FOIA Number: 2006-0467-F

FOIA MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Collection/Record Group: Clinton Presidential Records

Subgroup/Office of Origin: Speechwriting

Series/Staff Member: Jeff Shesol

Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 19947

FolderID:

Folder Title:
Millennium Lincoln Memorial 12/31/99 [2]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
S	91	6	8	2

— BLUMENTHAL'S COMMENTS —

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 23, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: J. TERRY EDMONDS

CC: JOHN PODESTA
MARIA ECHAVESTE
DOUG SOSNIK
SANDY BERGER
SID BLUMENTHAL
LORETTA UCELLI
MELANNE VERVEER

SUBJECT: DRAFTS OF YOUR MILLENNIUM WEEKEND SPEECHES

Enclosed are drafts of the remarks you will deliver during the Millennium celebration. These drafts reflect extensive consultations with Ellen Lovell, Doug Sosnik, Loretta Ucelli, Ann Lewis, Melanne Verveer, Maureen Shea, Bishop Jane Dixon and Sidney Blumenthal. We also solicited and received input from Bob Shrum on your Lincoln Memorial remarks.

- *December 31* – Remarks at the opening ceremony in downtown Washington, DC. You will introduce the First Lady who will speak in more detail about the theme of the weekend and the National Time Capsule.

- *December 31* – Remarks to the children of the diplomatic corps at the International Trade Center. These remarks will be delivered under separate cover from the NSC speechwriters.

- *December 31* – White House Millennium Dinner toast.

- *December 31* – Millennium Gala at the Lincoln Memorial. Your major message consists of 2-3 minute remarks around 11:33. This will be followed by shorter (45 sec) remarks just before midnight and your participation in the final countdown.

- *January 1* – Radio/TV address.

- *January 2* – Prayer for the Millennium at National Cathedral

Upon your review and comments, we will prepare final remarks. Thank you and Happy Holidays.

Draft 12/23/99 5:00 pm
Sam Afridi

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
AMERICA'S MILLENNIUM OPENING CEREMONY
WASHINGTON, DC
December 31, 1999

Acknowledgements: Mayor Williams; Robert Pinsky; Speaker Hastert; Senator Daschle; all of you for joining the First Lady and me for this opening ceremony.

I want to thank the New Millennium Choir for their wonderful song "Rising Like the Sun". With your vitality and your voice, you are living proof that the light may be fading on the 20th century, but the sun is ~~still~~ just rising on America.

Even though this is an "opening ceremony", what we celebrate didn't begin today—and it won't end tomorrow. Two years ago, Hillary and I created the White House Millennium Council to help bring Americans together--to reflect on where we have been as a nation—who we are—what we want to be. In a word, to honor the past and imagine the future.

Since then, Hillary has hosted Millennium evenings at the White House with some of our nation's most gifted scholars and artists. She has criss-crossed America to help save historical treasures—from Harriet Tubman's home to Thomas Edison's factory to Native American pueblos. And this morning, we not only kick-off a weekend of celebrations—but a series of events throughout the year to mark the new millennium.

This is truly a unique moment in our calendar--but it is also a unique moment for our country. Our economy is the strongest in generations. Our social fabric is on the mend. We're moving forward on the remarkable American journey towards ~~a more unified nation~~ becoming One Nation, a more just society, a more perfect union.

There is no better moment to reflect on our hopes and dreams and the gifts we want to leave for the future. There is no better opportunity to open a new chapter of progress and possibility for all our people. There is no better time to join hands and build the One America of our dreams.

As we honor the past, let us imagine that future.

Now it is my privilege to present someone who has done more than anyone in our country to help us celebrate and appreciate the dawn of the new millennium. Ladies and Gentlemen, the First Lady of the United States.

###

Draft 12/23/99 4:00pm
Lowell Weiss

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
TOAST REMARKS DURING MILLENNIUM "CREATORS DINNER"
THE WHITE HOUSE
December 31, 1999

Ladies and gentlemen, good evening and welcome to the White House. Tonight, I rise to offer three brief toasts. The first is to you. It is truly an honor to turn this page in history with all of you – for you have contributed so indelibly to the narrative of this American Century.

The second toast is to my wife – for it is she who has inspired the nation to honor our past and imagine our future as we welcome the new millennium. Over the past two years leading up to this unforgettable night, no one has done more to imbue this milestone with national purpose – and I am deeply grateful.

The third toast is the most daunting – for I am called upon to do justice to a thousand years of history in four minutes … during dessert. In the State of the Union, I get a whole hour to talk about a single year. Even then, I always run long.

Tonight, we are rising as a nation to the mountaintop of the millennium. Behind us we can see the great expanses of the American experience. Before us lie vast frontiers of possibility yet to explore.

This is a wonderful vantage point for our nation – and a remarkable time to be alive. We are ending this 1,000 year sweep of history at a moment of soaring optimism. Never before has America had the combination of economic prosperity, social progress, and national self-

confidence, with the absence of internal crisis or an external threat. Never before have we had such a blessed opportunity to build that "more perfect union" of our founders dreams.

When our children's children look back on the century we leave tonight, they will see that this time of unlimited promise was not preordained. They will see that it was earned – by men and women who, in the words of our great Poet Laureate [*Robert Pinksy*], did not "merely celebrate our oldest ideals, like trophies under glass, [but kept] them bright with use."

They will see that we earned this moment through the hard-won triumph of freedom. From the beachheads of Normandy to the buses of Montgomery, patriots from all walks of life have risen to advance the heroic march of human liberty.

They will see that we earned this moment through the triumph of discovery. At the outset of the century, not even the most far-sighted of our forebears could have predicted all the miracles of science that have emerged from our labs: Antibiotics and vaccines, silicon chips and the Internet, microscopes that envision the infinitesimal and telescopes that elucidate the infinite, the soon-to-be-complete blueprint for human life itself.

And they will see that we earned this moment through the triumph of creativity. For what was true of the ancient civilizations is just as true today: National power may spring from economic and military might, but national greatness emanates from ennobling contributions to the life of the mind and the soul of art. In this century, virtuosic American artists of the page and canvas, stage and screen have drawn from a diverse palette of cultural traditions; they have given the world a great wealth of expressive, ingenious, and uniquely American forms.

The new century and new millennium will bring a cascade of new triumphs. Already we see new hope for peace in lands bedeviled by ancient hatreds. We see new technologies both expanding and opening the storehouse of human knowledge for people across the globe. We see scientists rapidly approaching the day when newborns can expect to live well past 100 years and children will know cancer only as a constellation of stars.

But by far my most solemn prayer for the new millennium is that we will find it in our hearts to keep growing together, as one America, as one people. Just look around you. Look at the glowing diversity of race and background that illuminates America's house on this historic night. Frankly, I have never seen such a vivid illustration of what I have believed all my life – that the human spirit is distributed equally across the human landscape.

I cannot help but think of how America is different – how history is different – because you were able to imagine, invent, and inspire. By the same token, I cannot help but dream of how our future can be different if we can give every child in America this same chance to live up to his or her God-given potential. That is the future I hope every American will take a moment to imagine in this millennial year. That is the future I pray we can all join together to build.

* * *

Draft 12/23/99 12:00pm
Jeff Shesol

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS AT MILLENNIUM GALA
THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL
December 31, 1999

Tonight we celebrate a change of centuries.

We celebrate the past – and close a chapter of America's remarkable story.

We celebrate the future – and the dawning of a new millennium that is now minutes away.

Tonight, from the summit of this American century, we survey the sweep of our history. We marvel at what has changed in the last hundred years, and imagine what will change in the next hundred – and the next thousand.

We Americans do not fear ~~change~~ progress; we welcome it, we embrace it, we create it. Yet on this night I am struck not only by what has changed but by what endures: our freedom, our faith, our ceaseless pilgrimage toward the ideals of our Founders. these (or their) Ideals are timeless ~~things~~. "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal" – ~~this is the story of our century.~~ this was the story of Jeff's century. It was the story of Lincoln's century and it has been the story of the century we are about to leave. Freedom's open arms, embracing the tired, the poor, the huddled masses from every shore. . . Freedom's steady advance across our own land, from the schoolhouse doors to the ballot box to the corridors of power. . . Freedom's rising tide across the globe, as more people, in more places, secure the blessings of liberty.

As generations of young Americans have shown, freedom's price is often high – and freedom's work is never done. Our triumphs over aggression and oppression summon us not to rest but to strive on. And so we strive: because we know that America is more than a blessed plot of earth; an economy of unparalleled plenty; a great power among nations. America is all of these things; but we know that, most of all, America is an idea – a noble vision of the essential worth of every human being.

As the calendar carries us ever forward from our nation's birth, let us pledge that each year brings us closer to this, our founding principle. Let us pledge that the new millennium will bring, in the words of the Great Emancipator, "a new birth of freedom."

And let us finally fulfill the dream of Martin Luther King, who stood and spoke on these very steps exactly one century after Gettysburg. As we ring in this new year, this new century, this new millennium, let us join hands and say – in the words of Dr. King, in the words of the American hymn, now and forever – "Let freedom ring!"

[*A pause will permit stations to break from coverage. Then:*]

It is now my great pleasure to introduce the latest work by a man who has told, so very powerfully, the stories of our times – our tragedies, our triumphs. Steven Spielberg has created a short film – with a score by the modern master, John Williams – that will carry us tonight across the vast landscape of the 20th Century, and ever nearer to the 21st.

Draft 12/23/99 6:35pm
Jeff Shesol

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS AT THE LIGHTING OF THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT
THE MILLENNIUM GALA
THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL
December 31, 1999

We are moments from midnight. . . moments from the millennium.

During the Constitutional Convention, Benjamin Franklin was often seen looking at a painting of a sun low on the horizon. When the Constitution was finally signed, Franklin said, " I have often wondered whether the sun was rising or setting. [Today] I have the happiness to know it is a rising and not a setting sun."

Two centuries later, as we begin another new day, we know that the sun will shine brightly for America. So come, let us light the way: from a glorious, glittering past to an even brighter tomorrow!

Draft 12/23/99 7:00 p.m.
Glastris

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
RADIO ADDRESS
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, DC
January 1, 2000

Good morning and Happy New Year—or should I say, Happy new millennium. Last night, millions of Americans, and billions of others across the globe, celebrated a unique night in history. We watched on television as midnight broke across the globe, first in Asia, then in Europe, Africa, South America, and finally here in North America.

That people all over the planet could experience the same events at the same time would have been impossible for anyone to imagine a thousand years ago, when Europe was emerging from the Dark Ages, and there was little if any communication among the great civilizations of that day. Yet the growing inter-connectedness of the world today is more than just a mark of how far we have come. It is, I believe, the key to understanding where we are going, and what we must do, in the new millennium we have now entered.

As a global economy and new technologies--like satellite communications and the Internet--bind the world closer and closer together, our fate here in America will inevitably be tied to the fate of other nations and people around the world. Our economic prosperity will depend not just on our own productivity, but on the ability of others abroad to buy our products. The quality of the air we breath will depend not solely on how well we control our pollution, but how well other nations control theirs'. Our national security will depend not just on having the strongest, best equipped, best-

trained military in the world. It will also depend on our ability to cooperate with our allies to stop aggression and fight threats that know no borders, such as terrorism and the spread of weapons of mass destruction.

To advance our interests and protect our values in this new, interconnected world, America clearly must remain engaged in the world. We must help shape events and not be shaped by them.

But it is not just by our exertions abroad that we can shape the future of the world, but by the example we set at home. For in the new millennium, the eyes of the world will be on us. The future will happen first here in America—be it the latest technology, cultural trend, or solution to the next great challenge. The nations of the world will be looking to us for leadership in meeting those challenges.

If we in America can extend prosperity to people and places in this country that have not felt it, then perhaps the global economy can bring a better life to the 1.4 billion people who live on live on less than a dollar a day. If we in America can provide all our children with a world-class education and close ~~the digital divide~~ open opportunity for all, then perhaps it will be possible, in the not-too-distant future, for every child in the world to have a good education. And if we can build One America, and make our diversity our greatest strength in this more interconnected world, then perhaps other nations will see the advantage of working to overcome their own ethnic and religious tensions.

We begin the 21st Century well poised to be that guiding light. Seldom in our history, and never in my lifetime, has America enjoyed such a combination of widespread economic success, ~~social solidarity~~ community spirit, and national self-confidence, without an internal crisis or overarching external threat. Never has the openness and dynamism of our society been more emulated by other countries. Never have our deepest values--of freedom, democracy, and opportunity—been more ascendant in the world.

Nearly fifty-five years ago, President Franklin Roosevelt said that "we cannot live alone at peace…that our own well being is dependent on the well being of other nations far away," and that we must be "citizens of the world, members of the human community." His foresight is one of the reasons many of us consider Roosevelt to be the greatest person of the 20th Century. And I believe his words will prove even truer in the 21st Century. With America ~~in the lead~~ fulfilling our ideals and responsibilities, we can make this new century a time of unprecedented peace, freedom, and prosperity for all the citizens of the world.

Thank you, and God bless America.

Draft 12/23/99 10:00am
Terry Edmonds

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
PRAYER FOR THE NEW MILLENNIUM
NATIONAL CATHEDRAL
JANUARY 2, 2000

Let us pray: Dear Lord: As we awaken to the morning of a new millennium, help us to remember that all we are and all we do begins with you. For as Moses teaches us, "a thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday when it is past, and as a watch in the night." [Psalm 90:4]

And so it is fitting that we begin this new century and Jubilee year by offering our profound thanks for the divine light first revealed two thousand years ago, that has brought us to this sacred place today. First, I want to give thanks for the good health and strong faith that you have so graciously showered upon me and my family. It is by your hand that I have found the strength to be a servant, to the best of my ability, of your word, your will, our precious Constitution and the American people.

I also want to thank you for your blessed and amazing grace. Through the darkest hours of the 20th century: the shameful trauma of racial oppression...the pain and sacrifice of war ...the fear and deprivation of our Great Depression -- when all we could do was walk by faith...it was your guiding light that saw us through. And so, we meet this new dawn with deep and humble thanks for the triumphant journey of our past and the even greater promise of our future.

Our prayer this day, Dear God, is for a new century of hope for all the peoples of the world. We pray: That no child will know hunger or neglect or war. That we will honor and protect this living earth – your precious gift -- which is our common home. That we will do all we can to release the burdens of those who are less fortunate. That we will stand by those who struggle to raise their families in dignity. That our latest technologies and discoveries will lift up your world and draw the human family closer together.

And finally, as we cross the threshold into this amazing new frontier, with its bold promise of answers to so many of our greatest questions, I pray that we will conquer humanity's oldest and greatest challenge: how to overcome our fear of those who are different.

Help us to honor our highest spiritual values by living your word and living up to the founding promise of America – that all men [and women] are created equal. In Christianity it is expressed as loving thy neighbor as thyself. In Islam we are instructed to "Do unto all men as you wish to have done to you and reject for others what you would reject for yourself." The Talmud teaches us, "Should anyone turn aside the right of the stranger, it is as though he were to turn aside the right of the most high God."

My prayer is that in this new century all of humankind will finally recognize our kinship as brothers and sisters in the spirit and our Oneness as children of God. And so, dear God, as we begin the second day of the third millennium, "Teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom." [Psalm 90:12] Amen.

shrum + std

It comes to ea. successive gen. to relight the ~~torch~~ fire of freedom.
Now the torch is pa~~ss~~ to a new <u>generation</u> of Amers.

SHRUM DEVINE DONILON

2141 Wisconsin Avenue NW • Suite H • Washington, DC 20007
Phone 202-337-9600 • Fax 202-337-9620
Internet: sdevd@aol.com

FAX COVER SHEET

TO: Terry Edmonds

FAX#: 456-2505

FROM: Shrum

DATE: 12/28/99

PAGES: , including cover

Here is the list of quotes as it now stands. If the President and the First Lady want to participate, the order and substance can be changed. I have also enclosed alternatie quotes.

50. Invocation of a New Era (short version)

Julian Bond
We are here to celebrate the past and to invoke a new era. Daniel Webster said: "Let us see whether we, in our time and generation, may not perform something worthy to be remembered."

John Glenn
Carl Sagan wrote: "...This time will be considered as significant and important as the voyages of Columbus and Magellan...We are breaking the shackles that tie us to the Earth."

Chief Oren Lions
In 1854, Chief Seattle of the tribes of the Pacific Northwest said: "My words are like the stars that never set...Men come and go like the waves of the sea...We may be brothers after all. We shall see."

Avery Brooks
Eleanor Roosevelt said America must be "strong not just in a military and econoinic way, but in a spiritual and moral way. [Then] we can do the biggest job any nation has ever had."

Quincy Jones
Duke Ellington wrote: "We stirred in our shackles, and our unrest awakened justice. We fought America's wars, provided her labor, gave her her music, kept alive her flickering conscience, and we have prodded her on toward democracy."

Kris Kristofferson
Walt Whitman wrote:
"Pioneers! O Pioneers...
We cannot tarry here,
We must march...
Moving yet, and never stopping"

Atallah Shabazz
In 1851, Sojourner Truth said: "If the first woman God ever made was strong enough to turn the world upside down all alone, then women together ought to be able to turn it back, and get it right side up again. And now that they are asking to do it, men better let them."

Elizabeth Taylor
As we fight against AIDs and all the common enemies of humanity, let us say with President Dwight Eisenhower: "We pray that the scourges of poverty, disease, and ignorance will be made to disappear from the earth; and that in the goodness of time, all peoples will come to live together in a peace guaranteed by the binding force of mutual respect and love."

Pat Morita
The historian Oscar Handlin said: "Once I thought to write a history of the immigrants in America. Then I discovered that the immigrants *were* America."

Lonnie Ali
Theodore Roosevelt said: "The credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena -- who knows the great enthusiasms, the great devotions – and spends himself in a worthy cause."

Hispanic Personality
Cesar Chavez said: "Only by giving our lives do we find life; the truest act of courage is to sacrifice ourselves for others in a totally nonviolent struggle for justice."

Bono
Ireland's poet Seamus Heaney has written:
"So who were we to want to hang back there?
In spite of all, we sail beyond ourselves."

Ethel Kennedy
My husband often quoted words that have a special meaning tonight: "Some men see things as they are and say why. I dream things that never were and say why not."

Edward James Olmos
Standing on the beaches of Normandy, Ronald Reagan said: "Men bled and died here for a few feet or inches of sand...We are the children of their sacrifice."

Rep. John Lewis
In the words of John F. Kennedy: "We love our country, not for what it was, though it has always been great. We love our country for what it someday will be."

Other Quotes

We pray that the scourges of poverty, disease, and ignorance will be made to disappear from the earth; and that in the goodness of time, all peoples will come to live together in a peace guaranteed by the binding force of mutual respect and love."

Dwight D. Eisenhower

It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation to give...novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence.

George Washington

What we need in the United States is not division; what we need in the United States is not hatred; what we need in the United States is not violence or lawlessness but love and wisdom, and compassion toward one another.

Robert F. Kennedy

Let us develop the resources of our land, call forth its power, build up all its great institutions and see whether we, in our time and generation, may not perform something worthy to be remembered.

Daniel Webster
The Bunker Hill Monument Address, 1825

Once I thought to write a history of the immigrants in America. Then I discovered that the immigrants *were* America.

Oscar Handlin
Quote by John K Kennedy in *A Nation of Immigrants*

The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt
Draft Jefferson Jackson Day Speech
(Roosevelt died before speech was delivered)

Do not pray for tasks equal to your powers.
Pray for powers equal to your tasks.

Reverend Phillips Brooks
Twenty Sermons

No great cause is ever lost or ever won. The battle must always be renewed.

John Buchan
Montrose, A History

All this will not be finished in the first one hundred days. Nor will it be finished in the first one thousand days, nor in the life of this administration, nor even perhaps in our lifetime on this planet. But let us begin.

John F. Kennedy

Inaugural Speech – January 20, 1961

We are a nation of communities...a brilliant diversity spread like stars, like a thousand points of light in a broad and peaceful sky.

George Bush
Acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention
In New Orleans, 18 August 1988

I cannot and will not cut my conscience to fit this year's fashions

Lillian Hellman
Letter to John S. Wood
19 May, 1952

Whoever degrade another, degrades me,
And whatever is done or said returns at last to me.
I speak the password primeval –
I give the sign of democracy.

Walt Whitman
Song of Myself

The United States themselves are essentially the greatest poem...
Here at last is something in the doings of man that corresponds with the broadcast doings of the day and night.

Walt Whitman
Preface to "Leaves of Grass"

Thank God for all those today, few though their voices be, who have not forgotten the divine brotherhood of all men, white and black, rich and poor, fortunate and unfortunate.

W.E.B. Du Bois
"Battle for Humanity"

We stirred in our shackles, and our unrest awakened justice.
We fought America's wars, provided her labor, gave her music, kept alive her flickering conscience, prodder her on toward the yet unachieved goal, democracy.

Duke Ellington

We are alive and intelligent, we women, no less than men, and we must awaken to the essential realization that we are living beings, endowed with will, choice, comprehension, and that every step in life must be our own initiative.

Margaret Sanger

The great storm that now sweeps humanity has swept us all with it, and our own fight against discrimination has become part of the tremendous struggle for human freedom upon this globe.

Pearl Buck

...we will hand on to our children a struggle, but a struggle that will give our nation the capacity to lead the world toward peace and righteousness and freedom.

Eleanor Roosevelt

I can see, in the distant and yet recognizable future, the outlines of a world worthy of our dedication, our every risk, our every effort, our every sacrifice along the way. Yes, a world that will redeem the suffering of those who will be liberated from tyranny...

Senator Barry Goldwater

It is my deepest belief that only by giving our lives do we find life. I am convinced that they truest act of courage is to sacrifice ourselves for others in a totally nonviolent struggle for justice.

Cesar Chavez

...this time will be considered as significant and important as the time between, say, the voyages of Columbus and the voyages of Magellan.
...its historical significance is immense because we are – or at least our machines are – breaking the shackles that tie us to the Earth. We're putting our toes in the cosmic ocean.

Carl Sagan

The forces of hate and violence must not be allowed to gain their victory, not just in our society but in our hearts. We must not respond to hate with more hate.

Reverend Billy Graham

Mr. King suggested that the Journals of the Convention should be either destroyed, or deposited in the custody of the President. He thought if suffered to be made public, a bad use would be made of them by those who would wish to prevent the adoption of the Constitution—[10]

Mr Wilson prefered the second expedient. he had at one time liked the first best; but as false suggestions may be propagated it should not be made impossible to contradict them—

A question was then put on depositing the Journals and other papers of the Convention in the hands of the President, On which,

N— H— ay. Mtts ay. Ct. ay— N. J. ay. Pena. ay. Del. ay. Md.* no. Va. ay. N. C. ay— S. C. ay. Geo. ay. [Ayes 10; noes — 1.]

The President having asked what the Convention meant should be done with the Journals &c, whether copies were to be allowed to the members if applied for. It was Resolved nem: con: "that he retain the Journal and other papers, subject to the order of Congress, if ever formed under the Constitution.[11]

The members then proceeded to sign the instrument.

Whilst the last members were signing it Doctr. Franklin looking towards the Presidents Chair, at the back of which a rising sun happened to be painted, observed to a few members near him, that Painters had found it difficult to distinguish in their art a rising from a setting sun. I have, said he, often and often in the course of the Session, and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that behind the President without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting: But now at length I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting Sun.

The Constitution being signed by all the Members except

* This negative of Maryland was occasioned by the language of the instructions to the Deputies of that State, which required them to report to the State, the *proceedings* of the Convention.

[10] See further appendix A, CX, CXI, CCCXX.

[11] For the subsequent history of these papers, see Introduction.

Mr Randolph, Mr Mason, and Mr. Gerry who declined giving it the sanction of their names,[12] the Convention dissolved itself by an Adjournment sine die ———

(☞ The few alterations and corrections made in these debates which are not in my hand writing, were dictated by me and made in my presence by John C. Payne.

James Madison)

McHENRY

Monday 17 Sepr. 1787.

Read the engrossed constitution. Altered the representation in the house of representatives from 40 to thirty thousand.

Dr. Franklin put a paper into Mr Willsons hand to read containing his reasons for assenting to the constitution. It was plain, insinuating persuasive — and in any event of the system guarded the Doctor's fame.

Mr Randolp Mr Mason and Mr Gerry declined signing— The other members signed—

Being opposed to many parts of the system I make a remark why I signed it and mean to support it.

1sly I distrust my own judgement, especially as it is opposite to the opinion of a majority of gentlemen whose abilities and patriotism are of the first cast; and as I have had already frequent occasions to be convinced that I have not always judged right.

2dly Alterations may be obtained, it being provided that the concurrence of ⅔ of the Congress may at any time introduce them.

3dly Comparing the inconveniences and the evils which we labor under and may experience from the present confederation, and the little good we can expect from it — with the possible evils and probable benefits and advantages promised

[12] See above note 6, and Appendix A, CVIII, CX, CXXIV, CXXXVII, CLVI, CLXXXIX, CCXLII, CCXLIV, CCCLIX, CCCLXII.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 23, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: J. TERRY EDMONDS

CC: JOHN PODESTA
MARIA ECHAVESTE
DOUG SOSNIK
SANDY BERGER
SID BLUMENTHAL
LORETTA UCELLI
MELANNE VERVEER

SUBJECT: DRAFTS OF YOUR MILLENNIUM WEEKEND SPEECHES

Enclosed are drafts of the remarks you will deliver during the Millennium celebration. These drafts reflect extensive consultations with Ellen Lovell, Doug Sosnik, Loretta Ucelli, Ann Lewis, Melanne Verveer, Maureen Shea, Bishop Jane Dixon and Sidney Blumenthal. We also solicited and received input from Bob Shrum on your Lincoln Memorial remarks.

- *December 31* – Remarks at the opening ceremony in downtown Washington, DC. You will introduce the First Lady who will speak in more detail about the theme of the weekend and the National Time Capsule.

- *December 31* – Remarks to the children of the diplomatic corps at the International Trade Center. These remarks will be delivered under separate cover from the NSC speechwriters.

- *December 31* – White House Millennium Dinner toast.

- *December 31* – Millennium Gala at the Lincoln Memorial. Your major message consists of 2-3 minute remarks around 11:33. This will be followed by shorter (45 sec) remarks just before midnight and your participation in the final countdown.

- *January 1* – Radio/TV address.

- *January 2* – Prayer for the Millennium at National Cathedral

Upon your review and comments, we will prepare final remarks. Thank you and Happy Holidays.

Draft 12/23/99 5:00 pm
Sam Afridi

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
AMERICA'S MILLENNIUM OPENING CEREMONY
WASHINGTON, DC
December 31, 1999

Acknowledgements: Mayor Williams; Robert Pinsky; Speaker Hastert; Senator Daschle; all of you for joining the First Lady and me for this opening ceremony.

I want to thank the New Millennium Choir for their wonderful song "Rising Like the Sun". With your vitality and your voice, you are living proof that the light may be fading on the 20th century, but the sun is still rising on America.

Even though this is an "opening ceremony", what we celebrate didn't begin today—and it won't end tomorrow. Two years ago, Hillary and I created the White House Millennium Council to help bring Americans together--to reflect on where we have been as a nation—who we are—what we want to be. In a word, to honor the past and imagine the future.

Since then, Hillary has hosted Millennium evenings at the White House with some of our nation's most gifted scholars and artists. She has criss-crossed America to help save historical treasures—from Harriet Tubman's home to Thomas Edison's factory to Native American pueblos. And this morning, we not only kick-off a weekend of celebrations—but a series of events throughout the year to mark the new millennium.

This is truly a unique moment in our calendar--but it is also a unique moment for our country. Our economy is the strongest in generations. Our social fabric is on the mend. We're moving forward on the remarkable American journey towards a more unified nation, a more just society, a more perfect union.

There is no better moment to reflect on our hopes and dreams and the gifts we want to leave for the future. There is no better opportunity to open a new chapter of progress and possibility for all our people. There is no better time to join hands and build the One America of our dreams.

As we honor the past, let us imagine that future.

Now it is my privilege to present someone who has done more than anyone in our country to help us celebrate and appreciate the dawn of the new millennium. Ladies and Gentlemen, the First Lady of the United States.

###

Draft 12/23/99 4:00pm
Lowell Weiss

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
TOAST REMARKS DURING MILLENNIUM "CREATORS DINNER"
THE WHITE HOUSE
December 31, 1999

Ladies and gentlemen, good evening and welcome to the White House. Tonight, I rise to offer three brief toasts. The first is to you. It is truly an honor to turn this page in history with all of you – for you have contributed so indelibly to the narrative of this American Century.

The second toast is to my wife – for it is she who has inspired the nation to honor our past and imagine our future as we welcome the new millennium. Over the past two years leading up to this unforgettable night, no one has done more to imbue this milestone with national purpose – and I am deeply grateful.

The third toast is the most daunting – for I am called upon to do justice to a thousand years of history in four minutes … during dessert. In the State of the Union, I get a whole hour to talk about a single year. Even then, I always run long.

Tonight, we are rising as a nation to the mountaintop of the millennium. Behind us we can see the great expanses of the American experience. Before us lie vast frontiers of possibility yet to explore.

This is a wonderful vantage point for our nation – and a remarkable time to be alive. We are ending this 1,000 year sweep of history at a moment of soaring optimism. Never before has America had the combination of economic prosperity, social progress, and national self-

confidence, with the absence of internal crisis or an external threat. Never before have we had such a blessed opportunity to build that "more perfect union" of our founders dreams.

When our children's children look back on the century we leave tonight, they will see that this time of unlimited promise was not preordained. They will see that it was earned – by men and women who, in the words of our great Poet Laureate [*Robert Pinksy*], did not "merely celebrate our oldest ideals, like trophies under glass, [but kept] them bright with use."

They will see that we earned this moment through the hard-won triumph of freedom. From the beachheads of Normandy to the buses of Montgomery, patriots from all walks of life have risen to advance the heroic march of human liberty.

They will see that we earned this moment through the triumph of discovery. At the outset of the century, not even the most far-sighted of our forebears could have predicted all the miracles of science that have emerged from our labs: Antibiotics and vaccines, silicon chips and the Internet, microscopes that envision the infinitesimal and telescopes that elucidate the infinite, the soon-to-be-complete blueprint for human life itself.

And they will see that we earned this moment through the triumph of creativity. For what was true of the ancient civilizations is just as true today: National power may spring from economic and military might, but national greatness emanates from ennobling contributions to the life of the mind and the soul of art. In this century, virtuosic American artists of the page and canvas, stage and screen have drawn from a diverse palette of cultural traditions; they have given the world a great wealth of expressive, ingenious, and uniquely American forms.

The new century and new millennium will bring a cascade of new triumphs. Already we see new hope for peace in lands bedeviled by ancient hatreds. We see new technologies both expanding and opening the storehouse of human knowledge for people across the globe. We see scientists rapidly approaching the day when newborns can expect to live well past 100 years and children will know cancer only as a constellation of stars.

But by far my most solemn prayer for the new millennium is that we will find it in our hearts to keep growing together, as one America, as one people. Just look around you. Look at the glowing diversity of race and background that illuminates America's house on this historic night. Frankly, I have never seen such a vivid illustration of what I have believed all my life – that the human spirit is distributed equally across the human landscape.

I cannot help but think of how America is different – how history is different – because you were able to imagine, invent, and inspire. By the same token, I cannot help but dream of how our future can be different if we can give every child in America this same chance to live up to his or her God-given potential. That is the future I hope every American will take a moment to imagine in this millennial year. That is the future I pray we can all join together to build.

* * *

Draft 12/23/99 12:00pm
Jeff Shesol

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS AT MILLENNIUM GALA
THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL
December 31, 1999

Tonight we celebrate a change of centuries.

We celebrate the past – and close a chapter of America's remarkable story.

We celebrate the future – and the dawning of a new millennium that is now minutes away.

Tonight, from the summit of this American century, we survey the sweep of our history. We marvel at what has changed in the last hundred years, and imagine what will change in the next hundred – and the next thousand.

We Americans do not fear change; we welcome it, we embrace it, we create it. Yet on this night I am struck not only by what has changed but by what endures: our freedom, our faith, our ceaseless pilgrimage toward the ideals of our Founders. Ideals are timeless things. "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal" – this is the story of our century. Freedom's open arms, embracing the tired, the poor, the huddled masses from every shore. . . Freedom's steady advance across our own land, from the schoolhouse doors to the ballot box to the corridors of power. . . Freedom's rising tide across the globe, as more people, in more places, secure the blessings of liberty.

As generations of young Americans have shown, freedom's price is often high – and freedom's work is never done. Our triumphs over aggression and oppression summon us not to rest but to strive on. And so we strive: because we know that America is more than a blessed plot of earth; an economy of unparalleled plenty; a great power among nations. America is all of these things; but we know that, most of all, America is an idea – a noble vision of the essential worth of every human being.

As the calendar carries us ever forward from our nation's birth, let us pledge that each year brings us closer to this, our founding principle. Let us pledge that the new millennium will bring, in the words of the Great Emancipator, "a new birth of freedom."

And let us finally fulfill the dream of Martin Luther King, who stood and spoke on these very steps exactly one century after Gettysburg. As we ring in this new year, this new century, this new millennium, let us join hands and say – in the words of Dr. King, in the words of the American hymn, now and forever – "Let freedom ring!"

[*A pause will permit stations to break from coverage. Then*:]

It is now my great pleasure to introduce the latest work by a man who has told, so very powerfully, the stories of our times – our tragedies, our triumphs. Steven Spielberg has created a short film – with a score by the modern master, John Williams – that will carry us tonight across the vast landscape of the 20th Century, and ever nearer to the 21st.

Draft 12/23/99 6:35pm
Jeff Shesol

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS AT THE LIGHTING OF THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT
THE MILLENNIUM GALA
THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL
December 31, 1999

We are moments from midnight. . . moments from the millennium.

During the Constitutional Convention, Benjamin Franklin was often seen looking at a painting of a sun low on the horizon. When the Constitution was finally signed, Franklin said, " I have often wondered whether the sun was rising or setting. [Today] I have the happiness to know it is a rising and not a setting sun."

Two centuries later, as we begin another new day, we know that the sun will shine brightly for America. So come, let us light the way: from a glorious, glittering past to an even brighter tomorrow!

Draft 12/23/99 7:00 p.m.
Glastris

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
RADIO ADDRESS
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, DC
January 1, 2000

Good morning and Happy New Year—or should I say, Happy new millennium. Last night, millions of Americans, and billions of others across the globe, celebrated a unique night in history. We watched on television as midnight broke across the globe, first in Asia, then in Europe, Africa, South America, and finally here in North America.

That people all over the planet could experience the same events at the same time would have been impossible for anyone to imagine a thousand years ago, when Europe was emerging from the Dark Ages, and there was little if any communication among the great civilizations of that day. Yet the growing inter-connectedness of the world today is more than just a mark of how far we have come. It is, I believe, the key to understanding where we are going, and what we must do, in the new millennium we have now entered.

As a global economy and new technologies--like satellite communications and the Internet--bind the world closer and closer together, our fate here in America will inevitably be tied to the fate of other nations and people around the world. Our economic prosperity will depend not just on our own productivity, but on the ability of others abroad to buy our products. The quality of the air we breath will depend not solely on how well we control our pollution, but how well other nations control theirs'. Our national security will depend not just on having the strongest, best equipped, best-

trained military in the world. It will also depend on our ability to cooperate with our allies to stop aggression and fight threats that know no borders, such as terrorism and the spread of weapons of mass destruction.

To advance our interests and protect our values in this new, interconnected world, America clearly must remain engaged in the world. We must help shape events and not be shaped by them.

But it is not just by our exertions abroad that we can shape the future of the world, but by the example we set at home. For in the new millennium, the eyes of the world will be on us. The future will happen first here in America—be it the latest technology, cultural trend, or solution to the next great challenge. The nations of the world will be looking to us for leadership in meeting those challenges.

If we in America can extend prosperity to people and places in this country that have not felt it, then perhaps the global economy can bring a better life to the 1.4 billion people who live on live on less than a dollar a day. If we in America can provide all our children with a world-class education and close the digital divide, then perhaps it will be possible, in the not-too-distant future, for every child in the world to have a good education. And if we can build One America, and make our diversity our greatest strength in this more interconnected world, then perhaps other nations will see the advantage of working to overcome their own ethnic and religious tensions.

We begin the 21st Century well poised to be that guiding light. Seldom in our history, and never in my lifetime, has America enjoyed such a combination of widespread economic success, social solidarity, and national self-confidence, without an internal crisis or overarching external threat. Never has the openness and dynamism of our society been more emulated by other countries. Never have our deepest values--of freedom, democracy, and opportunity—been more ascendant in the world.

Nearly fifty-five years ago, President Franklin Roosevelt said that "we cannot live alone at peace…that our own well being is dependent on the well being of other nations far away," and that we must be "citizens of the world, members of the human community." His foresight is one of the reasons many of us consider Roosevelt to be the greatest person of the 20th Century. And I believe his words will prove even truer in the 21st Century. With America in the lead, we can make this new century a time of unprecedented peace, freedom, and prosperity for all the citizens of the world.

Thank you, and God bless America.

Draft 12/23/99 10:00am
Terry Edmonds

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
PRAYER FOR THE NEW MILLENNIUM
NATIONAL CATHEDRAL
JANUARY 2, 2000

Let us pray: Dear Lord: As we awaken to the morning of a new millennium, help us to remember that all we are and all we do begins with you. For as Moses teaches us, "a thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday when it is past, and as a watch in the night." [Psalm 90:4]

And so it is fitting that we begin this new century and Jubilee year by offering our profound thanks for the divine light first revealed two thousand years ago, that has brought us to this sacred place today. First, I want to give thanks for the good health and strong faith that you have so graciously showered upon me and my family. It is by your hand that I have found the strength to be a servant, to the best of my ability, of your word, your will, our precious Constitution and the American people.

I also want to thank you for your blessed and amazing grace. Through the darkest hours of the 20th century: the shameful trauma of racial oppression...the pain and sacrifice of war ...the fear and deprivation of our Great Depression -- when all we could do was walk by faith...it was your guiding light that saw us through. And so, we meet this new dawn with deep and humble thanks for the triumphant journey of our past and the even greater promise of our future.

Our prayer this day, Dear God, is for a new century of hope for all the peoples of the world. We pray: That no child will know hunger or neglect or war. That we will honor and protect this living earth – your precious gift -- which is our common home. That we will do all we can to release the burdens of those who are less fortunate. That we will stand by those who struggle to raise their families in dignity. That our latest technologies and discoveries will lift up your world and draw the human family closer together.

And finally, as we cross the threshold into this amazing new frontier, with its bold promise of answers to so many of our greatest questions, I pray that we will conquer humanity's oldest and greatest challenge: how to overcome our fear of those who are different.

Help us to honor our highest spiritual values by living your word and living up to the founding promise of America – that all men [and women] are created equal. In Christianity it is expressed as loving thy neighbor as thyself. In Islam we are instructed to "Do unto all men as you wish to have done to you and reject for others what you would reject for yourself." The Talmud teaches us, "Should anyone turn aside the right of the stranger, it is as though he were to turn aside the right of the most high God."

My prayer is that in this new century all of humankind will finally recognize our kinship as brothers and sisters in the spirit and our Oneness as children of God. And so, dear God, as we begin the second day of the third millennium, "Teach us to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom." [Psalm 90:12] Amen.

(W edits

Draft 12/22/99 1:30pm
Jeff Shesol

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS AT MILLENNIUM GALA
THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL
December 31, 1999

Tonight we celebrate two centuries.

We celebrate the past century – and write an ending to a remarkable story.

We celebrate the new century – and mark a new beginning that is now minutes away.

Tonight, from the summit of this American century, we survey the great sweep of history. We marvel at what has changed in the past hundred years, and imagine what will change in the next hundred – even the next thousand.

Americans do not fear change; we welcome it, we embrace it, we create it. ~~But the countdown to midnight reminds us that change comes regardless of our wishes.~~ And so on this night I am struck less by what has changed than by what endures: our freedom, our faith, our dedication to fulfilling the dreams of our Founders. These are timeless things. And though the calendar carries us ever forward from the birth of our nation, we hope that each year brings us closer to our founding principles. This has been the story of our times – of freedom's slow but steady march around a world that has seen much strife, much suffering, at the hands of those who would deny their people the blessings of liberty.

too neg for end of sent.

civil rights ? + injustice

Freedom's triumph over tyranny does not mean our work is done. Let us pledge that the new millennium brings, in the words of Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, "a new birth of freedom." Let us dedicate ourselves to that. And let us finally fulfill the dream of another great American, Dr. Martin Luther King, who stood on these steps exactly one century after Lincoln's speech. As we ring in a new year, a new century, a new millennium, let us join hands and say – in the words of Dr. King, in the words of the old American hymnal – "Let freedom ring!"

POSSIBLE FLOW:

~~The story of our century has been~~ X
~~Our~~ work is not done.

choose own future own God-given potential

I think you need more meat
what does he mean by freedom —
for new century?
⇒ child living up to God-given potential ⇒ etc.

- Sunday, January 17, 193
President-Elect Bill Clinton and Vice President-Elect Albert Gore: Call for Reunion
Transcript ID: 911131 (110 lines)

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT-ELECT BILL CLINTON AND
VICE PRESIDENT-ELECT ALBERT GORE
AT THE "CALL FOR REUNION"

LINCOLN MEMORIAL, WASHINGTON, D.C.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 17, 1993

VICE PRESIDENT-ELECT GORE: We stand on sacred ground. In front of us rise symbols of America: the Washington Monument and the Capitol. Behind us on a marble wall is carved a promise we have made to ourselves, that this nation under God shall have a new birth of freedom and that government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth.

When Lincoln spoke at Gettysburg on a cold afternoon in 1863, the American experiment was in doubt. On the edge of a battlefield being consecrated as a resting place for the dead, he said "It is for us the living rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought there have thus far so nobly advanced."

One hundred years later in 1963, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., stood here and spoke of more unfinished work. "I have a dream," he said, "that this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal."

Every generation must dedicate itself anew to the unfinished work of those who have gone before. To the dream that shines before us like a pillar of fire, America's work is always unfinished. Now we stand on this sacred ground in 1993, a new generation of American leaders, heirs to all those in the grand procession of our history stretching behind us to the silences of time.

We pledge ourselves here to the unfinished work that lies before us all. To our children, to a government by and for the people, and to the true meaning of our dreams. This is the time for healing and unity before we lay hands on the hard work to be done. A time to nourish the American spirit, renew our faith, and commit ourselves to the future we will dream and build and live together.

It is now my privilege as we remember our past and celebrate our future to introduce a man who honors both, a man who brings hope and inspires us to believe in what we can accomplish together. Ladies and

gentlemen, it is my honor to introduce to you our next president, Bill Clinton. (Applause/cheers/anfare.)

PRESIDENT-ELECT CLINTON: Thank you. Let me begin by saying on behalf of all of us how very grateful we are to these people who put on such a magnificent program tonight. Let's give them all a big hand. (Applause/cheers.)

We come here today to reclaim our country for the American people, to celebrate not a victory of party or persons but the common ground we call America.

Our day started at Monticello, the home of Thomas Jefferson, who enshrined our rights of freedom and equality. Now we come to this hallowed place, our first stop in this capital city to honor Abraham Lincoln who gave new life to Jefferson's American promise that we are all created free and equal and who then gave his own life to preserve the union that made those rights real in the lives of all of us.

Our founders wisely selected as our motto "E pluribus unum," "Out of many, one." And Lincoln said that a house divided against itself cannot stand.

Our history is clear proof that out of diversity can come strength and a deeper unity rooted in the virtues of respect and love and humility. This is the lesson the world has still not learned as we see today so painfully in Bosnia, Somalia, Iraq, and elsewhere. And sadly, it is a lesson which we, the world's oldest and greatest democracy, have yet to perfect amidst our own differences and the challenges of this time.

Examples abound. We al know them. Too often each of fail to feel one another's pain or see one another's promise. And too seldom do we move to build bridges over troubled waters.

Here at the feet of Mr. Lincoln, let us renew our pledge to the reunion of America in our time, a union not just in law, but in (fact?), a union not simply not physical but also spiritual.

Let us build an American home for the 21st century where everyone has a place at the table and not a single child is left behind. (Cheers/applause.)

In this world and the world of tomorrow, we ust go forward together or not at all. My fellow Americans, I ask you tonight to reach out beyond the forces that divide us. In the difficult days ahead, we must reach beyond those forces and we must remember the words with which Abraham Lincoln in this city in 1861 closed his first inaugural: "We are not enemies but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must never break our bonds of affection. The mystic cords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patiot grave to every living heart and heart stone all over this broad land will yet swell the chorus of the union, when again touched as surely they will be by the better angels our nature."

Our American Reunion is about the better angels of our nature. May they govern all of us in the days ahead. And may we begin at the end of this program by all of us waling across the Memorial Bridge just behind us to ring the bells of hope.

Thank you and God bless you all. (Cheers/applause.)

END

LINCOLN QUOTES AND EXCERPTS

"...That this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom, and that Government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."
-Gettysburg Address, November 19, 1863

"Let us have faith that Right makes Might, and in that faith, let us, to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it." –Address at Cooper Institute

"I walk slowly, but I never walk backward."

"Our defense is the preservation of the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands, every where." –Edwardsville, Illinois, September 11, 1858

"The best thing about the future is that it comes only one day at a time."

"Fellow citizens, we cannot escape history."

"This is essentially a people's contest. . . . It is a struggle for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men—to lift artificial weights from all shoulders—to clear the paths of laudable pursuit for all—to afford all an unfettered start, and a fair chance, in the race of life." –Message to Congress in Special Session, July 4, 1861

"Fellow citizens, we cannot escape history. We will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. We—even we here—hold the power, and bear the responsibility. We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last best hope of earth. Other means may succeed; this could not fail. The way is plain—peaceful, generous, just—a way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud, and God must forever bless."

337-9600

that the dawn of the new c. brings in its words, "a new birth of freedom"

Draft 12/23/99 12:00pm
Jeff Shesol

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS AT MILLENNIUM GALA
THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL
December 31, 1999

Tonight we celebrate a change of centuries.

We celebrate the past – and close a chapter of America's remarkable story.

We celebrate the future – and the dawning of a new millennium that is now minutes away.

Tonight, from the summit of this American century, we survey the sweep of our history. We marvel at what has changed in the last hundred years, and imagine what will change in the next hundred – and the next thousand.

We Americans do not fear change; we welcome it, we embrace it, we create it. Yet on this night I am struck not only by what has changed but by what endures: our freedom, our faith, our ceaseless pilgrimage toward the ideals of our Founders. Ideals are timeless things. "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal" – this is the story of our century. Freedom's open arms, embracing the tired, the poor, the huddled masses from every shore. . . Freedom's steady advance across our own land, from the schoolhouse doors to the ballot box to the corridors of power. . . Freedom's rising tide across the globe, as more people, in more places, secure the blessings of liberty.

As generations of young Americans have shown, freedom's price is often high – and freedom's work is never done. Our triumphs over aggression and oppression summon us not to rest but to strive on. And so we strive: because we know that America is more than a blessed plot of earth; an economy of unparalleled plenty; a great power among nations. America is all of these things; but we know that, most of all, America is an idea – a noble vision of the essential worth of every human being.

As the calendar carries us ever forward from our nation's birth, let us pledge that each year brings us closer to this, our founding principle. Let us pledge that the new millennium will bring, in the words of the Great Emancipator, "a new birth of freedom."

And let us finally fulfill the dream of Martin Luther King, who stood and spoke on these very steps exactly one century after Gettysburg. As we ring in this new year, this new century, this new millennium, let us join hands and say – in the words of Dr. King, in the words of the American hymn, now and forever – "Let freedom ring!"

[*A pause will permit stations to break from coverage. Then*:]

It is now my great pleasure to introduce the latest work by a man who has told, so very powerfully, the stories of our times – our tragedies, our triumphs. Steven Spielberg has created a short film – with a score by the modern master, John Williams – that will carry us tonight across the vast landscape of the 20th Century, and ever nearer to the 21st.

Draft 12/23/99 12:00pm
Jeff Shesol

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS AT MILLENNIUM GALA
THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL
December 31, 1999

We are moments from midnight. . . moments from the millennium.

With the help of these children, the sons and daughters of America, let us light the way:

from a glorious, glittering past to an even brighter tomorrow!

The Moby Thesaurus

bright:

Leibnizian, Saturnian, adroit, advanced, agile, aglow, alert, alight, alive, animate, animated, apt, astute, attentive, auspicious, awake, balmy, beaming, bedazzling, benign, benignant, blazing, bleached, blinding, blithe, blithesome, blooming, brainy, brave, bright and shining, bright and sunny, bright-hued, brilliant, burning, burnished, cant, charismatic, cheerful, cheery, chiliastic, clean, cleanly, clear, clever, cloudless, colorful, colory, conceptive, conceptual, coruscating, couleur de rose, dainty, dazzling, deep-colored, devastating, dexter, dexterous, dirt-free, discursive, distinguished, divine, docile, educable, effulgent, elated, eupeptic, euphoric, exalted, exhilarated, exotic, exuberant, facile, fair, fastidious, favorable, favoring, flamboyant, flaming, flashing, fluorescent, flushed, formable, fortunate, fresh, fulgent, fulgid, full of promise, garish, gay, gay-colored, genial, gifted, glad, gladsome, glamorous, glaring, glary, gleaming, glistening, glittering, glorious, glossy, glowing, golden, good, gorgeous, halcyon, happy, harmless, heavenly, high, high-colored, hopeful, ideational, illuminated, illustrious, immaculate, impressionable, in good spirits, in high spirits, incandescent, ingenious, instructable, intellectual, intelligent, intense, inviolate, irrepressible, keen, keen-witted, killing, knowing, kosher, lambent, laughing, light, lighted, lively, lucent, lucid, lucky, luminous, lustrous, magic, magnificent, malleable, mild, millenarian, millennialistic, mint, moldable, motivated, nimble, nimble-witted, no dumbbell, noetic, nonpolluted, not born yesterday, not so dumb, numinous, of cleanly habits, of good cheer, of good omen, of happy portent, of promise, on the, on the alert, on the ball, on the job, optimistic, outstanding, perfectibilitarian, perfectionist, plastic, pleasant, pliable, polished, precocious, pristine, promising, prompt, propitious, prosperous, pure, qui vive, quick, quick-thinking, quick-witted, radiant, rational, raving, ravishing, ready, reasonable, receptive, refulgent, resplendent, riant, rich, rich-colored, ripe for instruction, ritually pure, rose-colored, roseate, rosy, sane, sanguine, sanguineous, scatheless, schoolable, scintillating, sensible, sharp, sharp-witted, shimmering, shining, shiny, sleepless, smart, smiling, smut-free, smutless, sophic, sparkling, spirited, splendent, splendid, splendorous, splendrous, spotless, sprightly, stainless, steel-trap, strong-minded, stunning, sublime, sunny, sunshiny, susceptible, sweet, tahar, talented, teachable, thirsty for knowledge, trainable, tubbed, unadulterated, unbesmirched, unblemished, unblinking, unblotted, unbroken, unbruised, unclouded, undamaged, undefaced, undefiled, undeformed, undemolished, understanding, undestroyed, undimmed, unfaded, unharmed, unhurt, unimpaired, uninjured, unmaimed, unmangled, unmarked, unmarred, unmuddied, unnodding, unpolluted, unscarred, unscathed, unscratched, unshattered, unsleeping, unsmirched, unsmudged, unsoiled, unspoiled, unspotted, unstained, unsullied, untainted, untarnished, untorn, untouched, unwinking, unwithered, unworn, upbeat, utopian, virgin, vivacious, vivid, wakeful, well-scrubbed, well-washed, white, whitened, wide-awake, willing, winsome, witty

This is a searchable index. Enter search keywords:

HymnSite.com Home
Play a random hymn

697. America (My Country, 'Tis of Thee)

Text: Samuel F. Smith, 1808-1895
Music: Thesaurus Musicus
Tune: AMERICA Meter: 664.6664

1. My country,' tis of thee,
sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing;
land where my fathers died,
land of the pilgrims' pride,
from every mountainside let freedom ring!

2. My native country, thee,
land of the noble free, thy name I love;
I love thy rocks and rills,
thy woods and templed hills;
my heart with rapture thrills, like that above.

3. Let music swell the breeze,
and ring from all the trees sweet freedom's song;
let mortal tongues awake;
let all that breathe partake;
let rocks their silence break, the sound prolong.

4. Our fathers' God, to thee,
author of liberty, to thee we sing;
long may our land be bright
with freedom's holy light;
protect us by thy might, great God, our King.

Links for downloading:
Text file
MIDI file

Robert J. Samuelson

Century of Freedom

What 20th-century development most altered the human condition? There is no shortage of candidates: the automobile, antibiotics, the airplane, computers, contraceptives, radio and television, to name a few. But surely the largest advance in human well-being involves the explosion of freedom. In a century scarred by gulags, concentration camps and secret-police terror, freedom is now spreading to an expanding swath of humanity. It is not only growing but also changing—becoming more ambitious and ambiguous—in ways that might, perversely, spawn disappointment and disorder in the new century.

In 1900 this was unimaginable. "Freedom in the modern sense [then] existed only for the upper crust," says political sociologist Seymour Martin Lipset of George Mason University. There were exceptions—America certainly, but even its freedom was curtailed. In 1900 women could vote in only four western states. Not until the ratification of the 19th Amendment in 1920 could all women vote. In the South, a web of laws prevented black Americans from voting. It took the Voting Rights Act of 1965 to change that.

Elsewhere the picture was bleaker. In 1900 empires dotted the world. The British Empire contained roughly 400 million people, about a quarter of the world's population. Lesser empires were still enormous: the Austro-Hungarian, the Ottoman, the French and others. Human subjugation was the rule, not the exception.

Consider the situation now. In 1999 Freedom House—a watchdog group based in Washington—classified as "free" 88 of the world's 191 countries, with 2.4 billion people or about 40 percent of the total. These nations enjoyed free elections and traditional civil rights of speech, reli-

also evolved, especially in the United States. The freedom that Americans expect as they enter the 21st century is not the same as the freedom they expected as they entered the 20th.

Traditional freedom historically meant liberation from oppression. But now freedom increasingly involves "self-realization." People need, it's argued, to be freed from whatever prevents them from becoming whoever they want to be. There's a drift toward "positive liberty" that emphasizes "the things that government ought to do for us," says sociologist Alan Wolfe of Boston College. This newer freedom blends into individual "rights" (for women, minorities, the disabled) and "entitlements" (for health care, education and income support) deemed essential for self-realization.

The broader freedom is not just American. In a new book, "Development as Freedom," the Nobel-Prize-winning economist Amartya Sen argues that "the expansion of freedom is both the primary end and . . . principal means of development" in poorer countries. But Sen's freedom eclipses the classic political and economic freedoms. It includes "social opportunities" (expanded education and health care) "transparency guarantees" (a lack of corruption) and more "entitlements" (to ensure basic decency and prevent "abject misery"). Indeed, it seems to include almost anything that might advance human well-being.

In some ways, freedom's explosion connects the century's two great constants: war and economic progress. Deaths in World War I and World War II are crudely reckoned at 10 million and as many as 60 million, respectively. But these vast tragedies ultimately paid some dividends for common people, because they doomed colonial

travel and health care—has risen 14 to 15 times, estimates economist Angus Maddison for the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in Paris. As nations grew wealthier, traditional freedom wasn't enough. People ascended what psychologist Abraham Maslow called the human hierarchy of needs—from food and shelter to self-esteem and spiritual needs, such as justice and beauty. People could not (it was said) be "free" without realizing these larger yearnings.

Freedom's fate in the next century is fragile, in part because the very notion is now so ill-defined. Classic freedom—coupling the opportunity for success with the danger of failure—hardly ensures personal fulfillment or social order. "On the one hand, you're told you're free," says Lipset. "But on the other, you're a potential loser. And if you lose, you don't feel free." The traditional freedoms of belief and lifestyle also require, if they are not to foster anarchy, tolerance and self-restraint.

But at least traditional freedom is universal. Everyone can, in theory, enjoy the freedoms of speech, religion, assembly and property. This sort of freedom promises the absence of coercion. By contrast, the new freedoms of individual "rights" and "entitlements" are increasingly exclusive, can involve social competition for benefits and may mean the subtle (or not so subtle) coercion of one group by another—all tending to weaken a sense of community. The "rights" of women, gays and the disabled cannot be directly enjoyed by men, straights or the nondisabled. Financing entitlements means taxes—a form of collective coercion—by which taxpayers sub-

Cleaning the Air

WITH TIME running out, and with little hope of getting big legislative projects through Congress, President Clinton is trying to build an environmental legacy. He has already taken steps to reduce water pollution and to protect federal lands from commercial development. Yesterday he issued ambitious new rules on air pollution. In so doing he took on an adversary that some list among the great public menaces of our times: the sport-utility vehicle.

There is no doubt that cleaner air makes for better health; even the auto makers and oil refiners, who will bear the brunt of the new regulations, freely concede that. The question, as with all regulations, is whether the benefits are big enough to justify the costs. The answer appears to be yes, though cost-benefit analysis is never an exact science.

The administration proposes to cleanse air in two ways. First, it demands that better catalytic converters be fitted to the tailpipes of cars and—more notably—to SUVs, light trucks and mini-vans, which together account for fully half of new vehicle sales. Both the administration and the car makers say this will raise the cost of the average car by less than $100; trucks and SUVs, which have hitherto been subject to lax standards, will cost between $200 and $350 extra. Second, the administration orders oil refiners to reduce the sulphur content of gasoline by about 90 percent. It claims this will boost pump prices by two cents per gallon; the refiners say three to five cents.

The total cost of the new rules may come to between $5 billion and $8 billion a year, depending on whether you believe the administration or the industry. Either way, that is considerably less than the financial benefits that cleaner air promises. The administration puts those at around $25 billion a year, a number that reflects the production of workers who currently die prematurely because of pollution, as well as savings from reduced medical costs and work absences. Even if the actual savings turn out to be just a third of the administration's number, the regulations will have paid for themselves.

Environmental standards often come at the expense of economic growth: Hard trade-offs must be made between poverty reduction and the protection of the planet. But in some instances environmental regulation is a win-win proposition. Cleaner air appears to be one such case, and the Clinton administration is to be commended for pushing ahead with it.

Group Home Deaths: Week 3

"THE SYSTEM is broken," said D.C. Department of Human Services Director Jearline Williams in response to The Post's findings concerning the city's handling of deaths among the mentally retarded.

"I refuse to concede that, notwithstanding the city's commitment to examine and overhaul these services, all of the incidents are the result of a system that is broken," Carolyn Graham, new deputy mayor for children and families, testified to the city council on Monday.

So who is right?

In 30 days the public may get an answer. That is when Ms. Graham is expected to deliver a written report to the mayor detailing staff and program weaknesses within the Department of Human Services' Mental Retardation and Developmental Disabilities Agency sitivity to the press." She urged, instead, that the myriad of investigations now underway be driven by compassion for "neighbors and their families" and by "facts and analysis." No disagreement there. We also hope, however, that her review proceeds with a sense of urgency. The city desperately needs a better system to care for people with mental retardation and other developmental disabilities.

The District also must get rid of workers and contractors who contributed to the tragedy detailed in Post writer Katherine Boo's Dec. 5 story. City workers and contractors may have been involved in the 350 documented cases of abuse and 116 unexamined deaths of group home residents The Post found. Three weeks after the story, only two staff changes have been made. Viola Keyes, DHS's chief investigator, was placed on administra-

Office of Lands, Resources, and Planning

National Capital Region
National Park Service
1100 Ohio Dr. SW
Washington, DC 20242
Fax: (202) 619-7420
Phone: (202) 619-7025

FAX

(202) 619-7279
FAX (202) 401-0017
gary_scott@NPS.GOV

GARY SCOTT, MA
CHIEF HISTORIAN

Please deliver the following pages

To:

Name: Jeff Horwitt
596-5717

Phone: ~~5~~
596-2505 FAX

From U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
NATIONAL CAPITAL AREA

1100 OHIO DRIVE, SW
ROOM 214
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20242

Nam

Phone:

Date & Time: 12-22-1999

Number of pages to *follow*: 17

Message:

Civil Rights at Lincoln Memorial

THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW JERSEY
RUTGERS

Department of History
P.O. Box 5059 • New Brunswick • New Jersey 08903-5059 • 908/932-7905

31 May 1993

Mr. John Williams
Supervisory Park Ranger
Mall Operations
NPS-Central
900 Ohio Drive SW
Washington, DC 20242

Dear Mr. Williams:

A long time in coming, but as promised I am sending you a copy of my article on the civil rights movement's use of the Lincoln Memorial. You will recall that you very kindly made the green logbooks available to me when I did the initial research for this article in the winter of 1989-1990. You are cited briefly in footnote 57 on the next to last page. By the way, I hope you will also take note of pages 141-42, where I disprove the old legend that Robert Russa Moton was banished to the "colored section" when he spoke at the 1922 dedication. I know that several of your rangers use this anecdote in their interpretive talks, and I am sure they will not want to continue passing on inaccurate information.

Once again, I thank you for your expertise and hospitality when I visited the Survey Lodge, way back when.

Sincerely,

Scott A. Sandage

Scott A. Sandage

and therefore somehow reassuring; it was a stable form within which chaos could be allowed to erupt, because it would be formally contained. The form is exactly like the ritornello form that structures swing music. Audiences accustomed to listening to swing would hear the commercial as a theme that was repeated periodically, as the most important unifying device in the show. Selling the sponsor's product was thus made the most important formal element of the program.

The movement from cast repartee to music to skits disrupted whatever suspension of disbelief was established within the different parts of the show. That is, the listener was drawn into the conceit of hearing the characters interact in a compelling fictional world, but then that world was revealed as fictional, which destroyed the suspension of disbelief. This structure worked to break down the listener's interpretations of particular characters, allowing for shifting identifications. Parts of the show were not plotted, and they relied on running gags, insults, and some topical humor. Other segments were plotted, including the Buck Benny serials (a takeoff on cowboy shows), the annual New Year's plays, and many of the movie spoofs. In the plotted segments, Jack was usually central, and strong identifications with him were established. But in the repartee and transition sections of the show, the listener was led to side with those lampooning Jack and to have little sympathy with him. Though Jack was the butt of the jokes, he was still in control because he consistently introduced the subjects about which he would be teased. This combination of format, structural devices, and character development designed to allow multiple identifications by listeners resulted in the show appealing to a wide variety of audiences.

The Jack Benny program was extremely popular from its beginnings in 1932 until well into the 1940s, because it reflected, made fun of, and symbolically resolved a variety of cultural anxieties felt by Americans during the Great Depression and World War II. By presenting a group of unrelated people as an unspoken family, the show allowed for the safe and humorous exploration of issues of family life, particularly ones raised by changes in economics and gender roles. The show represented financial fears of listeners and modeled responses that reassured the audience about consumption, gambling, credit, labor relations, and banks. Similarly, the show portrayed a variety of forms of masculinity in a positive light and thereby shored up the self-esteem of men whose family authority was shaken by the widespread economic distress.

The show consistently included ambiguities of form and content that allowed listeners to negotiate with the program's texts to create their own understandings of the characters and their actions and thereby to accept or reject the show's apparent messages. In this way, the Jack Benny show could be enjoyed by a wide spectrum of listeners, all trying to make sense of a world in economic and social disorder.

A Marble House Divided: The Lincoln Memorial, the Civil Rights Movement, and the Politics of Memory, 1939–1963

Scott A. Sandage

Around 1910 the graduating eighth graders in Omega, Virginia, earned five dollars at a taffy pull and elected a boy named Oscar to buy a picture for their school. At a store in a nearby town, he chose a dandy one in an ornate frame. The clerk asked, "Are you sure you want that one?" Oscar was sure; he went back and hung it in the school. "The next morning . . . the teacher came, and she was horrified," Oscar's widow recalls. "The pupils went home at lunchtime and told their parents. By afternoon there was great commotion about it," and the school board expelled Oscar the next day. The ornate frame held a portrait of Abe Lincoln. The boy was soon reinstated once his guardian reminded the school board that McGuffey's reader told nothing of Lincoln's crimes against the Old South, still a living memory in Omega. Oscar graduated having learned "a stern lesson in intolerance." Thirty years later, as Franklin D. Roosevelt's assistant secretary of the interior, Oscar L. Chapman did not hesitate when a civil rights leader asked permission to use the Lincoln Memorial for an open-air concert by contralto Marian Anderson, whom the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) had refused to book into Constitution Hall because she was black.[1]

On Easter Sunday 1939, Anderson sang to an integrated crowd of seventy-five thousand at the Lincoln Memorial: "My country 'tis of thee, Sweet land of liberty, To thee we sing." Not "Of thee I sing," as the lyric usually goes, but "*To* thee we

Scott A. Sandage is a Ph.D. candidate in United States history at Rutgers University. This essay received the Louis Pelzer Memorial Award for 1993.

For their challenges and suggestions, I am grateful to T. J. Jackson Lears, John R. Gillis, Dee Garrison, David Levering Lewis, David Thelen, and, particularly, John Whiteclay Chambers II. I also thank David S. Jaspet, Reginald L. Allen, Cindy W. Anderson, Susan Armeny, Rudolph M. Bell, Carol F. Helstosky, Rhys Isaac, Suzanne M. Kaufman, Glen D. Kuecker, James L. Livingston, Jacquelyn C. Miller, Brian E. Roberts, John B. Sandage, Shirley M. Sandage, Thomas L. Slaughter, Sarah McNair Vosmeier—and David W. Blight, David Glassberg, Mark H. Leff, Robert E. McGlone, and the other referees for the *Journal of American History*.

[1] Ann Chapman interview by Scott A. Sandage, Nov. 6, 1989, transcript pp. 3–4 (in Scott A. Sandage's possession). Oscar Chapman recounted his expulsion at the time of Marian Anderson's concert. See *Washington Daily News*, April 6, 1939, p. 29.

sing." The change made the national hymn subtly political, painting "land of liberty" as more aspiration than description and catching both the communalism and conflict of that famous day. White editors and Washington power brokers praised the concert as a stirring but welcome end to an embarrassing controversy. But black leaders saw it as an exciting beginning: an epiphany that revealed a format for mass politics. "We are on the right track," wrote Mary McLeod Bethune the next day. "Through the Marian Anderson protest concert we made our triumphant entry into the democratic spirit of American life."[2]

Tactically, the modern civil rights movement came of age on Easter Sunday 1939. The concert was not the first African-American political use of Lincoln's memory, nor even the first civil rights gathering at his memorial. But it was, significantly, the first black mass action to evoke laudatory national publicity and earn a positive place in American public memory (our sometimes collective, always political sense of our past). Without fiery speeches or banners, without even mentioning the DAR, black organizers transformed a recital of sacred music at a national shrine into a political rally. In an era obsessed with defining Americanism, activists successfully portrayed their adversary as un-American. It was a formula civil rights activists and other protesters would repeat at the Lincoln Memorial in more than one hundred big and small rallies in subsequent decades—most notably in the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom when Martin Luther King, Jr., proclaimed his Dream from the steps where Marian Anderson had sung.

This essay argues that African Americans' struggles to hold a series of rallies at the Lincoln Memorial between 1939 and 1963 constituted a tactical learning experience that contributed to the civil rights movement's strategies of nonviolent action. Black protesters refined a politics of memory at the Lincoln Memorial. Within the sacred, national space of the memorial, activists perfected a complex ritual of mass politics, one that exploited the ambiguities of cherished American values to circumvent opposition, unify coalitions, and legitimate black voices in national politics. Memory and ritual have been central concepts in the writing of cultural history but remain mostly unexplored in studies of black activism after 1940: this essay looks toward a cultural history of the civil rights movement. It is necessarily a dual inquiry into not only political tactics but also political imagery—in particular, the ambivalent relationship between African Americans and the icon called Abraham Lincoln. Blacks strategically appropriated Lincoln's memory and monument as political weapons, in the process layering and changing the public meanings of the hero and his shrine. But this political style was double-edged. The amalgam of a ritualized format, a sacred and public site, and nationalistic imagery constrained

[1] The subtle change in lyrics has not been noted by other scholars but is clearly discernible on the radio broadcast recording. See "Marian Anderson Concert at the Lincoln Memorial," April 9, 1939, tape RWA-2850, NBC radio collection (Division of Recorded Sound, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.); *Washington Post*, April 10, 1939, p. 8; Mary McLeod Bethune to Charles H. Houston, April 10, 1939, folder 4, box 14, Marian Anderson, DAR Controversy Collection (Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University Library, Washington, D.C.). Although the collection is labeled "Marian Anderson/DAR Controversy Collection," it actually consists of the papers of the Marian Anderson Citizens' Committee.

activists even as it empowered them. The power of these protests always lay in their inherent tensions between celebration and confrontation, between commemoration and politics, between sacred and profane.[3]

The Lincoln Memorial may be the best American example of what Pierre Nora has called a "memory site": a place where we struggle over tensions between our experience of the past (memory) and our organization of it (history). Ritual is a powerful weapon in these contests because it can be used conservatively or radically, to confirm or to transform social arrangements by affixing useful meanings onto sites and symbols. Civic leaders, for example, often try to forge a usable past by erecting monuments. But as Oscar Chapman's school expulsion attests, symbols such as Abraham Lincoln are always contested. Thus, memory sites are loci of struggle between the official groups that often create them and the vernacular groups that inevitably interpret and reinterpret them in competing ways. This essay employs John Bodnar's terms "official" and "vernacular" because they convey both the political essence of memory formation and the reality of unequal power relationships among competitors.[4]

However, prevailing concepts of public memory cannot fully absorb the interactions among the diverse political actors at the Lincoln Memorial. Architects, bureaucrats, editors, Hollywood filmmakers, patriotic societies, presidents, and protesters struggled against one another—frequently by cooperating with one another—to define often irreconcilable memories of Abraham Lincoln. Such paradoxical alliances defy our analytical categories. Further, the Lincoln Memorial case forces us to grapple with the centrality of race in the making of American public memory. When black protesters worked with the Department of the Interior to arrange Anderson's Lincoln Memorial concert, what kind of memory was being made? Official or vernacular? White or black? Even within distinct categories of actors, such as bureaucrats or black protesters, internal differences of motive, style, and historical interpretation make it difficult to speak of collective memory with any precision. Yet our past is composed of broadly resonant cultural moments like the 1939 Anderson concert and the marches on Washington.

A cultural history of civil rights struggles must wrestle with these dilemmas, and it must analyze blacks' symbolic tactics in terms of the cultural mood that made Americans receptive to their appeals for the first time since Reconstruction. This essay views the 1939 concert and 1963 march as brackets around what Warren I. Susman described as "a new era of nationalism," a time when depression and war kindled a search for common values and an "American Way of Life." But Susman imagined cul-

[3] The logistical benefits of the memorial may be an additional factor in protesters' choosing it: the shrine's steps are an ideal speaker's platform, and the adjacent open spaces accommodate large crowds, albeit with broken sight lines. However, crowds of more than ten thousand were a rarity before 1963, and if this essay's thesis holds, in them protesters' choice of site was already a matter of tradition and symbolic strategy, not logistics.

[4] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*," *Representations* [no. 26, Spring 1989], 7–25. For an overview of recent work on public memory, see David Thelen, ed., *Memory and American History* (Bloomington, 1990). On its use of ritual, see note 14 below. John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, 1992), esp. 13–20.

tural nationalism as merely underpinning a Cold War consensus that curbed dissent until the militant 1960s. Likewise, some critics of the civil rights movement argue that accommodation and coalitions with white liberals led inevitably to co-optation and fragmentation.[3]

Such views overlook exactly what studies of ritual and memory can show—that it was often activists who did the co-opting. Protesters mobilized mainstream symbols to further alternative ends, to constitute (not just reflect) shared beliefs, and to open spaces for social change. It was precisely the unrelenting nationalism that reigned from the 1930s to the 1960s that finally offered black activists a cultural language to speak to white America and to elicit support. The black church and Gandhian nonviolence were not the movement's only wellsprings of unity and strength; the stories and values of American history were equally vital resources. The famous picket sign, "I AM A MAN," may have been morally compelling, but winning political and legal rights for blacks required a more focused message: I AM AN AMERICAN. Nowhere was this idea dramatized more vividly than in the Lincoln Memorial protests held from 1939 to 1963.

Among the most conspicuous gaps in the large historical literature on Abraham Lincoln, man and symbol, is the lack of any sustained analysis of the dynamic and complex relationship between African Americans and Lincoln's memory in the 128 years since his death.[4] The Lincoln Memorial and the foremost civil rights organization of the twentieth century both originated in impulses to honor Lincoln on the hundredth anniversary of his birth, February 12, 1909. During the week of Lincoln's centennial, while Congress debated proposals to erect a national monument, civil rights pioneers issued their famous "Lincoln Birthday Call" for a meeting to organize what became the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The monument and movement were in this sense twinned, but their incompatible interpretations of Abraham Lincoln contributed directly to the rise of a racial politics

[3] A useful overview of recent work is Steven F. Lawson, "Freedom Then, Freedom Now: The Historiography of the Civil Rights Movement," *American Historical Review*, 96 (April 1991), 456–71. Warren I. Susman, *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1984), 150–83; Warren I. Susman with Edward Griffin, "Did Success Spoil the United States? Dual Representations in Postwar America," in *Recasting America: Culture and Politics in the Age of Cold War*, ed. Lary May (Chicago, 1989), 19–37; Manning Marable, *Black American Politics: From the Washington Marches to Jesse Jackson* (London, 1984), 87–97. For insights into the challenges that oppositional politics present to critical theory, see Gerald Graff, "Co-optation," in *The New Historicism*, ed. H. Aram Veeser (New York, 1989), 168–81.

[4] No comprehensive study has appeared of the Lincoln symbol or the intense political and cultural contests over it. Nor is there any study of blacks' views about Lincoln although many works analyze Lincoln's evolving racial attitudes. A helpful introduction to Lincoln studies is Gabor S. Boritt, ed., *The Historian's Lincoln: Pseudohistory, Psychohistory, and History* (Urbana, 1988). For brief references to blacks' feelings about Lincoln, see Benjamin Quarles, *Lincoln and the Negro* (New York, 1962), 248–50; Lawrence W. Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* (New York, 1977), 88, 117; Nancy J. Weiss, *Farewell to the Party of Lincoln: Black Politics in the Age of FDR* (Princeton, 1983), 28–29, 91–93, 196, 225n35; William H. Wiggins, Jr., *O Freedom! Afro-American Emancipation Celebrations* (Knoxville, 1987); John E. Washington, *They Knew Lincoln* (New York, 1942); and Yvette Fulcher's survey of black attitudes toward Lincoln, summarized in Mark E. Neely, Jr., "Emancipation 100 Years Later," *Lincoln Lore*, no. 1845, Nov. 1971, 1–3.

of memory. Like the nation he had described in his celebrated 1858 speech, Lincoln's own marble memorial would quickly become a house divided.[7]

African Americans had tried to construct a usable public memory of Lincoln as early as 1876, when Frederick Douglass dedicated a Washington, D.C., statue, which was paid for by freedmen and portrayed Lincoln emancipating a slave. (See figure 1.) Douglass criticized the statue for showing "the Negro on his knees," but he also saw strategic potential in publicly honoring Lincoln as the Emancipator. Blacks were thereby "fastening ourselves to a name and fame imperishable and immortal," Douglass said, and fulfilling a political duty to show gratitude for emancipation. Historian David W. Blight has shown that Douglass was trying to "make Lincoln mythic" and to create a mood for racial justice by promulgating a public memory of the Civil War as an emancipatory struggle. Likewise, the NAACP founders in 1909 wrote that Lincoln's centennial should be a day for "taking stock of the nation's progress" toward racial justice. They noted ironically that on January 1, 1909 (Emancipation Day and only a month before Lincoln's hundredth birthday), Georgia had become the last southern state to enact black disfranchisement laws. If Lincoln were alive, they ventured, he would be "disheartened and discouraged."[8]

Such views did not prevail in 1911 when Congress created a commission to memorialize Lincoln, chaired by President William Howard Taft. The early twentieth century celebrated the economic and political reunion of North and South. Lincoln's ties to black freedom waned as politicians and scholars sculpted him into a "pro-Southern conservative" honored on both sides of the Mason-Dixon Line: the patron saint of what Richard Nelson Current labels "reunion with reaction. . . . nationalism revitalized at the expense of racial justice." As Lincoln assumed the role of Christ in American civil religion, signifying national redemption, it seemed he could not be both the Great Emancipator and the Savior of the Union. *Emancipator* became a casual synonym for *Lincoln*, not necessarily meant to evoke black freedom. When British dramatist John Drinkwater, in his popular 1920 book *Lincoln: The World Emancipator*, hailed "a profound unity of being in our two races," he meant not blacks and whites but Americans and Britons.[9]

[7] For debates over House Joint Resolution 247 and House Joint Resolution 254, see *Congressional Record*, 60 Cong., 2 sess., Jan. 26, 1909, pp. 1418–19; *ibid.*, Feb. 10, 1909, pp. 2147–48, 2175; and *ibid.*, Feb. 11, 1909, pp. 2201–2. "Lincoln Birthday Call 1909," reprinted in NAACP fifteenth anniversary meeting invitation, Feb. 12, 1959, box A255, group III, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Papers (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress). Abraham Lincoln, "A House Divided," in *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. Roy P. Basler (9 vols., New Brunswick, 1950), II, 461–69.

[8] Frederick Douglass, "Oration in Memory of Abraham Lincoln," in *The Life and Writings of the Black American. Major Speeches by Negroes in the United States, 1797–1971*, ed. Philip S. Foner (New York, 1972), 434–41, esp. 435; Freeman Murray, *Emancipation and the Freed in American Sculpture* (1916; Freeport, 1972), 109; David W. Blight, "'For Something beyond the Battlefield': Frederick Douglass and the Struggle for the Memory of the Civil War," in *Memory and American History*, ed. Thelen, 27–49, esp. 36; "Lincoln Birthday Call 1909."

[9] Public Law 61-316 passed Feb. 9, 1911, and established the Lincoln Memorial Commission. See report of the Commission (Washington, 1913), 62 Cong., 3 sess., Sen. doc. 985, pp. 7–8. Richard Nelson Current, *Speaking of Abraham Lincoln: The Man and His Meaning for Our Times* (Urbana, 1985), 166. Michael Davis, *The Image of Lincoln in the South* (Knoxville, 1971); John Drinkwater, *Lincoln: The World Emancipator* (Boston, 1920), 6; Ray Basler, *The Lincoln Legend: A Study in Changing Conceptions* (Boston, 1935), 202; Eval J. Nardi, *Crown of Thorns: Political Martyrdom in America from Abraham Lincoln to*

Figure 1
Freedmen's Memorial Monument, Lincoln Park, Washington, D.C. (*Emancipation*, by Thomas Ball, 1876). Frederick Douglass criticized the image as demeaning, and the statue soon acquired the nickname, "Shine, Sir?" *Courtesy the Lincoln Museum, Fort Wayne, Indiana.*

Whitewashed views of Lincoln guided the design of the memorial, constructed between 1912 and 1921. Even its Potomac River site opposite Robert E. Lee's former Virginia home bespoke sectional reunion.[10] The Taft Commission's forty-one-page

Martin Luther King, Jr. (New York, 1990), 38–39, 202n43; Robert N. Bellah, "Civil Religion in America," *Daedalus*, 96 (Winter 1967), 1–21, esp. 10–11, 14, 18.

[10] On the Lincoln Memorial as a symbol of white consensus and sectional reunion, see Kirk Savage, "The Politics of Memory: Black Emancipation and the Civil War Monument," in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John R. Gillis (Princeton, forthcoming 1994); and Christopher Alexander Thomas, "The Lincoln

report to Congress made clear which Lincoln they honored, alluding twenty times to "the man who saved the Union" but to "emancipator" just once, in a rejected design. Architect Henry Bacon's final plan promised an exterior with a single message, with columns and festoons embodying the states as "a symbol of the union." Inside, Daniel Chester French's stony Lincoln presides beneath an inscription: "In This Temple as in the Hearts of the People for Whom He Saved the Union the Memory of Abraham Lincoln Is Enshrined Forever." Art critic Royal Cortissoz wrote these lines and explained their subtlety to Bacon: "The memorial must make a common ground for the meeting of the north and the south. By emphasizing his saving the union you appeal to both sections. By saying nothing about slavery you avoid the rubbing of old sores." Lincoln himself supplies the only allusions to American slavery in the temple; his Gettysburg Address and Second Inaugural Address are carved into the walls. But as Dixon Wecter observed in 1940, these orations have been "worn so smooth by a million tongues that we are not apt to feel the edge of Lincoln's words." The Lincoln Memorial was conceived as a symbol of national consensus, linking North and South on holy, national ground.[11]

The shrine's 1922 dedication threw the racial schism over Lincoln's memory into stark, if fleeting, relief. Taft, now chief justice of the Supreme Court, mentioned slavery not once in a long address. President Warren G. Harding reassured the South that Lincoln "would have been the last man in the republic to resort to arms to effect . . . abolition. Emancipation was a means to the great end—maintained union and nationality." One speaker breached the consensus. Robert Russa Moton, successor to Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee Institute, granted that "Lincoln died to save the union" but countered that the martyr's greatness stemmed from the fact that he "put his trust in God and spoke the word that gave freedom to a race, and vindicated the honor of a nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." But even as Moton spoke, prominent black Washingtonians were being confined by military ushers to a "colored" seating area at the rear of the crowd. (Many sources allege that Moton was also seated there and allowed on the platform only during his speech, but this is inaccurate. See figure 2.) The black press denounced the biased speeches and segregated seating as a mockery of Lincoln's ideals. Mainstream newspapers simply ignored the furor and headlined Moton's remark that blacks were obliged to justify emancipation by being loyal citizens. This round in the contest over Lincoln's memory went to the politicians.[12]

Memorial and Its Architect, Henry Bacon (1866–1924)" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1990). On the shrine's use by African-American protesters, see *ibid.*, 639–41.

[11] Lincoln Memorial Commission, *Report*, 12–14, 25–27, 31, 33, 34, 36, 39, 40; John Russell Pope, "Appendix C. Report of the Architect on Designs for the Meridian Hill and the Soldiers' Home Sites," *ibid.*, 29–31; Henry Bacon, "Appendix D. Report of the Architect on Alternative Designs for the Potomac Park Site," *ibid.*, 33–34; Royal Cortissoz to Henry Bacon, April 6, 1919, quoted in *Washington Evening Star*, March 2, 1922, sec. C, pp. 1, 3; Dixon Wecter, *The Hero in America: A Chronicle of Hero Worship* (1941; Ann Arbor, 1966), 234. Jules Guerin's murals in the memorial depict slavery allegorically, but Guerin, like Henry Bacon, saw the Union motif as primary. See Jules Guerin, "The Great Lincoln Memorial," *Ladies' Home Journal* (Oct. 1922), 14–15, 160–61.

[12] Rexford L. Holmes, Inc., ed., "Dedicatory Exercises Incident to the Formal Dedication of the Lincoln Memorial," May 30, 1922, not paginated, in entry 372, Records of the Lincoln Memorial Commission, RG 42 (Na-

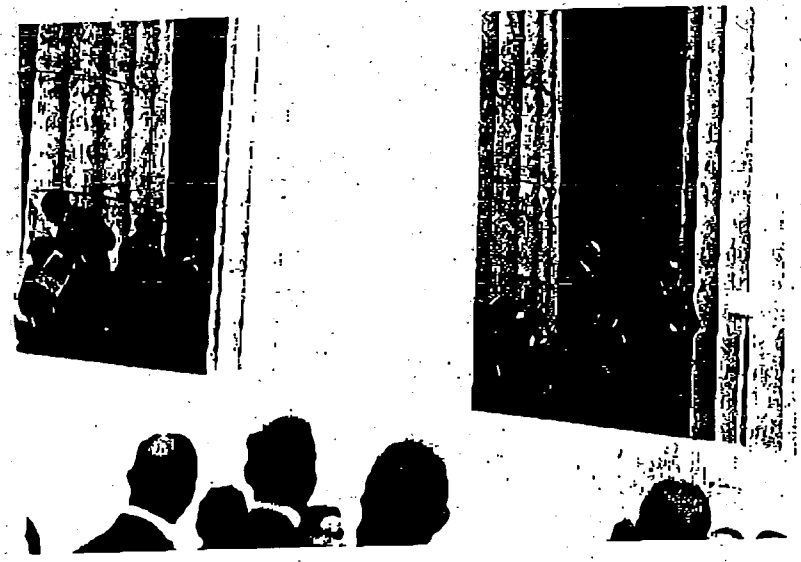

Figure 2
Dedication of the Lincoln Memorial, May 30, 1922, Herbert L. French, photographer. Taken well after Robert Russa Moton's speech, this photograph of Moton at his seat (with program, at left) proves that he was not forced to sit in the "colored" section as has often been alleged. Other photographs show black Civil War veterans seated among the dignitaries. *Courtesy Library of Congress.*

But a renewed battle between official and vernacular memories of Lincoln now existed, particularly at the national temple honoring him. "Proving that Lincoln will be remembered less as emancipator than as the man who kept the states together would tax a world of genius," balked a columnist for the black weekly *Chicago Defender.* In fact, there was a contrived, vulnerable quality to the bowdlerized Lincoln consecrated by politicians in the 1910s and 1920s. Surely the folks in Omega, Virginia, who expelled young Oscar Chapman were not fooled by revisionist memories of Lincoln as nonsectional hero—nor were the United Confederate Veterans, who caused a furor only weeks after the temple's dedication by publicly blaming Lincoln for the Civil War. The consensus Lincoln seemed to need regular maintenance;

tional Archives, Washington, D.C.) The Robert Russa Moton legend is repeated in, among many examples, Constance McL. Green, *The Secret City: A History of Race Relations in the Nation's Capital* (Princeton, 1967), 199–201. Black press reports make no mention of Moton having sat in the "colored section." See *Washington Tribune,* June 9, 1922, pp. 1, 8; *ibid.,* June 10, 1922, p. 1; *Chicago Defender,* June 10, 1922, p. 1; and "Lincoln, Harding, James Cox, and Taft," *Crisis,* 24 (July 1922), 122. For reception of Moton's speech, see *Washington Post,* May 31, 1922, p. 2; and *New York Times,* May 31, 1922, pp. 1, 3. Figure 2 of this essay is photo no. 18882, vol. 3, p. 33. Lot 12294 (Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress).

starting in 1923, politicians and patriotic societies annually reaffirmed the primacy of Savior over Emancipator in Lincoln's Birthday ceremonies at the shrine. Black leaders continued to contest such interpretations; their first organized gathering at the memorial was a mass religious service in August 1926. The main speaker, a bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion church, predictably told an audience of two thousand that "the immortality of the great emancipator lay not in his preservation of the Union, but in his giving freedom to the negroes of America."[13]

Conceived and dedicated as holy ground, the Lincoln Memorial became, as early as 1922, racially contested ground. By chance or design, the shrine straddled boundaries: between North and South, between black and white, and between official and vernacular memory. As both temple and tourist attraction, it sat on the cusp between sacred and secular. The memorial is a liminal space in Victor Turner's sense of being "betwixt and between" customary social categories. Liminal space is a realm of ambiguity—and therefore of possibility—where public rituals and appeals to sacred symbols possess an unusual potency to effect both social change and group unity, or *communitas.* African Americans were what Turner calls liminal personae. Despite emancipation, they remained betwixt and between: no longer slaves, not yet full citizens. By invoking and reinterpreting a national icon, black protesters explored the ambiguities and possibilities of American society in the mid-twentieth century. Their protests at the Lincoln Memorial were repeated, standardized rituals that evolved from experience and ultimately constituted a formidable politics of memory. The strategy was born, as Mary McLeod Bethune wrote, in the epiphany of Anderson's concert on Easter Sunday 1939.[14]

Maestro Arturo Toscanini said in 1935 that a voice like Anderson's was "heard once in a hundred years." Her fame by 1939 caused Howard University to seek a larger, off-campus auditorium for her annual Washington recital. On January 9, the Daughters of the American Revolution barred Anderson from their tax-exempt Constitution Hall, stating flatly that it was open "to white artists" only. Soon the District of Columbia Board of Education refused Anderson the use of a high school auditorium. Anderson was neither the first nor last black performer banned by the DAR, but in 1939 First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt's public resignation from the DAR and black activists' skill at press relations elicited a flurry of pious editorials about national values.[15]

[13] *Chicago Defender,* June 10, 1922, part II, p. 1. For the Confederate controversy, see *Washington Post,* June 22, 1922, p. 3; *ibid.,* June 24, 1922, p. 3; and *Washington Evening Star,* July 7, 1922, p. 6. For northern and southern homage to Lincoln, see *Washington Post,* Feb. 14, 1928, p. 3; *New York Times,* Feb. 13, 1925, p. 4; and *Washington Post,* Feb. 13, 1928, pp. 1–2. Bishop E. D. W. Jones, speaker at the 1926 gathering, is paraphrased *ibid.,* Aug. 6, 1926, p. 8.

[14] In Victor Turner's view, liminal rituals are performed in "privileged spaces and times," after which one returns "changed in some way, to mundane life." Some public rituals invite reflection on shared values and the teachings of a society's "establishers of morality." Others can criticize public policies and "ritually transform" the sites themselves. See Victor Turner, *The Anthropology of Performance* (New York, 1988), 23–26, 102; and Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago, 1969). See also Kathleen Ashley, ed., *Victor Turner and the Construction of Cultural Criticism: Between Literature and Anthropology* (Bloomington, 1990).

[15] For Arturo Toscanini's comments, see S. Hurok, with Ruth Goode, *Impresario: A Memoir* (New York, 1946), 240. Sarah Robert, Daughters of the American Revolution president general, to Harold Ickes, Feb. 1, 1939; box

An outraged coalition of black civic leaders and NAACP officers (as well as Anderson's artistic managers) soon realized that bringing Abraham Lincoln into the fray by what seemed an unprecedented use of his memorial "would double the news value" of the event. On March 13, the NAACP board of directors voted that rather than finding another concert hall, "it would be far better . . . for Miss Anderson to sing out-of-doors, for example, at the Lincoln Memorial, erected to commemorate the Memory of Abraham Lincoln, the Great Emancipator, or not to sing in Washington at all until democracy can surmount the color line in the nation's capital." Permission was quickly secured from Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes—through his deputy, Oscar Chapman. Ickes cleared the idea with President Roosevelt, who reportedly quipped, "She can sing from the top of the Washington Monument if she wants to!"[16]

The concert's planning was spearheaded by NAACP secretary Walter White, a gifted publicist who had once called Herbert Hoover "the man in the lily-White House." He took care that plans for the concert would avoid any "impression that propaganda for the Negro was the objective instead of the emphasizing of a principle." He rejected as undignified an early proposal that Anderson sing in a park opposite Constitution Hall, "because that would be like a naughty boy thumbing his nose at the back of a larger boy who had socked him." More would be gained by taking the high road. Even so, behind the scenes, White took every opportunity to embarrass the DAR, belittling them in correspondence with journalists and politicians as the "funny old ladies of the DAR" and attempting to get Grant Wood's satirical painting, *Daughters of Revolution,* printed on the cover of *Time* magazine.[17]

Having secured sacred ground for the concert site, White intensified his attention to symbolism. Anderson would begin by singing "America" because of the "ironic implications." Members of the cabinet, Congress, and the Supreme Court were

2967, entry 1-280, Marian Anderson Subfile, Central Classified Files 1937–1953, Records of the Secretary of the Interior, RG 48 (National Archives); *New York Times*, Feb. 28, 1939, pp. 1, 3. Many editorials are reprinted in Anson Phelps Stokes, *Art and the Color Line* (Washington, 1939), 12–20. Two useful accounts of Anderson's concert (which, however, do not analyze planners' attention to symbolism) are Weiss, *Farewell to the Party of Lincoln*, 237–66; and Allida M. Black, "Championing a Champion: Eleanor Roosevelt and the Marian Anderson 'Freedom Concert,'" *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, 20 (Fall 1990), 719–36. Among the other performers whom the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) barred from Constitution Hall were Paul Robeson, the Hampton Institute Singers, and Harry Belafonte. See *Washington Star*, Sept. 9, 1979, sec. G, p. 2; *Washington Herald-Tribune*, Feb. 23, 1939, p. 16; and *Washington Tribune*, March 22, 1941, clipping in "Black Segregation and Discrimination / Marian Anderson Concert" folder, Washingtoniana Collection (Martin Luther King, Jr., Public Library, Washington, D.C.).

[16] "News Value" in Walter White to Houston, March 23, 1939, box C39, group I, NAACP Papers. Oscar L. Chapman claimed to have thought of using the memorial, but black leaders were discussing the idea at least two weeks before their first recorded meeting with Chapman: Joseph P. Lash, *Eleanor and Franklin: The Story of Their Relationship Based on Eleanor Roosevelt's Private Papers* (New York, 1971), 527; White to Houston, March 6, 1939, box I1, group II, NAACP Papers; [White], "Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Directors," March 13, 1939, p. 4, box I2, *ibid.*; Roosevelt quoted in Chapman interview, p. 1.

[17] Walter White, *A Man Called White: The Autobiography of Walter White* (New York, 1948), 104, 182; "Marian Anderson Will Sing in the 'Open Air' as Rebuke to D.A.R.," press release, Feb. 24, 1939, box L2, group II, NAACP Papers; White to Gertrude [Stone], March 14, 1939, box L1, *ibid.*; White to Harry E. Davis, Feb. 24, 1939, box I2, *ibid.*; White to Fiorello LaGuardia, April 21, 1939, *ibid.*; White to Lester B. Granger, June 13, 1939, *ibid.*; White to Edward G. Robinson, March 1, 1939, *ibid.*

recruited as public sponsors and invited to sit on the landing where Anderson would sing. "Boy Scouts, white and colored," were enlisted to hand out the concert's printed program—with the Gettysburg Address quoted on its cover. A script provided to radio commentators (and incorporated nearly verbatim into Harold Ickes's introduction) read, "It is both fitting and symbolic that [Anderson] should be singing on Easter Sunday on the steps of the Memorial to the Great Emancipator who struck the shackles of slavery from her people seventy-six years ago."[18]

On the afternoon of April 9, these elements came together brilliantly. After the brief introduction by Secretary Ickes, the singer descended the steps in front of the statue and, in White's words, "poured out in her superb voice 'sweet land of liberty' almost as though it was a prayer." Those who attended remember the concert, which was captured by newsreel cameras and broadcast live by national radio networks, as "like a religious service" and "a great spiritual experience of common sympathy and understanding." Civil rights attorney Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., recalled, "It was quite a beautiful awakening of blacks in the city there. Everyone was there in their best clothes. . . . You got this feeling, there she was in front of Lincoln, and what a great step forward this was." The next day activists discussed making the concert an annual event to hold public attention on racial issues. In the next two decades, planners repeatedly hearkened back to the Anderson concert as a formative moment (and the singer renewed public memories of the event in 1952, when she sang again on the steps of the shrine at a memorial service for Ickes). The Easter recital seemed a tactical epiphany to black activists because it suggested a site and format for injecting the civil rights cause into the mainstream of debates about national values and the American Way.[19]

Hagiographers have made the Anderson affair into a story about Eleanor Roosevelt, who neither planned nor attended the concert. Emphasis on the First Lady obscures the event's larger importance: With the concert, the civil rights movement began to develop a strategy of mass, symbolic protest that used ritual and appeals to memory to make race a national issue. By 1939 Abraham Lincoln was an increasingly coveted cultural and political symbol of the American Way of Life, a symbol interpreted by everyone from Franklin D. Roosevelt to Carl Sandburg, from

[18] White to Houston and V. D. Johnston, March 31, 1939, box L1, group II, NAACP Papers; [Charles H. Houston], radio script, April 8, 1939, folder 33, box 2-2, Marian Anderson / DAR Controversy Collection; "Remarks of the Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes in Introducing Marian Anderson at the Lincoln Memorial Concert to be Held at 5:00 p.m. (EST), Sunday April 9, 1939," box L2, group II, NAACP Papers.

[19] White, *Man Called White*, 184; Chapman interview, 1; Charles H. Houston, remarks on the presentation of a Marian Anderson concert medal, untitled typescript, Jan. 6, 1943, p. 2, folder 49, box 2-2, Marian Anderson / DAR Controversy Collection. In 1941 Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., drafted Franklin D. Roosevelt's antidiscrimination rule, Executive Order 8802, and he attended or helped organize nearly all the demonstrations discussed in this article; see Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., interview by Sandage, Nov. 11, 1989, transcript, p. 1 (in Sandage's possession). Houston to Oscar L. Chapman, April 11, 1939, folder 4, box 1-3, Marian Anderson / DAR Controversy Collection. For strategists' later references to Anderson, see White to Chapman, April 18, 1947, box A34, group II, NAACP Papers; and Roy Wilkins to Sol Hurok, telegram, April 12, 1937, box A243, group III, *ibid.* On Anderson's performance at the Ickes service, see *Washington Post*, April 21, 1952, sec. B, p. 1. For contemporary evidence of the debate over "The American Way," see the winning essays of a contest to define the phrase, in *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, 176 (Feb.–May 1938).

Figure 3
Marian Anderson, Lincoln Memorial, April 9, 1939. LIFE Magazine *photograph by Thomas McAvoy.* ©1939 *Time Warner.*

Hollywood moguls to the American Communist party. Still, Lincoln's connection to racial justice remained controversial. Two months before Anderson's concert, Lincoln scholar Paul Angle had declared flatly that the president's fame as an emancipator was "unhistorical," unsupported by fact. In one bold stroke, the Easter concert

swept away the shrine's official dedication to the "savior of the union" and made it a stronghold of racial justice. One concertgoer, the black baritone Todd Duncan, recalls that the performance seemed to transform the memorial into "a wonderful citadel, a cathedral," a place to both affirm the nation and struggle to make it just.[20]

White America recognized one half of the metamorphosis—affirmation—and a catharsis of nationalism followed. A Massachusetts editor predicted that DAR members would not attend the concert. "We expect they would feel uncomfortable on that ground, and a little out of place," he wrote, sensing that the memorial had become a powerfully charged site. Likewise, a *Philadelphia Inquirer* editorial proclaimed a "New Message of the Lincoln Shrine." The influential columnist Franklin P. Adams compared the DAR to the Nazi German-American Bund, and vocal members of the public agreed. Those "Daughters of the American Reactionaries" were "stuffed petticoats" who had been unmasked as "un-American." "That's the stuff," one citizen wrote Ickes, "Give the colored girl a show. The D.A.R. don't own this country which is still free, thank the Lord. And it's most fitting that the spirit of Lincoln will be at this concert." Another wrote, "It's a strange world when you find the DAR in the same pew with the Ku-Kluxers." A Sunday concert had become a national referendum, polled at barbershops and breakfast tables across the land.[21]

Of course, not all the editorials and citizens' letters were supportive. And in the segregated capital, Marian Anderson had to sleep in a private home because no reputable hotel would accommodate a black guest. Some blacks were appalled that Anderson had to sing out of doors, regardless of the noble setting. White newspapers referred to the thirty-seven-year-old diva as "the Negro Girl from Philadelphia" and "this colored girl out of the slums," or paternalistically, by her first name only. The symbolic triumph left much unchanged. Even Eleanor Roosevelt was not always a reliable ally. Ironically, only a year after the concert she crossed a picket line for perhaps the only time in her life, bypassing black protesters to attend the 1940 premiere of the Raymond Massey film *Abe Lincoln in Illinois* at a segregated Washington theater.[22]

[20] Nancy J. Weiss, Allida M. Black, and many other scholars inflate Eleanor Roosevelt's role in planning the concert, for which Weiss admits there is little written evidence. See Weiss, *Farewell to the Party of Lincoln*, 260. Paul Angle quoted in Wecter, *Hero in America*, 258. On Lincoln in the 1930s, see Alfred Haworth Jones, *Roosevelt's Image Brokers: Poets, Playwrights, and the Use of the Lincoln Symbol* (Port Washington, 1974); and Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York, 1991), 389. Todd Duncan interviewed in "Marian Anderson," prod. Dante J. James, Bernard Seabrooks, and Tamara E. Robinson (WETA, May 8, 1991).

[21] *Worcester Gazette*, April 1939, clipping in scrapbook 494, Harold L. Ickes Papers (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress); *Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 1, 1939, p. 8; "Bund and D.A.R. Are Stable Mates, Says N.Y. Columnist," press release, Feb. 24, 1939, box 12, group II, NAACP Papers; anonymous letter to DAR from "an obscure, middle aged, red-blooded, old-fashioned, native-born American housewife out here in Canton, Ohio," n.d., *ibid.*; Beatrice Gurry to Rand School of Social Science, n.d., *ibid.*; Charles S. Cuney to the editor, unidentified newspaper, *ibid.*; Henry Lee to Ickes, April 3, 1939; Herbert Friedenwald to Ickes, March 30, 1939, Records of the Secretary of the Interior.

[22] The singer stayed at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Gifford Pinchot. See Chapman interview, 2; *Washington Evening Star*, March 31, 1939, p. A20; *Washington Times-Herald*, March 19, 1939, p. 10; *Washington Post*, April 12, 1939, p. 9. Raymond Massey, who played Lincoln on Broadway and in the film *Abe Lincoln in Illinois*, writes that

These contradictions in what has become a towering moment in American folklore, the Marian Anderson concert of 1939, reveal the inherent ambiguity of symbolic black protest at the Lincoln Memorial. Memory, theorists tell us, is a deeply visual medium. The concert and the ritualistic rallies that ensued in the 1940s and 1950s presented a compelling mnemonic image—the juxtaposition of the Great Emancipator with descendants of freed slaves. Like the "invented traditions" described by Eric Hobsbawm, that image used "history as a legitimator of action and cement of group cohesion." The political resonance of such an appeal hinges on what scholars call the social dimensions of memory, the extent to which an image tells an instantly recognizable "mythic story." Viewers connect such images idiosyncratically to their private understandings of the collective past. Black protesters at the memorial evoked the American cultural masterplot that "Lincoln freed the slaves." This catechism proved remarkably resilient despite efforts to suppress it.[23]

But even as activists used the masterplot to argue for justice, they could not avoid replicating a stereotypical image of black subordination: that of the "grateful Negro at Lincoln's feet." Among the most familiar tableaux of American race relations, this duo appears in the 1876 monument dedicated (and criticized) by Douglass, in myriad popular prints, and even on a 1940 United States postage stamp. David Brion Davis locates the image within a genre he calls the "Emancipation Moment," arguing that its subtext of racial hierarchy imposes on real-life blacks a posture of indebtedness and moral obligation. We have already observed this at the memorial's 1922 dedication, when the white press focused on Robert Moton's remarks about "Negro loyalty."[24]

Themes of self-congratulatory nationalism and implicit racial hierarchy pervaded responses to Anderson's concert. A *Washington Post* columnist wrote that concert-

the First Lady told him she decided to ignore the protest because "the picketing organization was not approved by the NAACP." See Raymond Massey, *A Hundred Different Lives: An Autobiography* (Boston, 1979), 237. Eleanor Roosevelt did speak at an NAACP rally at the memorial, along with President Harry S. Truman and Sen. Wayne Morse, on June 29, 1947. Walter White arranged the event with the cooperation of Chapman, by then Harry S. Truman's secretary of the interior. "Largest Mass Meeting in Nation's History Planned by NAACP," press release, June 6, 1947, box A33, group II, NAACP Papers.

[23] Patrick H. Hutton, "The Art of Memory Reconceived: From Rhetoric to Psychoanalysis," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 48 (July–Sept. 1987), 371–92. Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge, Eng., 1983), 1–14, esp. 12. David Thelen, "Introduction: Memory and American History," in *Memory and American History*, ed. Thelen, vii–xiv. I am indebted to Rhys Isaac for discussing with me his concept of "mythic recognition" as a component of successful public messages about the past.

[24] Postage stamp in Wiggins, *O Freedom!*, 123. For analyses of various nineteenth- and twentieth-century images of the grateful Negro at Lincoln's feet, see Savage, "Politics of Memory"; and Harold Holzer, Gabor S. Boritt, and Mark E. Neely, Jr., *Changing the Lincoln Image* (Fort Wayne, 1985), 44–52, 123; *Washington Evening Star*, Feb. 12, 1947, sec. A, p. 2; Weldon Petz, *In the Presence of Abraham Lincoln* (Hattiesburg, Tenn., 1970), 92; Kammen, *Mystic Chords*, 123, 125; and *Washington Post Magazine*, Feb. 18, 1990, p. 31. Two striking unpublished examples are Marjory Collins's series of three photos for the U.S. Office of War Information and a photograph sent to the NAACP by a free-lance photographer. See *Negro Boys Admiring the Lincoln Memorial*, photographs, by Marjory Collins, spring 1942, reel 34, box 216 (Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress), and photograph in Lawrence Needleman to Henry Lee Moon, Jan. 16, 1957, box A255, group III, NAACP Papers. David Brion Davis, "The Emancipation Moment," in *Lincoln, the War President: The Gettysburg Lectures*, ed. Gabor S. Boritt (New York, 1992), 63–88.

goers felt "a little nobler" gazing at "the slender colored girl on the front steps . . . with the massive figure of Lincoln looking down benevolently." Compare this to *Life* magazine's photo of the dignified Anderson. Then consider a 1939 cartoon in which the diva becomes a pickaninny, drawn in the limp cotton dress of a field hand, sleeves rolled up and arms thrown up rapturously to the towering emancipator. An artist of the Popular Front lampooned the DAR, but his drawing likewise subordinates a tiny, featureless singer to the colossal Lincoln. (See figures 3–5.) The ubiquitous emancipation moment also appeared in Frank Capra's 1939 film *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*. Filming for this paean to the American Way of Life began in the capital a mere eleven days after Anderson's recital. In James Stewart's famous scene at the memorial, as a white boy and his grandfather read aloud "new birth of freedom" from the Gettysburg Address, Capra crosscuts to an elderly black man, eyes glistening as he doffs his hat and looks up at the statue. In 1947 a photo showing National Park Service janitors crouched on Lincoln's statue and captioned to evoke the stock figure of the black shoeshine boy appeared in *National Geographic* the same month that the NAACP held a large rally at the memorial. (See figure 6.) The emancipation moment validates the status quo; Lincoln's noble work is done, it seems to say, and the Negro must now remember his place. Just as Eleanor Roosevelt eclipses Marian Anderson, in a broader sense Lincoln, as a symbol of the nation and of white magnanimity, becomes more important than emancipation or civil rights.[25]

From the time of Frederick Douglass, black leaders had known that whites might construe their use of Lincoln's memory in this way. NAACP secretary James Weldon Johnson ritually re-enacted the emancipation moment on Lincoln's Birthday, 1925; wrapping himself in a chain of flowers, he stood near Lincoln's statue in New York City's Union Square and broke the chain. Such performances imply a political choice, not a natural affinity of blacks for "Father Abraham." Historians have obscured this point by assimilating the perspective of the emancipation moment; many assume uncritically that blacks felt "almost universal admiration for Lincoln" until the Black Power backlash of the 1960s. This simplistic view ignores earlier ambivalence among both leaders and ordinary blacks. In 1927 a black teenager wrote W. E. B. Du Bois that youths in her Illinois town opposed celebrating Lincoln's Birthday. What, she asked, had Lincoln ever done for blacks? The *Washington Afro-American* wondered the same thing in 1946. Many who staged rallies at the memorial shared these doubts. Whitney M. Young, Jr., of the National Urban

[25] *Washington Post*, April 12, 1939, p. 9; untitled cartoon, by [Jack] Spalding, *Washington Times-Herald*, March 31, 1939, p. 18; "It's All Lincoln's Fault," cartoon by [Fred] Ellis, *Indianapolis Recorder*, May 6, 1939, p. 13. (This citation is from an African-American newspaper, but Ellis drew for and seems to have been distributed by the *Daily Worker*.) *Washington Post*, April 20, 1939, p. 8; *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*, dir. Frank Capra (Columbia Pictures Corporation, 1939). An updated variant appears in Oliver Stone's *JFK*: as Kevin Costner runs at John F. Kennedy's grave, a reverent black father and son stand to the side. *JFK*, dir. Oliver Stone (Camelot Productions, 1991). *Seated in His Memorial, Abraham Lincoln Gets White Marble Shoes Shined*, photograph by B. Anthony Stewart, in *National Geographic Magazine*, 91 (June 1947), 710. (See also a photo of a black White House butler polishing silver under a portrait of Lincoln, *ibid.*, 709.)

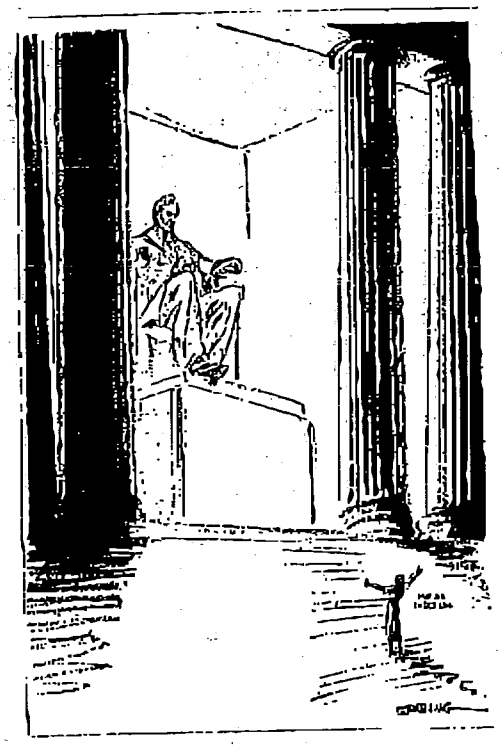

Figure 4
Untitled cartoon, by [Jack] Spatling. *Copyright 1939, The Washington Post. reprinted with permission.*

League, confessed "mixed feelings about Lincoln." Martin Luther King, Jr., called Lincoln "vacillating" but also saw him as the only president who had ever earned blacks' confidence. James Farmer, founder of the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE), recently emphasized the conscious strategy of black protest at the memorial. "It doesn't say anything about what we thought about Lincoln," Farmer explained. "It says something about how great the image of Lincoln was, and it was something we could use to achieve our noteworthy objectives, that's all." Black leaders regarded public appeals to Lincoln and national memory as the only symbolic language available to them to communicate with white America. The potential gains seemed worth the compromises.[26]

[26] *New York Herald Tribune*, Feb. 11, 1924, pt. 5; Davis, *Image of Lincoln in the South*, 153. The letter to W. E. B. Du Bois hints at black intergenerational conflict over Lincoln as well as white authorities' success in purging emancipation from Lincoln's memory: "my attending white school," the girl wrote Du Bois, "may be the cause of me not knowing what [Lincoln] has done for the Negro Race." Gertrude M. Hanke to W. E. B. Du Bois, Feb

Figure 5
"It's All Lincoln's Fault," by [Fred] Ellis. *Courtesy* Indianapolis Recorder.

The emancipation moment and black ambivalence about Lincoln are directly relevant to the advent of a racial politics of memory at the memorial because they expose the gap between black and white perceptions of the protests and underscore the terms of struggle after 1939. Anderson's concert came to symbolize the promise of protest—at least to blacks. But at a public ceremony in 1943, Ickes promulgated a very different official memory of Easter Sunday 1939 in light of the rising wartime domestic unrest among blacks. "Marian Anderson's voice and personality," Ickes declared, "have come to be a symbol—a symbol of American unity at a time when a lack of it might well prove fatal to us as a people." Here, as in the white response to Robert Moton in 1922, was the grateful Negro at Lincoln's feet. Ickes's emphasis on national unity echoed earlier official attempts to use Lincoln's memory to obscure national differences (such as the subtle inscription Cortissoz composed for the memorial). Despite Anderson's symbolic triumph, the inertia of white attitudes remained an obstacle. Using Lincoln to affirm national values was one thing; using him to struggle for change, quite another.[27]

9, 1927, reel 21, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress); Du Bois to Banks, March 9, 1927; *third Washington Area-American*, Feb. 16, 1946, p. 4; Whitney M. Young, Jr., quoted in Robert Penn Warren, *Who Speaks for the Negro* (New York, 1965), 168; James M. Washington, ed., *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (San Francisco, 1986), 279–86, esp. 279; Martin Luther King, Jr., *Why We Can't Wait* (New York, 1964), 162; James Farmer interview by Sandage, Nov. 29, 1989, transcript, p. 8 (in Sandage's possession).

[27] Harold L. Ickes, remarks on the presentation of a Marian Anderson concert mural, untitled typescript, Jan. 6, 1943, pp. 3–4, folder 450, box 242, Marian Anderson–1943 Controversy Collection

Figure 6
Seated in His Memorial, Abraham Lincoln Gets White Marble Shoes Shined, photograph by B. Anthony Stewart, in June 1947 *National Geographic Magazine.* Compare this image of National Park Service janitors to figure 1. *Courtesy National Geographic Society.*

Government cooperation was not forthcoming in the decades after 1939, when blacks began to seek the memorial for more overt protests, rather than Sunday concerts. Activists gradually learned that the skillful use of ritual and memory could circumvent such opposition. A standardized civil rights protest ritual evolved from the elements in Marian Anderson's concert, such as using mass rallies instead of pickets, performing patriotic and spiritual music, choosing a religious format, inviting prominent platform guests, self-policing the crowds to project an orderly image, alluding to Lincoln in publicity and oratory, and insisting on using the memorial rather than another site. The civil rights ritual absorbed the profane into the sacred, coating politics with civil religion. It confronted racism powerfully but indirectly, shrewdly emphasizing national values over direct political criticism. Protesters refined this approach during the 1940s and 1950s as they engaged bureaucrats in sporadic tugs-of-war over using the memorial.

In 1941 black labor leader A. Philip Randolph coerced Roosevelt into issuing Executive Order 8802 (which created the Fair Employment Practices Committee) by

threatening "an 'all-out' thundering march on Washington, ending in a monster and huge demonstration at Lincoln's Monument" to "shake up white America." Roosevelt's capitulation averted the rally, but Randolph's bid for a permit for a similar event the next year was denied. FDR and Ickes worried that the memorial was becoming a soapbox. Ickes confided to his diary, "If we allow one controversial subject to be discussed" at the memorial, "it would be difficult for us to deny its use on other similar occasions." Ickes wrote Randolph and explained that a protest would "dim the glory" of Anderson's historic concert, adding, "I do not believe that even such a meeting as you propose would be in the true spirit of the Lincoln Memorial."[28]

Randolph persevered. His next proposal suggests that activists were learning that access to this powerful symbol might depend on projecting peaceful, ritualistic images approximating the emancipation moment. In 1943 Randolph organized a small, interracial, interfaith prayer pilgrimage to the memorial on Lincoln's Birthday. The Howard University Glee Club sang "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" and "Go Down, Moses," juxtaposing their refrains of "His truth is marching on" with "Let my people go." Eleanor Roosevelt was invited to this exercise in civil religion but chose instead to attend an official wreath-laying ceremony there with her husband earlier in the day. Undaunted, Randolph planned for the future. "Next year," he wrote,

> I hope that we shall have not one such ceremony, but hundreds, all over America, *wherever there is a statue of Lincoln,* and wherever groups of enlightened citizens of both races, both churchmen and laymen, can be brought together to re-affirm Lincoln's high faith and to advance the cause he served.[29]

Here Randolph is prescribing ritual appeals to Lincoln's memory not just to legitimate political action but to unify a coalition, to evoke *communitas.* Rallies at the memorial could help rejuvenate frontline activists and unify leadership factions. For example, NAACP secretary Roy Wilkins reacted skeptically to the direct actions led in the 1950s by Martin Luther King, Jr. But in 1957 as the third anniversary of the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling neared without southern compliance, the two leaders agreed that an uplifting event was needed, in Wilkins's words, to "allow our people to participate in something and express themselves in some way."[30]

[28] [A. Philip Randolph], "Call to Negro America: To March on Washington for Jobs and Equal Participation in National Defense," in A. Philip Randolph to Eleanor Roosevelt, June 5, 1941, in *Papers of Eleanor Roosevelt, 1933–1945,* ed. Susan Ware and William H. Chafe (microfilm, 20 reels, Frederick, Md., 1985), reel 15. Herbert Garfinkel, *When Negroes March: The March on Washington Movement in the Organizational Politics for FEPC* (New York, 1969), 38–42, 82–83. Ickes to Randolph, April 13, 1942, box 213, Ickes Papers; Harold L. Ickes Diary, April 11, 1942, p. 6330, *ibid.* For a re-evaluation of Randolph's importance as tactical role in the movement, see Paula F. Pfeffer, *A. Philip Randolph, Pioneer of the Civil Rights Movement* (Baton Rouge, 1990).

[29] Randolph and B. F. McLaurin, "Special Release," Feb. 14, 1943, box 26, A. Philip Randolph Papers (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress); italics added; Malvina C. Thompson to Winifred Raushenbush, Feb. 15, 1943, box 24, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters Papers, *ibid.* In 1943 four hundred Orthodox rabbis held a similar event, praying at the "symbol of liberation" for the United States to admit Jewish refugees. See *Washington Post,* Oct. 7, 1943, p. 1.

[30] On the tactical conflict between Roy Wilkins and Martin Luther King, Jr., see David J. Garrow, *Bearing the*

Again the Department of the Interior balked, claiming limply that blacks' bid to hold a Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom at the shrine would "inconvenience" tourists and deprive them of "undisturbed contemplation of this inspiring Memorial." Instead, officials offered an amphitheater near the Washington Monument. In appeal, the NAACP's Clarence Mitchell stressed the memorial's power as a place for unity and regeneration, explaining "that the symbolic value of the Lincoln Memorial for this meeting was of tremendous importance in overcoming the despair, disillusionment and anger which have been generated by recent acts of racial violence and intimidation in the South." Incredibly, still protecting the memorial, the bureaucrats in turn suggested that blacks gather on the plaza in front of the Supreme Court! When Mitchell rejected this and other counterproposals, the officials finally capitulated. The NAACP issued a special press release: "Secure Lincoln Memorial for Prayer Pilgrimage."[31]

The format exalted principle over direct confrontation. "There will be no picket lines, resolutions or attempts to call on the President," assured the NAACP, only prayers "for deliverance from the cancer of racism." On May 17, 1957, thirty thousand people prayed "in the presence of the memory of Abraham Lincoln and of the God and father of our people." Lest a zealous crowd unmask the day as a political rally, the printed program (above even the title of the event) warned that applause was improper at a religious service. Wilkins raised the flag of nationalism: "We are Americans. . . . We believe in our Constitution and its Bill of Rights." King affirmed his place as the movement's preeminent spokesman with his oration, "Give us the ballot—We will transform the South." Mahalia Jackson led the crowd in the hymn that Marian Anderson had politicized, "My Country 'Tis of Thee."[32]

The 1957 event concluded with an addition to the politics of memory, the mass recitation of an "Affirmation and Pledge." Entreating "all Americans to join us in prayer and in work to eradicate racial and religious prejudices," the pledge not only served the ritual function of building *communitas*, it fostered a subtle transition from the realm of memory to that of politics. Protesters were asking Americans, not merely to remember, but to act. Adding a pledge to the civil rights ritual also completed the underlying pattern of nonviolent action that had been evolving at the Lincoln Memorial. A few days before the pilgrimage, the activist Bayard Rustin explained that pattern to King. In the context of helping King focus a draft of the speech he would deliver at the memorial, Rustin wrote that

> the form in creative action is always Yes-No-Yes. That is to say a positive action such as the idea of brotherhood, followed by a rejection—a No. Rejection of segregation, discrimination, injustice; this must be followed by a positive action. . . . a common action.[33]

The pattern resonates strongly with the American jeremiad, a rhetorical convention favored not only by many black speakers but also by Abraham Lincoln. Rustin's explanation in 1957 underscores how ritual aims to bring people together and energize them for a common purpose. But the larger point is this: Years before activists like Rustin and King began to espouse a Gandhian philosophy of nonviolence in the South, the basic pattern was in place in the rituals performed at the Lincoln Memorial. The essence (masking power and politics beneath a peaceful, communal gathering) was there in 1939, and it became more focused in later decades.[34]

By 1957 that essence was attracting notice; the Lincoln Memorial protests were starting to transcend the emancipation moment. To a point, responses to the 1957 pilgrimage echoed 1939: blacks were again seen as taking the high road, painting their adversaries as un-American, and charging the sacred space of the memorial with a special force. How, asked Edward P. Morgan in his radio commentary for ABC News, could the Ku Klux Klan or white citizens' councils match the power of "a respectable and respectful gathering of American citizens in clean shirts and chic dresses" whose only weapons were the law and human dignity?

> A burning cross, a bomb, floggings, a lynching party, these are blunt, cumbersome weapons against a force of this kind. Of course, the racists might refine their approach. They might henceforth picket the Lincoln Memorial as contaminated by such a host of Negroes.

The Lincoln Memorial continued to be seen as a contested space, but one that was becoming ever more identified with the civil rights movement and its politics of memory and ritual. Moreover, the ritual was reaching maturity in its dual functions of unifying protesters and legitimating black voices in national politics. Morgan urged his nationwide audience in 1957 to look again at the "respectable and respectful" assemblage at the memorial: "Here, if you looked at it closely, was a demonstration of power."[35]

Randolph never abandoned his idea of a big march on Washington. Even before the 1957 pilgrimage, his associate Rustin was jotting down ideas for a larger event, later realized as the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. "Efforts should be made as early as possible to get a permit to march in Washington and to hold a mass meeting before the Lincoln Memorial," Rustin wrote, fully aware of the publicity value of tussling with officials for a permit. "There may be trouble, but this could make the situation all the more lively if handled carefully." In late 1962, as local activism swelled in the South and the movement sought a federal civil

Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (New York, 1986), 91. Wilkins quoted in NAACP Board of Directors minutes, March 11, 1957, p. 7, box A14, group I, NAACP Papers.

[31] E. J. Sargeo to Clarence Mitchell, April 16, 1957, box A245, group III, NAACP Papers; Mitchell to Roy Wilkins, April 22, 1957, *ibid.*; "Secure Lincoln Memorial for Prayer Pilgrimage," press release, April 23, 1957, *ibid.*

[32] For comments about picket lines, see "'Prayer Pilgrimage' to Nation's Capital Launched; Rev. L. Sylvester Odom to Chair Northwest Effort," press release, April 29, 1957, box A245, group III, NAACP Papers. For the prayer, see Mordecai Johnson, remarks at the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom, May 17, 1957, *ibid.*; Roy Wilkins, remarks at the Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom, May 17, 1957, *ibid.*; "Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom, Lincoln Memorial, Washington, D.C., May 17, 1957, 12 Noon, Program," box 157, NAACP Washington Bureau Papers (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress); Washington, ed., *Testament of Hope*, 197–203.

[33] Pledge quoted in "Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom"; Bayard Rustin to Martin Luther King, Jr., May 10, 1957, typescript copy, Bayard Rustin Papers (Manuscript Division, Library of Congress).

[34] David Howard-Pitney, "The Enduring Black Jeremiad: The American Jeremiad and Black Protest Rhetoric from Frederick Douglass to W. E. B. Du Bois, 1841–1919," *American Quarterly*, 38 (no. 3, 1986), 481–92. On pledges, see Harriet Hyman Alonso, *The Women's Peace Union and the Outlawry of War, 1921–1942* (Knoxville, 1989), 19.

[35] "Edward P. Morgan and the News," radio typescript, May 17, 1957, box A245, group III, NAACP Papers.

rights bill, Randolph proposed "a mass protest rally" at the memorial to proclaim a concrete "Emancipation Program" in the centenary year of Lincoln's proclamation.[36] These early plans rebut the frequent assertion that the memorial was a compromise site for the March on Washington, chosen when more confrontational locales were abandoned. Organizers did discuss sit-ins at the Capitol and a White House demonstration, but a rally at the Lincoln Memorial was always in their plans.

As initial thoughts about the march evolved into a concrete plan, organizers eschewed militant activities. This story has been well told elsewhere; moderating influences included the tension between the movement's old and new guards, the addition of church and labor groups to the march coalition, and the choice to negotiate for the cooperation of the Kennedy administration (which concurrently introduced the bill that would become the Civil Rights Act of 1964). On the day of the march, even signs and banners had to be approved by planners, and last-minute changes were demanded to Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) leader John Lewis's hard-hitting speech. Despite such moderations in the 1963 march, no event since Marian Anderson's concert created a more indelible public memory of the civil rights movement or, indeed, of the Lincoln Memorial.[37]

The march culminated the politics of memory begun in 1939. On August 28, 1963, four hundred thousand people massed at the shrine. In this "living petition," as Lerone Bennett, Jr., wrote in *Ebony*, marchers "said with their bodies that the Negro . . . was still not free." Marian Anderson was there; slated to open the program with the national anthem, she was delayed by dense crowds and later sang a spiritual. Marchers prayed and orated, and Randolph led the throng in a pledge: "Standing before the Lincoln Memorial . . . in the centennial year of emancipation, I affirm my complete personal commitment for the struggle for jobs and freedom for all Americans." Here again was the final "Yes" in Rustin's formula for an effective protest: the common action that nurtured both *communitas* and political commitment. "What mattered most at the Lincoln Memorial," Rustin later wrote, was not the eloquent speeches, but rather "the pledge of a quarter million Americans, black and white, to carry the civil rights revolution into the streets."[38]

[36] [Bayard Rustin], "Some Plans and Suggestions for a March to Washington for Civil Rights, October 1956," Rustin Papers. This memo calls for a full-time staff and a broad sponsorship, clearly linking it to the 1963 march, not the smaller 1957 event. The memorial is also specified in early 1963 memos, meeting agendas, and correspondence. See BR, TK & NH [Rustin, Tom Kahn, and Norman Hill], untitled memo, Jan. 1963, *ibid.*; "Proposals for Emancipation March on Washington" [March 22-23, 1963], *ibid.*; and Randolph to Stewart L. Udall, May 24, 1963, *ibid.*

[37] Among many works reporting that the memorial was a compromise site, see Harvard Sitkoff, *The Struggle for Black Equality, 1954–1980* (New York, 1981), 160. For a discussion of Capitol sit-ins, see BR, TK & NH [Rustin, Kahn, and Hill], untitled memo, Jan. 1963. For a discussion of a White House demonstration, see "Proposed Plans for March," July 2, 1963, box 26, Randolph Papers. Marable, *Black American Politics*, 91–97; Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 281–83. For slogan restrictions, see *Organizing Manual No. 3: Final Plans for the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom*, 10, Rustin Papers; and [Randolph], "Slogans," n.d., box A279, group III, NAACP Papers. Several approved slogans refer to Lincoln and emancipation.

[38] Although most sources number the 1963 marchers at 250,000, Thomas Gentile analyzes crowd-counting procedures and makes a case for 400,000. See Thomas Gentile, *March on Washington, August 28, 1963* (Washington, 1983), 230. See also Farmer interview, 6–7; Lerone Bennett, Jr., "Masses Were March Heroes," *Ebony*, 19 (Nov. 1963), 33–40, 42, 44, 46, 119–20, 122, 124, esp. 33, 36; *Washington Post*, Aug. 29, 1963, sec. E, p. 1; "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, August 28, 1963: Lincoln Memorial Program," leaflet, Rustin Papers; *New York Times*, Aug. 29, 1963, p. 16; Rustin, typescript excerpt of article in *Liberation*, Oct. [1963], Rustin Papers.

In American memory, the most eloquent speech of the day was King's. The final speaker, he wanted his remarks to be "sort of a Gettysburg Address." He began with the emancipation moment: "Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation." King alternated between confrontation (musing that Negroes had been given "a bad check") and the visionary nationalism of a dream "deeply rooted in the American dream." Near the end of his oration, he recited the hymn that Anderson had sung twenty-four years earlier, "My Country 'Tis of Thee." Once more, black leaders offered America an inspiring and reverent national moment that subtly portrayed the movement's adversaries as un-American. As historian Richard Lentz has recently observed, "the power of King's oration ultimately derived from the confluence of two antithetical symbols—the Birmingham of Bull Connor with its snarling police dogs and lashing fire hoses, and the March with its assemblage of Americans sharing King's dream of America made whole." As the crowd and nationwide broadcast audience listened to King's cadences, Lincoln brooded over his shoulder—the statue bathed in special lights to enhance its visibility on television and in news photographs.[39]

Journalists filed dozens of mood pieces to convey the ambience of the day: how dressed up the marchers were, the overwhelming aura of celebration "and utter determination," and a sense that the rally had somehow changed the memorial. "The shrine that was the assembly point was so entirely appropriate," Richard S. Bird wrote in the *New York Herald Tribune*, "that you looked at it in a new way." The ritual imbued participants with

> a feeling that is often hard for people to get in their every-day life.
>
> A feeling for country. Tens of thousands of these petitioning Negroes had never been to Washington before, and probably would never come again. Now here they were. And this was their Washington . . . and that great marble memorial was their own memorial to the man who had emancipated them.[40]

Marchers absorbed the mix of memory and *communitas*. One woman told a reporter, "I think Lincoln is moved by this: he must know what is happening." But she also knew the day was not really about Lincoln at all, exclaiming, "I am so proud of my people!" Lerone Bennett, Jr., pinpointed the day's legacy:

> If the March changed no votes in Congress or no hearts in America, it did, at least change the marchers themselves. Those who thought, in the beginning, that it was too respectable, and those who thought it was too radical . . . for a moment in time they were one.[41]

[39] Nicholas Mills, "Heard and Unheard Speeches: What Really Happened at the March on Washington," *Dissent*, 33 (Summer 1986), 283–93, esp. 285, Washington, ed., *Testament of Hope*, 217–20; Richard Lentz, *Symbols, the News Magazines, and Martin Luther King* (Baton Rouge, 1990), 76–78, 80.

[40] *New York Herald Tribune*, Aug. 29, 1963, pp. 1, 8.

[41] *Washington Post*, Aug. 29, 1963, sec. A, p. 1; Lerone Bennett, Jr., "The March," in *The Day They Marched*, ed. Doris E. Saunders (Chicago, 1963), 5–11, esp. 11.

Figure 7
1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, Jim Atherton, photographer. Note the floodlights used to make the statue visible from the other side on television and in photographs.
Courtesy UPI/Bettmann.

Pundits before and after the march predicted that it would change no votes on the civil rights bill. This cry originated among moderate and right-wing opponents, who warned that the event would be counterproductive. Later it figured in left critiques by activists and scholars, who felt the march had devolved from a protest into a "church picnic."[42]

Such critics missed the point of the march and the strategy it fulfilled. In the summer of 1963, called the "Summer of Discontent," 1,122 civil rights demonstrations occurred nationwide; an unprecedented 20,000 protesters were arrested in the South. The tactical brilliance of the march, as of earlier rallies at the memorial, was to raise subtly the threat of similar militancy in Washington—and to do it in a way that attracted public support and evaded government suppression. The Kennedy

[42] The classic statement here is Malcolm X with Alex Haley, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (1965; New York, 1973), 278–81. The phrase "church picnic" originated among journalists as an approbation, not a condemnation, of the march. See *New York Herald Tribune*, Aug. 29, 1963, pp. 1, 8; *New York Times*, Aug. 29, 1963, pp. 1, 17; and Kay Boyle, "No Other Place to Be," *Liberation*, 7 (Sept. 1963), 9.

administration did press for moderation; but protesters had long ago learned how to outmaneuver bureaucrats and arrive at the Lincoln Memorial. They were there again in spring 1964; while the civil rights bill languished in filibuster, seminarians of many races and faiths held a twenty-four-hour vigil at the shrine for months. They were certain, one of them recalled, that "Lincoln was on our side." Just before the bill passed on June 10, Vice President Hubert Humphrey confided to activists, "The secret of passing the bill is the prayer groups." Who could ban a church picnic?[43]

Looking broadly from 1939 to the mid-1960s, then, the civil rights rituals at the Lincoln Memorial had repeatedly served two functions, uniting and invigorating activists and legitimating black political action. Black leaders assembled at the shrine a compelling universe of national symbols—Marian Anderson and Eleanor Roosevelt, the American flag and the national anthem, preachers and church choirs, senators and presidents, boy scouts and Abraham Lincoln—all of which linked the black political agenda to the regnant cultural nationalism of the era. In turn, such icons were held up in opposition to a growing rogue's gallery of un-Americans that included the DAR, the lynch mob, the Ku Klux Klan, Mississippi senator Theodore G. Bilbo, Arkansas governor Orval Faubus, the white citizens councils, and Theophilus Eugene ("Bull") Connor.[44]

Randolph's press release for the 1958 Youth March for Integrated Schools made such pairings explicit; a rally at the Lincoln Memorial would "highlight the American Way of Life" and "alert public opinion to the grave danger of the poison of Little Rock Faubusism infecting the bloodstream of American life." Organizers understood exactly what they were doing at this national shrine, and they knew that public memory hinged on compelling visual images. To compete for public attention against modern distractions such as baseball's World Series and the sputniks, Randolph wrote, "any human cause, though great and imperative, must be given sharp picturization." He added, "The propaganda of the deed is more powerful than the propaganda of the word."[45]

A politics of memory might have worked just as well if protesters had gone to the White House or the Capitol. But a ritual strategy at the Lincoln Memorial had special advantages, both in getting a message to the public and in broadening participation. The distinction between protests at the Lincoln Memorial and those at other sites, Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., asserted, was in "how you're aiming." Smaller events

[43] James W. Vander Zanden, "A Sociologist's Appraisal," *Midwest Quarterly*, 5 (Jan. 1964), 99–108; Marable, *Black American Politics*, 89–90; *Washington Evening Star*, April 28, 1964, sec. A, pp. 1, 4; *Washington Post*, May 11, 1964, sec. A, p. 6; John C. Raines interview by Sandage, Oct. 23, 1989, transcript, p. 2 (in Sandage's possession); Hubert Humphrey quoted in Charles Whalen and Barbara Whalen, *The Longest Debate: A Legislative History of the 1964 Civil Rights Act* (Cabin John, 1984), 164.

[44] Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo was the villain of two 1946 antilynching rallies at the memorial. See note 16.

[45] Randolph, "Why the Interracial Youth March for Integrated Schools?" [1958], Rustin Papers. For other evidence that black leaders invoked Lincoln's memory as part of a broad public relations strategy, see the NAACP's annual national radio broadcasts on Lincoln's Birthday throughout the 1950s and early 1960s. On the 1956 broadcast, Roy Wilkins asked the South African humanitarian Alan Paton, "Can the peoples of South Africa invoke the memory of Lincoln in the struggle against apartheid?" See "Suggested opening remarks and questions for NBC radio program to be recorded on Feb. 7," box A233, group III, NAACP Papers.

were "directed right at the president," but mass meetings at the shrine were aimed at public opinion. Protesters made the shrine into a kind of Supreme Court of Public Opinion; they chose to affirm cherished principles, not to criticize the policy makers who ultimately had to decide whether to change the system. Paul Robeson, leader of a 1946 antilynching rally at the memorial, observed this distinction. His blunt demands in a White House meeting with President Harry S. Truman created a minor furor; but at the Lincoln Memorial later the same day, Robeson merely sang and read a new emancipation proclamation.[46]

Activists also used the memorial to bring more people into the movement. Norman Hill, a leading organizer of the 1963 march, explained that protests there had a "diffused" impact and recalled that in 1963,

> as the march unfolded and developed, there was a growing sense that in fact the mood . . . of the country was shifting toward the movement. Therefore, if one wanted . . . to pass [the civil rights bill] and also to generate real numbers in the march itself—tactically it became more important to do that than to do the direct confrontational things like sitting-in in various halls of government.[47]

Even with the ritualistic format used at the Lincoln Memorial, assembling before government buildings would have been more directly confrontational, more accusatory, more likely to be counterproductive. Moreover, many nonactivists, both black and white, might have feared to join a chanting (possibly violent) throng outside the president's house or the Capitol. A "church picnic" at the Lincoln Memorial seemed less forbidding. Repeatedly, observers of the rallies remarked how they brought new people into the movement. "An awful lot of black people who'd never been at a *protest* were there," Rauh recalled of the 1939 concert. Paula Sandburg, the poet's widow, caught the ambience of the shrine when she chose it for her husband's memorial service: "It would be especially appropriate, as people from all walks of life would feel welcome there."[48]

Efforts at inclusion and indirect confrontation intensified the symbolism of protests at the Lincoln Memorial. The shrine was distant from government buildings, but it was by no means neutral ground or a compromise site that diluted the power of black protest. Conceived in a quest for white consensus, Lincoln's temple had been subsequently defined through interracial conflict and transformed into a "moral high ground" from which to exhort America to finish what Lincoln called "the great task remaining before us." In this way, the memorial is a powerfully confrontational site. Protesters presented themselves as orderly, patriotic citizens. They made the past a resource and made Lincoln a signifier of the dissonance between America's professed and achieved values. Rachelle Horowitz, transportation director

[46] Rauh interview, 6; Paul Robeson's antilynching rally competed with a similar NAACP-sponsored event, also at the memorial. See *Washington Post*, Sept. 29, 1946, sec. B, p. 3; *Washington Evening Star*, Aug. 6, 1946, sec. A, p. 2; and *Washington Afro-American*, Sept. 28, 1946, p. 1.

[47] Norman Hill interview by Sandage, Dec. 7, 1989, transcript, p. 7 (in Sandage's possession).

[48] Rauh interview, 1; *Washington Evening Star*, Sept. 20, 1967, clipping in "Lincoln Memorial 1960-1970" folder, Washingtoniana Collection.

of the 1963 march, remembered that marchers wanted to communicate a simple message: "We represent the core of what this country believes in." Rallying again and again at the memorial (hammering their message home and drawing strength to keep fighting) was like returning to home base, Horowitz said. She and other protesters

> had to keep going back. . . . It's a sense of whether you have just a protest rally or whether you're having something with historical dimensions. And I think that Lincoln does add that. You're standing there in the face of history. In the face of history that has to be completed. . . . In terms of both symbolism and the need to go forward, the memorial is the perfect place.[49]

Symbolic needs, of course, change over time. After 1963 many blacks deserted both the rituals and symbols that had been so forcefully merged at the Lincoln Memorial. The politics of memory had involved choices between militant confrontation and longer-term public education, between separatism and coalition building. The ritual that evolved from those choices, the sacred status of the memorial itself, and the fact that using the site required government permission narrowed protesters' tactical options. Wisconsin fair housing activists did hold an eight-day vigil there in 1967, and the antiwar March on the Pentagon stepped off from the memorial the same year. But as the general climate of protest turned more militant in the late 1960s, black leaders, including King, explored new tactics. The disastrous Poor People's Campaign of 1968—the last action King helped plan—built a shantytown within sight of the Lincoln Memorial, finally bringing to Washington the kind of long-term direct confrontation pursued in Birmingham and Selma, Alabama.[50]

Likewise, blacks abandoned Lincoln after 1963, as the success of their movement transformed protesters' sense of identity. In 1964 the black novelist John Oliver Killens attempted to explain the widening gap between blacks and sympathetic white liberals. "You give us moody Abraham Lincoln, but many of us prefer John Brown, whom most of you hold in contempt and regard as a fanatic," he wrote. Malcolm X declared that Lincoln "probably did more to trick Negroes than any other man in history." It surely did not help that (just as newsman Edward Morgan had predicted in 1957) the shrine's growing identification with black freedom was increasingly rebutted by racists—from the anonymous graffitist who scrawled "NIGGER LOVER" on an outside wall of the shrine after a 1962 commemoration of the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation to a 1972 wreath-laying ceremony there by the National Socialist White People's Party (the American Nazis).[51]

[49] Rachelle Horowitz interview by Sandage, Dec. 20, 1989, transcript, p. 1 (in Sandage's possession). Abraham Lincoln, Gettysburg Address, in *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. Basler, VII, 17–23.

[50] *Washington Post*, Oct. 8, 1967, sec. A, p. 13; *Washington Evening Star*, Oct. 21, 1967, sec. A, pp. 1, 2; Washington, ed., *Testament of Hope*, 61–72; *Washington Post*, June 20, 1968, sec. A, pp. 1, 8–9; *ibid.*, June 23, 1968, sec. A, pp. 1, 23.

[51] John Oliver Killens, "Explanation of the 'Black Psyche,'" *New York Times Magazine*, June 7, 1964, pp. 37–38, 42, 47–48, esp. 47; Malcolm X quoted in Warren, *Who Speaks for the Negro?*, 262; Lerone Bennett, Jr., "Was Abe Lincoln a White Supremacist?" *Ebony*, 23 (Feb. 1968), 35–40, 44; *Washington Evening Star*, Sept. 27, 1962, sec. B, p. 1; *Washington Post*, Feb. 12, 1972, sec. A, p. 2. For a Citizens Councils of America advertisement quoting

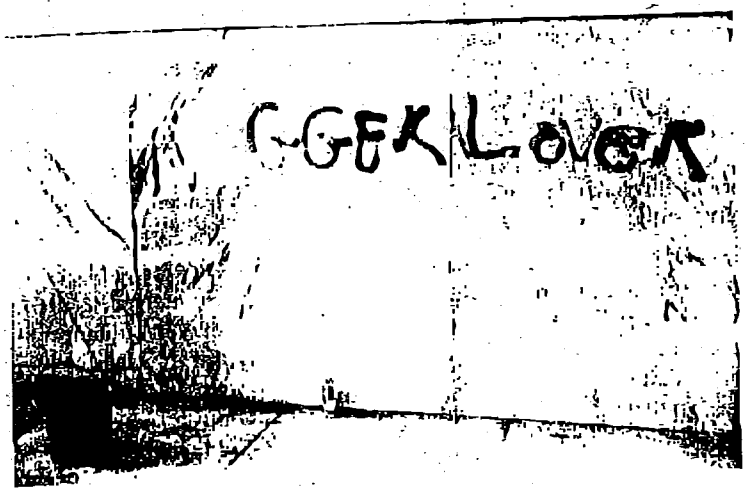

Figure 8
Graffiti at the Lincoln Memorial after the centennial celebration of the Emancipation Proclamation, September 22, 1962. *Courtesy National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior.*

By 1968 journalist Mary McGrory could write with certainty that "the Negroes are repudiating [Lincoln] as their champion and friend. . . . They have decided that he has been imposed upon them as 'a folk symbol.'" That repudiation applied equally to the Lincoln Memorial. "How many times," asked Julius Lester that same year, explicitly rejecting the emancipation moment,

> has the photograph been reprinted of the small Negro boy staring up at the huge statue of Lincoln at the Lincoln Memorial? The photograph would mean nothing if the boy doing the staring were white. What is the catechism the black child learns from Grade One on? "Class, what did Abraham Lincoln do?" "Lincoln freed the slaves," and the point is driven home that you'd still be down on Mr. Charlie's plantation working from can to can't if Mr. Lincoln hadn't done your great-great-grandmama a favor.[32]

allegedly racist comments by Lincoln, see *New York Times*, Feb. 12, 1968, p. 36. The media often quoted Lincoln's speeches to discredit protesters in the late 1960s. See David Levering Lewis, *Martin Luther King: A Critical Biography* (New York, 1970), 336; and "Riots and Mob Spirit: America's Greatest Danger," *U.S. News and World Report*, Aug. 28, 1967, pp. 92, 93.

[32] *Washington Evening Star*, Feb. 11, 1968, sec. A, p. 3; Julius Lester, *Look Out, Whitey! Black Power's Gon' Get Your Mama!* (New York, 1968), 57–58.

Earlier, Lincoln had been the only symbol of interracial appeal on whom black protesters could lay claim; the martyrdom of King, Malcolm X, and others, the rise of Black Power, and the advent of black history programs gave protesters a constellation of contemporary black heroes. An interracial politics of memory, placing blacks at the center of the American story by juxtaposing them with its noblest hero, was no longer tactically useful if freedom remained a gift rather than the product of struggle—and if whites, influenced by the emancipation moment, continued to see the Lincoln symbol as bigger than the movement that was using it. Memory thereby threatened to become an end in itself, rather than an incentive to further action.[33]

Ironically, blacks' rejection of Lincoln in the late 1960s was in part a denial of an icon they themselves had profoundly remade. The extent of the African-American appropriation of national memory was attested by the counter-efforts of government officials and others after 1960 to recapture Lincoln and his memorial. The Civil War Centennial Commission, organizing the 1962 Lincoln Memorial ceremony for the hundredth anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, was so eager to control the message imparted there that it neglected to invite any black speakers. (Thurgood Marshall was added to the program after activists threatened a boycott.) During their presidential crises, Lyndon B. Johnson and Richard M. Nixon both spoke at the shrine to defend their policies and compare themselves to Lincoln. On July 4, 1970, at the behest of Nixon's aides, entertainer Bob Hope and evangelist Billy Graham organized a jingoistic rally called Honor America Day; a crowd of thirty thousand at the Lincoln Memorial heard Graham deliver a sermon that was a remarkable response to the protest tradition that began when Marian Anderson politicized a national hymn. Graham declared, with unintended irony, "Let the world know that the vast majority of us still proudly sing: 'My Country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty.'" In a time when dissenters were turning to violent resistance, Graham urged his hearers to "never give in! Never give in! Never! Never! Never! Never!"[34]

One of the enduring tragedies of the 1960s may be that black activists abandoned their rituals of alternative patriotism just when they had become most effective. In the late 1960s, the commingling of the civil rights and anti–Vietnam War movements yielded new symbolic strategies. Peace historian Charles Chatfield argues that burning flags and draft cards did not represent anti-Americanism, but rather anti-"Americanism." Instead of using and subverting the patriotic icons and nationalism that Susman argued had dominated American culture since the 1930s, anti-war strategists rejected them outright. The cultural journey from the 1930s to the 1960s

[33] On the historical roots of this problem, see Vincent Harding, *There Is a River: The Black Struggle for Freedom in America* (New York, 1981), 236–37.

[34] On the emancipation centennial, see *Washington Afro-American*, Sept. 22, 1962, p. 4; *Washington Evening Star*, Sept. 19, 1962, p. 1, and *Washington Post*, Sept. 19, 1962, sec. B, p. 1. Budnar, *Remaking America*, 210–11. On Lyndon B. Johnson, see *New York Times*, Feb. 14, 1968, p. 46; on Richard M. Nixon, see *Washington Post*, Feb. 13, 1974, sec. A, pp. 1–2. On Honor America Day, see *ibid.*, July 5, 1970, sec. A, pp. 1, 22. Billy Graham quoted *ibid.*, sec. A, p. 1.

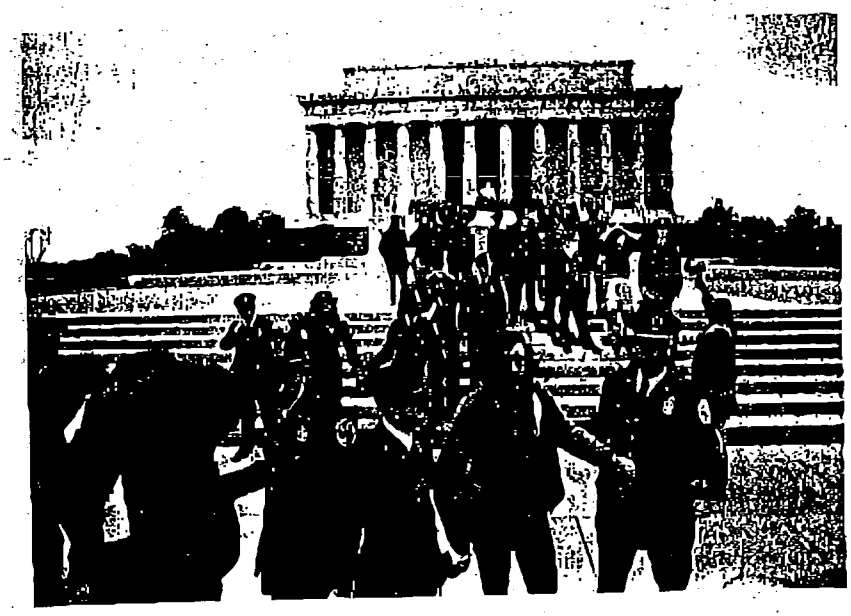

Figure 9
Police arresting members of Vietnam Veterans Against the War for attempting to seal off the memorial, December 28, 1971. *Courtesy Associated Press.*

is seen in the stark difference between Easter 1939, when Marian Anderson sang "My Country 'Tis of Thee," and Christmas 1971, when eighty-seven members of Vietnam Veterans Against the War were arrested for attempting to seize and seal off the Lincoln Memorial. Cultural nationalism was no longer a resource; protesters now saw it as part of the problem. And where some determined to go next, their broad coalitions would not follow. As balladeer Phil Ochs sang in 1966,

> I go to the civil rights rallies,
> And I put down the old D.A.R. . . .
> But don't talk about revolution;
> That's going a little bit too far.
> So love me, love me, love me; I'm a liberal.[55]

Civil rights rallies at the Lincoln Memorial were more than just protests in a dramatic setting; they were transformative rituals that reveal the complexity of American na-

[55] Charles DeBenedetti with Charles Chatfield, *An American Ordeal: The Antiwar Movement of the Vietnam Era* (Syracuse, 1990), 395–96; David L. Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power* (New Haven, 1988). *Washington Post*, Dec. 29, 1971, sec. A, p. 1, sec. D, p. 1; Phil Ochs, "Love Me, I'm a Liberal," Phil Ochs, *There But for Fortune*, compact disk, Elektra, 9-60832-2, 1989 (originally released on *Phil Ochs in Concert*, 1966).

tionalism and the context of the civil rights movement's symbolic strategies. The ritual that evolved after Marian Anderson's 1939 concert set patterns that foreshadowed blacks' later philosophy of nonviolent action. It unified and rejuvenated activists, broadened support and participation among the white (and even the black) public, and evaded bureaucratic roadblocks. Striving to make racial justice an essential component of the American Way of Life during decades ruled by a complacent cultural nationalism, African Americans redefined the American Way by counterexample—praying in their "Sunday best" on a national stage and creating events that could be neither ignored nor suppressed. Protesters used a national shrine as a kind of Trojan horse, evoking the specter of militancy in the capital through peaceful rituals that celebrated national values even as they strove to change them.

This was the essence of the politics of memory: activists brought politics into the temple, but in a way that preserved the temple's holiness and conferred upon them its power as a national site. Remarkably, after the Jim Crow incidents at the memorial's 1922 dedication ceremonies, a black newspaper editorialist had prescribed exactly this course. The shrine had been opened to the public, he wrote, "but not dedicated." Asking readers not to visit the memorial until black Americans could affirm its rightful message of emancipation, he described with uncanny foresight the rites of national memory that would become so important to the black freedom movement. "With song, prayer, bold and truthful speech, with faith in God and country," he wrote, "later on let us dedicate the temple thus far only opened." By transforming the memorial from a symbol of consensus into, in Rauh's words, "the protest palace," black activists claimed it as their own, very powerful, memory site.[56]

In using concepts of public memory to analyze the civil rights movement, this essay has attempted to focus on the complex form and content of the events themselves. The Lincoln Memorial protests were celebratory moments when national collective memory seemed to be at its most inclusive, when there seemed to be the widest agreement about Abraham Lincoln's legacy—yet precisely then was the Lincoln symbol most hotly contested. The point here is not merely that there was room for oppositional expression during decades of Cold War consensus but that nationalism and public memory, often viewed as servants of the status quo, were themselves used to subvert or change the consensus; they were even used to demonstrate, as in the 1960s, that there really was no consensus. White Americans' persistent tendency to see national unity rather than protest in symbols like the Lincoln Memorial suggests that conflicts over public memory were integral to protesters' tactical shift in the late 1960s from a universalist, coalition-based approach to more militant and particularist strategies. It was not so much that blacks' early tactics had led to co-optation, but rather that activists' sophisticated attempts to co-opt dominant symbols could never fully overcome irreducible differences between black and white ways of remembering the American past.

[56] *Chicago Defender*, June 10, 1922, p. 4; Rauh interview, 3.

Given the fragmented oppositional politics of our own time, activists might revive the strategy of a politics of memory, with its remarkable ability both to unify protesters and to legitimate protest. Although mass demonstrations did resume at the memorial after the hiatus coinciding with King's assassination and the Vietnam War, these efforts have more often reflected a particularist politics of identity than a broad-based strategy. In the past twenty years activists there have demanded abortion rights, fetal rights, gay rights, and the right to smoke marijuana. Other groups demonstrating there have implored the American people to end the arms race, intervention in El Salvador, housing discrimination, world hunger, and even the presidency of Richard M. Nixon. Rallies at the memorial have spotlighted the plight of soldiers missing in Vietnam, embassy hostages in Iran, victims of drunk drivers, and persons with Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS). Demonstrators have sought freedom for the people of Cuba, Taiwan, Czechoslovakia, Thailand, Pakistan, South Africa, and China. The 1963 March on Washington was itself commemorated with large rallies on its anniversaries in 1983 and 1988. Since 1982, Lincoln's shrine has been adjoined by a newer site of contested memory, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial.[17]

Not surprisingly, many of these recent protests invoke King's memory more than Lincoln's. The heavy hand of official memory is now sculpting King into the kind of consensus hero made of Lincoln in the 1910s. When King's birthday became a national holiday in 1986, conservative Georgia congressman Newt Gingrich observed, "No one can claim Dr. King. He transcends all of us." How much this echoes the apotheosis of Lincoln: the icon that belongs to all can be the weapon of no faction in particular. Manning Marable speaks for many contemporary activists when he deplores "the gradual ossification of Martin Luther King Jr., his ideological and political development frozen on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial. . . . Half forgotten and deliberately obscured are the final radical years of King's public life."[18] King's induction into the pantheon of official memory threatens to construct a new national savior whose work is, of course, finished. King on those steps, reciting his Dream: Is this the new emancipation moment, at once liberating and limiting?

Struggles over public memory continue. Each year on King's birthday, a wreath-laying ceremony is held for him on that hallowed spot at the Lincoln Memorial; a group of schoolchildren recently enlisted their congressman to urge the National Park Service to honor King and his immortal speech by erecting a plaque at the

[17] National Park Service Ranger Logbooks, Lincoln Memorial, Dec. 17, 1933–Nov. 9, 1989, 21 vols. (Office of Mall Operations, National Park Service, Washington, D.C.). Clever landscaping prevents large rallies from being staged at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, and the Park Service restricts permits for political actions there because of the "sacred and personal nature of the site." John Williams interview by Sandage, Sept. 26, 1989, notes, p. 7 (in Sandage's possession). Williams is supervisory park ranger of mall operations, National Park Service. On the symbiosis of the memorials to Lincoln and to Vietnam veterans, see Bodnar, *Remaking America*, 4; and Charles L. Griswold, "The Vietnam Veterans Memorial and the Washington Mall: Philosophical Thoughts on Political Iconography," *Critical Inquiry*, 16 (Summer 1986), 688–719.

[18] Newt Gingrich quoted in Naveh, *Crown of Thorns*, 189. For Manning Marable's comments, see *Guardian*, Feb. 21, 1990, pp. 10–11. See also "A Round Table: Martin Luther King, Jr.," *Journal of American History*, 74 (Sept. 1987), 436–81.

base of the memorial. One wonders how the embittered residents of long-ago Omega, Virginia, the town that expelled Oscar Chapman from grammar school, might react to this. Or to the African-American schoolgirl who visited the memorial one day in the 1980s and stood staring up at the huge statue. "Do you know who that is?" an adult asked the child. "That's Lincoln," she replied. "Do you know who freed the slaves?" She completed the catechism by rote: "Martin Luther King."[19]

[19] *New York Times*, Jan. 21, 1992, sec. A, p. 18; *Washington Post*, Jan. 16, 1990, sec. B, p. 3; schoolgirl quoted in Frederick T. D. Hunt interview by Sandage, Dec. 21, 1989, transcript, p. 4–5 (in Sandage's possession). Hunt attended the memorial's 1921 dedication, and from 1955 to 1981 he organized the annual Lincoln's Birthday ceremony held at the memorial by the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of Homes of the United States

Source: All Sources : News : **News Group File, Beyond Two Years**
Terms: **clinton and mall and lincoln memorial and date(geq (1/1/93) and leq (4/9/93))** (Edit Search)

SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER January 18, 1993, Monday

SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER

January 18, 1993, Monday , FINAL

SECTION: NEWS LENGTH: LONG : 131 LINES, Pg. A1

LENGTH: 1278 words

HEADLINE: CLINTON'S DAY BEGINS, ENDS WITH A BANG

BYLINE: Christopher Hanson P-I Washington Correspondent

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY: Bill **Clinton** kicked off his inaugural festivities yesterday with a blaze of campaign-style events intended to spotlight his domestic priorities, to associate himself with exalted past presidents and to stress his connection with the needs and hopes of ordinary people.

"We owe it to Thomas Jefferson and George Washington and all our forebears to face the difficult, difficult problems of our time. ... We're going to try to make our schools better and our streets safer," the president-elect told cheering supporters early yesterday at Monticello, Jefferson's neoclassical Virginia estate.

This was the sort of script **Clinton** intended to follow all day, but George Bush and Saddam Hussein didn't cooperate. Bush responded to Saddam's flouting of Gulf War cease-fire rules by ordering a missile strike against an Iraqi nuclear installation.

The headline-stealing flare-up was the last thing the **Clinton** team wanted as he made a triumphal arrival by bus caravan in Washington, D.C., after several stops in small-town Virginia.

It stole some of **Clinton's** thunder at a time when his aides were hoping the spotlight would focus solely on their man. They are hoping to counter a run of bad press resulting from controversies involving Cabinet nominees and broken campaign pledges.

When he arrived in Washington, **Clinton** gave Bush his full support in the action, stressing, "Saddam Hussein should be very clear in understanding that the current and the next administrations are in complete agreement on the necessity of his fully complying with all relevant United Nations ... resolutions."

Clinton then went on with the day as scripted by the Democrats: a celebration of "American Reunion" aimed at evoking a spirit of unity and good feelings for the new leader. These themes will be stressed throughout the week, climaxing at Wednesday's swearing-in ritual outside the Capitol.

Yesterday, **Clinton** was serenaded by top musicians and Hollywood stars at the **Lincoln Memorial,** before a crowd estimated at 300,000, many holding small flashlights in the darkness.

Then **Clinton** led a throng of well-wishers across Memorial Bridge to ring a full-size replica of the Liberty Bell.

It was a day carefully choreographed to convey a two-part message about **Clinton:** First, he is out to fill the shoes of such giants as Jefferson and Lincoln; second, he has a keen sense of the needs of the common people.

The brisk, sunny day began with a bus ride from Charlottesville, where **Clinton** spent the night, over rolling hills to Monticello, on a hilltop in the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains.

There, the president-elect, decked out in blue suit and gray overcoat, basked in comparisons with the third president, whom he described as "one of the greatest and perhaps the most brilliant."

Speaking from the mansion's column-studded front veranda to several thousand well-wishers, Vice President-elect Al Gore introduced the new president as "William Jefferson **Clinton.**"

Five student winners of a letter-writing contest, who had offered advice to **Clinton** on governing and were then chosen to appear with him, asked the president-elect what he admired about Jefferson and what he intended to emulate.

Clinton responded that if Jefferson were alive today, he would want to create jobs, improve education, empower the poor and carry out other elements of the Democrat's 1992 campaign theme of change.

"Jefferson ... believed that each generation would have to change this country. ... He even said that periodically we would have to revolutionize this country to keep the people in control. ... I want to be faithful to Jefferson's idea," **Clinton** told the crowd.

But even as he evoked a giant of the past, **Clinton** stressed that he would not let power go to his head or make him aloof.

"We wanted one last bus trip before taking office because our bus was a way of saying to the people of America that we want you to be in control. We don't want to get out of touch or be a long way from you," he said.

From Monticello, the 15-bus procession wound its way north, roughly following the 120-mile route Jefferson used to take to Washington.

Hundreds of police and security officers patrolled the route. A cleanup crew spruced up the highway, Route 29, removing road kill from the asphalt.

Along the road, **Clinton** passed thousands of well-wishers clustered beside farms, at rural intersections and in villages. Family groups held U.S. flags, mothers with babies waved, young people hoisted signs reading: "I love Hillary," "Good luck, **Clinton**-Gore," "Share the Adventure."

There also were some protesters with such placards as: "Keep your promise: AIDS won't wait" and "God bless the unborn."

The caravan rolled into Culpepper, in north-central Virginia, for a service at the town's main Baptist church. The streets were packed, and **Clinton** used the bus's loudspeaker system to boom, "Thank you, thank you very much, thank you, Culpepper."

The next stop was Warrenton, Va., where **Clinton,** Gore, their wives and children appeared in the town square, near an old courthouse.

"You just make us feel so happy. ... We want all of you to try to be part of what we are going

to try to do together," said **Clinton's** wife, Hillary, decked out in an elegant black overcoat.

Clinton declared, "We'll do our best never to forget who put us in the White House." He walked a rope line, shaking hands as fans and children bounced up and down in enthusiasm.

Before long, the procession was inside the Beltway, the commuter freeway that rings Washington. The **Lincoln Memorial** swung into view, the procession stopped, and **Clinton** and company were off across the grassy **Mall.**

The Lincoln Memorial concert - with artists including Bob Dylan, Tony Bennett, Whoopi Goldberg, soprano Kathleen Battle and musician Kenny G - was next on the agenda. It was outwardly unaffected by the action in Iraq but, coincidentally, included an overflight of warplanes paying tribute to the new commander in chief.

In a reference to the world tensions so evident yesterday, **Clinton** said: "Our history is clear proof that out of diversity can come strength and a deeper unity, rooted in the virtues of respect and love and humility. This is a lesson that the world has still not learned, as we see today so painfully in Bosnia, Somalia, Iraq and elsewhere."

Clinton, his wife, daughter Chelsea and the Gores next marched across Memorial Bridge, surrounded by children who march organizers said symbolized the team's commitment to youth.

The bell-ringing ceremony followed, at a spot below Arlington Cemetery. **Clinton** declared: "Tonight we are set to ring these bells for hope. ... Together the bells will represent a great national symphony of hope and unity and a reminder we will rise and fall together."

He pulled the thick rope attached to the 2,080-pound Liberty Bell replica's clapper. Simultaneously thousands of people across the country and in several foreign countries joined in. Astronauts orbiting aboard the space shuttle Endeavor, who were asleep at the time, sent a recording of their earlier bell-ringing.

Organizations in the Seattle area joined in, including the Snoqualmie Tribe in Redmond, the Citizens Committee on Human Rights of Seattle, The National Association for Native American Children of Alcoholics and the Refuge Service Center in Seattle.

Finally, to the haunting strains of Aaron Copland's "Fanfare for the Common Man," the fireworks began. A day that had been jarred by anti-aircraft bursts over Baghdad was capped by an aerial display over the Potomac River. This was the rockets' red glare that the Democrats had in mind to begin with.

ms/ras

NOTES:
INAUGURATION: A New Era

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: February 18, 1999