to each of her husbands, "I'll let you go fairly soon."]] //

Yet the point is important -- as a story a few years back shows about a counseling session involving high school students. /

In the session, the students concluded that a girl had been foolish to return \$1,000 she found in a purse. When the students asked the counselor's opinion, he told them he believed that the girl had done the right thing but that, of course, he wouldn't try to force his values on them.

He said: "If I come from the position of what is right and wrong, then I'm not their counselor."

I couldn't disagree more. I believe that qualities like self-discipline, respect for law, and belief in honor comprise what we call character -- which rests on fidelity to principle -- which, in turn, defines the United States of America.

That is why I hate racism, and bigotry -- and have since I raised funds as a student for the United Negro College Fund. The Ku Klux Klan is an embarrassment to Christ -- whose gospel is love -- and an embarrassment to America -- whose gospel is freedom. / I detest cross-burning, and book-burning. I recoil from any silencing, or bullying, of views. //

For instance, I think Pat Robertson should appear on the "700 Club." I also think my opponent should be heard on a "700 Club" of his own. That's the number of positions he takes on each issue. /

I wonder what my opponent thinks of the new intolerance known as "political correctness." The so-called politically correct would ban classics like Tom Sawyer / insert ridiculous

euphemisms into the English language / and attempt to silence those they disagree with. / Well, P.C. is not U.S.A. // There's no room for intellectual blackballing or brown-shirting in the land of the red, white, and blue. We haven't fought for freedom around the world -- only to now turn our backs on tactics that would place a gag on freedom of expression here at home. //

For instance, there is no reason Huckleberry Finn should be banned from our schools. My kids were moved by The Diary of Anne Frank. There is no reason -- ever -- it should not be read. No small minority has the right to impose its will and dictate their view of morality on the rest of society. That applies to perhaps the ultimate intolerance. //

Once, a principle walked into a classroom and found the teacher praying. The principal said, "According to the Supreme Court, you're not allowed to do that." //

The teacher was not deterred. "Really?" she said. "Well, the Supreme Court isn't a substitute teacher who's just been thrown into a classroom filled with eight-year-olds." //

Talk about Solomon. This teacher knew something's wrong when kids can get condoms at school but -- like teachers -- can't say a prayer. / She knew that if Congress can spend time debating Vanna White's appearance on the Home Shopping Network -- surely, Congress can allow our kids to thank Almighty God. // So I say: Let's back tolerance by renewing the Faith of our Fathers in the classrooms of America. I call on Congress, and I

challenge my opponent to support me: Let's pass a Constitutional Amendment bringing voluntary prayer back to our schools. //

Denying the right to pray / to read the Bible / to sexually abstain: I'll admit all Americans aren't aware of this left-wing intolerance. The reason is, well: If kids, quoting Art Linkletter, say "the funniest things" -- my partner Dan Quayle says some of the most accurate things. / I refer you to the nonpartisan Center for Media and Public Affairs. There you'll see how the prestige media is elitist, unfair. It wants to keep God out of the classroom. It believes in reverse discrimination. It regards Middle America like lepers at a bazaar.

Ultimately, the tolerance dispensed by the liberal media stops at the churchhouse door. Those who believe in treating other segments of society with political correctness refuse to apply it to those who believe in God. / It's not trendy in the media to embrace the Prince of Peace. But just as He withstood torment to live forever -- so will faith overcome the intolerance of the cultural elite. //

So far, so good: I suspect you agree with me. Yet liberal bias is only one side of intolerance' coin. Today I mean to speak the truth. The truth is we conservatives have not been bereft of sin. / Like the media, too often we have engaged in excess. Too often we have been not vigilant -- but overzealous. We have forgot that America must be inclusive. We have practiced the politics of the closed, not open, door. We have forgot that

while God may hate the sin -- He loves the sinner. Tolerance demands: So must we. //

When God looks down from Heaven, He does not divide black from white / rural from urban / stay-at-home mothers from single mothers. He says -- as we must: All are welcome at my table. //

When we sing the song, "Jesus Loves the Little Children," we don't mean just those who are affluent / who are suburban / who have two parents. We mean all the "children of the world." Each is "precious in His sight." //

My opponents say I divide America. Nothing could be further from the truth. Barbara and I had six kids -- one died, five are living. All were precious -- just as all Americans will be welcome at the table as long as I am President.

I believe we should treat public and private life with conviction yet tolerance. I'm reminded of two ladies who discussed the merits of two Presidents -- Jefferson Davis of the Confederacy and Abraham Lincoln, who once said, "If I did not laugh I think my heart would break."

The first lady said, "I think Jefferson will succeed because he is a praying man."

The second answered, "But so is Abraham a praying man."

"Yes," replied the first lady, "but the Lord will think Abraham is joking."

Humor -- mercy -- honor -- prayer. Timeless words -- simple truths -- which speak to us, as Christ said, "until the end of time."

In the only election that really counts, God won't ask. Were you rich? Were you -- quote, unquote -- "successful"? Did you attend the finest parties? Were you Democrat or Republican?

Instead, God will ask. Were we kind? Were we selfless? Did we lend a hand, and tend a wound -- believe in prayer, and keep God's faith? Did we truly live a good and honest life?

Three weeks ago an event showed how tolerance matters most when tragedy leaves us least. / Hurricane Andrew proved what the Bible says: "If one member suffers, all suffer together." / It also showed how nothing can match the spirit of neighbor-helping-neighbor. //

Amid the rubble, strangers extended arms / opened hearts / proved a light unto the world. Supplied blankets, food, and shelter -- provided hope. Proved that though Americans could be physically beaten -- we will never be defeated.

America faces great challenges -- safe streets / good schools / a sound economy / a world at peace. We will meet all of them together -- or none of them alone. The victims of Andrew knew this -- knew what counts is not race or religion. What counts is that we children of the same humane and loving God. //

Perhaps a man in Miami -- his home destroyed, but faith unbowed -- put it best: "It makes you cry -- just people's generosity." He knew that without God's help we can do nothing. With it we can do everything -- for ourselves and for the world.

Matthew 6:21 reminds us, "Where your treasure is, there your heart will be also." Our inheritance is America. Treasure it.

Recall how prayer can create a future worthy of our dreams.

Thank you for your support, and your faith in the future. God  
bless this wondrous land -- the United States of America.

# # # #

(Smith/Aarhus)  
Draft One  
September 4, 1992  
TOLERANCE

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: EVANGELICALS  
VIRGINIA BEACH, VA.  
FRIDAY, SEPT. 11, 1992

President \_\_. Director \_\_. My good friend Pat Robertson -- and I want to salute your leadership. Ladies and gentlemen.

((It is often said of a group or individual that "He hasn't got a prayer." Today I am pleased to be with an audience about whom that will never be said.)) //

I am delighted to be in the heart of America's evangelical community. ((It's always good to know that if it takes divine intervention to save my speech, help is close at hand.)) //

In the spirit of the occasion, two vows. First, I will be brief. After all, you've sacrificed \_\_. // The second promise is for those of you in the back of the room. I'll try to speak up. ((Pat Robertson warned me that the agnostics in this hall are very bad.)) //

I want to talk to you today less as President than as husband, father, church-goer, friend. Talk about what I learned as a boy, and prize as a man. / As a boy, I read the timeless teachings of the Sermon on the Mount. They remind us that while God can live without man -- man cannot live without God. //

The Good Shepherd taught us many things. Faith, fidelity, compassion, courage. He also taught that we could not be a light unto the world if we embraced darkness in our hearts. Nation or individual -- we were put here to love, not hate, each other. Which is why I believe -- believe deeply: True faith marries conviction and tolerance like Bogart and Bacall. //

Last year -- perhaps some of you remember -- I spoke to the National Religious Broadcasters -- where I talked of Saddam Hussein's attempt to cast Desert Storm as a religious war. I said it was not -- that our conflict had nothing to do with religion per se. It had everything to do with what religion embodies. //

The War in the Gulf was not America vs. a madman. It was right versus wrong. Freedom and human dignity versus bigotry and oppression. It was not a Christian -- a Jewish -- a Moslem war. It was a noble war -- a just war -- a war in which good did prevail. //

Now, I know that some disagreed with our policy in the Gulf. Yet I had no bitterness toward them then -- nor have I anger, now. / I was convinced I was right -- and God's providence has proved it. Yet I refuse to blame, or recriminate. You see: I believe that tolerance is a virtue -- not a vice. /

(As a kid I learned this at the breakfast table -- when each day mother or dad read a Bible lesson. Or as a teenager -- when I memorized the Navy hymn: "O hear us when we cry to thee for those in peril on the sea." I learned that death knows no ideology. // From other came related \_\_. Barbara taught me,

*Handwritten notes:*  
- "I learned this at the breakfast table" (circled)  
- "I learned that death knows no ideology" (circled)  
- "From other came related" (circled)  
- "Barbara taught me" (circled)  
- "I learned" (circled)  
- "I learned that death knows no ideology" (circled)  
- "From other came related" (circled)  
- "Barbara taught me" (circled)

as the Book of Micah says, "to act justly, and love mercy and to walk humbly." [[ ]] It was war, ironically, that taught me about . Aboard the submarine Pinback after being shot down, I'd go on deck at night, stand watch on the bridge, and look out at the dark. I was 18 -- the same age as many of the enemy. I thought of how God would want us all to "be thy brother's keeper." // Then came the post-war years -- for me, a place called Texas. Lived the dream -- Little League, PTA, blockyard barbeques. Here we tried "to love thy neighbor as thyself."

It's not easy to "do unto others." If it were, you and I would be elephants passing through the eye of a needle.

[[America is tolerant -- forged on tolerance. Yet today we question not judgement -- but motive, and intent.

I believe in decency, and courtesy. I believe that America is great because her people are good. // I believe in respect for the minority. I do not believe in tyranny of the minority. // I believe that we are all God's children -- and that we should treat each other as He intended. I believe in the rule of reason -- not the rule of force. // [[quietly, modestly, with the respect and dignity they deserve]]

I believe that the definition of a successful life must include serving others. I know we cannot serve each other as long as we are screaming at each other. / Bigot, racist, . Such terms demean our country -- and ourselves. Terms like I believe in

tead that we should listen, and listen to -- that we should respect our neighbor, and demand respect from him. Above all, I believe we are mortal -- not infallible. Only God has a monopoly on truth. // talk the talk. We have to walk the walk. Not enough to say these verities -- we must live them.

In 1956, the Queen of Belgium visited Warsaw, then under Soviet domination. She asked the chief of protocol, "Are you a Catholic?" /

The man replied, "Believing -- but not practicing." /

"Then in that case," the Queen observed, "you must be a Communist."

The man demurred. "Practicing, Your Majesty, but not believing." //

I remember how a principal walked into a classroom and found the teacher praying. The principal said, "According to the Supreme Court, you're not allowed to do that." //

The teacher was not deterred. "Really?" she said. "Well, the Supreme Court isn't a substitute teacher who's just been thrown into a classroom filled with eight-year-olds." //

Talk about Solomon. This teacher knew something's wrong when kids can get condoms at school but -- like teachers -- can't say a prayer. / I can't think of anything more intolerant than

Vertical handwritten notes on the left margin, including "No... of... 5... to...".

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Extensive handwritten notes on the right margin, including "James" and "I believe".

Vertical handwritten notes on the bottom left margin, including "I believe" and "I can't think".

Handwritten notes at the bottom of the page, including "I believe" and "I can't think".

bringing the most left-wing curriculum into school -- and keeping God out. //

If Congress can raise its pay in a midnight session / if Congress can install new lighting so their faces will be better lit for TV / if Congress can spend time debating Vanna White's appearance on the Home Shopping Network -- then, surely, Congress can allow our kids to thank Almighty God. //

So I throw down the gauntlet. Let's defend tolerance against religious intolerance. How? By bringing the Faith of our Fathers back to our classrooms. I call on Congress, and I challenge my opponent to support me: Let's pass a Constitutional Amendment restoring voluntary prayer to our schools. //

Two ladies were discussing the merits of two Presidents -- Lincoln and Jefferson Davis. The first said, "I think Jefferson will succeed because he is a praying man."

The second answered, "But so is Abraham a praying man."

"Yes," replied the first lady, "but the Lord will think Abraham is joking."

*One lady with the other lady*

*Mark*

*...but the Lord will think Abraham is joking.*  
*...but the Lord will think Abraham is joking.*

(A)

*...but the Lord will think Abraham is joking.*

*(Gauntlet)*

*...but the Lord will think Abraham is joking.*

*...but the Lord will think Abraham is joking.*

*...but the Lord will think Abraham is joking.*

(B)

*...but the Lord will think Abraham is joking.*

*...but the Lord will think Abraham is joking.*

*...but the Lord will think Abraham is joking.*

*...but the Lord will think Abraham is joking.*

*...but the Lord will think Abraham is joking.*