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The
PRESIDENT'S
HOUSE

A History

by
William Seale

White House Historical Association
with the cooperation of the National Geographic Society
Washington, D.C.
and Harry N. Abrams, Inc., New York

the President and his wife were by tradition not obliged to accept any social invitations, they had less control than they might have wished over who received theirs. Nicolay and Hay usually made all guest lists, subject to Lincoln's approval and with the addition of names he or Mrs. Lincoln wished to include. Cards were issued from the White House, where they were written out by William Stoddard, who in theory served as Mrs. Lincoln's secretary when she needed one. The compilation of dinner lists usually involved the secretary of state. For receptions, the departments each had supplies of blank social cards from the White House. These were not supposed to be given out casually, but it seems that they often were.⁵

In any case, Lincoln thought it was important for the American people to have access to the White House and the President. A regular program of weekly receptions took place in the state rooms, and there were weekly concerts on the south lawn by the Marine Band, for whom a blue-and-white canvas-topped pavilion had been erected. The receptions tended to be large and anonymous; no food or drink was served. Several times when the town was full of military and the wives wished to be received at the White House, Mrs. Lincoln held receptions every day for a week or two weeks running. She seldom tried these consecutive events alone, but waited instead until some of her female relatives were visiting. Small dinner parties took place in the State Dining Room either Wednesday or Thursday evenings. Very occasionally the Lincolns had special parties.⁶

"Mrs. Lincoln and the President had such a reception as I have never before seen in the day time," wrote Major French in February 1863, one year after Willie's death. "The rooms were crowded with 'fair women & brave men.' Mrs. Lincoln appeared unusually lively and gracious, and received with an air of grace and dignity, surpassing her ordinary self, although she always receives handsomely, and with great ease of manner."⁷

After these receptions the President and Mrs. Lincoln retired to the oval room, where she soaked and rubbed his hand, which was often badly blistered from shaking. Since she did not usually shake hands, she escaped this ordeal, but she was no less exhausted from standing and smiling. The physical demand was extreme. The Lincolns usually stood in the receiving line for two hours, then led the promenade, which now characterized afternoon as well as evening receptions. Mrs. Lincoln had "afternoon" dresses specially designed to suit this parade. They were long, with full trains, and she usually wore a fresh floral head-piece with them, to give her height.

After they had walked several times around the ring, the President and First Lady stopped beneath the center chandelier and spoke to a few guests. The crush of people, though decorous in most respects, was frightening; it was then that the room became stifling—the air seemed to disappear. On signal from French, the Marine Band, stationed in the transverse hall outside the East Room and blocking the door to the office stair, struck up "Yankee Doodle." A path was cleared by the doormen. The President and party departed at once, walking briskly down the long transverse hall and vanishing up the grand stair at the other end. The dignified atmosphere of the reception then vanished. The visitors pushed and shoved beyond the glass screen in the hall, holding up their hat checks as the doormen searched to match their numbers to those on stacked wooden boxes.⁸

In their isolation, the Lincolns learned largely through hearsay how the war was changing the nation. They could, however, see a federal city at their doorstep. The Capitol had its great dome, with Thomas Crawford's iron statue "Freedom" perched at the top. The number of shops along Pennsylvania Avenue had increased to accommodate the hordes of new customers. Temporary housing of all kinds mixed with the residences of permanent citizens. Looking northeast from the big lunette window on the second floor on winter nights, when the limbs of the elms were bare of leaves, the Lincolns could see hundreds of gaslit windows. From their bedroom windows they gazed out at the flickering campfires of soldiers and sentries on the Mall.

The Emancipation Proclamation

During the Civil War the whole city was illuminated to celebrate each military victory. In the past most illuminations had taken place after sunset on the Fourth of July. Until about 1850 the anniversary of the Battle of New Orleans had merited illumination, but subsequently the eighth of January had passed with little notice. On President Lincoln's order, the public buildings were lighted, and the White House was no exception. A military triumph was also a political triumph, and the President needed both.

To Thomas Pendel fell the job of lighting up the White House. The doorkeeper was told to make it burn bright. When he had sufficient notice, the task was not difficult, but if the telegram reporting a victory came in from the field after four in the afternoon, the work wore him out. He began by nailing horizontal, parallel strips of wood inside all the windows on the north front. To these he fixed small pieces of tallow

along the avenue to Willard's Hotel, where he delivered the message to a second man, who hurried on horseback to the White House. Messengers had been performing this relay all morning, taking the latest news to the Cabinet, which was in session with the President in "quiet excitement." Moore, who received all messages, announced the victory.

William H. Crook, one of the messengers, later wrote a slightly conflicting version, claiming that he had brought the news. "I ran all the way from the Capitol to the White House," he said, "and I made good time." He burst into the oval library, where a luncheon table was set for the President and several members of the Cabinet. "Mr. President . . . you are acquitted!" And "I saw that tears were rolling down his face."

Whoever delivered the message, all accounts agree on one thing: President Johnson ordered whiskey, wine, food, and cigars served to everybody in the room. The White House began to fill with people, and the noise of celebration could be heard in the streets. There was wild jubilation. Tommy Pendel, quiet and religious, was invited up from his post at the north door to join in the fun, but he had no use for such rowdiness. "Some of the employees drank to excess," he remembered. For his part, "I . . . soon went down to my business."⁵²

Good Times

The President and the Presidency were vindicated. No one sensed this more deeply and with more satisfaction than Andrew Johnson. The levees, which he considered an important presidential responsibility, had continued throughout the Senate trial. Some of the President's most outspoken enemies had appeared at these functions. After his acquittal Johnson expansively threw open the gates of the White House and let the public enter as it wished. The wooden bandstand, built originally by Lincoln and demolished by Johnson, was rebuilt. On sunny afternoons its canvas roof shaded the Marine Band, which played for callers sometimes numbering in the thousands.

Cards to White House dinner parties began to fly from the presidential mansion. Musicales and children's parties crowded the schedule. One of these last is recorded in Johnson's account books as having cost some \$450, more than the average state dinner. "There has never been," wrote William Crook, "a children's party so wonderful. . . . The dancing was in the East Room. There were a great many square dances, and a few waltzes and polkas; but the fancy dances were the best. . . . There was the 'Highland Fling,' of course, and the 'sailors' hornpipe.' There was a Spanish dance, danced by small Miss Gaburri in a Spanish dress

flashing with sequins. . . . At the end of the whole company, tots and big girls and boys, were lined up for the 'Virginia reel.' After that came 'refreshments'—the real 'party' most of the children thought."⁵³

The household staff that staged the social events had suffered a blow some months before, in March 1868, with the death of William Slade. Ill for some months, he had sent his wife to perform his duties at the White House. When death hovered near, on March 2, the day of the President's many vetoes, Johnson took time to pay his respects to the steward. Not long after, he attended Slade's funeral, one of the few nonofficial functions for which he emerged during the impeachment proceedings. By the first of May the household papers were being signed by James L. Thomas, who was styled "acting steward of the White House." Thomas was well entrenched by the middle of the month, when the entertaining began, and he remained with Andrew Johnson for the remaining ten months of the administration.⁵⁴

The dinner parties and the state dinners were handsomely devised along traditional White House lines. Both were held in the State Dining Room, which seated approximately 40, although the guest lists were seldom that large. While the State Dining Room was being redecorated in 1866, Mrs. Patterson sent the French table garniture to Philadelphia to be repaired and regilded. She filled the set's seven vases with expensive artificial flowers—by then somewhat old-fashioned—and the rest of the pieces were apparently kept most of the time in special boxes in the steward's room in the basement. Washington's portrait was sent out for "lineing, cleaning and restoring." This was not returned to the Red Room, but was hung in the State Dining Room. As a final touch for the dining room, Mrs. Patterson ordered four large American flags made of silk and had them fixed to poles and placed in the four corners.⁵⁵

Before the impeachment trial, three or four dinners took place each month in the White House, and the number increased afterward. Cooks and waiters were brought in especially for these affairs. J. P. Autchet took over Lizzie Mitchell's kitchen about one day prior to a dinner, relegating her to the smaller baking kitchen in the northwest corner of the basement, where she continued her family cooking. William A. Freeman, who served as butler, also arrived in advance to set the table and make certain that everything was polished and in order. Four waiters came in from outside to serve the meal.

In a city with so many dinners and balls during the autumn and winter season, and so many hotels and boardinghouses, part-time cooks, butlers, and waiters were not difficult to find. Since the time of Polk it had made good economic sense to employ them by the dinner. Existing

matters became greatly magnified. No friend was ever more loyal or valuable to Julia Grant than her "dear Mrs. Fish." The lady was also one of the few human beings permitted to correct Mrs. Grant to her face when she was mistaken.

The reason the Grants' White House seemed more alive than ever with social activity was that the President himself spent far more time at leisure pursuits than had any of his predecessors, except perhaps Jefferson, and he was also seen far more in public. He took his amusements in less introverted ways than Jefferson, who had buried himself among his books, drawings, plants, and pets in the great chamber Grant knew as the State Dining Room. Grant walked before the world: He liked people and believed it his duty to be among them. So the White House emerged from years of seclusion. Grant made it the President's home rather than the temporary camp it had seemed since Jackson's time.

Billiards

The President's working day did not begin until very late; at ten in the morning he passed through the frosted glass doors between the family quarters and the offices. He worked for two hours, usually with Babcock, then went downstairs for the midday meal. After about an hour and a half he returned to the office and received visitors until three, normally spending from 5 to 15 minutes on each call. Promptly at three he rose from his desk and descended the winding service stair to the basement, from which he cut through the yard, walking a southwesterly path to the stable. Until five, his dinner hour, he remained with his horses.

The actual time Grant spent in his office was only about four hours a day. Certainly compared with the time put in by a workhorse like Polk, or a President with the heavy responsibilities of Lincoln, this was minimal; but military man that he was, Grant delegated authority, exploiting the expanded office staff and facilities bequeathed him by Andrew Johnson. Special secretaries were assigned to particular areas of presidential responsibility, making it possible for Grant to trim most of his business routine to approving and disapproving.

Most documents requiring his signature were signed by secretaries. The old rush of callers was slowed by a vague screening process based on the personal discretion of his brother-in-law General Fred T. Dent, who sat at a desk downstairs and had the ultimate authority over who was admitted. General callers came only in the first part of the week; the last half of the week was reserved for senators, congressmen, and other important officials, as well as for Cabinet meetings. Dent, who took his job

seriously, made many enemies, and was considered "pompous" and mean. The President's time, however, was released for the more useful endeavor of being seen in public.²⁵

What appeared to be leisure was thus part of Grant's policy as President. He wished the White House to convey as clear a picture of stability and respectability as the great canvas on the Red Room wall. This was to help restore the tranquillity of a nation weakened and shaken by war, assassination, and the long brawl between the Congress and Andrew Johnson. The whole Grant family worked toward this end, under the careful direction of the parents. Every morning Buck, Nellie, and Jesse went to school in a pony cart made of yellow-painted wicker. There were usually spectators at the fence on Pennsylvania Avenue. In the afternoons, as she was driven around town, Mrs. Grant nodded and smiled at the people on the streets from beneath a feathered hat with no veil. The general was animated and pleasant on his walks and drives, puffing his cigar and giving good words to all.

Although Mrs. Grant played her part, she had strong reservations about the free access the public enjoyed to the White House. She complained that when she and the children walked along the paths of the grounds, "we were followed by a crowd of idle, curious loungers." This was anything but pleasant, so she took the problem to her husband; the grounds on the south were closed at once. As a compromise the public could still look over the Jefferson wall which, cut to half its original height, offered a view of the children at play—Nellie with her hoop, Jesse threading the driveways on his velocipede, Buck practicing with his rifle. Some sort of family activity was nearly always to be seen beyond the fence, whether it was the elder Grants sitting with friends in the shade of the south portico or the boys of Jesse's secret club stalking about among the flower beds.²⁶

The prime symbol of the hospitable good life in the Grant White House was the billiard room. Billiards, which had been popular among men for many years, had by 1869 lost much of its association with drinking and gambling. While the strictest moralists still looked on the game with some suspicion, billiards had come to be considered a wholesome family amusement. Grant—perhaps thinking of the controversy that followed John Quincy Adams's purchase of a billiard table with public funds—paid for the table himself.

The new room was not hidden away in the basement, where the billiard rooms had been in the past, but was on the west terrace, in plain view from the transverse hall. General Michler built it between May and the close of August 1869; he may have designed it using prefabricated

the mantel in the west end of the State Dining Room in the spring of 1878. In all Hayes acquired seven portraits, not counting the two of himself, which he owned, bringing the gallery collection to 14. Only four were lacking to complete it. He would override his earlier preference, having his own official portrait painted in Ohio after his retirement.²⁸

The President and Mrs. Hayes initiated the first significant art collecting at the White House. Collecting was to continue after they left, with Andrews the chief beneficiary. He became highly successful as the director of the art school at the Corcoran Gallery, and painted ever bigger pictures for the East Room. No single fee would approach the \$3,000 he was paid for Martha Washington, yet the White House remained for some years a steady customer.

Landscape

President and Mrs. Hayes shared a great affection for gardening. Some of the trees they ordered still live, although the Ohio buckeye tree Hayes planted in 1878 on the edge of the north driveway blew down in a storm nearly 40 years later. They had been interested in the development of the groves and flower gardens at their Ohio estate, and though they found extensive gardening already established at the White House, they made changes, participating personally in the planning.²⁹

The grounds surrounding the White House had been only the occasional beneficiaries of presidential interest. As a result they had gradually assumed an institutional look. Along the south side of the house parterres filled the area between the building and the driveway; protected from horses and carriages by a lacy wire fence, they had gravel paths that wound among beds of roses bordered by dense boxwood hedges. They changed very little from year to year. More elaborate parterres had been planted on the north side in 1874, but they had been simplified to such an extent by the time of Hayes that the display was no longer as handsome as it had been. Hayes ordered it plowed up and planted in grass. By 1878 the fenced area between the two arms of the north driveway had been given over largely to lawn and shrubbery, with the round pool remaining in the center. During the summers tropical plants were brought from the greenhouse and arranged around the pool, a custom begun by Hayes and carried on for many years.³⁰

The President got started on his gardening program soon after moving to the White House. On May 1, 1877, he appointed Henry Pfister of Cincinnati as the head gardener to replace James Nokes, who had been gardener for some years but had never played an aggressive role.

The 52-year-old Pfister, a Swiss and a locksmith, was a man of considerable standing in Cincinnati, where he had developed his business to include machine work. Hayes seems to have brought him in as director of horticulture, not actually as gardener. At the White House Pfister hired an entirely new staff, which he had built by 1880 to nine men and one woman, including a full-time bouquet maker.³¹

The plan for annexing the lower south grounds into the White House landscape had been largely abandoned between the late '50s and Grant's time. General Babcock had demolished the remains of the Jefferson wall and extended the actual south lawn of the White House much farther southward, in a semicircle, to approximately its present size. This was part of an unrealized scheme of improvements planned near the end of Andrew Johnson's administration by Alfred B. Mullett, who liberally adapted the Downing plan. Babcock put some of the program into effect. He built West Executive Avenue between the White House and State, War, & Navy in 1871, to match East Executive Avenue, which had been laid out near the close of the Civil War. The two avenues extended from Pennsylvania Avenue southward, and joined in a semicircle. The newly enlarged south grounds were enclosed in iron fencing to match that on the north side.³²

The land remaining south of the new fence, running to the Mall, was still undeveloped when Hayes took office. Since the war it had been called the "White Lot" because it had been in part the site of feeding pens associated with a wartime slaughterhouse. With Babcock's new streets, and the enclosure of the south lawns of the White House, the White Lot looked more abandoned than ever. During discussions about its improvement, Hayes was shown the original Downing plan; he decided to adopt it, with some alterations. The proposed "parade" was changed from a circular shape to an oval; a new configuration of streets was devised to link the parade to existing roadways.

Accomplishing this took more than a year, from July 1879 until September 1880. Fill dirt came from Pennsylvania Avenue, which was being graded and paved, from the cellars of the State, War, & Navy Building, by now complete, and from commercial companies. By the date of completion, the term "parade" had been dropped in favor of "central ellipse," which soon gave way to Ellipse; the name it would keep. The 17-acre oval, perfectly level, was ringed by a 50-foot-wide roadway of neatly mounded and rolled gravel. Outside the roadway and its flanking rows of elm trees, the "woodlands" were thickly planted with a variety of young trees. As soon as it was open to traffic, the Ellipse became the most popular promenade in Washington. When the weather

was pleasant, carriages traveled it in seemingly endless procession. Walking on the Ellipse was a favorite pastime. On holidays the Grand Army of the Republic marched there before cheering crowds.³³

In Grant's time, Babcock had been fascinated by fountains. When he extended the south grounds he also built a large water basin toward the southern end of the grounds. In noting its 75-foot diameter, Babcock boasted: "It is the largest bowl constructed by this office." The pool was supplied with a "French gurg fountain jet," a small, spidery device that sprayed water in a confused mass from 500 nozzles. Previously Andrew Johnson had built a fountain close to the south portico, a series of terracotta bowls supported by dolphins and sea horses. When Hayes moved the terracotta fountain to make room for a croquet lawn, it was set up in Babcock's pool. The French gurg was moved to the round pool on the north side, where it remained for almost 50 years.³⁴

Having provided the Ellipse as a place of public resort, President Hayes greatly curtailed access to the immediate grounds. Threats of assassination, which started even before his inauguration, understandably had made him cautious. The evening concerts on the lawn were stopped. Lincoln's old wooden bandstand, which still stood on the south lawn in 1877, was moved to the garden in front of the Smithsonian castle. Guards were stationed at the external gates of the White House. During visiting hours, ten until two, no guards stood at the two north gates, but the entrance hall was well guarded.³⁵

This policy of limited access was relaxed once a year, for Hayes had begun the tradition of rolling Easter eggs on the White House lawn. This Easter Monday custom had originated at the Capitol many years before; no one remembering exactly when; the children of Washington rolled their dyed eggs down the steep western incline of Capitol Hill. By Hayes's time several hundred children attended every year. Just after Easter in the year 1878 the Congress passed a law prohibiting the use of Capitol grounds and terraces as "play grounds or otherwise."

Little attention was paid to this until Easter Monday 1879, when the Capitol police refused to admit the children to the grounds. A furor arose, and the children went to the grounds of the National Observatory and the White House, the latter apparently—even if not in fact—at the invitation of the President. "They laughed, yelled, and played," reported the *Star*. "In rolling down with their eggs the girls—some of them pretty good size, too—were totally regardless of the extent of striped stockings displayed." The egg-rolling was enlivened by the appearance of a poor boy, "a ragged and dirty boy of 14," too old for egg-rolling, who snatched a basket of Easter eggs and fled through the gates and down the street,

the children running in pursuit. Captured by the police, the boy returned the eggs, and the children cheered. Easter egg-rolling has been an annual event at the White House ever since.³⁶

The President's family made almost no use of the grounds, except for playing croquet. Hayes's office staff also played the game frequently, especially when the President was away from the city. Other presidential families had enjoyed the vegetable garden, which had been a pleasant place to walk, but now West Executive Avenue crossed the ground where the garden had been. Grant had moved about outside the White House with great freedom and sat with his family in rocking chairs on the south portico; Hayes was careful to avoid such exposure. The greenhouse took on additional importance as a safe and private haven.

Grant had ordered several additions to the greenhouse, expanding it southward, over the ell of the west wing. Under Pfister, a man experienced in ironworking, the greenhouse grew large. A rose house was added in 1878, on the site occupied by today's Rose Garden. Some of the roses were planted in the earth, others in tubs. The house had no floor, only paved walkways. Full south sun was admitted in the winter through a glass outer wall and roof; in summer rolled awnings of canvas shaded the interior, and a pair of large glass doors opened to circulate the air. Those roses grown in tubs were moved outside. The rose house was a separate building and a full story lower than the larger greenhouses built on the west terrace.

While the glasshouses were usually referred to collectively as the conservatory, "greenhouse" better suited them in the days before Hayes. They had always been a cherished retreat for the Presidents, but in their appearance they resembled working greenhouses, with their narrow aisles and steep step shelves for pots. Hayes dressed them up by rearranging the interiors to allow for broad walks, iron benches, ornamental plant stands, and other decorative devices, which made the conservatories more spacious places for entertaining large groups of guests.

The President ordered the billiard room demolished in the spring of 1880, replacing it with a wider greenhouse of iron and glass. Although this act was celebrated on moral grounds, Hayes wished only to expand the glasshouse. When Grant called for his billiard table, which he owned, Hayes immediately bought another and set it up in a new billiard room built in the carriage passage on the basement level between the house and the west wing.³⁷

The new glass room linked the residence with the conservatory. Wide and high-ceilinged, it provided vistas that ran the full length of the west wing. Both west windows of the State Dining Room, closed and

plastered over by Grant, were reopened as French doors and curtained like the other three windows of the room. They revealed a tropical paradise of palms and flowers.

The new room was paved in encaustic tiles. An open central area was ringed by flower beds, and two long, straight walks extended from it along either side of the old greenhouse. A jungle of ferns and palms down the middle screened one walk from the other, while against the outer walls a variety of flowers was massed on stepped tables. The walks met in a semicircle at the western end of the glass room, forming a long horse-shoe-shaped promenade. Styled the "conservatory promenade," the new arrangement was not without its practical function in the Hayes White House.³⁸

Traditionally, dinner had been ended when the President and his wife stood, the President waiting in the dining room with the men guests while the ladies departed with his wife to the small dining room. They all assembled later in the Red Room for coffee and liqueurs. Under the new rules of abstinence, a substitute obviously had to be found. It was this: When the dinner was over, President and Mrs. Hayes, who sat facing each other at the center of the long table, rose, walked to the end of the table, joined hands and led their guests on a brisk walk through the conservatory. Those who felt the need to be absent for a moment could join the march when they were able. In the glow of gaslight the party rounded the walks, pausing at times to hear Mrs. Hayes remark on this or that plant. When the promenade was over, guests and hosts lingered in the glasshouse for a while. Coffee was available in the Red Room. At last, arm in arm, the President and Mrs. Hayes walked slowly into the hallway with their guests. At the foot of the grand staircase they bade everyone goodnight, and climbed to the second floor. The company departed at once through the service hall and ushers' office, where their wraps were returned. In the entrance hall, before the frosted glass screen, the guests waited, donning coats, hats, and gloves, while their carriages were called by number, first come first served, from the darkness outside.³⁹

Little History

In the 19th century the best descriptions of White House social life were written by women. The Polk administration had the wistful Joanna Rucker, and a matronly Margaret Bayard Smith put into words the sights and sounds she recalled from Jefferson's White House and that of Madison; and the volumes turned out by the belles of the '50s told of a lively

and elegant White House beneath the dark clouds of impending crisis.

Although numerous visitors entered the hospitable Hayes White House, few left such memoirs, letters, or journals. The history-minded President and the First Lady meticulously preserved sample dinner invitations, place cards, menus, seating charts, and calling cards. Their scrapbooks of newspaper clippings are numerous and fat. Hayes wrote charming letters, as did his son Webb. But the Hayeses' circle lacked one of those devoted women willing to assume the responsibility of recording the everyday, what the French call "little history."

The youthful cousin of Mrs. Hayes, Dora Scott of New Orleans, showed promise. She visited the White House with several other teenage relatives late in 1880 and early in 1881, as the administration neared its end. When she left home she promised her mother that she would keep a journal of her White House visit, but she had too good a time to closet herself with pen and paper. All she produced was a handful of evocative letters.⁴⁰

Upon her arrival several days after Christmas of 1880, she was taken aside by one of the Hayes sons and advised that "there are three things every girl who visits here must do: 1st. Be weighed. I have fulfilled this condition and discovered that I weigh 117 lbs. 2nd. Write your autograph in a private album of his Fathers . . . 3rd. Have your photograph taken & present it to the President."

It was snowing when she got to Washington. Hawkins drove the family in a sleigh, and the young people were thrilled to glide over the Mall. Evenings were filled with receptions and dinners. Dora described to her mother her new dress of pink satin and silk, "the silk striped in two shades." So numerous and so late were the parties that the Hayeses' young guests never wanted breakfast. The President wakened everyone each morning by rapping on his or her door and asking if he or she were out of bed. Dora reported that he "declares every morning that we shant go out any more if we do not eat a heartier breakfast & have more roses in our cheeks. This threat makes us all give our faces a surreptitious rubbing just before entering the dining-room and lately we have had remarkable appetites."

Family life was relaxed. "Our president," confided Dora to her mother, "is not very awe-inspiring in the bosom of his family." At dinner one day, "As soon as we were seated he called for an apple which he proceeded to peel & slice. After finishing this he handed one slice to Maria, another to me—we were seated on his left & right—then, asking each of the others if they could catch, he tossed them each a slice. All but Cousin Lucy's, she refused to take part in such 'undignified behavior.'

He instituted civil service reform through the Committee of Efficiency and Economy, composed of successful businessmen and lawyers. They found the governmental service flabby from overemployment and inefficiently managed. Taft's ensuing reform programs extended to the very doors of his own Oval Office, in a general tightening of the operation. His office workers saw him every day, and dealt with him on a closer basis than they had with any of his recent predecessors. In some respects, Taft revived the old spirit of camaraderie that had not been known since the President's staff occupied cramped rooms upstairs in the White House. Now the office force was five times the size, yet the President was once more among them.

As part of this restructuring, the prestige and power of the secretary to the President was considerably reduced. Under Roosevelt the secretary had been a prince in his own realm, as reflected in the central position of his office in the new building. Taft put himself at the head of the Executive Office, as his remodeling of the building soon illustrated, and considered the secretarial post an assistantship, to carry out the management of the office. Fred W. Carpenter, who had served as Taft's secretary since 1901, did not object to this. He found the pattern of their relationship too well established to change and was uncomfortable with high rank.

Carpenter was appointed minister to Morocco in 1910. When Charles D. Norton replaced him, the title was informally changed to "assistant to the President," which more accurately described the managerial character of the work. Norton remained less than one year, before moving to New York to enter banking; though an able businessman, he had not been enough of a politician for the job. His successors were experienced politicians. The first, Charles Hilles of New York, left temporarily in 1912 to serve as chairman of the Republican National Committee. In his absence the position was filled by Carmi Thompson of Ohio. Both of those men, but especially Hilles, were powerful Republicans, and served the President as advisers on political strategy, in an effort to save the crumbling Republican Party.

Night of Electric Light

The one brilliant event that the Tafts cherished for the rest of their lives was the celebration of their silver wedding anniversary on June 19, 1911. It was a magnificent party. All Presidents entertain old friends, as a way of sharing with them the more obvious pleasures of being President. Whether house parties, dinners, or even dances, the occasions are usually small, and are always remembered by former tenants of the White

House as the most joyful, reminiscent of simpler times in their lives but staged in the full glory of the presidential scene.⁴⁴

Taft's was held on the grandest scale of all, and has yet to be rivaled. By the late spring of 1911, Mrs. Taft was her old self, perhaps not moving as fast, but again visible in public. For their 25th anniversary celebration the Tafts decided upon a large evening garden party, a brilliant reception and illumination of the sort they had loved in Manila. The guest list would be large, including everyone the Tafts could think of who had ever done them a favor or had been a special friend.

In her memoirs, Mrs. Taft refused to guess how many invitations were sent. Archie Butt recorded that there were 8,000. Some of those invited were friends; some had been the Tafts' hosts in distant places; some were relatives, some mere acquaintances, and some official guests. All would have the chance to visit with the President and his wife, if only briefly, and all would have good food and drink.

On the south grounds, night was to be turned into day by means of multicolored electric lights. On June 18, after dinner, the President requested a preview of the lights, on which the electricians had been working for four days. Strands with hundreds of bulbs covered the great elm trees and the Jackson magnolias, and the glittering spectacle extended all the way to the ellipse. But the President wanted even more: Why not light the flag on the roof? Why not the fountain down on the lawn? Taft ordered twice as many spotlights as were there. Aides telephoned the naval bases at Norfolk and Annapolis to borrow strands of lights used on ships. These were on freight cars by early morning, en route to Washington; still the President thought there were too few lights. He paced the flat platform atop the roof of the White House, issuing orders for more strands, more spotlights, more paper lanterns.

Archie Butt, in charge of the evening, designed the special invitations, substituting silver for the usual White House gold. He emptied the White House greenhouses, then went to florists and private greenhouses to borrow blooming trees, fruit trees, palms, and tropical plants to mass in the house and through the grounds. Seven temporary aides joined the usual nine in standing in close formation near the Tafts at all times. Butt approved the china and silver and flowers and tasted the punch. When the time came it was described as "one of those balmy nights that come in June," perfect weather for a tropical fête. Much was in bloom on the White House grounds, delayed by a late winter; honeysuckle was at its fragrant peak on the stairs that led to the south portico. The gates were opened to the invited guests at 8 p.m. Thousands of spectators crowded the streets and the ellipse, as daylight fell and the electric lights rose.

The White House itself was completely illuminated, perhaps for the first time in its history. Over its roof a giant American flag floated horizontally on the wind made by electric fans concealed among the chimneys. All the trees were covered with strings of lights, and from their lower limbs bulbs shaded by paper lanterns were strung from tree to tree; the lanterns "diffused the light and softened the whole into a maze of dreamland." So read the official account, written by Archie Butt.

Music came from the Engineers Band, seated on the south portico, and the Marine Band, on the new tennis court, half concealed in the trees on the west side of the south lawn. The two played alternately, with no intermissions. Guests were allowed an hour to walk through the grounds before the appearance of the Tafts. According to the press, the company did not have the "the slightest conception of the elaborate preparations," and stood in wonder at what they saw. It was "a scene beautiful beyond description. All around the outer edge of the acres of level, short-clipped grass . . . were Chinese lanterns of fantastic designs, blocks upon blocks of them, barely 6 inches apart, swinging in the light breeze and casting their queer shapes and shadows on the lawn."⁴⁵

At nine o'clock the Engineers Band played the "Star-Spangled Banner," and the Tafts descended the grand staircase to the crowded state floor. Down the transverse hallway, side by side and not pausing, through the well-wishers, the couple walked to the Red Room, from which they stepped out onto the south portico. A great cheer rose from the several thousand people by then on the lawn, and the cheering spread to the estimated 15,000 outside the fences. The President smiled, took his wife's hand, and nodded to the band; and as the band played the Wedding March, the Tafts walked down the stair to the lawn, Mrs. Taft in white satin embroidered with silver roses and carnations.

For several hours, they shook hands beneath a tall arch of trees and boughs, crowned by "1886-1911" written out in light bulbs. The guests had freedom to move at will through the state floor and the grounds. At 11 p.m. the State Dining Room was opened for the buffet supper, and food was also served in the East Room and in small tents scattered throughout the groves flanking the south lawn. As the guests ate, the Washington Saengerbund Society, concealed in the Jackson Magnolias, sang "My Old Kentucky Home" and "The Last Rose of Summer."

At midnight, Mrs. Taft, exhausted, wept upstairs in the elevator. She could not sleep for a long while, but turned out the lights in the bedroom, opened the window, and watched the scene on the grounds below. At 1 a.m., the leader of the Engineers Band sent a note to the President, asking if he should strike up "Home Sweet Home"; no indeed,

responded the President, keep the music playing. Taft then went into the grounds to mix with the company, talking informally. When at last the music stopped, at 2 a.m., the crowd began to leave. The President ordered the lights turned off in the Blue Room and on the south portico, where he seated himself, and remained until the last guest had gone, watching the evening end, as though—in Archie Butt's words—"he loathed to see it pass."⁴⁶

Before he retired for the night Taft decided that the magic of the evening must live once more. He ordered that the grounds be open to the public the next night from 8 until 11, and that the music and lights remain exactly as they were the night of his silver anniversary.

Major Archibald Butt

Taft depended heavily upon Archie Butt, and the major was showing signs of breaking under the constant pressure. Besides his fast pace at the White House, he was probably the most popular bachelor in Washington. At the large old-fashioned house he rented several blocks from the White House, he and his artist friend Frank Millet gave open houses and suppers with some regularity. As a rule his friends seem to have been prominent and wealthy, people who lived more in the Roosevelt tradition of active leisure than in the Taft's circle, where intellectual growth and good deeds were what counted. Photographs in the official records show that he had become pale and weary looking, with bags under his eyes. Some of the newcomers at the White House he classed as rivals.

His doctor advised a trip for relaxation, and during the winter of 1912, Archie determined that spring would find him in Europe, where he would join Frank Millet, who had spent the winter in Rome at the American Academy. The President thought this a good idea. Major Butt's last dinner party at the White House was less a duty than a farewell affair for him, complete with gifts and slaps on the back. Everyone loved Archie Butt. He sailed from New York in March, intending to stay for two months. But the President received a wire in early April that his aide had changed his mind and would be back early, as he and Millet had the opportunity to sail home aboard the new *Titanic*.

Taft heard the news of the disaster on April 15, the day after it happened, but took heart when told that most of the passengers had survived. At the theater that night he was told otherwise, and immediately returned to his office, where in the cold emptiness of the place, he wired the White Star Line for word of Archie Butt. The next morning he was informed that Butt and Millet were not on the list of survivors.

controversy got into the papers. It appeared that disorder reigned at the White House. Jefferson's friends urged that rules be made.

At last, with his Cabinet, he drew up rules of conduct. "I blush to have to put so much trash on paper," wrote Jefferson of the exercise. The few notes that survive include one sentence particularly relevant to Jefferson's entertaining at the White House: "When brought together in society all are perfectly equal, whether foreign or domestic; titled or untitled, in or out of office." As for Mrs. Merry's impertinence, Jefferson stood his ground, if not without difficulty. "I should be sorry to lose [Merry] as long as there remains a possibility of reclaiming him If his wife perseveres, she must eat her soup at home." This she did.⁵³

As time passed, people grew accustomed to President Jefferson's manner of doing things. It would appear also that the President gradually relaxed his republican demands. The dinners in the State Dining Room became more orthodox, while the small dinners continued to be confined in closed rooms, with the guests serving themselves from dumbwaiters and tasting a variety of French and Italian dishes that may never before have passed their lips. Through society, Thomas Jefferson had made his point. If his problems with guests can be classed as a contest, he believed he had won, suppressing ceremony and kingly imitation. Whether Jefferson had permanently ended courtly ways at the White House remained to be seen.

Social events in the circles of power had little direct effect on the people. But Jefferson's two public events packed the house with most classes. Then, citizens could go and see the foreigners in their official costumes. The Tunisian minister in his turban, silks, and pearls; the Indian chiefs in their feathers and paint; the ministers of European courts in their tight silks and satins, with powdered hair and jeweled medals.

On those days Jefferson greeted the people while standing in the center of the elliptical saloon. They filed in to shake his hand and to offer and receive pleasantries. Crowds increased by the year. Tables were pushed against the walls of the State Dining Room and filled with bowls of punch and plates of sweets. The Marine Band, already the President's own, played in the hall—military men in the White House, unarmed, at peace, and contributing to the merriment.⁵⁴

New Year's was usually cold. But the Fourth of July was a time to be outside. The grounds of the President's Park—called the "common"—came alive at daybreak, with the raising of tents and booths soon followed by crowds of people. A regular fair was held, selling food and drink, as well as baskets, rugs, and other cottage products. There were horse races and tests of skill among the men. Cockfights and dogfights

took place on the sidelines. In the bare "parade" kept clear in the middle, the Washington Militia and other military companies drilled between ten o'clock and noon. A bareheaded Jefferson and his Cabinet watched from the steps of the White House, in civilian dress. Then the President invited everybody in to partake of his hospitality and his thanksgiving for the preservation of independence.⁵⁵

Architecture

Most of the permanent alterations Jefferson made to the White House were on the exterior. He added the east and west wings, and though they have been greatly expanded, part of the originals survive. His program for the White House, much more comprehensive than what was actually accomplished, was a part of his vigorous effort to further the development of the federal city.

He had been held at bay by Washington in the early planning stages of the city and its buildings. Jefferson's lingering hard feelings over that surfaced in his coldness as President toward L'Enfant, who had met with one misfortune after another in the years since his dismissal. He was a miserable figure, walking up Pennsylvania Avenue with his petitions to Congress under his arm and a cur dog at his feet. For years he haunted the Capitol and the departments, pressing for payment for designing the city. Jefferson refused to assist in any way, and the tone of the President's response to L'Enfant's sad request for help was anything but kind.⁵⁶

Jefferson's insistence upon having the ultimate say in anything involving buildings in the federal city is not surprising. Many expressions of his interest appear in the records of the commissioners. For example, one letter from Jefferson reported that on his early morning ride he had noticed a new house being built too near the street: Construction was to be stopped at once and the house moved back. He inspected the planting of trees, the clearing of lots. No matter was too minute for him.

In the large issues, particularly those involving the Capitol and White House, he intervened and made the final decisions himself. As secretary of state in the early 1790s he had worked hard to establish the authority of the Commission of the District of Columbia. Though officially responsible to him, the commissioners had in fact been dominated by Washington. By the time the commission had gained some independence, Jefferson had decided to return to private life. Once he became President, however, he changed his mind about having so authoritative a body oversee the city's growth. He did not like the way the commission managed the development of the city, and he felt that

Often Mrs. Monroe was unable to attend dinners and receptions, so she made the unhappy decision to make her daughter Eliza her surrogate hostess. This spoiled but witty young woman had inherited her mother's beauty but was snobbish and rude. John Quincy Adams, the Secretary of State, could not bear her and vented his distaste in his diary. The women of society finally turned on her—though she insisted that their feelings did not matter—when she demanded in the absence of her mother the same rank as the President's wife. She loved the stir she made, and put on all the airs she had learned at Madame Campan's school in France, but she shed an unfavorable light on the President's household.⁵³

For the most part, the Monroes seem to have kept to themselves. His reelection in 1820, largely unopposed, made any change in their pattern seem unnecessary; he was confirmed in thinking that he was doing what was right. As President he traveled and became familiar with his country; without question more citizens saw him in person than they had any President before him. His demand for privacy in his private life was a deliberate effort to remain remote, as he felt a leader should.

He employed guards who, had he not feared adverse publicity, might well have been military men. He settled, however, for civilians, who wore civilian dress and were usually found for him by the marshal of the city, Washington's ceremonial officer. A man was kept on duty in the entrance hall night and day, with firearms available to him in the little lodge room off the hall. Iron fencing and gates with heavy locks were built on the north side of the house.⁵⁴

On public days—such as the Fourth of July—the White House opened up and most of the appearance of seclusion was removed; the number of guards increased, but they stayed hidden in the areaway and among the trees. The President emerged front and center. He received in the middle of the oval drawing room, his feet on the centerpiece of the rug that featured the arms of the United States, the chandelier over his head. Republican principles prevailed to such an extent as to offer sharp contrasts to everyday practices at the White House. Attendance usually numbered well over a thousand. They came for a firm handshake from the President, a look at the ladies' dresses, and a cup of strong tea or whiskey punch. The receptions were open to all—but by today's democratic standards, they were highly restricted.⁵⁵

Foreigners were often confused when they tried to understand these receptions in the context of age-old standards of state conduct. What were the rules? After one reception, James Fenimore Cooper explained his experience in a long letter to a French friend: "the poorer and labouring classes of the community," he quickly noted, "stay away." This was

also true of the lewd and notorious. But not because they were prohibited, as in Europe. The poor knew they would feel out of place, and the immoral were barred by public opinion.

"I have known a cartman," wrote Cooper, "leave his horse in the street and go into a reception room to shake hands with the President. He offended the good taste of all present, because it was not thought decent that a labourer should come in dirty dress on such an occasion; but while he made a trifling mistake in this particular he proved how well he understood the difference between government and society. He knew the levee was a sort of homage paid to political equality in the person of the first magistrate, but he would not have presumed to enter the house of the same person as a private individual without being invited."⁵⁶

The South Portico

Jefferson's 1800 "revolution," which had brought the Republicans to the White House, had been in part a reaction against the powerful executive authority endorsed by the Federalists, and symbolized by the White House. Both Jefferson and Madison had used the White House in different ways to epitomize their more modest ideas about the Presidency. Illustrating this philosophy was extremely important to them in the pre-war years when young America struggled for its identity.

By Monroe's time, victory over England had brought a sense of security and nationhood to the people. The principle of republican simplicity no longer carried the same importance. Monroe did not need to use the Presidency as a pulpit from which to preach political sermons or dramatize partisan points of view. A better rule for the White House was to symbolize the triumph and unity of the nation.

Had finances not become a problem, Monroe would have continued in his embellishment of the White House. The East Room, for example, was to have been adorned with painted wall decorations by John Vanderlyn, the gifted American painter famous for his picture of the sleeping nude "Ariadne." Apparently on Monroe's request, the painter made a proposal for decorating the walls of the great state room. He was well known to Monroe, who as secretary of state had commissioned him to paint a portrait of President Madison. Vanderlyn actually set up his studio in the East Room, but the painted decorations, like many of Monroe's plans, fell victim to the cost cutting of 1819.⁵⁷

Monroe resumed only one of his projects for the White House after the Panic: the south portico. Hoban built this addition in Seneca stone, with its half-ring of Ionic columns, in 1824. It was tall and massive,

Those who knew Van Buren personally liked him. It is rare to find an unflattering remark about him from anyone who either did not know him at all, or had reason to disagree with him. Yet the general impression of him was that he was snobbish and autocratic, and as his nickname "the fox" suggests, a conniver. The common belief that he rose to the Presidency by working the vicious and imprudent Peggy O'Neale to his advantage was a great oversimplification. He was sensitive enough on this subject to explain himself in great detail in his memoirs. His account seems fair, and he shows no reluctance to bring delicate details into print, at a time when the principal figure was still alive. It was his own place in history that concerned him then, not hers.

He was an obvious target for the poison darts of the Whigs. This tenuous combination of anti-Jacksonians called Van Buren the antithesis of Old Hickory's common-man philosophy. Van Buren did little to combat criticism of this kind and in some respects even seemed to encourage it in his use of the White House. For example, at the great public receptions on New Year's Day and the Fourth of July, Van Buren was visibly uncomfortable, hardly concealing his dislike of the crowds that packed the state rooms. They pushed and shoved and wrung his hand over and over again as he stood in the Blue Room. Hoping to hurry the process, the President ordered that no food or drink be served. The callers hated him for this, being accustomed to whiskey punch, tea, coffee, and wine, not to mention sometimes ice cream, cakes, and oranges.¹⁴

Van Buren's public receptions were not open to everyone. Although it was simply announced in the papers that the President would be "at home" on a certain afternoon, only the element of society that knew it would be admitted dared attend. Thus the events may have appeared egalitarian, but only because those who might be turned away rarely showed up. The disorders of Jackson's inaugural had not happened again, although a little game had been played at the end of most of his receptions, in which, at 3 or 3:30 in the afternoon, a drift of boys and youths had usually "crashed" and were given generous samples of the general's leftover refreshments. This innocent liberty seems to have made the boys behave themselves while the reception itself was at its height. Van Buren put a stop to the practice by stationing guards at every gate and doorway. Rather than discouraging the lads on the street, it made them try to enter early. With the harmless boys came unsavory men and women, delighted at the opportunity to create a scene. Collected at the gates, they called out to elegantly costumed figures in the shadowy coaches; they threw mud at gentlemen mounted on fine—albeit sometimes rented—horses. Still the President persisted in the use of guards.¹⁵

Of the public receptions the one Van Buren himself disliked the most was held on the Fourth of July. Though even more hallowed than the New Year's reception, it disrupted his happy summer schedule; in addition the President had little to gain from it, for most of the people of political importance had departed the city by that date. Since an invitation was not sent through the mail, the idea being that the public simply called on the President at home, Van Buren decided that he would be out of town on July 4, 1839. Abraham and Angelica were in England. Instead of entertaining, the President went to New York to be entertained. For the first time in the history of the United States, the President did not have a reception on the Fourth.¹⁶

In New York, Van Buren participated in a parade, receiving an address at Castle Garden, where he reviewed the troops. He was provided with a magnificent black horse for the occasion, and his appearance on Broadway splendidly mounted, tipping his hat to the right and left, made quite a show—too much of a show. Not many days later his performance was ridiculed in the newspapers. Van Buren was so close politically to the Jacksonian idea of the common man that he was blinded to the great value of the Presidency in symbolizing it.

Gold Spoons

Adverse comment on Martin Van Buren's supposed high style of living and aristocratic pretensions in the White House increased over his years in office. At last he was tried and convicted of this in the presidential election of 1840: The Whigs, taking their cue from the Jacksonians 12 years earlier, drafted a common-man hero to carry their banner, General William Henry Harrison, who had won the Battle of Tippecanoe during the War of 1812.

By 1840 newspaper slurs on Van Buren as a princely pretender were nothing new. The continuing agony of the Panic made this good copy in the Whig press. A story, widely circulated in the East, was about the Whig Congressman Landaff Watson Andrews of Kentucky. A dinner guest at the White House, he was said to have picked up a "golden spoon" from the table and held it up to the President, saying, "Mr. Van Buren, if you will let me take this spoon to Kentucky and show it to my constituents, I will promise not to make use of any other argument against you—this will be enough." The administration newspaper, the *Congressional Globe*, dismissed this anecdote not by denying the spoons, but by saying that whatever gold spoons were in the White House were acquired before Van Buren's time.¹⁷

iron skeleton had proved too expensive, so the sash that held the glass was all of wood, as it had been in the original conservatory. Only a few iron structural members were used.³⁴

Some five weeks before the conservatory burned, Mrs. Patterson's redecorating of the interior of the White House was nearly finished. For the New Year's reception of 1867 she had opened the three parlors for the first time, to general acclaim. The bright, intricately patterned wallpapers were gone; tall "French panels," or frames, had been created on the walls with gilt moldings. Silk-like wallpapers were used inside the long rectangles, with the other surfaces painted various dark Pompeian colors, in the French *néo-grec* mode then making its first appearance in the United States.

The new look Mrs. Patterson had achieved was more controlled and more orderly than the florid French Antique style that had dominated these rooms from James K. Polk's time to Abraham Lincoln's. The redecorated state parlors were darker and less theatrically "historical." Rather than being reflected from every surface, the gaslight glowed on some and was absorbed by others.³⁵

Mrs. Patterson had an interest in history. In the attic she came across a forgotten series of portraits commissioned by the Congress in 1857 from the painter George P. A. Healy as decoration for the White House. They depicted John Quincy Adams, Van Buren, Tyler, Polk, Fillmore, and Pierce. They had been stored unframed by French sometime prior to 1864. When Mrs. Patterson showed her father the pictures, he was delighted, and through French secured an appropriation of \$300 each for gilt frames. The pictures, some bust portraits, some full length, were hung in the transverse hall on the state floor, outside the state parlors. President Johnson took great pleasure in escorting his guests through the hall and discoursing on the characters and accomplishments of his predecessors. During the spring of 1867 the East Room was opened. Mrs. Patterson's renovations were finally complete.³⁶

The Steward William Slade

Some important changes in the operation of the White House naturally accompanied so ambitious a program of renovation. Mrs. Patterson scrutinized the ways the parties and public receptions were organized and she asked some practical questions about the staffing of the house.

Johnson held relatively few dinners until the last year of his administration. But large receptions were frequent, and the custom of Thursday drawing rooms for women was continued. Generally speaking,

receptions open to the public had been reserved since the late '50s for New Year's and the Fourth of July, with all others by invitation only. Andrew Johnson reintroduced the levee; meaning in White House parlance an open house for all comers, the levee was more in keeping with his democratic outlook than the other relatively exclusive functions, which required formal invitations.

Johnson's levees were jammed. Immense throngs arrived sometimes an hour or more early and waited in the hot sun; many visitors found themselves too far toward the end of the line to make it inside before the doors were closed. Dust, sweat, and aching feet, combined with irritation at not getting to shake the President's hand, made for disgruntled citizens, and there were sometimes several of these after one of Johnson's levees. Some vented their anger in the papers. Yet great effort was freely spent to make the levees as personal and hospitable as possible under the circumstances. The serving of food had long since proved impossible; even ice water was not usually available. Flower arrangements were placed about, on mantels and on large tables; the state rooms, most of their furniture taken to the basement, were primped to look their best. The Marine Band played in the hall outside the East Room.³⁷

No one had analyzed White House entertaining seriously since Buchanan's administration. Mrs. Patterson's initial concern was to curb costly wear and tear on the house. The crowded receptions under the Lincolns could be blamed for a large part of the dilapidation of the state rooms. Change was recognizable first in the autumn of 1867. The prime innovation was that the great crowds were given easy access to the outside from the East Room. Mrs. Patterson disposed of the long temporary stair that had served the south window and devised an exit on the north, where the windowsills were nearer grade. Her carpenter built a portable ramp—called the "bridge"—to fit across the light well and connect with the driveway. Callers were not usually directed to leave by this bridge from the East Room, but its convenience encouraged many to seek fresh air, thinning the crowds significantly.³⁸

On the day before a levee, the state rooms were emptied of everything except fixtures and the ornaments on the mantels. Chairs, tables, lamps, the "Japanese cabinet" of Pierce were neatly stacked in the Red Room and State Dining Room, both of which were then locked. With the furniture out of the way, John Alexander spread heavy linen "crash" in runners over the carpeting where the lines of callers would cross the transverse hall, the Blue Room, and the Green Room. For the East Room, the crash was cut and sewn in large pieces and lightly tacked together section by section in a giant quilt that spread from wall to wall,

serving the dual purpose of protecting the carpeting and muffling the considerable noise made by visitors.³⁹

The effect of the new program appeared in declining repair bills and in the survival of many objects through the subsequent Victorian decades. Damage was decreased also by new precautions against souvenir seekers. Visitors were welcomed to inspect the East Room Monday through Saturday between the hours of nine and three. In Lincoln's time callers had on occasion sprawled out and slept on the sofas. Now there were detectives to prevent such familiarities, and Mrs. Patterson seems not to have been concerned that it looked inhospitable.

Some who took liberties with the furnishings lived to regret it. "The lady who calls to see you," wrote a kindly landlord to Major French, "has occupied part of my house for a year and is an efficient clerk in the Internal Revenue Office." Only a day before, she and a friend from out of town had visited the White House. "Passing out through the door, near a window in the East Room, there was a curtain . . . in rags, & this visitor pulled a small piece from it, thoughtlessly, at the very moment the detective who was on the spot arrested her and took the ladies to the Supt. of Police." The landlord insisted that this was really French's fault for having a curtain so near the path the visitors followed. He had "tempted" the poor girl beyond her power to resist.⁴⁰

The size of the domestic staff of the White House had varied over the years. From 1800 until the Civil War the average number of servants was 12. This does not count personal or body servants, and southern Presidents often brought sizable numbers of slaves with them. Lincoln's household organization had been large, though it varied from time to time. Many of the salaries were buried in the payrolls of the executive departments. Johnson employed five house servants, whom he paid from his own pocket: a head-cook and a head laundress, each with an assistant, and a chambermaid. He also paid the salary of the oddly titled "Cow Man." All other White House employees were paid directly or indirectly by the federal government. There were two doorkeepers, three watchmen, and a gardener listed in French's records, some ostensibly clerks in the various departments, others members of the Metropolitan Police. The Treasury Detective Force also performed guard duty at the White House every day.

President Johnson's total payroll for his five servants and the cow man varied between \$66 and \$99 per month. This did not include caterers or temporary servants brought in to assist at big dinners. The President fed all who worked at the White House, sometimes twice a day, an average of 32 people—from the 14 at the President's table in the private

dining room to Lizzie Mitchell, the head cook, and her two children, who ate in the kitchen. Doormen and messengers were served in the doormen's room adjacent to the north door. Servants ate in the basement waiting room where the house bells rang, or in the servants' dining rooms—one for blacks and a second for whites.⁴¹

The long-standing practice of paying the steward with the federal salary earmarked for the chief doorkeeper had become unnecessary in 1864, when the Congress began tacking a liberal salary for the steward onto the office appropriation. Even though the steward was considered a personal employee of the President—and functioned as such—it had been obvious for some years that a federal official was needed at the White House who would take charge of domestic management and be responsible for the furnishings, silver, and other public property. The Polks had anticipated this when they hired a businessman instead of a servant as their steward. In July 1866 the Congress created the federal post of steward of the White House.⁴²

Appointed by the President and serving at his pleasure, the steward was accountable for the well-being of all public property in the White House, including the building itself and its grounds. Although seen at the outset as a political position, the stewardship never developed into one because of the peculiar nature of the job. In addition to his White House responsibilities, the steward was a fiscal agent, managing the President's personal funds insofar as they were expended for the household, as well as the funds appropriated for the White House by the Congress. He was under the Department of the Interior and was to post bond in an amount determined by the secretary of that department.

The President recognized the steward's position as a powerful and delicate one calling for good judgment and the ability to communicate with politicians and officials as well as with the family and servants. For the post he selected William Slade, a light-skinned black man; bond was set at \$30,000, the estimated value of the silver and china in the White House. Slade had been acting as steward since August 1, 1865, following the removal of Stackpole, who had at last played his fatal card by lending a silver bowl from the house to a Baltimore store for advertisement.

Before coming to the White House, Slade had been a messenger at the Treasury, and thus had known President Johnson for some years. When Johnson moved into the White House on June 9, 1865, he placed Slade in charge of the household accounts. Stackpole's dismissal late the next month opened the way for Slade. Conscientious attention to his duties earned for William Slade the appointment in August 1866 as the first official steward of the White House.

75 Special Message to the Senate Transmitting the North Atlantic Treaty. April 12, 1949

To the Senate of the United States:

I transmit herewith for the consideration of the Senate a copy of the North Atlantic Treaty signed at Washington on April 4, 1949, together with a report of the Secretary of State.

This Treaty is an expression of the desire of the people of the United States for peace and security, for the continuing opportunity to live and work in freedom.

Events of this century have taught us that we cannot achieve peace independently. The world has grown too small. The oceans to our east and west no longer protect us from the reach of brutality and aggression.

We have also learned—learned in blood and conflict—that if we are to achieve peace we must work for peace.

This knowledge has made us determined to do everything we can to insure that peace is maintained. We have not arrived at this decision lightly, or without recognition of the effort it entails. But we cannot escape the great responsibility that goes with our great stature in the world. Every action of this Nation in recent years has demonstrated the overwhelming will of our people that the strength and influence of the United States shall be used in the cause of peace, justice and freedom.

In this determination, our people wholeheartedly accepted the Charter of the United Nations in 1945. Since then, we have worked unceasingly to reach international agreement through the United Nations and to make the United Nations a more effective instrument for its mighty task.

In the last year we have embarked on a great cooperative enterprise with the free nations of Europe to restore the vitality of

the European economy—so important to the prosperity and peace of our country and the world.

The North Atlantic Treaty is further evidence of our determination to work for a peaceful world. It is in accord with the action of the Senate last June when it signified its approval of our country's associating itself in peacetime with countries outside the Western Hemisphere in collective arrangements, within the framework of the United Nations Charter, designed to safeguard peace and security.

The twelve nations which have signed this Treaty undertake to exercise their right of collective or individual self-defense against armed attack, in accordance with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, and subject to such measures as the Security Council may take to maintain and restore international peace and security. The Treaty makes clear the determination of the people of the United States and of our neighbors in the North Atlantic community to do their utmost to maintain peace with justice and to take such action as they may deem necessary if the peace is broken.

The people of the North Atlantic community have seen solemn agreements, designed to assure peace and the rights of small nations, broken one by one and the people of those nations deprived of freedom by terror and oppression. They are resolved that their nations shall not, one by one, suffer the same fate.

The nations signing this Treaty share a common heritage of democracy, individual liberty, and the rule of law. The American members of the North Atlantic community stem directly from the European members in tradition and in love of freedom. We

have joined to development of have shared our in the present devastation of w

The security of this community and welfare of achieve economic security. None continuance of

Together, of tremendous significance in every p Treaty is clear language and in tems are no real tion of nations d of human freed

This Treaty is long one—on the action, no ma achieve peace. patiently and

76 Remarks of the President

Mr. President, Minority Leaders, distinguished legislative body which life:

I appreciate and cordiality to come down and and I had lunch it was a good to meet and talk to Senate, a privilege appreciate.

Harry S. Truman, 1949

Apr. 12 [76]

have joined together in the progressive development of free institutions, and we have shared our moral and material strength in the present task of rebuilding from the devastation of war.

The security and welfare of each member of this community depend upon the security and welfare of all. None of us alone can achieve economic prosperity or military security. None of us alone can assure the continuance of freedom.

Together, our joint strength is of tremendous significance to the future of free men in every part of the world. For this Treaty is clear evidence that differences in language and in economic and political systems are no real bar to the effective association of nations devoted to the great principles of human freedom and justice.

This Treaty is only one step—although a long one—on the road to peace. No single action, no matter how significant, will achieve peace. We must continue to work patiently and carefully, advancing with

practical, realistic steps in the light of circumstances and events as they occur, building the structure of peace soundly and solidly.

I believe that the North Atlantic Treaty is such a step, based on the realities of the situation we face today and framed within the terms of the United Nations Charter and the Constitution of the United States.

In the conviction that the North Atlantic Treaty is a great advance toward fulfillment of the unconquerable will of the people of the United States to achieve a just and enduring peace, I request the advice and consent of the Senate to its ratification.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

NOTE: The treaty was favorably considered by the Senate on July 21, 1949, and after ratification entered into force on August 24, 1949. It was proclaimed by the President on August 24, 1949.

The text of the treaty is printed in the U.S. Statutes at Large (63 Stat. 2241), and in the Department of State Bulletin (vol. 20, p. 339). The report of the Secretary of State is printed in the Department of State Bulletin (vol. 20, p. 532).

See also Items 68, 162, 188, 225.

76 Remarks on the Floor of the Senate on the Fourth Anniversary of the Death of President Roosevelt. April 12, 1949

Mr. President, Mr. Majority Leader, Mr. Minority Leader, Members of this distinguished legislative body—I think the legislative body which I have been closest to in my life:

I appreciate most highly your kindness and cordiality to me today. I was asked to come down and have lunch with the Senate, and I had lunch with the whole Senate, and it was a good lunch; and I had a chance to meet and talk to nearly every Senator in the Senate, a privilege which I very highly appreciate.

The reason for this invitation is the fact that in 1945 I was presiding over the Senate of the United States as Vice President. The Senate adjourned at 5 o'clock. I had an engagement to see the Speaker on a matter that was pending in both Houses in which the administration was interested. When I got to the Speaker's office, I didn't have a chance to talk to him but was instructed to return a call from the White House, which I did.

I was informed by Mr. Steve Early, who was at that time the President's Secretary,

In State of Union, President Clinton set out roadmap for American leadership in 21st century. First of six core strategic objectives was building undivided, democratic, peaceful Europe. The period from Helsinki (March) through Paris (May) to Madrid (July) represents milestone of American leadership in building new Europe -- a capstone for 20th century, cornerstone for 21st.

Helsinki -- Laying Foundation for U.S.-Russia Relationship in 21st Century

- Building Undivided Europe: Clinton and Yeltsin agreed on broad outlines for NATO-Russia partnership. Vindicated President Clinton's approach of bringing Central Europe's new democracies into NATO while building strong ties between NATO and Russia.
- Reducing Nuclear Danger: Yeltsin agreed to seek prompt Duma ratification of START II. Both agreed to guidelines for more cuts under START III once START II ratified: by 2007 reduce by 80% arsenals from Cold War height. Agreed to preserve ABM Treaty that restricts strategic missiles while allowing defenses vs. theater missiles.
- Help Russia Complete Transformation to Market Economy: As Yeltsin takes steps to reform economy, U.S. will free up funds to help finance billions of dollars in trade and investment with Russia -- bringing more jobs, prosperity to both. As evidence of Helsinki commitments, Russia took part in Denver Summit of Eight from start, joined Paris Club of creditor nations.

Paris -- The NATO-Russia Founding Act

- A New Era of Possibility: NATO-Russia Founding Act joins a great nation with history's most successful alliance in common cause for building undivided, peaceful, democratic Europe. Through Founding Act, NATO and Russia will consult and coordinate regularly. Where both agree, they will act jointly -- as in Bosnia.
- European Security Not Zero Sum: NATO's gain no longer Russia's loss, Russia's strength NATO's weakness. By reducing rivalry and fear, strengthening peace and cooperation, facing common threats to security of all democracies, NATO will promote stability in all of Europe.
- Fulfilling Marshall's Legacy: As President said in Marshall Plan and West Point speeches, we have historic opportunity to complete job Marshall generation began by extending to Europe's East stability, prosperity enjoyed by West and strengthening this generation's security.

Madrid -- Milestone of American Leadership

- Realizing President Clinton's Vision: In Brussels in 1994, Clinton put enlargement on table to strengthen NATO, lock in gains of democracy in CEE. In Madrid, first of Europe's new democracies will be invited to join: Hungary, Poland, Czech Republic. Door will remain open to all those able to meet responsibilities of membership.
- Capstone of 20th Century -- Cornerstone of 21st: The President's leadership from Helsinki to Madrid has laid a strong foundation for the new Europe of the 21st century. Europe can go from main battleground of bloodiest century in history to the citadel for values America promotes: freedom, democracy, security.

SAMUEL R. BERGER
TALKING POINTS FOR PUNDITS BRIEFING ON
THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO EUROPE FOR THE NATO SUMMIT
ROOSEVELT ROOM
JULY 2, 1997

Introduction

- Pleased to be joined by Deputy Secretary Talbott to talk about President's trip to Europe next week for NATO Summit.
- I want to quickly put Summit in broader context of our work since last NATO Summit in Brussels in 1994 to help Alliance meet demands, opportunities of new era -- and then run through next week's key events. Secretary Cohen will focus on how bringing new members into NATO will strengthen our alliance and touch upon our work to adapt NATO to new missions. Deputy Secretary Talbott will highlight the intense effort of past few months -- from Helsinki to Madrid -- to proceed with enlargement while at same time reaching out to Russia, Ukraine and others.

From Brussels to Madrid

- In January 1994, during first trip to Europe, President Clinton laid out strategy for European integration -- political integration around democracies, economic integration around free markets, security integration around military cooperation and defensive alliances.
- Third piece vital: it provides stability necessary for first two to flourish. NATO is at heart of Trans-Atlantic security.
- After Cold War, some questioned NATO's ongoing utility. President Clinton convinced it had to remain bedrock of common security -- but that we had to re-create NATO for a new era.
- In Brussels in 1994, NATO allies launched process of adapting NATO to new missions, opening its doors to new members and forging relationships with new partners. Over past three years, together we've worked steadily, deliberately, openly to move from process to practical results. Strategic thinking in Germany, UK, France, Spain (Solana), Denmark was essential -- especially in early "creative" phase of our deliberations.
- It's been a tough but exemplary process. NATO is 16 nations -- a democracy, not a diktat. We all have different views on some of the key issues and we will continue working on them at the Summit. It won't be easy -- there are strong views on all sides. But -- and this is impressive -- we agree on fundamentals -- that NATO remains heart of our alliance; that it must be prepared to take on new missions; that new members will add to its strength; that building practical partnerships with countries outside alliance is vital to Europe's stability. Summit will show concrete progress we have made together in each of these areas.

Madrid is a Milestone

- Three year effort coming together in Madrid. We've made NATO stronger, broader and force for stability beyond borders of members. Madrid represents many faces of new Europe that fit into the tapestry of an undivided, democratic and peaceful continent.

Making NATO Stronger

- ⇒ Approve new relationship between NATO and WEU so allies can use NATO assets for European-led missions.
- ⇒ Continue to review NATO's command structure to give Europeans greater responsibility.

Making NATO Broader

- ⇒ Expect to issue invites to Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic to begin accession talks.
- ⇒ Recognize impressive progress Slovenia, Romania, others have made, are making.
- ⇒ Door will remain open to all those ready to meet responsibilities of membership.

Force for Stability Beyond Borders

- ⇒ Strengthen successful Partnership for Peace Program
- ⇒ Launch regular political, military consultations thru Euro-Atlantic Security Council.
- ⇒ Build partnership with other countries. Two months ago -- NATO-Russia. Now, NATO-Ukraine.

- Pieces fit together into a web of new ties and partnerships that will undergird Europe's security in next century.
- Process of building web has produced number of significant "side benefits": recent Russia-Ukraine agreement; resolution by CEE countries of a dozen border and ethnic disputes that could have led to future conflicts; strong incentives for all those wishing to join NATO or enter into partnership with NATO to pursue democratic and economic reform.

Key Events

- Let me quickly walk you through key events.

1. Thursday, July 3: Trip begins with Independence Day event in East Room. Expect major veterans organizations to endorse enlargement. As we celebrate our own freedom and independence, we prepare to help strengthen new found freedom and independence in Europe.

2. Monday, July 7: President flies to Madrid this weekend, spends two down days in Majorca. Flies to Madrid Monday for Summit preparatory meetings, including bilats with Aznar and Solana. Very pleased Congressional Observer Group Senator Lott put together will be in Madrid with him -- will meet with them Monday. Support for enlargement bipartisan. Senate has central role since enlargement must be ratified.

3. Tuesday, July 8: First day of Summit. North Atlantic Council meets in morning, for working lunch and then again in afternoon. Anticipate Solana will announce invitations to new members in afternoon. President will speak to American community in Spain at embassy.

4. Wednesday, July 9: Second day of Summit. Bilateral meeting with Kuchma. Sign NATO-Ukraine Charter. Meeting of EAPC. President will host reception for all CEE heads of state. Then, will conduct a press conference at the conclusion of the two day summit before flying to Granada for a few hours.

5. Thursday, July 10: In Warsaw, President will celebrate remarkable strides Poles, other new invitees have made since 1989. Also wants to make clear that NATO membership carries with it important responsibilities.

6. Friday, July 11: President felt strongly about going to Romania, strong candidate for first round invitation that we believe is not quite ready. Will emphasize door to NATO open and we are determined to help Romania, others walk through it at right time.

7. Saturday, July 12: President ends historic week in Copenhagen. Had planned to visit as part of Helsinki trip but postponed because of leg injury. Chance to sum up week and also intense period from Helsinki to Madrid that has seen us lay foundation for European security in 21st century -- and that Strobe will now talk about.

THE AMER. BOOK OF DAYS - SAME

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JULY 4

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the fashions of 75 to 100 years ago. One of the concluding events of the 1963 Centennial Year was Poetry Day in Idaho, honoring some 200 contemporary Idaho poets.

Feast of St. Thomas the Apostle

Roman Catholics, who had long venerated St. Thomas — the original “doubting Thomas” and one of the 12 Apostles of Christ — on December 21, have observed the Feast of St. Thomas on July 3 since the recent reform of the Roman Catholic calendar. The change to the reputed date of the transfer of his relics was made in order to make the Advent season more free from interruption by other observances for Catholics.

For other Christians who mark the occasion, notably Episcopalians and Lutherans, the date of the Feast of St. Thomas is still December 21, and it is under that date that the account of the saint's life will be found. Eastern Orthodox Christians venerate St. Thomas on still another date — October 6, or 13 days later where the Julian calendar is still used.

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Independence Day

Political independence was not the goal of the American colonists, but rather an alternative accepted only as a last resort. The authorities in England, speaking as much from worry as from knowledge, occasionally whispered that their transatlantic cousins wanted a separate existence, but there is little evidence that many provincial patriots seriously considered severing the ties before 1776. Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, could write even in June 1775 that “I am sincerely one of those . . . who would rather be in dependence on Great Britain, properly limited, than on any other nation on earth, or than on no nation.”

Early arguments in defense of the American position had stressed the colonists' allegiance to the British king and Parliament and blamed worsening relations on overzealous and unprincipled advisers who unduly influenced the British government. As late as 1773 most provincials still recognized Parliament's right to regulate trade and to make laws affecting them, save in the sensitive area of taxation. They denied principally England's power to raise money from colonies separated from the mother country by 3,000 miles — colonies that could never expect to enjoy adequate representation in the House of Commons.

American grievances against England had ac-

cumulated in the years after the conclusion of the French and Indian War in 1763. The British government, in severe financial distress as a result of military expenditures, sought to streamline its colonial administration and make the colonies pay more money into the empire's coffers. In particular, King George III and his ministers wanted the provincials to pay at least part of the enormous costs of defending England's New World settlements. The Americans professed their willingness to help, but objected strenuously to British attempts to levy taxes on them unilaterally. Measures such as the Stamp Act of 1765 (see March 22) drew especially strong opposition. The Stamp Act was repealed in 1766, but the Townshend Acts of 1767 levied new duties. Merchants retaliated by boycotting British imports, and by 1770 all the Townshend duties were repealed except that on tea.

Troops were sent to maintain order, and clashes between patriots and British soldiers broke out. In 1770 the Boston Massacre (see March 5) was the consequence of a struggle between angry citizens and soldiers, who fired into the crowd. Attempts at reconciliation were made, but the revolutionaries continued their agitation. In 1773 resistance to the hated tax on tea — and to the monopoly of the East India Company — led a group of citizens to stage the Boston Tea Party (see December 16). In order to punish the rebelling colonists, Parliament passed the “Coercive” or “Intolerable” Acts of 1774, which authorized the closing of the port of Boston and prohibited town meetings without the governor's consent.

On September 5, 1774, the First Continental Congress convened in Philadelphia. The Congress, representing 12 colonies, condemned the Coercive Acts; denounced Britain's imposition of taxes during the past decade; and adopted a declaration of rights which included the rights of “life, liberty and property.”

Gradually the colonists reconsidered their opinion of King George's benevolence. Patriot blood shed at Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill, Massachusetts, in 1775 (see April 19 and June 17), and the king's proclamation of August 23, 1775, stating that the Americans were in rebellion, badly weakened the bonds between England and the American colonies. By 1776 the colonists were ready to accept the inflammatory *Common Sense* by Thomas Paine (see January 29), with its description of King George as the “royal brute” and its call for an end to his reign in the New World.

In the spring of 1776 the colonists advanced, step by step, toward independence. On April 12 the North Carolina convention instructed its delegates to the Second Continental Congress,

then meeting in Philadelphia, to vote for independence. In turn the Virginia convention, which met in Williamsburg on May 15, directed its delegates to ask the Congress to "declare the United Colonies free and independent states, absolved from all allegiance to, or dependence on the Crown or Parliament of Great Britain." On the same day the Continental Congress, at the suggestion of John Adams, recommended that the various colonies provisionally assume all the powers of government.

Richard Henry Lee, a delegate from Virginia to the Congress, brought the question of independence before that body on June 7. With John Adams's support, Lee advanced the following motion: "Resolved, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." In subsequent debate moderate representatives persuaded their colleagues to delay a final vote for three weeks; but, in the meantime, "that no time be lost, in case the Congress agree thereto," John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Robert R. Livingston, and Roger Sherman were appointed as a committee to draft a declaration of independence.

On July 1 the Congress resumed debate on the Lee resolution and approved it the following day, thus officially dissolving the political bonds with England. On July 2 the Congress formally voted for independence. That same day Jefferson brought his committee's proposed declaration of independence before the delegates, and for two days they debated its merits and made revisions. The representatives of 12 colonies ratified the final version on July 4, and John Hancock, the president of the Congress, and Charles Thomson, its secretary, signed the document on that day. On July 9 the Provincial Congress of New York ordered its delegates in Philadelphia, who had abstained from voting on July 4, to endorse the document, and finally the Continental Congress on July 19 resolved to have the "unanimous declaration" engrossed on parchment. Fifty-six names were affixed to the manifesto.

Written primarily by Thomas Jefferson, who was perhaps the most eloquent as well as one of the youngest of the Revolutionary leaders, the Declaration of Independence began with a preamble, which was an assertion of philosophic principles concerning natural rights. "The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America," as the document was titled on parchment, began with these ringing assertions:

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands, which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent Respect to the Opinions of Mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the Separation.

We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness — That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their Powers from the Consent of the Governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new Government.

Jefferson did not design the document as a vehicle to express original concepts, but rather to articulate tenets that seemed "self-evident" to most Americans. On May 8, 1825, as an old man, he wrote to Richard Henry Lee that his task had been

not to find out new principles, or new arguments, never before thought of, not merely to say things which had never been said before; but to place before mankind the common sense of the subject, [in] terms so plain and firm as to command their assent, and to justify ourselves in the independent stand we [were] impelled to take. Neither aiming at originality of principle or sentiment, nor yet copied from any particular and previous writing, it was intended to be an expression of the American mind. . . . All its authority rests then on the harmonizing sentiments of the day, whether expressed in conversation, in letters, printed essays, or the elementary books of public right, as Aristotle, Cicero, Locke, Sidney, etc.

A catalog of specific colonial grievances constituted the second section of the Declaration. Significantly, the authors did not mention Parliament, whose authority over the colonies they had denied for the past two years, but rather blamed George III for all wrongs. By declaring the monarch the villain and terminating their allegiance to him, the rebels severed what they alleged to be their sole link with the British Empire.

The third, and final, part of the Declaration was a reiteration of the Lee resolution, asserting the colonies to be independent from England. The document ended with the delegates' statement that "for the support of this Declaration, . . . we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our Sacred Honor."

Philadelphians were the first citizens to hear

JULY 4

the Declaration promulgated, as John Nixon, a member of that city's Committee of Public Safety, read it to them on July 8 in the yard of the Pennsylvania State House — now known as Independence Hall. There was great popular exultation with much cheering and with the continuous ringing of church bells long into the night; the militia even used up some of the precious gunpowder to fire volleys in salutes to independence. Other details in contemporary accounts are interesting. Charles Biddle, in his autobiography, says: "I was in the old State House Yard when the Declaration . . . was read. There were few respectable persons present." And Deborah Logan, who lived in a house facing the square, wrote that "the first audience of the Declaration was neither very numerous nor composed of the most respectable class of citizens."

Residents of New York, including George Washington and several army brigades, heard the Declaration read on July 9. That evening the citizens spiritedly rejoiced and tore down a lead equestrian statue of George III.

Boston received the Declaration of Independence with tumultuous celebration on July 18, when the document was read to the public from the balcony of what now is known as the Old State House, overlooking the site of the 1770 Boston Massacre. A stunned instant of silence was followed by pandemonium. Members of the crowd ripped down the British lion and unicorn that graced the building. These wooden symbols of royalty, soon supplemented by every other Tory sign the long-irritated Bostonian populace could find, were used to start the biggest bonfire the city had ever seen. Dignitaries in the State House quaffed toasts to independence, and the booming of cannons resounded for hours across the city, which the British had unwillingly evacuated four months earlier (see March 17).

Toasts "in grateful deliverance from the British" were also drunk in Providence and in Worcester, Massachusetts, where news of the Declaration was greeted by "a great beating of the drums," the ringing of bells, and "sustained shouts of huzza, firing of musketry and cannon, and bonfires." Things were somewhat more restrained in Amherst, New Hampshire, where residents reacted to the verbal stand for independence by holding a prayer service, followed by a decorous parade. In Delaware the people burned a painting of George III as part of their rejoicing. Georgia, the most remote colony, received the news before the middle of August, and Savannah officials marked the occasion with an outdoor feast.

On July 2, 1777, it occurred to someone in

Philadelphia that the first anniversary of independence should be celebrated. The time was short and the country at war, but arrangements for an official dinner were made and Congress adjourned for the day. John Adams, in a letter to his daughter, said that the bells rang all day and that there were bonfires in the streets and fireworks in the evening. Adams's party went on board the *Delaware*, to be greeted by a 13-gun salute. The anniversary dinner was served at 3:00 P.M. with music furnished by "a band of Hessians taken at Trenton." Between toasts a company of soldiers stationed outside fired volleys. After dinner there was a parade of the soldiers in the city. In the evening Adams took a walk for exercise and

was surprised to find the whole city lighting up their candles at the windows. I walked most of the evening and I think it was the most splendid illumination I ever saw; a few surly houses were dark, but the lights were very universal. Considering the lateness of the design and the suddenness of the execution I was amazed at the universal joy and alacrity that was discovered and the brilliancy and splendor of every part of this joyful exhibition.

Like most of his contemporaries, Adams thought that July 2, the anniversary of the adoption of the Lee resolution, would be the date of the festivities. "It ought to be commemorated," Adams wrote, "as the day of deliverance; by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty. It ought to be solemnized with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations, from one end of this continent to the other, from this time forward, forevermore."

Instead of July 2, however, the United States set aside July 4, the anniversary of the approval of the Declaration of Independence, as the day for the yearly observances. Now a legal holiday in all 50 states and in the territories, July 4 is a day of nationwide festivity. Observances have been in accord with Adams's suggestions. Virtually every locality sponsors special Independence Day celebrations. Parades, band music, speeches, pageantry, and a patriotic show of red, white, and blue are the order of the day in communities across the nation. In some places the ringing of bells — an old tradition revived in recent years — is customary. Athletic and children's programs frequently supplement other activities. Citizens either participate in these events or join with family and friends to mark the occasion privately. The countless beaches and picnic areas across the land are crowded. In the evening the skies are lit with the colorful fireworks displays that have traditionally climaxed

the celebration of independence, although setting these off now is generally a carefully supervised community event, rather than the dangerous undertaking of individual amateurs. The traditional bonfires are less in evidence than they once were, although they are still seen where local fire ordinances permit. Observances vary in the different regions of the country, and July 4 programs reflect local customs.

One of the customary celebrations takes place in Washington, D.C., where the nation's capital rejoices with, among other things, a band concert, speeches, and a pyrotechnic display. Appropriately the festivities take place near the Washington Monument.

In addition to the traditional parade, history-conscious Bostonians customarily observe the Fourth of July by reenacting the city's first public reading of the Declaration of Independence from the balcony of the Old State House and decorating the graves of three signers of the Declaration of Independence — John Hancock, Robert Treat Paine, and Samuel Adams. There is also an annual parade. The procession commences at City Hall, where the mayor and other officials are on hand for the official flag raising and playing of the national anthem. It pauses for the honors at the Granary Burial Ground, continues to the Old State House for the reading of the Declaration, and proceeds to the oration exercises at historic Faneuil Hall, the scene of the pre-Revolutionary mass meetings that earned its nickname as the Cradle of Liberty. The Faneuil Hall exercises have been held annually in approximately the same form ever since 1783. Boston's celebration usually also includes fireworks exhibitions in Boston Harbor or on the Charles River. Musical, dance, and other recreational events are scheduled for the two days surrounding the Fourth.

Philadelphia, where the Continental Congress declared this nation's separation from Great Britain, has always been the scene of particular celebration. This is true today, but certainly not more so than on July 4 in 1788, the year the Constitution was adopted by the nine states whose approval was needed to put it into effect. The report on the 1788 celebration, prepared by Francis Hopkinson, the chairman of the committee on arrangements, contained apparent references to Benjamin Franklin's "rising sun" allusion — apropos of the design on the chair from which George Washington had presided over the Constitutional Convention: "I have often and often in the course of the session and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to this 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." Hopkinson described Philadelphia's 1788 celebration in his report:

The rising sun was saluted with a full peal fi Christ Church steeple and a discharge of cannon from the ship *Rising Sun*, . . . anchored off Market Street, and superbly decorated with the flags of various nations. Ten vessels in honor of the ten States [that had ratified the Constitution] . . . were di and arranged through the whole length of the harbor, each bearing a broad white flag at the masthead, inscribed with the names of the States.

The day's most notable event was a grand procession, more than a mile and half in length, which took three hours to march over a three-mile-long route. Military troops were followed by allegorically garbed figures, political and international dignitaries, and a float bearing a symbolic "federal edifice."

James Wilson of Pennsylvania, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, mounted the float and delivered an oration; soldiers fired volleys; and the company went to dinner. The toasts were announced "by the trumpet," Chairman Hopkinson related, "and answered by a discharge from the ship *Rising Sun*, at her moorings."

Over 80 years later Philadelphia was the natural choice for the chief site of Centennial observances — the United States International Exhibition. In this undertaking, authorized by Congress in 1872, 39 foreign countries, as well as the American states and territories, participated. Opening the Centennial exhibition on May 10, 1876, President Ulysses S. Grant addressed a crowd of 200,000. The President pulled a lever, activating the huge 1,500-horsepower Corliss steam engine that energized all the displays in Machinery Hall and that became itself the most popular presentation of all the industrial and technological equipment shown. (Another device, Alexander Graham Bell's new telephone, drew smaller crowds.) Occupying an enclosure of 236 acres in Fairmont Park, the exposition encompassed a number of large buildings and smaller structures. The main building, then the largest building in the world, covered 20 acres and was devoted principally to manufactures and mining products; other buildings and pavilions featured such themes as agriculture, education, architecture, and women's achievements. Art treasures lent by England, France, Italy, and Spain were shown, as were arts and crafts from Latin America, Europe, Africa, and the Far East.

The exposition closed on November 10, 1876, having registered a remarkable attendance of 9.8 million — one-fifth of the total US popula-

tion. The success of the project was particularly impressive in view of contemporary depressed economic conditions. Furthermore, though it gratified the American sense of pride and accomplishment in commerce, agriculture, and technology, this 19th century world's fair nonetheless broadened cultural and educational horizons, counteracting a tendency toward provincialism.

Philadelphia's annual celebration has over the years grown into Freedom Week. Independence National Historical Park is the central point of the observance, which takes place during the week preceding July 4. Festivities usually commence on the last Saturday in June in Elfreth's Alley, which Philadelphians claim as the nation's oldest residential street in continuous use. Local guides in colonial garb escort visitors on tours of the area's old houses. On the Wednesday preceding July 4 the Festival of Fountains parade is held on Benjamin Franklin Parkway. Special events occur at the city's numerous historic sites throughout the week, but on July 4 itself activities center upon Independence Hall. A nationally prominent speaker, sometimes the President, gives a keynote address, and the Declaration of Independence is usually read during the patriotic exercises.

In Wyoming, Pennsylvania, near Wilkes-Barre, festivities celebrating Independence are combined with commemorative services for the 300 victims of the British and Indian massacre in Wyoming Valley on July 3, 1778. Many patriotic organizations donate floral wreaths to bedeck the Wyoming monument obelisk, and the day's ceremonies generally include an appropriate address. The borough of Lititz, in Pennsylvania Dutch country, holds one of the most unusual July 4 ceremonies. Since 1818 this tiny community has sponsored a festival of candles. Just after dark on Independence Day, a Queen of Candles is selected during a candlelight ceremony. Then thousands of tapers arranged in the shape of stars, wheels, crescents, and pyramids are lit throughout the Lititz Springs Park. Some of the illuminated candles are floated on the lake. After the "fairylane of candles" burns itself out, spectators are treated to a fireworks display.

An old-fashioned July 4 celebration takes place each year in Bristol, Rhode Island, which began its observance in 1777. Week-long festivities come to a climax on Independence Day with patriotic exercises, a mammoth parade, a greasy-pole climb, a vaudeville show, a fireworks display, and — most famous — an annual Fireman's Muster, in which engine companies from all over New England engage in a water-squirting competition.

Another well-known event, held annually

since 1959 by Detroit and neighboring Windsor, Ontario, is the International Freedom Festival staged to commemorate July 1, the date in 1867 on which Canada was granted dominion status, as well as July 4. Canadian and American dignitaries attend the celebration; parades, sports contests, concerts, and numerous other activities attract tens of thousands of spectators.

Also on a lavish scale are the two days of festivities at Birmingham, Alabama. The celebration, which encompasses varied entertainment, concerts, and military demonstrations, among other activities, is said to be one of the largest of its kind in the country.

Traditional observances of another sort highlight Native American celebrations of Independence Day. On and off the big western reservations special powwows are held on or about July 4. One of the biggest and best known of these events is the huge, three-day All Indian Powwow in Flagstaff, Arizona. Thousands of Indians from 20 or more tribes gather to participate, and many more thousands of tourists enjoy the evening ceremonials, dances and games, the encampment and rodeo. In Kotzebue, Alaska, north of the Arctic Circle, July 4 is the occasion of the annual Eskimo games, which include kayak races, and the awarding of prizes to the Eskimo who catches the biggest beluga whale.

Other Indian events scheduled for the Fourth or surrounding days include the Fourth of July Powwow at the Chippewa Red Lake Reservation in Minnesota; the celebration in Owyhee on the Duck Valley Western Shoshone Reservation in Nevada; the ceremonial dances at the Mesquero Apache Reservation in south-central New Mexico; the Nambe ceremonial held at the Nambe Waterfall, with dances performed by residents of Nambe and neighboring pueblos of New Mexico. The Wisconsin legislature has taken special note of the nation's first inhabitants by designating July 4 as Indian Rights Day and recommending that appropriate exercises be held throughout the state.

July 4 rodeos recall another aspect of the American past. Two of the nation's largest and oldest such events are the Frontier Days Rodeo held each year in Prescott, Arizona, and the West of the Pecos Rodeo held annually in Pecos, Texas. Many other rodeos — a fraction of the hundreds that take place each year — are customarily scheduled on or around the Fourth, including the Silver Spurs Rodeo in Kissimmee, Florida; Border Days in Grangeville and the rodeo at Rupert, both in Idaho; the gatherings at Lenapah and Hinton in Oklahoma; South Dakota's Black Hills Roundup in Belle Fourche; the Will Rogers Range Riders Rodeo in Amarillo, Texas; and the Cody Stampede in the Wyoming

town founded by William F. ("Buffalo Bill") Cody.

A hallmark of Independence Day is the parade. In hundreds of communities large and small, local organizations arrange and participate in processions with uniformed bands and marching units and patriotic floats. An example of a small-town parade is that in Chatham, on Massachusetts' Cape Cod, which features fire department vehicles and antique automobiles. More elaborate is the one in Bridgeport, Connecticut, once the home of P. T. Barnum; this parade, staged on a grand scale as part of the city's annual Barnum Festival (see July 5), has become a tradition.

Celebrations of Independence Day are countless and as varied as the people who inhabit the nation. Race-car enthusiasts may spend the holiday watching Colorado's annual auto race up the 14,110-foot Pike's Peak or thrill to the excitement of the Medal of Honor-Firecracker 400, a 400-mile stock-car event at the Daytona International Speedway in Florida. A contest of a different kind, over 50 years old, is the six-mile footrace from the center of Seward, Alaska, to the top of Mount Marathon and back.

Two other events that add variety to Independence Day observances take place respectively in Hannibal, Missouri, and Ontario, California. In Hannibal, Mark Twain's home town, youngsters battle it out in the National Fence Painting Contest, staged annually on or near July 4 as part of the town's Tom Sawyer Days. In Ontario the attraction is a two-mile-long picnic table along Euclid Avenue. Guests provide their own lunches and view the parade and entertainment that highlight the community's July 4 Celebration and All-State picnic. Bemidji, Minnesota, holds its four-day Paul Bunyan Water Carnival, an annual event for more than a quarter century, over the Fourth of July weekend.

In a more historical vein, the restored community of Williamsburg, once the capital of Virginia, approaches the Fourth gradually, with its annual Prelude to Independence from late May to July 4. Colonial Williamsburg greets the anniversary of independence itself with the firing of 18th century cannons and the ringing of bells at the nation's second-oldest college, William and Mary, and at the venerable Bruton Parish Church.

Independence Day is celebrated not only in the states and in such outlying areas as the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Panama Canal Zone, the US Virgin Islands, and the territory of Guam, but in some foreign lands as well. Although for years it was also customary for US consulates and embassies throughout the world

to hold open houses and garden parties, these gatherings are now less common.

Over the years Independence Day has been selected for the inauguration of many important undertakings in the United States. Governor DeWitt Clinton of New York, for instance, turned the first sod for the digging of the Erie Canal on July 4, 1817. Charles Carroll, the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, performed the same service for the construction of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, the country's first commercial rail transport for passengers and freight, on July 4, 1828. The cornerstones for several monuments to Washington — in Baltimore and Boonsboro, Maryland, and in Washington, D.C. — were laid on July 4, in 1815, 1827, and 1848 respectively. The French chose July 4, in 1884 for the formal presentation, in Paris, of the Statue of Liberty, their gift to the American people. The first Pacific cable was inaugurated by President Theodore Roosevelt on July 4, 1903. President Harry S. Truman declared the Philippines independent on July 4, 1946. When Alaska and Hawaii were admitted to the Union in 1959 and 1960, respectively, July 4 was the occasion for the first raising of the new American flags, as it will again be should any new states be admitted.

In years of special significance Independence Day is celebrated with special fervor. The Bicentennial of the American Revolution, commemorating events of the years 1775 through 1783, inspired plans for the most elaborate and widespread observances, especially in the climactic year of 1976 and on the focal day of July 4. But even as early as 1972 anniversary celebrations of the struggle for independence were beginning. On June 11, 1972, off a breakwater at Pawtuxet on Narragansett Bay, Rhode Islanders staged symbolically the June 9, 1772, burning of the British revenue schooner *Gaspee*. The ship had been sent to enforce the Stamp Act, and the episode is regarded by some as the first confrontation in the colonies' rebellion. The event was part of Rhode Island's *Gaspee* Days (June 3-11) and of the Year of the *Gaspee* proclaimed in Rhode Island.

Many other local Bicentennial events, programs, and projects were planned, among them the restoration of historic areas and downtown districts, the composition of operas and ballets with patriotic themes, the construction and expansion of civic centers and museums, the presentation of historic festivals and exhibits, and numerous reenactments of Revolutionary actions — including the Boston Tea Party.

Federal funding and coordination of Bicentennial events was provided by the American

Revolution Bicentennial Administration (ARBA), established by act of Congress, December 11, 1973, as the successor organization to the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission. ARBA was created "to stimulate, coordinate, schedule, and facilitate the planning and implementation of . . . activities appropriate to the commemoration of 200 years of our national heritage of individual liberty, representative government, and attainment of equal and inalienable rights." Working with state Bicentennial commissions, other federal agencies, and private and civic organizations, ARBA not only provided historical and informational materials for distribution but established standards for programs and projects; prepared a master calendar of local, state, national, and international events; and provided grants-in-aid for approved projects. ARBA was authorized to administer, in addition to appropriated funds, nonappropriated funds derived from the sale of commemorative medals struck by the US Mint.

Congress adopted three Bicentennial themes around which planners might organize their efforts: Heritage '76, a summons to place the nation's heritage in historical perspective and to focus on the unfolding panorama of American history; Festival USA, an opportunity for Americans to share among themselves and with those of other lands "the traditions, the culture, the hospitality, and the character of the United States and its people"; and Horizons '76, "a challenge to every American . . . to help make America 'the more perfect union' and to improve the quality of life for the third century."

According to one estimate, the "beautiful mosaic of individual efforts" — as ARBA director John Warner characterized the ongoing Bicentennial celebrations — involved more than 25 million Americans in preparation or attendance and cost more than \$500 million in government and corporate funds. The calendar of events was crowded with a rich, almost bewildering, variety of historical, military, cultural, theatrical, technological, and ethnic programs. The following list of representative festivities and projects (some of them innovations, some of them annual events with special Bicentennial emphasis) indicates the diversity, color, and geographic range of the birthday party that began long before July 4, 1976, and continued long after: The Freedom Train (a red, white, and blue steam locomotive pulling a string of cars across the country for 21 months with a display of historic, technological, and popular artifacts); an exhibition of documents and artifacts relating to the lives of the Delaware signers of the Declaration of Independence (Wilmington); Paul Revere's Boston (fur-

niture, portraits, and silver at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts); museum exhibits in Washington, D.C. (art and furniture of the Revolutionary period; rare books, prints, and maps; a 200-year record of American women); traveling museum exhibits (Industrial Heritage U.S.A.; U.S.A.: The First 200 Years; the World of Franklin and Jefferson; The Black Presence in the Era of the American Revolution; Frontier America: The Far West); the Bicentennial Barge (a floating display featuring the early history of New York State); *The Common Glory* (a play performed at Williamsburg, Virginia); Festival of the Americas: A Latin American Salute (Miami Beach); the Aquatennial (hydroplane races, a fish fry, and an ethnic festival at Minneapolis); Spirit of America concerts (folk, jazz, rock, and gospel music at Englewood, Colorado); Mid-American Pow-Wow (Wichita, Kansas); National Hot-Air Balloon Races (Indianola, Iowa); Kamehameha Cultural Festival (Kawaihae, Hawaii); Battle of Bennington commemoration (Bennington, Vermont); Paul Bunyan Days (St. Maries, Idaho); Benedict Arnold's March on Quebec (traveling from Massachusetts to Canada); New Jersey Festival of the Ten Crucial Days (reenactments of Washington's marches, battles, and crossing of the Delaware); Yorktown Day (a solemn memorial at Yorktown, Virginia).

The events of the Bicentennial year 1976 began on January 1 with the Tournament of Roses parade in Pasadena, California, and continued with thousands of local and state commemorations — all leading up to the joyous nationwide celebration of Independence Day itself. To describe more than a few of the 23,000 holiday observances across the nation would be impossible; however, the following wide-ranging survey, written by staff reporter John L. Hess and published in the *New York Times* on July 5, 1976, details the variety, the scale, the exuberance of noteworthy activities and spectacles — many old-fashioned and traditional, though more lavish on this special day; some radical or "revolutionary" in the 20th century sense; a few unique and historic in themselves.

A Day of Picnics, Pomp, Pageantry and Protest

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The nation celebrated its 200th birthday yesterday with pageantry and prayer, with games and parades, with picnics and fireworks, with the peal of bells and the chant of protests.

It began with a flag-raising atop Mars Hill Mountain in Maine, where dawn reached the continent, and moved on to Fort McHenry, in Baltimore Harbor, where it was greeted by the rocket's red glare of the national anthem. The activities were to end

nearly a day later with an indigenous festival in American Samoa.

At 2 P.M., eastern daylight time, descendants of the Revolutionaries laid hands symbolically on the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia, and bells rang in the 50 states and in American communities overseas. At Independence Hall, President Ford read the day's keynote address. Alluding to the uneasy and self-questioning mood of the country, he said:

"Liberty is a living flame to be fed, not dead ashes to be revered, even in a Bicentennial year. It is fitting that we ask ourselves hard questions, even on a glorious day like today.

"Are 'the institutions under which we live' working the way they should? Are the foundations laid in 1776 and 1789 still strong enough and sound enough to resist the tremors of our times? Are our God-given rights secure, our hard-won liberties protected?"

"The very fact that we can ask these questions, that we can freely examine and criticize our society is cause for confidence in itself."

The President said that much needed to be done in the nation's third century to increase the freedom of its citizens and improve the quality of life. He ended, however, on a reiteration of American's modern role as a world standard-bearer.

"The world may or may not follow," he said, "but we lead because our whole history says we must; liberty is for all men and women as a matter of equal and unalienable right. The establishment of justice and peace abroad will in large measure depend upon the peace and justice we create here in our own country, for we still show the way."

This being an American festival, many new records were claimed: the largest cherry pie (60 square feet), at George, Washington; the largest cake (69,000 pounds), at Baltimore; the largest fireworks display, in Washington, D.C.; the largest gathering of sailing ships, in New York Harbor.

Yet many sponsors of celebrations were disappointed at the turnouts. The Philadelphia parade, planned for 70,000 marchers, drew about half that many, according to officials. They attributed this to fear of violence arising from two protest marches. Elsewhere, worry over traffic and crowding was called the reason for low turnouts.

Popular beaches were thronged, automobile races and baseball games drew holiday crowds, and much of the nation spent the day in family gatherings, linked, perhaps, to the Bicentennial by daylong television coverage.

In New York, the parade of the tall ships up the Hudson caught the national spotlight. In Boston and nearby Concord and Lexington, ceremonies were relatively subdued. "Minutemen" fired a 21-musket salute over John Hancock's grave, and the USS *Constitution* fired her cannon for the first time in 95 years. At historic Faneuil Hall, the president of Boston University, John Silber, delivered a gloomy municipal oration under the title "Counterfeits of Democracy."

"Increasingly," he said, "we confuse the pursuit of happiness, guaranteed by the Declaration of Independence, with the pursuit of pleasure."

Bostonians brought the celebration to an uproarious

but peaceable conclusion . . . on the Esplanade along the Charles River. A throng that was larger than any longtime resident could remember ever assembling in the historic city, perhaps nearly half a million, crowded onto the narrow strip of park between the Back Bay and the river. They heard a rousing rendition of Tchaikovsky's "1812 Overture" played by the Boston Pops Orchestra directed by Arthur Fiedler, in his shirtsleeves.

In Washington, hundreds began the Bicentennial with nightlong vigils at the Lincoln and Jefferson Memorials. The People's Bicentennial Commission greeted the dawn at the Jefferson Memorial with a blast from a ram's horn, then led a crowd estimated at 5,000 persons in a march to the Capitol for a demonstration under a banner reading "Independence From Big Business."

Larger crowds watched an official parade, went to churches, toured the Capitol and watched a ceremonial reading of the Declaration of Independence at the National Archives Building, where a birthday cake 7 feet tall was cut and distributed to the first several hundred takers.

In the absence of President Ford, Vice President Rockefeller delivered the Bicentennial Address at the Washington Monument in the evening.

"Like every generation," he said, "we face today what seem like insurmountable problems. But the lesson of our extraordinary past is simply this: that every such challenge is an opportunity; that it has been the creative response to such challenges over these 200 years that has brought America its greatness."

Near the Washington Monument, French specialists set up 22 tons of fireworks for what was billed as the biggest such extravaganza in the country. But Vancouver, Washington, claimed the record for a single fireworks rocket, 165 pounds.

At unusual mass naturalization ceremonies, oaths of citizenship were administered to 7,141 persons, mostly exiles from Cuba, in Miami; 2,300 in Chicago and 1,000 in Detroit.

In Salt Lake City, where the official parade was held on Saturday to avoid disturbing the Sabbath, several hundred persons held a mock parade, including a Bicentennial garbage truck, a George Washington on a motorcycle, and kazoo bands.

The Bicentennial menu at public and private festivals around the world was dominated by hamburgers, hot dogs, munchies and drinks in tab-top cans, but here and there folklore revived clambakes and other early Americana. There were rodeos, sack races and ox roasts.

In some towns, Indians in feathers and buckskins joined Colonials in parades. Many Indians boycotted the festivities, however.

The United States Information Agency sent Bicentennial television programs by satellite to 30 countries, including Poland and Yugoslavia. American embassies and military bases around the world held open house.

Nearly everywhere in the 50 states, the day ended with a bang. At the close of the fireworks in Washington, a battery of laser guns spelled out on the clouds, "1776-1976, Happy Birthday, USA."

JULY 4

Among the most elaborate and stirring spectacles of the day was Operation Sail, the State of New York's official Bicentennial event, staged in the harbor of New York City and on the Hudson River. A parade of 225 sailing ships flying the flags of 31 nations, Operation Sail was the culmination of more than four years of intensive planning. The gathering of ships got under way in May, with a transatlantic race for sail training vessels. On July 1 the assembled fleet started its procession from Newport, Rhode Island, to New York. The tallest ships sailed along the south shore of Long Island, the smaller vessels along the north through Long Island Sound and down New York City's East River.

On July 4, starting at 11:00 A.M. and led by the US Coast Guard's three-masted bark *Eagle*, the ships sailed from lower New York Bay, through the Narrows between Brooklyn and Staten Island, and thence up the Hudson as far as the George Washington Bridge. While an estimated 6 million New Yorkers and visitors jammed the Manhattan shore of the Hudson and hundreds of thousands more watched from the New Jersey side, as many as 10,000 pleasure boats thronged the waters to enjoy the pageant of sail that included a unique collection of 16 tall-masted ships — oceangoing square-rigged vessels of impressive size and with vast expanses of canvas. All day long the tall ships, and the smaller craft made their stately way up and down the Hudson. The largest was the USSR's *Kruzenshtern*, a 375-foot, four-masted bark built in Germany in 1926 and used in the Australian grain trade. The last of the Cape Horners still in service, the *Kruzenshtern* was rebuilt by the Soviet Union as a schoolship to train merchant seamen. Also in the fleet were the Japanese bark *Nippon Maru* (318 feet), the Argentine full-rigged *Libertad* (338 feet), the Chilean barkentine *Esmeralda* (370 feet), and the Portuguese bark *Sagres II*, distinguished by the Maltese cross on each sail.

The ships of Operation Sail passed a 13-mile-long international naval review of US and foreign vessels anchored on either shore as part of the Independence Day salute. This flotilla of 53 modern naval ships of 23 nations — most devoted to anti-submarine warfare — included the US missile cruiser *Watnwright* (one of 23 US ships), a Dutch destroyer, 2 British frigates, 2 Israeli missile boats, and a Swedish minelayer. Viewing the sailing and naval vessels were 3,000 guests — national, international, state, and city officials — who were welcomed aboard the 80,000-ton, 1,039-foot aircraft carrier *Forrestal*, anchored near the Verrazano-Narrows Bridge. Among the officials were President Gerald R.

Ford, Vice President Nelson A. Rockefeller, and the navy, state, and defense secretaries. President Ford arrived by helicopter and at 2:00 P.M. rang the ship's bells 13 times to honor the 13 colonies that had declared their independence in 1776. This bell ringing was in accordance with the White House Bicentennial Independence Day proclamation signed June 29, 1976:

I, Gerald R. Ford, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim that the two hundredth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence be observed by the simultaneous ringing of bells throughout the United States at the hour of two o'clock, eastern daylight time, on the afternoon of the Fourth of July, 1976, our Bicentennial Independence Day, for a period of two minutes, signifying our two centuries of independence.

I call upon civic, religious, and other community leaders to encourage public participation in this historic observance. I call upon all Americans, here and abroad, including all United States flag ships at sea, to join in this salute.

As the bells ring in our third century, as millions of free men and women pray, let every American resolve that this nation, under God, will meet the future with the same courage and dedication Americans showed the world two centuries ago. In perpetuation of the joyous ringing of the Liberty Bell in Philadelphia, let us again "proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof."

Around the country, in small towns and large cities, Americans followed the President's example by ringing bells at 2:00 P.M. eastern daylight time. Perhaps the most extraordinary effort took place in Washington, D.C. in Washington Cathedral, where a team of men and women pulling bell ropes for 3 hours 17 minutes rang a peal of Stedman caters on the cathedral ring of 10 — a feat requiring 5,040 pulls.

In Philadelphia at least one million people were present to observe the day. At Independence Square a crowd of 25,000 heard the President, who had arrived from Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, where he signed a bill making the scene of Washington's 1777-1778 encampment a national site. Thousands more saw the Liberty Bell, which had been temporarily housed outside Independence Hall for maximum viewing and which was sounded with a rubber hammer. Hundreds of other bells in churches throughout the city took up the ringing. Along Market Street throngs watched a mammoth parade of 50,000 marchers and floats representing all 50 states.

In New Orleans traditional observances were augmented by a food festival offering Creole and Cajun dishes. On Jackson Square, near the Mississippi, crowds listened to a jazz concert honoring the great trumpeter Louis Armstrong, who was born in New Orleans on July 4, 1900.

On the Pacific Coast, the city of San Francisco celebrated the bicentennial of its own founding as well as that of the country with another sea spectacle, the Gathering of the Eagles — a regatta of some 4,000 ships from the West Coast of the United States and from other Pacific nations. Several parades were held, too, including one sponsored by the Filipino-American Council of San Francisco commemorating Philippine Independence Day.

The night of July 4 has always been the time to set the sky ablaze, and the Bicentennial provided the occasion for displays more extravagant than those of ordinary years. From the record-breaking pyrotechnics at the Washington Monument to San Francisco's presentations at Candlestick Park and Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay, Americans were dazzled by the brilliant effects created for this milestone anniversary. Perhaps the greatest crowds of all, estimated at hundreds of thousands, massed for the half-hour show above New York Harbor — the largest and most impressive in the city's history. A synchronized display keyed to music and commentary broadcast by radio, visible for 15 miles, and punctuated by a 200-gun salute from ships in the harbor, the exhibition was prepared with the cooperation of the US Armed Forces and other federal agencies, police and fire departments, and religious and business organizations. At the end of the spectacle, which was fired from islands and barges in the harbor, the spectators on the shore faced the Statue of Liberty — the torch illuminated in gold — to sing "The Star-Spangled Banner" as a helicopter-towed flag of red, white, and blue lights flew above. During the program those with radios heard, as they watched the fireworks explode, drum rolls, patriotic music, and stirring words, including those of Presidents George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Ulysses S. Grant, and John F. Kennedy, and those of Julia Ward Howe, Emma Lazarus, and Martin Luther King Jr. Among the selections chosen for their relevance on Independence Day were excerpts from Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, which dedicated the nation to "a new birth of freedom," and from King's exhortation to "Let freedom ring" as his dream envisioned a time when all people might join hands and sing "Free at last! Free at last!"

Calvin Coolidge's Birthday

A prototypical New Englander, Calvin Coolidge, 30th President of the United States, was born in the tiny community of Plymouth Notch, nestled in a valley of the Green Mountains of Vermont, on July 4, 1872. He was named John Calvin for his father, but later dropped the first name.

Coolidge's paternal ancestors had immigrated to the American colonies from England in the 1630s. John Coolidge Sr. was a severe, hard-working, and frugal man who farmed and kept a country store. Books did not interest him, but business and politics did. He served two terms in the Vermont legislature. Calvin Coolidge's mother was less austere, a person who liked poetry and had a leaning toward mysticism. She died when her son was only 12, leaving the home without the benefit of her warmth.

Young Coolidge attended the Plymouth district school until 1885, when he entered the academy at Ludlow, 10 miles from his home. He completed his preparation for college at St. Johnsbury Academy, entering Amherst College in 1891. He was graduated *cum laude* in 1895. His essay "The Causes of the American Revolution" was awarded a gold medal by the American Historical Society as the best college senior essay on history.

In the autumn of 1895 Coolidge began to study law in the office of Hammond & Field in Northampton, Massachusetts, and was admitted to the bar two years later. He began his climb up the ladder of Republican politics immediately. He served on the city council of Northampton in 1899, although he had been a resident there for only four years. He was city solicitor for the next two years, and then clerk of the courts for one year. Elected to the lower house of the Massachusetts legislature, Coolidge served there in 1907 and 1908. He subsequently was mayor of Northampton in 1910 and 1911. A member of the state senate for the following three years, he served as president of that body in 1914-1915. In his address on taking the chair he stated his conception of the nature of law:

Men do not make laws. They do but discover them. Laws must be justified by something more than the will of the majority. They must rest on the eternal foundation of righteousness. That state is the most fortunate which has the aptest instruments for the discovery of laws.

Beginning in 1916 Coolidge served three successive one-year terms as lieutenant governor of Massachusetts. Elected governor in 1918, he then held that office for two terms (1919 and 1920).

The steady success of Coolidge in politics was due partly to the lack of bossism in Massachusetts politics at the time, a situation that enabled men of ability to rise quickly. It was also due to Coolidge's personality, which was well suited to the times. His celebrated (public) taciturnity — as he said, "I have never been hurt by what I have not said" — and his patent integrity would become an increasingly welcome contrast to the

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
FOURTH of JULY CELEBRATION
SOUTH LAWN
JULY 4th, 1997**

It's my pleasure to see all of you celebrating July 4th on the White House lawn.

Year after year, the White House lawn has been open to the public to gather in thanksgiving of the preservation of our independence. In keeping with tradition, the United States Marine band is providing us with patriotic music. I'm proud to be here with all of you: the White House military, staff, fellows, volunteers and interns, the staff of the DNC, the White House Press and the D.C. Council Girl Scouts who are volunteering their time here this evening.

A special welcome to the family and friends of those who work here -- I'm glad you could be here to join them, on one of the few days that the staff isn't expected to be here working.

On July 4, 1777, the people of Philadelphia celebrated the first anniversary of our independence by decorating their windows with glowing candles. We were a young nation at war, fighting to secure our freedom, but the joy of marking that historic day could not be restrained. Today, 220 years later, we are at a moment of extraordinary peace and prosperity in our nation's history. Yet as we look out upon the thousands of Americans who have come to our nation's capital to enjoy the fireworks under the stoic grandeur of the Washington Monument, it is clear that we have not forgotten just what those early Americans in Philadelphia were celebrating.

As President Truman reminded us on the 175th anniversary of our independence, the ideas upon which our nation was founded -- equality, God-given rights of self government -- are revolutionary still today. This evening I will depart for the NATO Summit in Madrid, guided by Truman's message and the spirit of the Marshall plan. We have an historic opportunity to complete the job that Marshall began by extending to Europe's East, the stability and prosperity enjoyed by the West. At the time that we celebrate the birth of our democracy here at home, we will be strengthening our most successful international alliance -- one which promotes, builds and preserves the security of all democracies.

**Thank you for being here, thank you for all of your hard work day after day.
Enjoy this glorious evening.**

NATO

To Laura
Capps
65709

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 1, 1997

INDEPENDENCE DAY ON THE WHITE HOUSE SOUTH LAWN

DATE: Friday, July 4, 1997

LOCATION: South Portico

TIME: 7:00 pm - 9:45 pm

FROM: Melinda Bates (6-2324)

I. PURPOSE To enjoy the fireworks and patriotic music celebrating Independence Day

II. BACKGROUND traditional celebration

III. PARTICIPANTS White House passholders, their families, and guests
Cabinet Secretaries, family and guests
DNC staff and guests
White House Press and guests
White House interns and guests
White House Fellows and guests
White House Military and guests
Girl Scouts (D.C. Council) volunteering to help

IV. PRESS PLAN pool press

V. EVENT SEQUENCE 7:00 p.m. gates open and guests spread out on the Lawn
M & M Mars provides ice cream
Pepsi provides sodas
Marine Band plays to entertain the crowd
A microphone is placed outside the Blue Room, near band
A microphone is also placed near the Diplomatic Room door
8:45 p.m. gates close, or earlier if lawn capacity is reached
9:10 p.m. Marine Band stops playing
9:15 p.m. fireworks begin

VI. REMARKS Optional. Any time before 9:10 p.m., at your convenience. In 1994, 1995, 1996 and 1997 you made remarks. In 1993 you were in the Midwest surveying the floods.

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
FOURTH of JULY CELEBRATION
SOUTH LAWN
JULY 4th, 1997**

It's my pleasure to see all of you celebrating July 4th on the White House lawn.

Year after year, the White House lawn has been open on this day so that we may gather together to give thanks for the preservation of our independence. In keeping with a long standing tradition, the United States Marine band is here providing us with great music.

I'm proud to be with all of you: the White House military, staff, fellows, volunteers and interns, the staff of the DNC, the White House Press and the D.C. Council Girl Scouts who are volunteering their time here this evening. A special welcome to the family and friends of those who work here -- I'm glad you could be here to join them, on one of the few days that the staff isn't expected to be here working.

On July 4, 1777, the people of Philadelphia celebrated the first anniversary of our independence by decorating their windows with glowing candles. We were a young nation at war, fighting to secure our freedom, but the joy of marking that historic day could not be restrained. Today, 220 years later, we are at a moment of unprecedented opportunity: peace has replaced conflict, stability has replaced uncertainty, and fireworks have replaced the candles. All across America our cities are illuminated with the same spirit of celebration and hope.

As President Truman reminded us on the 175th anniversary of our independence, the ideas upon which our nation was founded -- equality and the God-given rights of self government -- are revolutionary still today. This evening I will depart for the NATO Summit in Madrid, guided by Truman's message and the spirit of the Marshall plan. We have an historic opportunity to complete the job that Marshall began by extending to Europe's East, the stability and prosperity enjoyed by the West. At the time that we celebrate the birth of our democracy here at home, we will be strengthening our most successful international alliance -- one which promotes, builds and preserves the security of all democracies.

**Thank you for being here, thank you for all of your hard work day after day.
Enjoy this glorious evening.**

NOTE: The White House release states that "a similar letter" was sent to the Honorable Sam Rayburn, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

The second quarterly report to the President by the Director of Defense Mobilization, entitled "Meet-

ing Defense Goals: A Must for Everyone," was published by the Government Printing Office (1951; 48 pp.).

See also Items 176 and 199.

144 Address at the Ceremonies Commemorating the 175th Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. July 4, 1951

[Broadcast from the Washington Monument grounds at 9:30 p.m.]

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

This is a very special occasion. Here in Washington tonight, up in Philadelphia, and throughout our whole country, we are celebrating an anniversary of great importance. On this day 175 years ago the representatives of the American people declared the independence of the United States.

Our forefathers in Philadelphia not only established a new nation—they established a nation based on a new idea. They said that all men were created equal. They based the whole idea of government on this God-given equality of men. They said that the people had the right to govern themselves. They said the purpose of government was to protect the unalienable rights of man to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

These were sensational proposals. In 1776 a nation based on such new and radical ideas did not appear to have much chance of success. In those days power centered in Europe. Monarchy was the prevailing form of government. The divine right of kings was still widely accepted.

The new Nation was small, remote, poor, and, in 1776, apparently friendless. Europe did not for a moment believe this new kind of government would work, and, to tell the truth, fully a third of our own people did not believe it would work, either.

We can hardly imagine the courage and the faith it took to issue the Declaration of

Independence in those circumstances.

Today we can see that the members of the Continental Congress were right. Less than two centuries later the nation born that day, instead of being small, stretches across a whole continent. Instead of being poor, the United States is wealthier than any other nation in the world. Instead of being friendless, we have strong and steadfast allies.

The transformation during these 175 years seems to be complete; but it is not. Some things have not changed at all since 1776.

For one thing, freedom is still expensive. It still costs money. It still costs blood. It still calls for courage and endurance, not only in soldiers, but in every man and woman who is free and who is determined to remain free. Freedom must be fought for today, just as our fathers had to fight for freedom when the Nation was born.

For another thing, the ideas on which our Government is founded—the ideas of equality, of God-given rights, of self-government—are still revolutionary. Since 1776 they have spread around the world. In France in 1789, in Latin America in the early 1800's, in many parts of Europe in the mid-19th century, these ideas produced new governments and new nations. Now in the 20th century, these ideas have stirred the peoples in many countries of the Middle East and Asia to create free governments,

dedicated to the very ideas of the American march.

There is another thing that is much different today than in 1776. Now, in launching a new nation, we are talking about for the first time fully put into effect a government that we were launching in 1776.

T Today we have a new kind of government. We have joined the Nations to preserve peace and freedom.

We believe in it. We believe it is basic to our own country. It is strong, and it is free.

But the United States has met opposition. The Declaration of Independence met by determined men for the British. They called it "absurd." The ideas of freedom, of government by the people, of every country, of reactionaries, of national organizations being attacked by reactionaries, particularly by the British.

The United States has fought a struggle for Independence. But we are not afraid. We are other free men. 175 years that we have joined without hesitation. We have known we must be defended. This determination

dedicated to the welfare of the people. The ideas of the American Revolution are still on the march.

There is another way in which our situation today is much like that of the Americans in 1776. Now, once more, we are engaged in launching a new idea—one that has been talked about for centuries, but never successfully put into effect. In those earlier days we were launching a new kind of national government. This time we are creating a new kind of international organization. We have joined in setting up the United Nations to prevent war and to safeguard peace and freedom.

We believe in the United Nations. We believe it is based on the right ideas, as our own country is. We believe it can grow to be strong, and accomplish its high purposes.

But the United Nations faces stern, determined opposition. This is an old story. The Declaration of Independence was also met by determined opposition. A spokesman for the British King called the Declaration "absurd," "visionary," and "subversive." The ideas of freedom and equality and self-government were first fiercely opposed in every country by the vested interests and the reactionaries. Today, the idea of an international organization to keep the peace is being attacked and undermined and fought by reactionary forces everywhere—and particularly by the forces of Soviet communism.

The United Nations will not succeed without a struggle, just as the Declaration of Independence did not succeed without a struggle. But the American people are not afraid. We have taken our stand beside other free men, because we have known for 175 years that free men must stand together. We have joined in the defense of freedom without hesitation and without fear, because we have known for 175 years that freedom must be defended.

This determined stand has cost us much

in the past year. I do not intend to dwell upon the money cost on the Fourth of July, the day on which we dedicated "our fortunes" as well as "our lives and our sacred honor" to the cause of freedom. I am much more deeply concerned that our stand has cost the lives of brave men. I report it with sorrow, but with boundless pride in what they have done—for the men who have fallen in the service of the United States during the past year have died for the same cause as those who fell at Bunker Hill and Gettysburg, in the Argonne forest and on the Normandy beaches. They died in order that "government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth." They have died in order that other men might have peace.

On this day, sacred to those who established freedom in the United States, we should all pay tribute to the men who are fighting now to preserve our freedom. The troops under the command of General Ridgway, including not only our own but those of 16 other free nations, constitute, I believe, the most magnificent army on the face of the globe today. We are all familiar with the splendor of their heroic deeds.

I should like to say something to that army, something that I think is felt by free men in every country in the world: Men of the armed forces in Korea, you will go down in history as the first army to fight under the flag of a world organization in the defense of human freedom. You have fought well, and without reproach. You have enslaved no free man, you have destroyed no free nation, you are guiltless of any country's blood. Victory may be in your hands, but you are winning a greater thing than military victory, for you are vindicating the idea of freedom under international law. This is an achievement that serves all mankind, for it has brought all men closer to their goal of peace. It is an achievement that may well

prove to be a turning point in world history.

Our aims in Korea are just as clear and just as simple as the things for which we fought in the American Revolution. We did not fight that war to drive the British out of the North American Continent. We did not fight it to destroy the military power of England, or to wipe out the British Empire. We fought it for the simple, limited aim of securing the right to be free, the right to govern ourselves. We fought it to secure respect for the principles of the Declaration of Independence.

It is much the same with Korea. We are not fighting there to conquer China, or to destroy the Soviet Empire. We are fighting for a simple aim—as important to us today as the goal of independence was in 1776—the aim of securing the right of nations to be free and to live in peace.

The Charter of the United Nations says that its purpose is to “maintain international peace and security” and “to take effective collective measures . . . for the suppression of acts of aggression.”

We are fighting to uphold this purpose of the United Nations. That is what we have been doing in Korea.

We have made it clear that those words mean what they say. We have taken collective measures to suppress aggression, and we are suppressing it.

We have shown the world that the United Nations Charter is not just a scrap of paper—but something very real, and very powerful. To establish this is worth all the sacrifices and all the effort we have been making, because this is the way to peace.

Our constant aim in Korea has been peace, under the principles of the United Nations. Time and again, since the aggression started, we have proposed that the fighting be stopped, and that peace be restored in accordance with those principles.

Now, at last, the Communist leaders have

offered to confer about an armistice. It may be that they have decided to give up their aggression in Korea. If that is true, the road to a peaceful settlement of the Korean conflict is open.

But we cannot yet be sure that the Communist rulers have any such intention. It is still too early to say what they have in mind. I do not wish to speculate on the outcome of any meetings General Ridgway may have with the commanders on the other side. I hope these meetings will be successful. If they are not, it will be because the Communists do not really want peace. Meanwhile, let us keep our heads, and be vigilant and ready for whatever may come.

We must remember that Korea is only part of a wider conflict. The attack on freedom is worldwide. And it is not simply an attack by fire and sword. It is an attack that uses all the weapons that a dictatorship can command: subversion, threats, violence, torture, imprisonment, lies, and deceit.

We cannot ignore the danger of military outbreaks in other parts of the world. The greatest threat to world peace, the tremendous armed power of the Soviet Union, will still remain, even if the Korean fighting stops. The threat of Soviet aggression still hangs heavy over many a country—including our own. We must continue, therefore, to build up our military forces at a rapid rate. And we must continue to help build up the defenses of other free nations.

And we must continue the struggle to overcome the constant efforts of the Soviet rulers to dominate the world by lies and threats and subversion.

The Soviet rulers are trying to destroy the very idea of freedom, in every part of the world. They are trying to take from us the confidence and friendship of other nations. They hate us not because we are Americans, but because we are free—because we are the greatest example of the power of freedom.

Harry S. Truman, 1951

July 4 [144]

The Soviet rulers are engaged in a relentless effort, therefore, to persuade other nations that we do not, in fact, stand for freedom. They are trying to convince the people of Europe that we intend to exploit them. They are telling the people of Asia—who are for the most part ill informed about our purposes—that we mean to fasten new chains upon them. They are trying to make the rest of the world believe that we want to control them for our own profit—that the ideas of our Declaration of Independence are a sham and a fraud.

This shrewd, this unscrupulous, this evil propaganda attack—we cannot overcome with military weapons. You cannot transfix a lie with a bayonet, or blast deceit with machinegun fire. The only weapons against such enemies are truth and fair dealing.

The way to meet this attack is to show that it is false—to live up to our ideals—to prove that we mean them.

The world looks to us. This country is the living proof that personal liberty is consistent with strong and stable government. This country proves that men can be free.

As a result, the freedom of the American citizen means a great deal more than his individual safety and happiness. It means that men everywhere can have the freedom they hope for.

Anyone who undertakes to abridge the right of any American to life, liberty, or the pursuit of happiness commits three great wrongs. He wrongs the individual first, but in addition, he wrongs his country and he betrays the hopes of mankind.

It is for this reason that persecution of minorities, which is wrong anywhere, is worse in America. It is for this reason that vilifying men because they express unpopular opinions is less to be tolerated here than in any other country. It is for this reason that holding men in bondage—personal, political, or economic—is a graver scandal

here than elsewhere. It is for this reason that “to promote the general welfare” is more urgently required of the American Government than any other.

We have made great strides in broadening freedom here at home. We have made real progress in eliminating oppression and injustice and in creating security and opportunities for all. I am proud of our record in doing these things.

Today, more than ever before, it is important that we continue to make progress in expanding our freedoms and improving the opportunities of our citizens. To do so is to strengthen the hopes and determination of free men everywhere.

Moreover, it is doubly important today that we set an example of sober and wise and consistent self-government. We face a long period of world tension, and great international danger. We have the hard task of increasing production and controlling inflation in order to support the strong Armed Forces we must have for years to come.

One of our most difficult tasks, because it is new to our people, is that of organizing civil defense. Because we have been spared the rough schooling which the people of Europe have had, too many Americans are still skeptical and tardy.

All these tasks challenge the ability of free people to govern themselves with both reason and resolution. There are people who say our democratic form of government cannot do these things. They say we cannot stick to a hard, tough policy of self-denial and self-control long enough to win the struggle. They say we are no match for the steady, ruthless way the Soviet rulers seek their goals.

These people, and they are not all Communists by any means, say that we can't take it, over the long pull. They say we will either lose our heads and rush into a world

war, or that we will relax and give up our efforts to maintain peace. They say that the demagogues and the special interests will tear us apart from within. These people do not believe that free men and self-government can survive in the struggle against Communist dictatorship.

I think these prophets of doom are wrong. I think the whole history of our country proves they are wrong. I believe the last few months show that we will not be stampeded into war, or broken up by distrust and fear.

But we are going through a period that will test to the utmost our self-control, our patriotism, and our faith in our institutions. The very idea of self-government is being put to the test in the world today as it has never been tested before.

If we do not succeed in this country—if we do not succeed in building up our Armed Forces, in controlling inflation, and in strengthening our friends and allies—then the cause of self-government, the cause of human freedom, is lost. If we with all that we have in our favor do not succeed, no other free government can survive—anywhere in the world—and the whole great experiment that began in 1776 will be over and done with.

I believe we will succeed.

The principles of the Declaration of Independence are the right principles. They are sound enough to guide us through this crisis as they have guided us through other crises of the past. Freedom can overcome tyranny in the 20th century as surely as it overcame the tyrants of the 18th century.

There is a text inscribed on the Liberty Bell, the bell that rang out a hundred and seventy-five years ago to announce the signing of the Declaration of Independence. When the Pennsylvania Provincial Assembly ordered that bell for the statehouse in Philadelphia, they directed that it should bear certain words, "well-shaped in large letters." You remember what those words were: "Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof."

We should write these words again today. We should write them in everything we do in this country—"well-shaped in large letters"—by every deed and act, so that the whole world can read them. We have written them in the deeds of our soldiers in Korea—for the men of Asia and all the world to see. Let us write them in all that we do, at home and abroad, to the end that men everywhere may read them and take hope and courage for the victory of freedom.

145 The President's News Conference of July 5, 1951

THE PRESIDENT. Please be seated.

[1.] I understand that we have with us this morning some visiting editors from some of the NATO countries—France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, Great Britain, Norway, and Luxembourg. We are glad to have them with us, and I will be glad to meet them after the press conference is finished.

I have nothing further to tell you, unless

you want to ask some questions. [Pause]
[Laughter]

Shall we adjourn the conference? [More laughter]

[2.] Q. Mr. President, the House begins consideration of the economic control bill today. Have you any fresh word to say about it—your hopes—

THE PRESIDENT. Yes, I have. I sincerely hope they will give us a workable controls