

**The original documents are located in Box 68, folder “Fourth of July (1976) - Independence Hall, Philadelphia, PA, 7/4/76” of the John Marsh Files at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.**

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

ACTION MEMORANDUM

WASHINGTON

LOG NO.: MAR 8 1976

Date: March 6, 1976

Time:

FOR ACTION:

cc (for information):

Jack Marsh

*due*  
*Mon. 3/8/76*  
*3:00 p.m.*

FROM THE STAFF SECRETARY

DUE: Date: Monday, March 8

Time: 3 P.M.

SUBJECT:

Memo from Phil Buchen 3/4/76 re.  
 City of Philadelphia Bicentennial Day  
 Declaration

## ACTION REQUESTED:

☐ For Necessary Action☐ For Your Recommendations☐ Prepare Agenda and Brief☐ Draft Reply☒ For Your Comments☐ Draft Remarks

## REMARKS:

Thought you would be interested in seeing the  
 attached before it went to the President.

*Can see*  
*you*



PLEASE ATTACH THIS COPY TO MATERIAL SUBMITTED.

If you have any questions or if you anticipate a  
 delay in submitting the required material, please  
 telephone the Staff Secretary immediately.


James E. Connor  
 For the President

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 4, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: PHIL BUCHEN   
SUBJECT: City of Philadelphia Bicentennial  
Day Declaration

Senator Scott has requested that you sign the attached authorization to permit your signature to be used on Philadelphia's Bicentennial Day Declaration which reaffirms the principles of Liberty, Justice and Freedom that inspired our Nation's founding. The Philadelphia Bicentennial Commission intends to sell this Declaration with facsimile signatures of the officials who will be participating in the official July 4, 1976, ceremony in Philadelphia.

Recommendation:

Max Friedersdorf, Ted Marrs and I recommend that you sign the attached authorization.



Text of The Official Bicentennial Declaration of the People of the United States of America:

"On the occasion of the Bicentennial Anniversary of the United States of America, we the undersigned do proudly reaffirm our dedication to the principles of Liberty, Justice and Freedom which led our forefathers to proclaim our nation's Independence two hundred years ago, on this day and in this place.

It is our unshakable belief that these principles, applied to the affairs of each generation by a Government which recognizes that it does indeed derive its just powers from the consent of the governed, will continue to secure our rights of Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness in the centuries to come as it has in the two centuries gone by."

- July 4, 1776 - July 4, 1976  
Independence Hall, Philadelphia

I hereby authorize a facsimile of my signature to appear on the Bicentennial Day Declaration.

Signature:



United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

February 23, 1976

2/25

Mr. William T. Kendall  
Deputy Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

AK'd by telephone

Dear Bill:

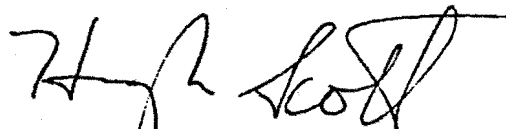
Enclosed is a letter which I have directed to the President to request his signature on a special Bicentennial commemorative.

This one is really important to me, and I would very much appreciate your placing this request in the proper channels.

Please be in touch with Rita Ann Pfeiffer, my Special Assistant, so that arrangements can be made to have the signed authorization personally hand carried back to my office.

With kindest regard,

Sincerely,



Hugh Scott  
United States Senator



HS:rp

Enclosure

original letter to President

United States Senate

OFFICE OF THE MINORITY LEADER  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

February 19, 1976

Dear Mr. President:

On September 6, 1974, at Independence Hall in Philadelphia, you announced that you would return to the city of Philadelphia on the Fourth of July 1976, the culmination of our nation's Bicentennial celebration. We are, of course very honored that you will be in our State on this most historic occasion.

A special ceremony is planned for July 4, 1976 in Philadelphia, to which all the leaders of our government will be invited. They include the Vice President, members of the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives, the Justices of the Supreme Court, the President's Cabinet and the Governors of the 50 States.

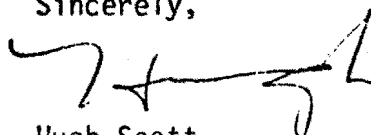
To permanently commemorate this significant event for all Americans, The Official Bicentennial Day Commission, organized under the auspices of the Bicentennial authorities of the City of Philadelphia and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, will issue a most appropriate commemorative of Bicentennial Day. This special commemorative, which will be made available to the public, will consist of a sterling silver medal and the "Bicentennial Day Declaration" reaffirming the principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence. It is planned that this historic Bicentennial declaration will bear the signatures of all the distinguished leaders of our nation who have been invited to attend the July Fourth ceremonies in Philadelphia. Any funds received by the Commission will be directed to official Bicentennial activities.

A copy of the full text of the Bicentennial Day Declaration is enclosed for your information. To enable the Commission to include your signature among the other distinguished American leaders whose names will appear on this document, will you please provide your authorization by signing the attached. For reproduction purposes, I am requesting that you sign in black ink. A member of my staff will contact your office to have the signed authorization personally delivered to me.

It is my privilege to participate with you and the Commission in this historic commemoration.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,



Hugh Scott  
Republican Leader



HS:fs

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 28, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

PHILIP BUCHEN

THROUGH:

MAX L. FRIEDERSDORF *M. L.*

FROM:

WILLIAM T. KENDALL *WTK*

SUBJECT:

Authorization to use Presidential signature on "Bicentennial Day Declaration," of the Official Bicentennial Day Commission, City of Philadelphia.

The attached is self-explanatory. I am aware of the stringent restrictions on the use of the President's name in connection with fund-raising projects. However, I would like to ask that this request be examined very carefully and, if at all possible, I would urge it be granted. In the event the reply is negative, I would recommend a Presidential letter of explanation to Senator Scott.

Please advise of action taken.

Many thanks.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 28, 1976

*b*

MEMORANDUM TO:

JACK MARSH

FROM:

RUSS ROURKE *Rourke*

Jack, FYI, the Valley Forge event can still be squeezed in if we decide to do so. The Ecumenical Service can be scrubbed if necessary, and the President can arrive at Independence Hall as late as 10:00 a.m.

We will have to make some final judgements re the Philadelphia schedule as soon as possible.

1. *TT File*

2. *D/C*





THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

3 up



APR 27 1976

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

April 27, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

*L* JACK MARSH  
BILL NICHOLSON

FROM:

TED MARRS *sum*  
MILT MITLER *just*

A meeting was held on Monday, April 26, 1976, to discuss the Philadelphia plans for July 4th. Attending were: William Rafsky, Philadelphia '76; Ann Marie O'Brien, Office of the Mayor; John W. Warner, ARBA; and Milt Mitler. Following is the information developed.

The Philadelphia planning group has developed the following time factors in the day's schedule:

- |                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| 8:00 - 9:30 AM    | Ecumenical Service - Interfaith - Independence Hall Area (Quadrangle -under a tent). 50 leading churchmen will participate. About 2,500 to 3,000 seats. |
| 9:30 - 11:15 AM   | Program at Independence Hall (7,000 seats plus surrounding area space - Est: 100,000+)  |
|                   | <u>9:30 - 10:00 AM</u> - Band Concert - Armed Forces Band   |
| 10:00 - 11:30 AM: |   |
|                   | a. Hail to the Chief  |
|                   | b. Invocation   |
|                   | c. National Anthem  |
|                   | d. Pledge of Allegiance   |
|                   | e. Introduction of platform guests (MC: Charlton Heston)  |
|                   | f. Historical Comments (Chief Justice Warren Burger)  |
|                   | g. Reading of Excerpts from the Declaration of Independence (Marion Anderson)   |
|                   | h. What America Means to Me   |
|                   | i. Mayor's Remarks  |
|                   | j. Governor's Remarks   |

- k. President's Remarks (15 minutes)
  - l. Benediction
  - m. Ringing of Church bells throughout the city.
  - n. Band music
- 
- |                  |  |
|------------------|--|
| 11:30 - 12:30 PM | Mayor's Reception for the President (Bellevue-Stratford Hotel)                                       |
| 12:30 - 2:00 PM  | Luncheon for President (Bellevue-Stratford Hotel - 1,200 people)                                     |
| 12:30 PM         | 50 State Parade begins - Historic district   |
| 2:00 PM          | National Bell Ringing kicked off by the Sons of the American Revolution. Departure of the President. |
| 8:00 PM          | 50 State Parade concludes - Parkway  |
| 8:30 - 10:00 PM  | Concerts and fireworks - various locations   |

While the President's participation has been written in by the Philadelphia group, there has been no commitment and they are aware that all we were doing was serving in an information-gathering capacity. They hope to go to press with their program within the next two weeks.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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1. II File

2. D/C



APR 27 1976

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WASHINGTON

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✓ JACK MARSH  
BILL NICHOLSON

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MILT MITLER *[initials]*

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**June 7, 1976**

**MEMORANDUM FOR:   TED MARRS  
                      MILT MITLER  
                      BILL NICHOLSON**

**FROM:               JACK MARSH**

**In reference to the President's participation in July Fourth events, where is the complete program to the extent that one is available of the sequence of events at Philadelphia on the Fourth?**

**JOM/dl**



**June 7, 1976**

**MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB HARTMANN**

**FROM: JACK MARSH**

**Attached is the latest, tentative program we have on the Philadelphia, Independence Hall event on July 4th.**

**JOM/dl**





9:30 - 11:15 AM

Program at Independence Hall (7,000 seats  
plus surrounding area space - Est: 100,000+)

9:30 - 10:00 AM - Band Concert - Armed  
Forces Band

10:00 - 11:30 AM:

- a. Hail to the Chief
- b. Invocation
- c. National Anthem
- d. Pledge of Allegiance
- e. Introduction of platform guests  
(MC: Charlton Heston)
- f. Historical Comments  
(Chief Justice Warren Burger)
- g. Reading of Excerpts from the  
Declaration of Independence  
(Marion Anderson)
- h. What America Means to Me
- i. Mayor's Remarks
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- k. President's Remarks (15 minutes)
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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

June 14, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: RICHARD CHENEY  
FROM: WILLIAM NICHOLSON *WWN*  
INFORMATION: JERRY JONES  
SUBJECT: Presidential Remarks for Philadelphia on July 4

Since December of last year I have had an ongoing dialogue with the Board of the Communicators, an organization that controls the World Religious News and the National Religious Broadcasting News Letters. This group was very active in the National Religious Broadcasting convention that the President addressed here in Washington in January and the World Religious News is distributed weekly to 1200 stations.

This organization has 100 major church leaders endorsing the concept of a national simultaneous prayer on July Fourth. They are prepared to use all their resources, including public service television spots, to encourage total participation by all churches of all faiths throughout the country. Their effort would be geared to having a TV set in every sanctuary across the country so that the worshippers could view the President and hear his remarks and hopefully join him in a unified minute of silence and a brief prayer.

These religious leaders believe that the foundation of this Nation rests with "In God We Trust" and that the Fourth of July of our Bicentennial Year is a most appropriate time to unify the country in prayer.

We need the President's approval for his Philadelphia remarks to end in a simultaneous national prayer so that the news releases, public service announcements, telegrams and phone calls by this large group of religious leaders can be released to maximize church participation.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

JUN 16 1976

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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INFORMATION: JERRY JONES

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We need the President's approval for his Philadelphia remarks to end in a simultaneous national prayer so that the news releases, public service announcements, telegrams and phone calls by this large group of religious leaders can be released to maximize church participation.

Approve \_\_\_\_\_ Disapprove \_\_\_\_\_

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 29, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: BOB HARTMANN  
FROM: JACK MARSH *Jack*  
SUBJECT: Independence Hall Speech  
Composite Draft B-1

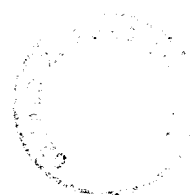
I would make several general comments on the Independence Hall speech.

The first four pages are quite good. I raise a question, however, as to the detail that should be developed on what befell the signers.

The last paragraph on page 7 is not clear.

There should be less emphasis on the Constitution. The focus must remain on the Declaration with only brief reference to the Constitution in my opinion. Therefore, I would omit much of the reference on pages 9 and 10 and the antidote on pages 14 and 15.

Finally, I am strongly of the view the President should issue some challenges to the American people for the next century. These might be termed the Ford Resolves. They should set out broad goals to which this country should aspire and in which we set a leadership pattern for the rest of the world. Examples of these might be:

1. Greater individualism
  2. A more beautiful America
  3. A more ordered society free of crime
  4. Stable international order
  5. Conquering of disease
- 

6. Higher quality of life

7. Other

These resolves should be stated syntactically but in prose that lends itself to easy memory.



Speech #5, INDEPENDENCE HALL

On Washington's Birthday in 1861, a fortnight after six states had formed a Confederacy of their own, knowing that ten days later he would face the cruelest national crisis of our 85-year history, Abraham Lincoln came here to Independence Hall.

"I am filled with deep emotion," he said, "at finding myself standing in the place where were collected together the wisdom, the patriotism, the devotion to principle -- from which sprang the institutions under which we live."

Today we can all share these simple, noble sentiments. Like Lincoln, I feel both pride and humility, rejoicing and reverence, standing in the place where two centuries ago the United States of America was conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

From this small but beautiful building, then the most imposing structure in the colonies, came the two great documents that continue to supply the moral and the intellectual

power for the American adventure in self-government.

Before me is the great bronze bell that joyously rang out news of the birth of our nation from the steeple of this Statehouse. It was never intended to be a churchbell, yet a generation before the great events of 1776 the elected Assembly of Pennsylvania ordered it to be inscribed with this Biblical verse: "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."

The early American settlers had many hardships, but they had more liberty than any other people on earth. That was what they came for and what they meant to keep.

The verse from Leviticus on the Liberty Bell is most instructive. It refers to the ancient Jewish year of Jubilee. In every 50th year, all encumbered lands were restored to their original owners and all bondservants were freed to return to their family lands. This was a legal mechanism by which the nation could return, every half century, to the equality of persons and equality of property that prevailed




when the children of Israel entered the land of promise.  
And both gifts came from God, as the Jubilee regularly reminded them.

Our Founding Fathers knew their Bibles as well as their Blackstone. They boldly reversed the prevailing political theory that Kings derive their powers from God, and asserted that both powers and unalienable rights belong to the people as direct endowments from their Creator.

Furthermore, they declared that governments are instituted among men, to secure their rights and to serve their purposes, and governments continue only so long as they have the consent of the governed.

Thus, the second Continental Congress met here in 1776, with General Washington already commanding the Continental Army in the field, not to demand new liberties but to regain long-established rights which they believed were being taken away from them unlawfully, that is, without their consent.


The American Revolution was unique, and remains unique, in that it was fought in the name of law as well as liberty. At the start, the Declaration of Independence that issued from this chamber proclaimed the Divine source of individual rights and the purpose of human government, as Americans understand it. That purpose is to secure the rights of individuals, against even government itself.



But the Declaration did not tell us how to accomplish this purpose, or what kind of government to set up. First, our independence had to be won. It was not won easily, as the nearby bivouac of Valley Forge, the rude bridge at Concord and the crumbling battlements of Yorktown bear witness.

We have heard much -- though we cannot hear it too often -- about the 56 Americans who here cast their votes, and later signed their names, to Thomas Jefferson's ringing declaration of equality and freedom so movingly read to us

[ by Miss Marian Anderson. ]



But do you know what price the signers of that parchment paid for "the patriotism, the devotion to principle" of which Lincoln spoke?

Three years after he signed the Declaration, Thomas McKean of Delaware wrote to John Adams that he had been "hunted like a fox by the enemy". Five times he was compelled to move his family to places of safety, until at last they found refuge in a little log house on the banks of the Susquehanna.

For Francis Lewis of New York, it was more than just the destruction of his home. His wife was also imprisoned, and she died a few months later.

John Hart of New Jersey was driven from the bedside of his dying wife so that he could find refuge in the woods. Returning a year later, he found his wife dead, his thirteen children scattered, his properties lost. He died a broken-hearted man.

John Hancock of Massachusetts was one of the wealthiest men who came to Philadelphia. Later, as he stood outside Boston and watched the enemy sweep by, he said, "Burn Boston, though it makes John Hancock a beggar; [if the public good requires it." ] 6

Altogether, of the 56 men in Philadelphia who signed that great Declaration, five were taken prisoner in the war; twelve had their homes sacked; two lost their sons; { nine ? died in the war itself.

Those men knew what they were doing. In the final stirring words of the Declaration, they pledged to each other "our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor."

And when liberty was at stake, they were willing to pay the price.

Despite our great debt to these founders, and to the footsoldiers who followed General Washington into battle after battle and retreat after retreat, it is important to remember that final success in that struggle for independence, as in

the many struggles that have followed throughout 200 years, <sup>7</sup>  
was due to the strength and support of ordinary men and women  
who were motivated by three powerful impulses -- personal  
freedom, self-government and national unity.

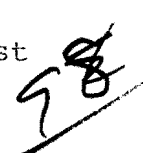
For all but the black slaves, many of whom fought  
bravely beside their masters because they also heard the  
promise of the Declaration, freedom was won in 1783. But  
the loose Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union had  
proved inadequate in war and were even worse in peace.

Again, representatives of the people and the States met  
in this place to form a more perfect Union, a legal mechanism  
that would translate the principles and purpose of Jefferson's  
Declaration into effective self-government.

Six of them were signers of the Declaration, including  
of course the sage of Philadelphia, Benjamin Franklin. Jeffer-  
son had replaced him in Paris, and the young genius of this <sup>8</sup>  
Convention was another Virginian, James Madison. The hero

of the Revolution, Washington, was called back from Mount Vernon to preside.

Seldom in history have the men who made a Revolution seen it through, but the United States was fortunate. The result of their deliberations and compromises was our Constitution, which William Gladstone, dean of British prime ministers, called "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

The Constitution was created to make the promise of the Declaration come true. The Declaration was not a protest against government, but against the excesses of government. 

It prescribed the proper role of government, to secure the rights of individuals and to effect their safety and happiness.

• In modern society no individual can do this alone, so government is not a necessary evil, but a necessary good.

The framers of the Declaration feared a central government that was too strong, as many Americans rightly do today. The framers of the Constitution, after their

experience under the Articles, feared a central government that was too weak, as many Americans rightly do today. They spent days studying all the contemporary governments of Europe and Dr. Franklin concluded that all contained the seeds of their own destruction.

So they built something new, drawing on their English traditions, on the Roman republic, and on that uniquely American institution of the town meeting. Madison was willing to separate executive, legislative and judicial powers and let them collide for their own good political health, a President to keep an eye on Congress, a Congress to keep an eye on the President, and a Supreme Court to keep an eye on both. This was not too different from King, Commons and Lords, but the Framers added another division of powers -- some to the Federal government, some to the State governments, and all the rest to the people. It was this concept of limited government, exercising only those powers specifically granted

it by the people, that made our Constitution unique in its time.

The Constitution wisely provided its own mechanism for change, and we have changed it 26 times, though the process is sufficiently difficult to keep it from being amended frivolously. To reassure those who felt the document did not sufficiently spell out the unalienable rights of the Declaration, the first Congress added and the States ratified the first 10 Amendments, which we call the Bill of Rights.

Later, after a tragic fraternal war, those guarantees were expanded to include all Black Americans and later still, voting rights were assured women and younger citizens 18 to 21 years of age. It is good to know that in our own lifetimes, we have witnessed the growth of freedom and the expansion of equality which began here so long ago.

This union of corrected wrongs and expanded rights has brought the blessings of liberty to 215 million Americans





today, but it serves also to remind us that the struggle for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness is never truly won. Each generation of Americans, indeed of all humanity, must strive to achieve these aspirations anew.

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", to borrow Lincoln's words, working the way they should? Are the foundations laid in 1776 and 1787 still strong and sound enough to resist the tremors of our times? Are our God-given rights secure, our hard-won liberties protected?

Have we lost control of important elements in our individual lives? Are we ruled by impersonal bureaus and agencies, organizations and associations instead of kings and princes? Are we pressed into drab conformity by the mass pressures of bigness itself; big government, big business, big



labor, mass education, mass information, mass entertainment,  
mass persuasion?

The very fact that we can ask all these questions,  
that we can ruthlessly examine and criticize our society,  
is cause for confidence in itself. Many of the voices raised  
in doubt 200 years ago served to strengthen and improve the  
decisions finally made.

The American adventure is a continuing process.

As one milestone is passed another is sighted. As  
we achieve one goal -- a longer lifespan, a literate population,  
a leadership in world affairs -- we raise our sights.

It is right that Americans are never satisfied -- it  
is not only right, it is necessary. From discontent comes  
action, as it did here in Independence Hall.

Those fierce political foes, John Adams and Thomas  
Jefferson, in their later years struck up friendly corres-  
pondence, and both died on the same Fourth of July, having



seen the handiwork of their finest hour endure a full 50 years.

They had seen its clear call for human liberty and equality

arouse the hopes of all mankind, and Jefferson wrote to Adams

that "even should the cloud of barbarism and despotism again

obscure the science and libraries of Europe, this country

remains to preserve and restore light and liberty to them."

1940 7 7 One hundred and 7 years later, Jefferson's 15

dire prophesy seemed about to come true. President Franklin

D. Roosevelt, speaking for a mighty nation reinforced by millions

of immigrants who had joined the American adventure, was able

to declare:

"We too, born to freedom, and believing in freedom,

are willing to fight to maintain freedom. We, and all others

who believe as deeply as we do, would rather die on our feet

than live on our knees."

The world knows where we stand. The world is ever con-

scious of what Americans are doing, for better or worse, because

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The world may or may not follow, 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 estab-  
lishment 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.

The ultimate purpose of our foreign policy is peace,  
not merely a balance of terror but a world in which all govern-  
ments exist by consent of the governed, and all peoples are free  
to pursue happiness in their own way. In this spirit we welcome  
the participation of so many friendly governments and foreign  
guests in this great family celebration of ours.

Family stories are often the best-loved and before we  
leave here this morning, let me tell one about the closing day  
of the Constitutional Convention here in Independence Hall.

It had been a long and arduous session. When it was done,

Benjamin Franklin arose and pointed to the chair where General Washington had been presiding.

On the back of Washington's chair was the design of a Sun low on the horizon. During the debates, many of the delegates had jokingly wondered whether it was a rising or a setting sun.

"We know now," Franklin said happily "it is a rising sun and the beginning of a great new day for America."

Dr. Franklin, we who have kept your republic for eight generations call back to you over the centuries: Our Sun is still rising, and this July 4, 1976, is another great new day for the United States of America.

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18

SPEECH #5 - INDEPENDENCE HALL

On Washington's Birthday in 1861, a fortnight after six states had formed a Confederacy of their own, Abraham Lincoln came here to Independence Hall, knowing that ten days later he would face the cruelest national crisis of our 85-year history.

"I am filled with deep emotion," he said, "at finding myself standing here in the place where were collected together the wisdom, the patriotism, the devotion to principle -- from which sprang the institutions under which we live."

Today we can all share these simple, noble sentiments. Like Lincoln, I feel both pride and humility, rejoicing and reverence, as I stand in the place where two centuries ago the United States of America was conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

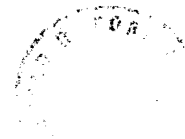
From this small but beautiful building, then the most imposing structure in the colonies, came the two great documents

that continue to supply the moral and the intellectual power for the American adventure in self-government.

Before me is the great bronze bell that joyously rang out news of the birth of our nation from the steeple of this Statehouse. It was never intended to be a churchbell. Yet a generation before the great events of 1776, the elected Assembly of Pennsylvania ordered it to be inscribed with this Biblical verse: "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."

The early American settlers had many hardships, but they had more liberty than any other people on earth. That was what they came for and what they meant to keep.

The verse from Leviticus on the Liberty Bell refers to the ancient Jewish year of Jubilee. In every 50th year, the Jubilee restored the land and the equality of persons that prevailed when the children of Israel entered the land of promise. And both gifts came from God, as the Jubilee regularly





reminded them.

Our Founding Fathers knew their Bibles as well as their Blackstone. They boldly reversed the age-old political theory that Kings derive their powers from God, and asserted that both powers and unalienable rights belong to the people as direct endowments from their Creator.

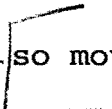


Furthermore, they declared that governments are instituted among men, to secure their rights and to serve their purposes, and governments continue only so long as they have the consent of the governed.

With General Washington already commanding the Continental Army in the field, the second Continental Congress met here in 1776, not to demand new liberties but to regain long-established rights which Americans believed were being taken away from them unlawfully, that is, without their consent.

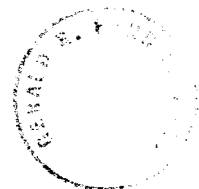
The American Revolution was unique, and remains unique, in that it was fought in the name of law as well as liberty.

At the start, the Declaration of Independence proclaimed the Divine source of individual rights and the purpose of human government, as Americans understand it. That purpose is to secure the rights of individuals, against even government itself.

But the Declaration did not tell us how to accomplish this purpose, or what kind of government to set up. First, our independence had to be won. It was not won easily, as the nearby encampment of Valley Forge, the rude bridge at Concord, and the crumbling battlements of Yorktown bear witness.

We have heard much -- though we cannot hear it too often -- about the 56 Americans who cast their votes, and later signed their names, to Thomas Jefferson's ringing declaration of equality and freedom.  so movingly read to us by Miss  Marian Anderson. 

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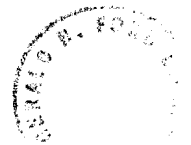
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Altogether, of the 56 men who signed our great Declaration, five were taken prisoner in the war; twelve had their homes sacked; two lost their sons; nine died in the war itself.

Those men knew what they were doing. In the final stirring words of the Declaration, they pledged to one another "our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor."

And when liberty was at stake, they were willing to pay the price.

\* We owe a great debt to these founders, and to the foot-soldiers who followed General Washington into battle after battle, retreat after retreat. But it is important to remember that final success in that struggle for independence, as in

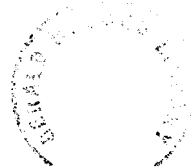


the many struggles that have followed, was due to the strength and support of ordinary men and women who were motivated by three powerful impulses -- personal freedom, self-government and national unity.

For all but the Black slaves, many of whom fought bravely beside their masters because they also heard the promise of the Declaration, freedom was won in 1783. But the loose Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union had proved inadequate in war and were even less effective in peace.

Again in 1787, representatives of the people and the States met in this place to form a more perfect Union, a permanent legal mechanism that would translate the principles and purpose of Jefferson's Declaration into effective self-government.

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of the Revolution, Washington, was called back from Mount Vernon to preside.

Seldom in history have the men who made a Revolution seen it through, but the United States was fortunate. The result of their deliberations and compromises was our Constitution, which William Gladstone, dean of British prime ministers called "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

The Constitution was created to make the promise of the Declaration come true. The Declaration was not a protest against government, but against the excesses of government. It prescribed the proper role of government, to secure the rights of individuals and to effect their safety and happiness. In modern society no individual can do this alone, so government is not a necessary evil, but a necessary good.

The framers of the Declaration feared a central



government that was too strong, as many Americans rightly do today. The framers of the Constitution, after their experience under the Articles, feared a central government that was too weak, as many Americans rightly do today. They spent days studying all the contemporary governments of Europe and concluded with Dr. Franklin that all contained the seeds of their own destruction.

So the Framers built something new, drawing on their English traditions, on the Roman republic, and on the uniquely American institution of the town meeting.

To reassure those who felt the original Constitution did not sufficiently spell out the unalienable rights of the Declaration, the first United States Congress added and the States ratified the first 10 Amendments, which we call the Bill of Rights.

Later, after a tragic fraternal war, those guarantees were expanded to include all Americans. Later still, voting



rights were assured for women and for younger citizens 18 to 21 years of age. It is good to know that in our own lifetimes, we have taken part in the growth of freedom and the expansion of equality which began here so long ago.

This union of corrected wrongs and expanded rights has brought the blessings of liberty to 215 million Americans today, but it serves also to remind us that the struggle for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness is never truly won. Each generation of Americans, indeed of all humanity, must strive to achieve these aspirations anew.

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", to borrow Lincoln's words, 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 ruthlessly examine and criticize our society, is cause for confidence in itself. Many of the voices raised in doubt 200 years ago served to strengthen and improve the decisions finally made.

The American adventure is a continuing process.

As one milestone is passed another is sighted. As we achieve one goal -- a longer lifespan, a literate population, a leadership in world affairs -- we raise our sights.

As we begin our third century there is still so much to be done.

-- We must increase the independence of the individual, ensuring every American's right to privacy and opportunity to attain his or her full potential.

-- We must create a more beautiful America, making human works conform to the harmony of nature.

-- We must develop a safer society, so ordered that happiness may be pursued without fear of crime or accidents.



-- We must build a more stable international order, politically, economically and legally.


-- We must match the great breakthroughs of the past century in improving health and conquering disease.

-- We must continue to unlock the secrets of our universe beyond our planet as well as within ourselves.

-- We must work to enrich the quality of American life [at work, at play and in our homes.]

It is right that Americans are never satisfied -- it is not only right, it is necessary. From discontent comes action, as it did here in Independence Hall.

Those fierce political rivals, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, in their later years carried on a warm correspondence. Both died on the Fourth of July of 1826 having lived to see the handiwork of their finest hour endure a full 50 years. They had seen the Declaration's clear call for human liberty and equality arouse the hopes of all mankind, and Jefferson wrote to Adams that "even should the



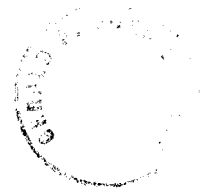
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The world may or may not follow, but we lead because



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.

The American adventure began here "with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence". It continues in a common conviction that the source of our blessings is a loving God, in whom we trust. Therefore, I ask all the members of the American family, our guests and friends, to join me now in a moment of silent prayer or meditation

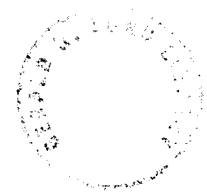
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(LONG PAUSE)

Thank you and God bless you.

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due: 7/2/76  
JUL 2 1976

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 2, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: JACK MARSH  
FROM: ROBERT T. HARTMANN  
SUBJECT: BICENTENNIAL SPEECHES

I would like your priority attention and personal response on the attached draft (even if you approve it as is).

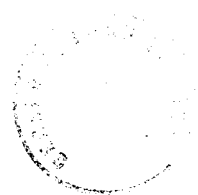
Please return your comments to my office in the West Wing by 1:00 p.m. today, July 2, 1976.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Please check one box and sign below:

- ( ) I approve the draft without changes.
- ( ) Suggested revisions are noted on the draft or attached separately.

Initials: \_\_\_\_\_



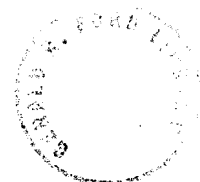
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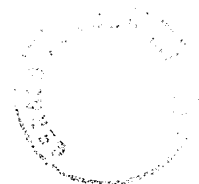


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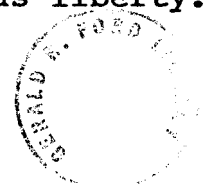
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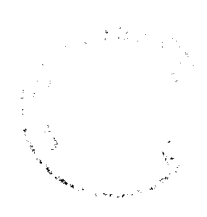
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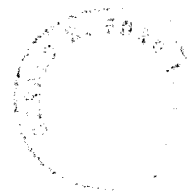
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