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(Khachigian *et al.*)

Reagan Inaugural address
Second Cut
January 2, 1981

Senator Hatfield, etc

For 180 years, these ~~great~~ halls ^{of Congress} ~~behind me~~ have borne witness to the peaceful passage of executive authority in America. Thus, what is ~~momentous~~ ~~import~~ to the participants in this ceremony is as the commonplace routine in the span of our history. It is a miracle of our heritage which allows us to make ~~dramatic~~ changes of leadership ~~with~~ with the greatest of order and dignity.

This act truly [^]sybolizes [^]the triumph of our Constitution. Here, we reassert the right of free men and women to govern themselves, to determine their own future and to shape the ~~our~~ destiny of their children.

We do more than ~~memorialize~~ ^{celebrate} the accomplishment of one person or the end of an election process. We ~~reaffirm~~ reaffirm at this solemn moment that in America the people never lose their power; they only delegate it.

In ~~recent~~ recent weeks, we have gone through the latest of America's ~~transition~~ transition of the presidency. I want you, my fellow citizens, and especially [^]President Carter, to know how much I appreciate the spirit of cooperation which the outgoing administration has accorded us throughout ^{the recent transition} this process.

You showed a watching world that we remain united and helped give our countrymen reassurance in the integrity of our political processes.

Now the business of America goes forward, and the spirit of accord we have found here ~~today~~ underscores the fact that continuity is an essential hallmark of our democracy.

Thirty-eight men before me have sworn to the same oath I have taken here today. But that oath is not peculiar to the Office of the President. The solemn obligation to ^{serve} preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States is shared by every patriotic American. ~~As I embark on my term of stewardship,~~ I take comfort in knowing that the people are supporting me in ~~the~~ fulfilling the sacred charge of that oath.

This compact, between the people and their President, is ^(essential) ~~needed~~ now ~~as much as ever before~~ because the United States is confronted with ^(a severe) an economic affliction of ~~major proportions.~~ There may be ^(semantic) ~~disputing~~ disputes over how to define ^(what it is) our ~~troubles~~, but common sense tells us that this great problem needs no definition. It faces you and your families every single day. *You know what it is.*

We suffer ~~it~~ ^{sustained} from the worst/peactime inflation in our history. This extraordinary ~~phenommon~~ ^{phenomenon} is ~~dramatically~~ ^{distorting} our economic decisions. It peanlizes thrift. It crushes the struggling young as well as the fixed-income elderly. It threatens, no less, to shatter the lives of tens of millions of our people and ~~poison~~ ^{poison} our future economic wellbeing.

America ^(is) ~~does~~ ^{is at full production, and} not enjoy the full use of every ~~possible producer~~ because our idle ~~industries~~ ^{industries} ~~have~~ cast millions into unemployment. This is the most sadly human dimension of our economic adversity, causing human misery and personal indignity.

We have a system of taxation which ~~punishes extra~~
~~production and~~ imposes unfair and unwise burdens on the
taxpayer. Our tax system should be an equitable one that
guarantees all citizens receipt of their just reward for their
hours of labor. It should not be a penalty on successful
achievement.

And let's be honest with ourselves. As individuals we
cannot forever spend that which we don't have, so why do we
believe that we may do so as a nation? We are now paying the
uncomfortable price for decades of flaunting budgetary
reality, piling deficit upon deficit, and mortgaging our
future for the temporary conveniences of the present.

True, we can be grateful that the ~~question is not one~~
of literal human survival, ~~nor~~ nor are we faced with immediate
financial disaster. But to continue this long trend ~~we have~~
~~followed for too many years~~ is a sure guarantee for
social, cultural, and political upheavals of ~~potentially~~
tragic proportions. Today's problems are great, but they
are only warning signals.

We ~~will~~ ^{must} act ~~now~~ today in order to preserve tomorrow.
And act we will.

I did not take this solemn oath of office to preside
over the steady dissolution of the strongest economy in
the world. ^{Very soon,} As soon as possible, ^{I will propose} ~~we will be taking~~ positive
measures to ~~gain~~ ^{begin the process of regaining} control ^{over} this severe problem.

These unprecedented economic ills will not disappear
magically. They were long in building up, and they ^{will take} ~~will~~
~~be~~ long ^{to} ~~in~~ beating back. You will see no miracles, ~~nor~~

and so progress will come by inches and feet, not by miles.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

We must work together, and we must help each other. Success will not come from watching what our neighbor does but by each of us showing our neighbor what must be done. Victory in this struggle requires the same kind of national unity that ~~marked the~~ has marked every successful American venture.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

The solutions we seek will be as equitable as we can ~~produce~~ produce. No ~~single~~ ^{bejinged out} group should be forced to pay the price for a national ~~problem~~ problem. We entered this ~~impending~~ impending crisis together and we shall leave it together.

And for a ~~big~~ problem with roots so deep, the solutions will have to reach deep. There will be ^{no} sacred cows, and the only ~~special~~ special interest will be restoration of our ~~prosperity~~ prosperity.

Join with me, ~~and~~ and with the Congress; we will all ~~begin~~ begin to put ~~America~~ America back to work ^{to} with production that sustains value. *earn dollars that ~~has~~ retain value*

~~Restoring our economy~~

Even as we work to find answers, we must study to find causes. ~~We must realize that~~ [≡] much of what is wrong with our economic system came about not because of ^{personal} decisions made by the people but because of bad decisions made by the government.

It's been nearly half a century since the Depression.

Then, a desperate nation turned to the Federal Government to lead it out of crisis. But what began as an experiment in response to an emergency became a habit. We've gone too far, threatening to upset that delicate balance between what people are required to do together and what they are allowed to do individually.

The result is that after five decades we face a different kind of crisis. In this crisis, government isn't the solution. Government is the problem.

~~Instead of turning to the government for the answers, we must turn to ourselves.~~

I

Whenever our nation faces great problems, she places faith in the first principles which founded America. They were simple truths -- "self-evident" truths -- among them that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

Today, because government has grown too much, ~~while~~ ~~the people's power~~ power has diminished, the critical question of our time is: who is the servant and who the master?

The founders clearly understood the perils of power ~~was~~ vested so heavily in the state. That peril is even greater in modern times. For ~~the~~ the era of ~~the~~ the complex ^{of} society, ~~with~~ advanced communications and technology, has given to government a sweeping new dimension of power and even greater capacity for mischief. This is the negative government -- one that ^{saps} absorbs our energies ^{it over} and regulates, scolds, ~~lectures and~~ lectures, ^{and}

It is time we brought an end to the negative government. We know that the true glory of our nation includes, but also transcends our governmental institutions. We are and have always been a nation that has a government and not the other way around -- and that is what makes us special among the nations of the earth.

The time is now to reverse the growth of the state before the growth of the state reverses the course of America. We must re-examine the institutional arrangements that have grown up over the past decades. Surely it is no coincidence that the greatest of our economic ^{tribulations} ~~trials~~ have ^{paralleled} ~~mirrored~~ the massive growth of government in our lives.

The goal of this administration will be to reduce the size and influence of the Federal ~~Government~~ ^{in the} ~~United States. ~~xxxxxx~~~~ In this republic, government must be the servant of the people.

Therefore, in the discharge of my duties, I shall be guided by a careful observance of the distinction between the powers granted to the Federal Government and those reserved to the States or to the people. There is a need for all of us to be reminded that the States created the Federal Government; the Federal Government did not create the States.

~~Well, xxxxxxxx~~

~~Well, xxx~~

It is my aim to ensure that the government expands the choices of individuals, instead of limiting them. The government must promote opportunity, not smother it. ~~The~~ ~~xxx~~ It must foster productivity, not stifle it.

We seek to revitalize the proper functions of government and once again set loose the energy and ingenuity of the American people. We must breathe life into those social and economic institutions which serve as both buffer and bridge between the individual and the state.

Group 7 →

During recent years the idea grew among some circles that individual ~~Americans~~ Americans could not be trusted to make the right decisions. Well, for too long we have allowed others to do our thinking for us. It is time to do some ^{thinking} thing of our own.

Are we qualified? The answer is an unequivocal, yes. Our capability is ~~not~~ built on a bedrock belief in God and in

traditional virtues that have stood the test of centuries.

And so that we are not misunderstood; ~~let it be~~
~~clear~~ We don't want to do away with government; we just
want to make it work. ~~Let~~ We want to have it work with
us and not over us to have it stand by our side, not on
our back.

to
p. 6

So today, we issue no empty promises or easy rhetoric.
It is enough to speak the truth and to have quiet confidence
in what is ~~known~~ known so well -- that the government must
exist to guarantee our freedoms. And unless we as individuals
are free, we cannot have a nation that is free. When we
restore that freedom, I am confident that in good time
sustained prosperity and economic vitality will be ours again.

My fellow Americans, we have survived decades of testing.
Our country is ready once again to fulfill its historical
destiny.

We are too great a nation to be confined to small dreams.
Therefore, I ask you to begin with me today an era of national
renewal. With ~~strength~~ all the creative energy at
our command, we shall renew our determination, our courage,
our strength, our spirit, our faith and our hope. And
in renewing ourselves, we will give life to heroic dreams.

We hear it said that because of our current difficulties
our nation is doomed to an inevitable decline. Well, I do not
believe in a fate that will fall on the United States of America
no matter what we do -- I do believe in a fate that will fall

on us if we do nothing. If we take direct action against our difficulties and confront our problems, we will not simply endure -- we will prevail.

Those who do not fear direct action are the builders of America, the unsung heroes of our daily existence -- the laborer upon whose back the nation's cities and commerce rose up; the farmer whose struggles with nature feed ~~AMK~~ this country and much of the world beyond; the entrepreneur whose vision and initiative create new jobs, new goods, new wealth and new opportunities; the artist, the artisan and the craftsman who interpret and re-interpret and enrich our culture.

X → At the very heart of our great national renewal are those individuals and families ~~wh~~ whose work keeps us strong ~~and~~ and whose sacrifices keep us free, whose taxes fuel the government and whose voluntary donations perform the works of charity, ~~and~~ whose values sustain our ~~national~~ national life, whose patriotism is quiet but deep.

To these men and women, whose role is so often overlooked, and whose voice is so often drowned out ~~by the clamor of~~ ~~louder voices~~, I say today:

Your time has come.

Your values have a home in my home.

Your dreams, your hopes, your goals, are now where they should be, at the heart of this government.

~~No longer shall you be the invisible m~~

No national renewal will be possible without the participation of those who for too many years were left out.

Putting America back to work means putting all Americans back to work. ^{ing} End/inflation means freeing all Americans from the crushing burden of impossible prices. An expanding prosperity is the best way to open the doors of equal opportunity to everyone, ^{because} the best ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ anti-poverty program is work.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

To the men and women reaching out for help, I say today: Our national renewal ^{also demands that we display} ~~calls us to use~~ the quality ~~of~~ of our compassion. For how can we love our country and not love our countryman? ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ And how can we love our countryman and not reach out to lift him when he falls, heal him when he is sick, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ and raise him by the extension of opportunity to self-sufficiency so that he stands equal in fact and not just in theory?

Renewal at home must be a foundation which makes us stronger in the face of a restless world. The world must know that ^{the United States} ~~America~~ will renew its fiber and begin conducting itself in a way which always commands respect. ~~My fellow Americans,~~ ^{the United States} It is time for ^A America once again to be the exemplar of freedom and beacon of hope across the earth.

We must face this world with no illusions. We may be at peace, but the forces of discord and conflict are poised to threaten the peace. And for hundreds of millions of our fellow humans on this globe, freedom's sweet music sounds no note.

To our neighbors, we extend an invitation to strengthen our ~~historic ties~~ ^{relative historic ties.} We will look to mutually beneficial relations and not impose on your sovereignty or intervene in your in-~~ter~~ ternal affairs. But ~~to~~ those who pose as neighbors while seeking to export terrorism and hate, ~~you~~ will have neither our help nor our goodwill.

To our ~~historic~~ allies, I say you will find we are ready to make stronger the binds of our affinity. ~~You will find that once again~~ ^{will be} ~~The word of~~ ⁺ the United States of America ~~is~~ ^{is} reliable. Our support will be steady. Our commitment will be firm. We will match loyalty with loyalty.

From our beginning, we have sought friendship and alliance ^{with} nations that share our dream of freedom. When they have sought our help, we have given it freely, and we continue to do so. We have no wish to buy their sovereignty with our help because our own sovereignty is not for sale.

We are realistic ^{enough} to know that we can maintain friendships with our allies without giving up our ideals. Pursuing our best interests does not require relinquishing our principles.

To the ^{vast} world ~~living on the outside~~ which has not shared in the blessings of our freedom and prosperity, I say that we will seek to have you know us for our compassion ~~and~~ as well as our strength. We will always be able to share our bounty where people must fight the most basic elements of human survival.

But we will not apologize for our system of free ^{the} ~~enterprise~~ marketplace of ideas and products -- especially to those who condemn us while benefiting from our advances. Let the world

worry less about the redistribution of old wealth and more about creating massive new opportunities for producing new wealth.

To the enemies of freedom and to our potential adversaries, ~~I~~^I remind you that peace is the highest aspiration of the American people. We will negotiate for it, sacrifice for it, but we will not surrender for it -- now or ever.

We are open to mutual negotiation, but will never allow negotiation to become an end in itself. We hope to reduce destructive armaments but will not be taken advantage of in any agreement. We can be the best of friends when accommodation is called for, but we will be the most tireless opponent if there must be opposition.

We ~~must~~^{must} always weigh our foreign policy objectives on the ~~realist~~ scale of realism. ~~I think~~ I firmly believe every American joins me in this pledge. We will always wish the world to be better than it is, but we must always see the world as it is and not as we wish it to be.

^{unfolding}
In this ~~opening~~^{opening} era of renewal we will remember this: ^(this nation was) we were conceived in liberty and we have lived for more than two centuries as the very pillar of freedom, defending the rights and security of others and fighting every form of tyranny. How can we cease now?

Our forbearance should never be misunderstood. Our reluctance for conflict should not be ~~misinterpreted~~^{misjudged} as a failure of will. We will be there when we are needed. We will act when the moment calls for action. We shall never shrink from our responsibilities.

Our principles of national defense will be simple. We will make ourselves strong enough to prevail against any adversary who threatens us, in any quarter, and at any time. We will be prepared to honor our sacred obligations. We will always seek to deter and not to destroy.

Our physical strength is as nothing if it is not matched with moral courage and the rightness of our cause. We are secure in the knowledge that no weapon in the arsenals of the world is so formidable as the will of free men and women. It is a weapon our adversaries in today's world do not have.

I welcome this time of challenge and ~~new~~ renewal. I know that the rest of the world will believe in us because we are going to ~~begin~~ ^{start} believing ^e in ourselves. The fire of our spirit can infuse ~~everyone~~ all peoples with our renewed sense of hope. A generation steeled by harsh wars and brittle peaces does not easily forsake honor at the moment of the struggle for the human spirit. We remember the ~~timeless~~ timeless admonition: ~~for our time and for any age~~ evil is powerless if the good are unafraid

My fellow Americans, this is a good country -- for us and for all of our children. There is nothing wrong with ~~us~~ ^{it} that we can't fix. Why? Because from our very beginning, the American people have not aspired to great titles or riches, but they have -- especially in our darkest hours -- aspired to great deeds. This is a time for great deeds.

I believe Americans have been called upon by God and by ~~history~~ ^{history} to create prosperity through our work, defend

freedom by our courage, advance the cause of justice by our institutions, and do the work of mercy ~~and compassion~~ with all our hearts.

Before America became a nation, she was an idea in the heart of ^avery person yearning for freedom. That idea became a reality. The reality matured in the form of our union. But even as we enter our third century, let us never forget that, more than anything else, we are an idea come to change the world.

There are, in our rich past, ~~other truths~~ ^{justified} ~~which~~ ^{defensible elements} ~~underlie~~ ^{helped to shape} our greatness. They ~~were~~ ^{were} ~~are~~ ^{are} truths passed down ~~for us to~~ ^{as} a heritage for us to build on. Today, we ~~renew our~~ ^{renew} ~~commitment~~ ^{commitment} to those truths.

- the kindness of providence which founded our ~~new~~ republic;
- the simple genius of ~~our~~ our Constitution;
- the virtue and strength of our people;
- the artful workings of the federal system;
- the extraordinary expansion of our ~~frontiers~~ ^{frontiers};
- the ~~union~~ ~~diversity~~ union of diverse communities;
- the vigilant regard for the rights of all citizens;
- the never-flagging quest for peace with all nations

^{Our rich} This heritage makes possible the tasks now before us. Were we to fail ~~it~~ ^{that heritage} now, the haunting memories of the American spirit would rise up to remind us how we got where we are. That spirit issued from the sons and daughters of America -- those who left ~~their~~ ^{their} plows to fight at Lexington; those

who were pitted against
~~shopkeepers leaving their workbenches to face~~ their brothers
at Gettysburg; the fresh-faced young boys crossing an ocean
to fight at Verdun or to bleed into the sands of Pacific
beachheads; ~~the~~ and the unheralded patriots who sacrificed *d*
in the jungles ~~and~~ of Southeast Asia.

Can we look at what they did for their country and
for the cause of human liberty and then dare ~~we~~ to say that
we cannot once again be great?

This is the first time in our history that ~~like~~ these ceremonies have been held on the west front of the capitol building. Standing here looking ~~xxxxxx~~ out towards the rest of our nation, I am at the place ^{whre the sea} ended and where our shores began -- the start of a new eopch

This is the first time in our history that ^{this} ~~these~~ ceremonies ^{has} ~~have~~ been held on the West Front of ^{the} ~~our~~ Capitol Building. ^{Standing here lets us see} ~~Directly in front of me is~~ one of the most magnificent vistas man has ever created. ^{As the eye} ~~Looking~~ past the open mall, ^{it} ~~the eye~~ fastens ^{upon} ~~upon~~ those shrines to the giants ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ on whose shoulders we stand.

Directly in front of me, the monument to a monumental man. George Washington, Father of our Country. He came to greatness reluctantly, leading America out of revolutionary victory into infant nationhood. He believed in the people more than himself, and out of that humility rose to their ~~gxxx~~ greatness.

Off slightly to my left, the stately memorial to Thomas Jefferson. A man of wisdom beyond his years. He fervently believed in the liberty of all people and in their freedom to excel.

Beyond the reflecting pool, those dignified columns ~~were~~ wherein the Great Emancipator is enshrined. However long God sees fit to bless our adventure in self-government ^{and} however deeply we range in exploring the meanings of our democracy, who-

January 7, 1981

MEMORANDUM

TO: Ken Khachigian

FROM: Bob Garrick *mg*

I thought the enclosed suggestion for the President-elect's speech would at least give you your morning humor.

When you read this correspondence through carefully, this fellow may not have a bad idea; but I think it holds the potential for the start of World War III. However, in keeping with our policy of seeing that you receive everything relative to the Inaugural Speech that comes across our desk, the enclosed is forwarded for your evaluation.

x x x

Enclosure

PAUL M. SOMERS, C.C.I.M

Real Estate and
Business Broker

511 West White Street
Champaign, Illinois 61820
(217) 359-6363

December 26, 1980

Speechwriters
c/o President-elect Ronald Reagan
Pacific Palisades, California 90272

Gentlemen:

Because I feel it is very important for President-elect Reagan to be seen by Americans and the world as a take-charge, no-nonsense leader, I would commend to your thinking the insertion into his inaugural address the following section (of course, backed up with the actions described):

"Two hours ago, as the result of complete cooperation between the Carter administration and my own administration, a force of volunteer American paratroppers landed in Iran and surrounded the 'holy city' of Qom, the residence of the Ayatolla Kohmeni. These troops are armed with (tactical nuclear?) weapons which could level that city in a matter of a few hours.

These troops have been ordered, for the next twenty-four hours to limit their activities to barring the exit from that city of any of its inhabitants and to defend themselves, with appropriate force, if attacked.

The government of Iran has been notified of the presence of the troops and has been informed that the purpose of their presence in Iran is to cause that government to deliver the American kidnap victims, unharmed and in good health--as they have described their condition--safely to a specified airport in Egypt. The government of Iran is to be responsible for the safety and transportation of the victims.

If this condition is met, the troops surrounding Qom will proceed to (either an airport or a seaport) where American (planes or ships) will pick them up and remove them from Iran, with no shots having been fired.

Should the government of Iran not comply with this condition within the twenty-four hours, the city of Qom will be destroyed.

As a further safeguard to the troops involved in this humanitarian mission, the Strategic Air Command has been ordered to target certain sites in Iran for total destruction should any of the troops be harmed."

It would be super-effective if the President-elect would then proceed into the next point in his speech without missing a beat, as much as to say that the above is a routine reaction to this situation--as it is!

Such an announcement and such an action would certainly galvanize the American public behind its new President and make it very easy for him



*Certified Commercial and Investment Member
of the Realtors National Marketing Institute*

December 26, 1980
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to marshall public opinion behind some of the truly monumental tasks he is going to be forced to ask the country to face.

The effect on allies, uncommitted and enemies alike would have to be to let them know that America is, once more, in strong hands--not an inconsiderable task, when you consider what they have observed from this country for the past four years.

Thank you for taking the time to consider this suggestion, and my good wishes to the President-elect and all of his staff.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Paul M. Somers".

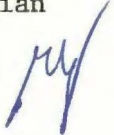
PAUL M. SOMERS, C.C.I.M.
Real Estate Broker

PMS:h

January 6, 1981

MEMORANDUM

TO: Ken Khachigian

FROM: Bob Garrick 

The attached drifted into my office and it appears to be additional speech material. In view of where the Inaugural Address stands at the present time, I am simply mailing this to you at San Clemente.

x x x

Attachment

December 31, 1980

TO: Darrell Trent
FROM: Art Bueche *AMB*
SUBJECT: Science and Technology "Quotes"

As requested, here are some suggestions for "quotable phrases" that might be considered for the Inaugural Address or subsequent Presidential messages.

Obviously, some of these paragraphs reflect the same general ideas expressed in various ways. Our objective has been to provide a wide range of options — and to plant at least the germ of a large number of different ideas for possible further development.

In any event, we hope President-Elect Reagan will stress the importance of "removing regulatory and tax roadblocks so that the fruits of technology can be utilized to control inflation, to create economic growth, and to improve our international security".

cc: ✓ Robert Garrick
Ed Harper
Robert McCarthy

RECOMMENDED STATEMENTS

Putting new vigor into American science and technology is essential to the health and well-being of our people, to our national security, and to our economic survival in a competitive world. To provide long-term and continuing control of inflation, we must recreate a sound business environment and restore our traditional incentives for investors and entrepreneurs to develop and introduce better products and more productive plants. We must get rid of the tax and regulatory burdens that stifle technological progress in our economy. American industry is still the most productive in the world. But unless we restore the health of our business environment, we can expect international competitors to continue to outstrip us and, eventually, we will become a second-rate force in the world.

A government seeking best to serve a creative people will perform its role not by imposing its own will on the search for knowledge, nor even by presuming that it must support more than its proper share of the national innovation effort; rather it will be a source of encouragement, facilitating and appreciating the individual and cooperative efforts of its technologists and entrepreneurs.

The goal of steadily increasing private investment in technological innovation seems the surest available route to an urgently needed resurgence in national economic vitality, opportunity for young people, security, health, human well-being for ourselves and for people around the world, American pride, and American spirit.

The private sector of our economy needs to be encouraged to increase its innovative activities throughout the entire chain leading from basic research in the laboratory to products and services for the market place. The private sector will be helped through improved tax structures favoring innovation, sensible regulation, consistent patent policies, and other governmental activities which emphasize cooperation rather than adversarial confrontation.

The U.S. is the leader in basic research and we intend to maintain this position. However, we have not been applying new knowledge at a rate comparable with the rest of the world. One reason is a shortage of trained talent in such key areas as computer science, chemical engineering, and so on. I am asking the National Science Foundation to place renewed emphasis on assuring an adequate supply of the kind of trained technical people this nation must have in order to compete in international markets...and to strengthen its defense.

The National Science Foundation will continue its role as one of the principal supporters of the most basic research. In addition, the NSF will be specifically directed to place renewed emphasis on the part of its charter that pertains to "insuring an adequate supply of scientists and engineers to meet our country's needs."

We will strengthen our support of technological innovation by revitalizing the Patent and Trademark Office.

We will continue our investments in basic research in science and engineering with special emphasis on channelling research funds to the nation's research universities.

Basic research--the search for new knowledge about the world in which we live--is so important that we will encourage every agency of the federal government to support such research in the universities wherever and whenever it is appropriate to do so.

We will continue and strengthen the Office of Science and Technology Policy. It will be staffed by the most able and technologically sophisticated persons we can find. The President's Science Advisor will be my principal agent in dealing with all aspects of science and technology throughout government and through him I intend to seek the best technical advice in our Country.

DEFENSE

It is my duty to inform the people of the United States that our nation's defense is far weaker than it should be or than you may have been led to believe.

Our nation's defense weaknesses are both quantitative and qualitative. We don't have enough, and what we have is not good enough.

The aim of defense technology is to prevent war. I am calling on our top scientists and engineers to recognize this important fact and am urging them to take part in programs aimed at promoting national security and thus helping prevent international conflict.

The nation's security is dependent, of course, on many factors in addition to science and technology. Technological superiority alone will not guarantee us security if other key parts of the jobs are not done. But technological inferiority alone surely means a loss of security.

ENERGY

Both the private sector and the government should play a cooperative role in research and timely development of new energy technologies and we will seek more private sector advice and help in setting priorities. Commercialization, of course, should be primarily the responsibility of the private sector.

Let's make sure there is no doubt about where we stand on nuclear energy. I want it to be a matter of open, fully-understood national policy that nuclear energy is considered to be a safe, viable option for generating electricity and for reducing our dependence on imported oil.

We must use more nuclear energy in America...as soon as possible and it is my intent to remove many of the roadblocks which keep this from happening.

AGRICULTURE

The American farmer is the most productive in the world--and he'll get even better in the future. Opportunities from new technologies such as "genetic engineering" can help reduce the cost of food for Americans. And further strengthening America's ability to produce food can play a major role in promoting international stability and peace. Although we will have to economize in many other areas we cannot afford to lose our leadership position in agricultural technology.

NATURAL RESOURCES

National self-sufficiency in regard to all natural resources is just not a practical goal for the Nation at this time. However, we can and will do a much better job than has been done in the past with regard to exploration, optimizing the availability of our existing resources, encouraging the development of substitutes, and recognizing the foreign-policy implications of our dependence on imports for many critical materials.

SPACE

Some may say that space exploration can never again be as glamorous or as exciting as it was when we were first shooting for the moon, but I can assure you that space technology has never been more important to this nation's future--and its security--than it is right now.

A substantial space program is absolutely essential to national defense and it is also extremely important in many civilian areas--communication, weather, earth resources, and so on. In the latter areas, the private sector should be provided greater opportunities to play an increasing role.

REGULATION

In all areas of regulation, a priority for government must be the independent establishing--and assuring the use of--adequate scientific baseline data for decision-making. In regulatory decisions, each agency, after hearing all sides of the arguments, will be required to exhibit in its benefit/risk analyses the scientific data used, clearly separating scientific fact from speculation.

Protecting public health and safety is an obvious job for government. Unfortunately the approval of new drug and agricultural agents takes far longer than it should. We are ready now to start streamlining the process while still protecting our people and their environment. The approval of new drugs, for example, will be speeded by the reassignment of personnel from less urgent tasks, by the establishment of new priorities based on benefits to the public and by encouraging new attitudes for cooperation and respect between the regulators and those being regulated.

When it comes to the regulation of technology, let's just remember that there is nothing more frustrating than a traffic light that says "stop" more than it says "go".

GENERAL

On balance, science and technology have contributed immeasurably to the health and happiness of humankind in the past. If we all work together to get our economy moving again they can certainly do so in the future.

We will not fear new ideas just because they are new.

New ideas, science, invention, technological skill...these are prime national assets to be treasured, protected, and--above all--used for the common good.

Science isn't a darkness to fear; it's a light to drive fear away.

Technology doesn't have to be cold and impersonal; we should look on technology as a way to magify the spirit of human achievement.

While on the subject of government support of science and technology, let me assure you that this new Administration has no intention of trying to re-invent the wheel. (As one of my former firends has pointed out, I should be able to remember when the wheel was invented, since I was still a sportscaster in DesMoines, Iowa, at the time.)

But beyond the apparent, tangible benefits to be gained from revitalizing scientific research and its application, new emphasis on technological leadership can provide an urgently needed lift for the national spirit.

America's destiny can still be one of pioneering example, of willingness to explore frontiers with faith instead of fear, of dedication to helping show people everywhere how individual human skills, given freedom to achieve, can make life for so many so much more worth living.

As a people we must work to shed the numbing stagnation that comes from excessive introspection and unwarranted self-criticism. We must not let any hopeless, fear-ridden clamor for "total-freedom-from-risk" replace the hopeful, spirit-lifting search for freedom-to-achieve.

Our nation's past freedom has been preserved in part by the challenge of geographic frontiers, whose horizons let the unfettered human spirit of our forefathers seek fulfillment. We must now make special effort to maintain, for quite the same reason, the frontiers of scientific knowledge and the horizons opened by the development and broad application of technological innovation.

Let us make a place in all our plans for youthful enthusiams, competitive zest, and the traditional American desire to excel.

What better way is there to channel these creative forces than through the search for new scientific knowledge and its application for the public good?

There is very little wrong with this country that good new ideas, hard work, respect for the past, and confidence in the future can't fix.

It's been suggested that government services would likely be better--and a lot less expensive--if each agency had a direct competitor doing business across the street. Well, we don't have that kind of competition, but taxpayers do have a choice. They have just chosen us--this new Administration--to show what kind of government we can provide. I am committed to the goal of making this Government's services of such benefit and value that the taxpayers will view them as bargains. Otherwise, why should they choose us again?

What we need in this country today: Confidence and respect--from, in, and for the past, the future, and each other.

Let us rediscover how great a nation can be when its government is servant rather than master.

Reagan & Bush

Reagan Bush Committee

1980-1981

Dear Ken:

Would you believe. This came walking into my office this afternoon.

I am sending on to you anyway.

Most cordially,

rmg et al

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20270

January 8, 1981

MEMORANDUM

TO: Kent Frizzell

FROM: James L. Malone, *Chairman*
Non-Proliferation Coordinating Committee

SUBJECT: Inaugural Speech -- Nuclear Energy Inserts

Attached is a proposed insert for the inaugural speech which addresses nuclear energy and non-proliferation. The insert has been coordinated among the members of the Coordinating Committee (see attached list). We believe the use of this insert would contribute significantly to the impact the speech could have domestically and abroad.

The financial problem confronting all utilities is severe, and this is a matter which should receive prioritized attention by the Reagan Administration. We propose that the insert also attached dealing with electric utilities be placed in an appropriate part of the speech.

NON-PROLIFERATION COORDINATING COMMITTEE

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Amb. Keith Glennan
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Washington, DC
D.C. Office: 296-5000

Inaugural Speech insert: Nuclear Energy

If America's energy needs are to be met, nuclear power will have to play a major role. My Administration will actively support a strong nuclear energy program to provide for our expanding electric power needs and to develop the technology needed for the future. This effort will be undertaken with diligent concern for public health and safety and for the environment.

At the same time we cannot ignore the energy security needs of other nations. We will establish a commanding role for the United States as a reliable supplier of nuclear equipment, fuel and technology, for peaceful purposes. We will work with other nations to strengthen the international institutions concerned with the sensible conduct of nuclear energy commerce.

Preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons is an important and serious challenge now confronting the United States and the other nations of the world. We will treat proliferation as a security problem, and the efforts of my Administration will be directed at situations where the potential for proliferation is a risk. In these cases we will exercise vigorous efforts to counter the threat and work actively with our allies in the common interest of enhancing global security.

* * *

Inaugural Speech Insert - Electrical Utilities

Adequate and reliable supplies of electric power are essential for a healthy and growing economy with a broadening standard of living for all. My administration will work with the states to correct the present financial problems of the utilities so they can make the large investments needed to achieve our goals.

KOCH ASSOCIATES, INC.

SUITE 1112

1750 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006

JOHN S. D. EISENHOWER
CHAIRMAN

NOEL C. KOCH
PRESIDENT

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VICE PRESIDENT
STATE AND MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS

CORPORATE, GOVERNMENT
AND PUBLIC RELATIONS
CONSULTANTS

(202) 393-2111

December 31, 1980

Mr. Kenneth Khachigian
2245 Salvadore
San Clemente, California 92672

Dear Ken:

Attached are some words -- a theme, really; much too long, but my thought is to bring off the conclusion along the lines we discussed, and the way to get around turning his back on the Northeast is to have history looking over his shoulder. You can go as far back as you please then -- as I have done in this draft. The other thing is, I would look to the monuments, but I would cap it with Arlington, which is on his horizon. The rest is drivel posing as a conclusion; you can see where it goes.

A healthy, very prosperous New Year to you and your family -- and to you, a manageable hangover -- which you will be enjoying when this arrives.

Sincerely yours,


Noel C. Koch

Enclosure

RICHARD NIXON

January 15, 1981

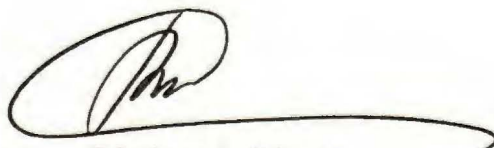


I noted in the press that the Inaugural has been completed and I hesitate even to pass on some random thoughts which might be considered for inclusion. I would suggest, therefore, that you scan the attached memo and if you find a thought that is not already covered in the speech or one that you think might appeal to the President-Elect, pass them on to him. I am sending a copy of this to Ken Khachigian for his information in view of the fact that he as I understand it was responsible for coordinating the various suggestions that had been sent in.

In the event that the President-Elect feels comfortable with what he has, please don't bother him with this material. I have learned from experience that once a speech is wrapped up, last minute suggestions can be very irritating and not at all helpful.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,



Richard Nixon

Mr. Mike Deaver

Introduction

One problem in writing an inaugural is to set forth goals for the future without reflecting in an obvious way on the mistakes of the past since Carter will be on the platform.

If it is not already included, an informal grace note at the beginning along the following lines could be a ten strike in beginning the new administration in an atmosphere of good will. I would suggest that this should not be put in the advance text which is given to the press but that he ad-lib it somewhat as a thought that occurred to him on the platform. This way it will greatly increase press attention.

"On behalf of all Americans, I wish to express to President Carter and his First Lady the appreciation of the nation for his years of dedicated service in a difficult period."

"Nothing is more illustrative of the greatness of America than our ability, after debating our differences in a hard campaign, to join together in meeting the challenges we face. The problems we face are grave and urgent. We can solve them only if we are strong and united people. I am confident that President Carter and the millions who supported him will work with us in building a better future for all people at home and abroad."

Foreign Policy (alternate rough draft formulation of a theme)

"This is a time not just to defend freedom but to extend it to those who want it wherever they may be - not by the force of our arms, but by the power of our example."

"The hopes and dreams that we had at the end of World War II for a world free from war and fear and repression have been shattered. The world today is spending \$500 billion dollars on arms per year. This is a crime against humanity. Let us work to lift the burden of arms from the back of mankind so that we can launch a winning crusade against poverty, misery, and disease throughout the world."

"Since World War II, the world has been divided not because of differences between people but differences between governments. It is time for governments to listen to the voice of people and to resolve our differences so that the burden of war, poverty, misery, and disease may be lifted from the back of mankind."

"As I have travelled over this great and good country over the past 40 years, I have had the privilege of speaking to and looking into the faces of millions of Americans. We are a strong, peaceful, generous, and decent people. There is nothing we desire more than to join with other men and women of good will to launch a winning crusade against poverty, misery, and disease throughout the world."

"We had hoped that World War I was a war to end all wars. We had prayed that the devastation that followed World War II would be followed by an era of unprecedented peace, with differences being settled in a world forum. Our hopes and dreams have been shattered. Wars and the fear of war have plagued us over the past 30 years. The time is now for total mobilization of our resources to bring the world the blessings of peace, with the same dedication that we mobilized our efforts to wage war."

"Those who desire peace, freedom, progress, and justice for all people have nothing to fear from the United States."

"Two hundred years ago when the Declaration of Independence brought America into the world, Thomas Jefferson said, "We act not for ourselves alone, for all mankind." Let us consecrate ourselves today to the ideal which inspired us at our birth. Let a new America work with others who share our values to build a new world in which freedom from war, disease, hunger, repression becomes not just a hope, but a reality for all mankind."

"We are an idealistic people. We have come as far as we have because we have always been lifted by our hopes and have never been paralyzed by our fears. But let no one mistake our idealism for naivete or weakness. We are a realistic people. We know that millions have suffered in the past and suffer now from the pestilence of war and terror and despotism. It is our sacred duty to ourselves and future generations to bear the burden of world leadership which destiny has thrust upon us. We like our system. We shall never try to impose it on others who may prefer a different system. We do, however, declare that freedom from war, hunger, disease, and injustice and the God given freedom to choose shall always be our goal, not only for ourselves but for all mankind."

"The challenges we face at home and abroad are urgent and difficult. This is not a time for sappy optimism. But neither is it a time for hopeless pessimism. Americans are always at their best when the goings get toughest. There is nothing we can't accomplish if we commit our minds, our hearts, and our souls to the task."

1-10-81

Senator Hatfield, Mr. Chief Justice, Mr. President

To a few of us here today this is a solemn and most momentous occasion. And, yet, in the history of our nation it is a common place occurrence.

The orderly transfer of authority as called for in the constitution takes place as it has for almost two centuries and few of us stop to think how unique we really are. In the eyes of many in the world, this every 4-year ceremony we accept as normal is nothing less than a miracle.

Mr. President, I want our fellow citizens to know how much you did to carry on this tradition. By your gracious cooperation in the transition process you have shown a watching world that we are a united people pledged to maintaining a political system which guarantees individual liberty to a greater degree than {almost} any other. Thank you and your people for all your help in maintaining the continuity which is the hallmark of our Republic.

The business of our Nation goes forward. These United States are confronted with an economic affliction of great ^{danger?} proportions. We suffer from the worst and longest sustained inflation in our national history which distorts our economic

decisions, penalizes thrift and crushes the struggling young and the fixed income, elderly alike. It threatens to shatter the lives of millions of our people. Idle industries have cast workers into unemployment causing human misery and personal indignity. Those who do work are denied a fair return for their labor by a tax system which penalizes successful achievement and keeps us from maintaining full productivity.

But great as our tax burden is, it has not kept pace with public spending. For decades we have piled deficit upon deficit mortgaging our future and our children's future for the temporary convenience of the present. To continue this long trend is to guarantee tremendous social, cultural, political and economic upheavals.

You and I, as individuals, can by borrowing live beyond our means for only a limited period of time. Why should we think that collectively as a nation we are not bound by that same limitation? We must act today in order to preserve tomorrow. And let there be no misunderstanding - - we are going to act beginning today.

ⓧ The economic ills we suffer have come upon us over several decades. They will not go away in days, weeks or months but they will go away. They will go away because we as Americans have the capacity now as we have had in the past to do whatever needs to be done to preserve this last and greatest bastion of freedom. In this present crisis, government is not the solution - - it is the problem.

From time to time we have been tempted to believe that society has become too complex to be managed by self-rule, that government by an elite group is superior to government of, by and for the people. Well, if no one among us is capable of governing himself, then who among us has the capacity to govern someone else?

All of us together - - in and out of government must bear the burden. The solutions we seek must be equitable with no one group singled out to pay a higher price. Our concern must be for a special interest group that has been too long neglected. It knows no sectional boundaries, crosses ethnic and racial divisions and political party lines. It is made up of men and women who raise our food, patrol our streets, man our mines and factories, teach our children, keep our homes and heal us when we're sick. They are professionals, industrialists, shopkeepers, clerks, cabbies and truck drivers. They are, in short - - "We the people."

Our objective must be a healthy, vigorous, growing economy that provides equal opportunities for all Americans with no barriers born of discrimination. Putting America back to work means putting all Americans back to work. Ending inflation means freeing all Americans from the terror of runaway living costs. All must share in the productive work of this "new beginning" and all must share in the bounty of a revived economy. With the idealism and fairplay which are the core of our

strength, we can have a strong, prosperous America at peace with itself and the world.

In this new beginning let us first take inventory. We are a nation that has a government - - not the other way around. And this makes us special among the nations of the earth. Our government has no power except that granted it by the people. It is time to check and reverse the growth of government which shows signs of having grown beyond the consent of the governed.

It will be my intention to curb the size and influence of the Federal establishment and to demand recognition of the distinction between the powers granted to the Federal government and those reserved to the states or to the people. All of us need to be reminded that the Federal government did not create the states - - the states created the Federal government.

So there will be no misunderstanding, it is not my intention to do away with government. It is rather to make it work. Work with us not over us; to stand by our side not ride on our back. Government can and must provide opportunity, not smother it; foster productivity, not stifle it.

If we look for the answer as to why for so many years we achieved so much, prospered as no other people on earth, it was because here in this land we unleashed the energy and individual genius of man to a greater extent than had ever been done before. Freedom and the dignity of the individual have been more available and assured here than in any other place on earth. The price for

this freedom has at times been high - - but we have never been unwilling to pay that price.

It is no coincidence that our present troubles parallel the intervention and intrusion in our lives that have resulted from unnecessary and excessive growth of government.

We are too great a nation to limit ourselves to small dreams. We are not, as some would have us believe, doomed to an inevitable decline. I do not believe in a fate that will fall on us no matter what we do - - I do believe in a fate that will fall on us if we do nothing.

✓ So, with all the creative energy at our command, let us begin a new era of national renewal. Let us renew our determination, our courage ^{and} our strength, ^(let us renew) our faith and our hope. We have every right to dream heroic dreams. Those who say we are in a time when there are no heroes just don't know where to look. You can see heroes every day going in and out of factory gates. Others, a handful in number, producing food enough to feed all of us and much of the world beyond. You meet heroes across a counter - - on both sides. There are entrepreneurs with faith in themselves and an idea who create new jobs, new wealth and opportunity. They are individuals and families whose taxes support the government and whose voluntary gifts support church, charity, culture, art, and education. Their patriotism is quiet but deep. Their values sustain our national life.

It is time to reawaken the industrial giant, time to lighte

by limiting spending,

It is time to reawaken ~~xxx~~ this industrial giant, to get the
to
government back within its means, and/lighten our punitive
tax burden. *by cutting tax rates, & by true regulatory reform,* These will be our first ~~xx~~ priorities, and on
those principles, ~~xxxx~~ there can be no compromise.

Comprehensive plan

I have used the words "they" and "their" in speaking of these heroes. I could say "you" and "your" because I am addressing the heroes of whom I speak - - you - - the citizens of this blessed land. Your dreams, your hopes, your goals are going to be the dreams, the hopes and goals of this administration, so help me God.

We shall reflect the compassion that is so much a part of your make up. How can we love our country and not love our countrymen? And loving them reach out a hand when they fall, heal them when they are sick and provide opportunity to make them self-sufficient so they will be equal in fact and not just in theory?

Can we solve the problems confronting us? The answer is an unequivocal and emphatic yes. To paraphrase ^{Winston Churchill} ~~a great Prime Minister~~ ~~of England~~, I did not take the oath I have just taken with the intention of presiding over the ^(collapse?) dissolution of the world's strongest economy. In the days ahead I will propose removing a number of the roadblocks that have slowed our economy and reduced productivity. Steps will be taken aimed at restoring the balance between the various levels of government. Progress will be slow - - measured in inches and feet - - not miles - - but we will progress. It is time to reawaken this industrial giant, time to lighten our punitive tax burden. *and that will be our first priority, at the same time, we fully intend to begin the task of bringing this government back w/ its means.* On the eve of our struggle for independence a man who historians say might have been one of the greatest among the Founding Fathers if he hadn't given his life on Bunker Hill, Dr.

urgent

⊗

On that principle, there can be no compromise.

7-7-7-7-

Joseph Warren, President of the Massachusetts ^{Congress} Assembly, said to his fellow Americans, "Our country is in danger, but not to be despaired of. On you depend^g the fortunes of America. You are to decide the important question^g on which rest the happiness and liberty of millions yet unborn. Act worthy of yourself^{ves.}." I believe we the Americans of today are ready to act worthy of ourselves, ready to do what must be done to ensure happiness and liberty for our selves, our children and our children's children.

And as we renew ourselves here in our own land, we will be seen as having greater strength throughout the world. We will again be the exemplar of freedom and a beacon of hope for those who do not now have freedom.

To those neighbors and allies who share our ideal of freedom we will strengthen our historic ties; assure them of our support and firm commitment. We will match loyalty with loyalty and strive for mutually beneficial relations. We will not use our friendship to impose on their sovereignty for our own sovereignty is not for sale.

To the enemies of freedom, to those who are potential adversaries, they will be reminded that peace is the highest aspiration of the American people. We will negotiate for it, sacrifice for it - - we will not surrender for it - - now or ever.

Our forbearance should never be misunderstood. Our reluctance for conflict should not be misjudged as a failure of will. When action is required to preserve our national security

8-8-8-8-

we will act. We will maintain sufficient strength to prevail if need be, knowing that if we do so we have the best chance of not having to use that strength. Above all we must realize no weapon in the arsenals of the world is so formidable as the will and moral courage of free men and women. It is a weapon our adversaries in today's world do not have. It is a weapon ^{that} we ~~that~~ as Americans do have. Let that be understood by those who practice terrorism and prey upon their neighbors.

thousands of I am told that a million prayer meetings are being held on this day and for that I am deeply grateful. We are a nation under God and I believe God intended for us to be free. It would be fitting and good if each inaugural day should be a day of prayer.

✓ This is the first time in our history that this ceremony has been held on the West Front of the Capitol Building. Standing here we ^{see} (face out toward) a magnificent vista, opening up on this city's special beauty and history. At the end of this open mall are those shrines to the giants on whose shoulders we stand.

Directly in front of me, the monument to a monumental man. George Washington, Father of our country. A man of humility who came to greatness reluctantly. He led America out of revolutionary victory into infant nationhood.

9-9-9-9-

Off to one side the stately memorial to Thomas Jefferson. The Declaration of Independence flames with his eloquence.

And then beyond the reflecting pool the dignified columns of the Lincoln Memorial. Whoever would understand in his heart the meaning of America will find it in the life of Abraham Lincoln.

Beyond these monuments to heroism is the river and on the far shore the sloping hills of Arlington National Cemetery with its row upon row of simple white crosses and Stars of David adding up to only a tiny fraction of the price that has been paid for our freedom.

Each one of those markers is a monument to the kind of hero I spoke of earlier. Their lives ended in places called Belleau Wood, The Argonne, Omaha Beach, Salerno and half way round the world on Guadalcanal, Tarawa, Pork Chop Hill, The Chosin Reservoir, and in a hundred rice paddies and jungles of a place called Vietnam.

Under one of those white markers lies ^{a young man - -} ~~Martin Treptow - -~~ who left a menial job in a small town barber shop in 1917 to go to France with the famed Rainbow Division. There on the Western front he was killed trying to carry a message between battalions under heavy artillery fire.

On his body was found a diary. Written on the flyleaf under the heading, "My Pledge," were these words; "America must win this war. Therefore I will work, I will save, I will

10-10-10-10-

sacrifice, I will endure, I will fight cheerfully and do my utmost, as if the issue of the whole struggle depended on me alone."

crisis or danger
The crises we are facing today does not require ^{that} ~~the~~ kind of sacrifice ~~that Martin Treptow and so many thousands of others~~ were called upon to make. It does however require our best effort, our work and our willingness to believe in ourselves and in our capacity to perform great deeds; that together and with God's help we can and will resolve the problems which confront us.

Why shouldn't we believe that? After all - - we are Americans.

1-10-81

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Mr. President, I want our fellow citizens to know how much you did to carry on this tradition. By your gracious cooperation in the transition process you have shown a watching world that we are a united people pledged to maintaining a political system which guarantees individual liberty to a greater degree than almost any other. Thank you and your people for all your help in maintaining the continuity which is the hallmark of our Republic.

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decisions, penalizes thrift and crushes the struggling young and the fixed income, elderly alike. It threatens to shatter the lives of millions of our people. Idle industries have cast workers into unemployment causing human misery and personal indignity. Those who do work are denied a fair return for their labor by a tax system which penalizes successful achievement and keeps us from maintaining full productivity.

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It is no coincidence that our present troubles parallel the intervention and intrusion in our lives that have resulted from unnecessary and excessive growth of government.

We are too great a nation to limit ourselves to small dreams. We are not, as some would have us believe, doomed to an inevitable decline. I do not believe in a fate that will fall on us no matter what we do - - I do believe in a fate that will fall on us if we do nothing.

So, with all the creative energy at our command, let us begin a new era of national renewal. Let us renew our determination, our courage, our strength, our faith and our hope. We have every right to dream heroic dreams. Those who say we are in a time when there are no heroes just don't know where to look. You can see heroes every day going in and out of factory gates. Others, a handful in number, producing food enough to feed all of us and much of the world beyond. You meet heroes across a counter - - on both sides. There are entrepreneurs with faith in themselves and an idea who create new jobs, new wealth and opportunity. They are individuals and families whose taxes support the government and whose voluntary gifts support church, charity, culture, art, and education. Their patriotism is quiet but deep. Their values sustain our national life.

I have used the words "they" and "their" in speaking of these heroes. I could say "you" and "your" because I am addressing the heroes of whom I speak - - you - - the citizens of this blessed land. Your dreams, your hopes, your goals are going to be the dreams, the hopes and goals of this administration, so help me God.

We shall reflect the compassion that is so much a part of your make up. How can we love our country and not love our countrymen? And loving them reach out a hand when they fall, heal them when they are sick and provide opportunity to make them self-sufficient so they will be equal in fact and not just in theory?

Can we solve the problems confronting us? The answer is an unequivocal and emphatic yes. To paraphrase a great Prime Minister of England, I did not take the oath I have just taken with the intention of presiding over the dissolution of the world's strongest economy. In the days ahead I will propose removing a number of the roadblocks that have slowed our economy and reduced productivity. Steps will be taken aimed at restoring the balance between the various levels of government. Progress will be slow - - measured in inches and feet - - not miles - - but we will progress. It is time to reawaken this industrial giant, time to lighten our punitive tax burden.

On the eve of our struggle for independence a man who historians say might have been one of the greatest among the Founding Fathers if he hadn't given his life on Bunker Hill, Dr.

7-7-7-7-

Joseph Warren, President of the Massachusetts Assembly, said to his fellow Americans, "Our country is in danger but not to be despaired of. On you depends the fortunes of America. You are to decide the important questions on which rest the happiness and liberty of millions yet unborn. Act worthy of yourself." I believe we the Americans of today are ready to act worthy of ourselves, ready to do what must be done to ensure happiness and liberty for our selves, our children and our children's children.

And as we renew ourselves here in our own land, we will be seen as having greater strength throughout the world. We will again be the exemplar of freedom and a beacon of hope for those who do not now have freedom.

To those neighbors and allies who share our ideal of freedom we will strengthen our historic ties; assure them of our support and firm commitment. We will match loyalty with loyalty and strive for mutually beneficial relations. We will not use our friendship to impose on their sovereignty for our own sovereignty is not for sale.

To the enemies of freedom, to those who are potential adversaries, they will be reminded that peace is the highest aspiration of the American people. We will negotiate for it, sacrifice for it - - we will not surrender for it - - now or ever.

Our forbearance should never be misunderstood. Our reluctance for conflict should not be misjudged as a failure of will. When action is required to preserve our national security

8-8-8-8-

we will act. We will maintain sufficient strength to prevail if need be, knowing that if we do so we have the best chance of not having to use that strength. Above all we must realize no weapon in the arsenals of the world is so formidable as the will and moral courage of free men and women. It is a weapon our adversaries in today's world do not have. It is a weapon we that as Americans do have. Let that be understood by those who practice terrorism and prey upon their neighbors.

I am told that a million prayer meetings are being held on this day and for that I am deeply grateful. We are a nation under God and I believe God intended for us to be free. It would be fitting and good if each inaugural day should be a day of prayer.

This is the first time in our history that this ceremony has been held on the West Front of the Capitol Building. Standing here we face out toward a magnificent vista, opening up on this city's special beauty and history. At the end of this open mall are those shrines to the giants on whose shoulders we stand.

Directly in front of me, the monument to a monumental man. George Washington, Father of our country. A man of humility who came to greatness reluctantly. He led America out of revolutionary victory into infant nationhood.

9-9-9-9-

Off to one side the stately memorial to Thomas Jefferson. The Declaration of Independence flames with his eloquence.

And then beyond the reflecting pool the dignified columns of the Lincoln Memorial. Whoever would understand in his heart the meaning of America will find it in the life of Abraham Lincoln.

Beyond these monuments to heroism is the river and on the far shore the sloping hills of Arlington National Cemetery with its row upon row of simple white crosses and Stars of David adding up to only a tiny fraction of the price that has been paid for our freedom.

Each one of those markers is a monument to the kind of hero I spoke of earlier. Their lives ended in places called Belleau Wood, The Argonne, Omaha Beach, Salerno and half way round the world on Guadalcanal, Tarawa, Pork Chop Hill, The Chosin Reservoir, and in a hundred rice paddies and jungles of a place called Vietnam.

Under one of those white markers lies Martin Treptow - - who left a menial job in a small town barber shop in 1917 to go to France with the famed Rainbow Division. There on the Western front he was killed trying to carry a message between battalions under heavy artillery fire.

On his body was found a diary. Written on the flyleaf under the heading, "My Pledge," were these words; "America must win this war. Therefore I will work, I will save, I will

10-10-10-10-

sacrifice, I will endure, I will fight cheerfully and do my utmost, as if the issue of the whole struggle depended on me alone."

The crises we are facing today does not require the kind of sacrifice that Martin Treptow and so many thousands of others were called upon to make. It does however require our best effort, our work and our willingness to believe in ourselves and in our capacity to perform great deeds; that together and with God's help we can and will resolve the problems which confront us.

Why shouldn't we believe that? After all - - we are Americans.

Life and Times of Joseph Warren

Richard Frothingham

New York: Da Capo 1971 857 pp.

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LIFE OF JOSEPH WARREN.

the earnest desire of people here that "she might continue to enjoy the same emoluments until her streets were paved with American gold."

The orator closed in a fervent strain on liberty. He expressed a confidence that the justice of the American cause would finally open the eyes of the British nation to their true interest, and not suffer their honor to be sported away by a capricious ministry. "They nourish in their own breasts a noble love of Liberty; they hold her dear; and they know that all who have once possessed her charms had rather die than suffer her to be torn from their embraces." The orator expressed confidence that his countrymen had a like love of liberty, and had the spirit to defend it. There is so much of the ruling passion of his life — his own lofty spirit — in the closing strain, that I refrain from making an abstract, but cite it entire: —

"I am confident that you never will betray the least want of spirit, when called upon to guard your freedom. None but they who set a just value upon the blessings of Liberty are worthy to enjoy her. Your illustrious fathers were her zealous votaries. When the blasting frowns of Tyranny drove her from public view, they clasped her in their arms, they cherished her in their generous bosoms, they brought her safe over the rough ocean, and fixed her seat in this then dreary wilderness; they nursed her infant age with the most tender care; for her sake they patiently bore the severest hardships; for her support they underwent the most rugged toils; in her defence they boldly encountered the most alarming dangers; neither the ravenous beasts that ranged the woods for prey, nor the more furious savages of the wilderness, could damp their ardor! Whilst with one hand they broke the stubborn glebe, with the other they grasped their weapons, ever ready to protect her from danger. No sacrifice, not even their own blood, was esteemed too rich a libation for her altar! God prospered their valor; they preserved her brilliancy un sullied; they enjoyed her whilst they lived, and, dying, bequeathed the dear inheritance to your care. And, as they left you this glorious legacy, they have

"President of
Massachusetts
Congress"

755°

ORATION ON THE MASSACRE.

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undoubtedly transmitted to you some portion of their noble spirit, to inspire you with virtue to merit her, and courage to preserve her: you surely cannot, with such examples before your eyes as every page of the history of this country affords,¹ suffer your liberties to be ravished from you by lawless force, or cajoled away by flattery and fraud.

"The voice of your fathers' blood cries to you from the ground, 'My sons, scorn to be slaves! In vain we met the frowns of tyrants; in vain we left our native land; in vain we crossed the boisterous ocean, found a new world, and prepared it for the happy residence of Liberty. In vain we toiled, in vain we fought, we bled in vain, if you, our offspring, want valor to repel the assaults of her invaders!' Stain not the glory of your worthy ancestors; but, like them, resolve never to part with your birthright: be wise in your deliberations, and determined in your exertions for the preservation of your liberties. Follow not the dictates of passion, but enlist yourselves under the sacred banner of reason; use every method in your power to secure your rights; at least prevent the curses of posterity from being heaped upon your memories.

"If you, with united zeal and fortitude, oppose the torrent of oppression; if you feel the true fire of patriotism burning in your breasts; if you from your souls despise the most gaudy dress that slavery can wear; if you really prefer the lonely cottage (whilst blessed with liberty) to gilded palaces, surrounded with the ensigns of slavery, — you may have the fullest assurance that Tyranny, with her whole accursed train, will hide their hideous heads in confusion, shame, and despair. If you perform your part, you must have the strongest confidence that the same Almighty Being who protected your pious and venerable forefathers, who enabled them to turn a barren wilderness into a fruitful field, who so often made bare his arm for their salvation, will still be mindful of you their offspring.

"May this Almighty Being graciously preside in all our councils! May he direct us to such measures as he himself shall approve and be pleased to bless! May we ever be a people favored of God! May our land be a land of Liberty, the seat of virtue, the asylum of the oppressed, a name and a praise in the whole earth, until the last shock of time shall bury the empires of the world in one common undistinguished ruin!"

¹ "At simul heroum laudes, et facta parentis
Jam legere et quæ sit poteris cognoscere virtus." — VIRG.

In this effort, the orator met the expectations of his friends. Hutchinson, on remarking on the increase of the popularity of Warren, says, "Though he gained no great applause for his oratorical abilities, yet the fervor, which is the most essential part of such compositions, could not fail in its effect on the minds of the great concourse of people present."¹ The press was more generous in its praise. "The orator," the "Gazette" says, "had the unanimous applause of his audience;" and the "News Letter" (Tory) adopted these words. The town voted him their thanks, and requested a copy of his oration for the press.² It was printed, and in this form contributed to the formation of public opinion.

It will be observed, that it was Warren's main purpose to develop and defend the doctrine as to the power of the colonial legislatures, or of internal government, which Hutchinson regarded to be of so dangerous a tendency, that he urged that its advocates should be made subject, by a special act of par-

¹ History, lii. 348.

² "At a meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Boston, duly qualified and legally assembled in Faneuil Hall, and from thence adjourned to the Old South Meeting-house, on Thursday, the 5th day of March, Anno Domini 1772, —

"Voted unanimously, That the moderator, Richard Dana, Esq., the Honorable John Hancock, Esq., Mr. Samuel Adams, Joseph Jackson, Esq., Mr. Henderson Inches, Mr. Daniel Jeffries, and Mr. William Molineux, be and hereby are appointed a committee to return the thanks of this town to Joseph Warren, Esq., for the oration just now delivered by him, at their request, in commemoration of the horrid massacre perpetrated on the evening of the 5th of March, 1770, by a party of soldiers of the Twenty-ninth Regiment, and to desire a copy thereof for the press.

"Attest: WILLIAM COOPER, Town-clerk."

"GENTLEMEN, — The generous candor of my fellow-citizens prevails on me to give a copy of what was yesterday delivered, for the press.

"I am, gentlemen, with much respect, your most humble servant,
"JOSEPH WARREN."

liament, to fines, imprisonment, and disqualification for office. Underlying the ornate style, the fervor, and at times extravagant metaphor, there were frankness, clearness of thought, sincerity, strength of argument, and, as was seen in his early Letter,¹ the ruling passion of his life,—a warm love of country. Behind the oration was the man. Warren *was* a patriot, and he spoke the timely word of a patriot.

¹ See page 20.

Acts of Parliament destructive to liberty. Though armed men again filled the streets, the people were not intimidated, but resolved that liberty must be preserved. It was a Roman maxim, never to despair of the commonwealth. It may prove salutary now. "Short-sighted mortals see not the numerous links of small and great events which form the chain on which the fate of kings and nations is suspended." Ease has often made a people effeminate: hardship and danger have called forth virtues that commanded the applause of an admiring world. "Our country loudly calls you to be circumspect, vigilant, active, and brave. Perhaps (all-gracious Heaven avert it!) perhaps the power of Britain, a nation great in war, by some malignant influence, may be employed to enslave you. But let not even this discourage you. Her arms, 'tis true, have filled the world with terror; her troops have reaped the laurels of the field; her fleets have rode triumphant on the sea; and when or where did you, my countrymen, depart inglorious from the field of fight? You, too, can show the trophies of your forefathers' victories and your own; can name the fortresses and battles you have won; and many of you count the honorable scars of wounds received whilst fighting for your king and country. Where justice is the standard, heaven is the warrior's shield; but conscious guilt unnerves the arm that lifts the sword against the innocent."

The orator, in conclusion, said that the attempt of parliament to raise a revenue from America, and the denial of the right to do it, "had excited an almost universal inquiry into the rights of mankind in general," and created such a liberality of sentiment

and jealousy of power as would, better than an adamant wall, secure the people against the approach of despotism. The Boston Port Act had created those sympathetic ties that must for ever endear the people to each other, and "form those indissoluble bonds of friendship and affection on which the preservation of our rights so evidently depend; the mutilation of the charter has made every other colony jealous for its own; for this, if once submitted to by us, would set afloat the property and Government of every British settlement on the continent." The following are the closing paragraphs:—

"Our country is in danger, but not to be despaired of. Our enemies are numerous and powerful; but we have many friends, determined to be free, and heaven and earth will aid the resolution. On you depend the fortunes of America. You are to decide the important question on which rest the happiness and liberty of millions yet unborn. Act worthy of yourselves. The faltering tongue of hoary age calls on you to support your country. The lisping infant raises its suppliant hands, imploring defence against the monster, slavery. Your fathers look from their celestial seats with smiling approbation on their sons who boldly stand forth in the cause of virtue, but sternly frown upon the inhuman miscreant, who, to secure the loaves and fishes to himself, would breed a serpent to destroy his children.

"But, pardon me, my fellow-citizens, I know you want not zeal or fortitude. You will maintain your rights, or perish in the generous struggle. However difficult the combat, you will never decline it when freedom is the prize. An independence on Great Britain is not our aim. No: our wish is, that Britain and the colonies may, like the oak and ivy, grow and increase in strength together. But, whilst the infatuated plan of making one part of the empire slaves to the other is persisted in, the interest and safety of Britain as well as the colonies require that the wise measures recommended by the honorable, the Continental Congress be steadily pursued, whereby the unnatural contest between a parent honored and a child beloved may probably be brought to such an issue as that the peace and happiness of both may

be established upon a lasting basis. But, if these pacific measures are ineffectual, and it appears that the only way to safety is through fields of blood, I know you will not turn your faces from our foes, but will undauntedly press forward until tyranny is trodden under foot, and you have fixed your adored goddess, Liberty, fast by a Brunswick's side, on the American throne.

"You, then, who nobly have espoused your country's cause; who generously have sacrificed wealth and ease; who have despised the pomp and show of tinselled greatness; refused the summons to the festive board; been deaf to the alluring calls of luxury and mirth; who have forsaken the downy pillow to keep your vigils by the midnight lamp for the salvation of your invaded country, that you may break the fowler's snare and disappoint the vulture of his prey, you then will reach this harvest of renown which you so justly have deserved. Your country shall pay her grateful tribute of applause. Even the children of your most inveterate enemies, ashamed to tell from whom they sprang, while they in secret curse their stupid, cruel parents, shall join the general voice of gratitude to those who broke the fetters which their fathers forged.

"Having redeemed your country, and secured the blessing to future generations, who, fired by your example, shall emulate your virtues, and learn from you the heavenly art of making millions happy, with heartfelt joy, with transports all your own, you cry, 'The glorious work is done!' Then drop the mantle to some young Elisha, and take your seats with kindred spirits in your native skies."¹

¹ This oration was printed in the "Boston Gazette" of March 17, 1775. It was also printed in a pamphlet with the following titlepage: "An Oration delivered March sixth, 1775, at the request of the inhabitants of the town of Boston: to commemorate the bloody tragedy of the Fifth of March, 1770. By Dr. Joseph Warren.

Tantum molis erat, Romanam condere gentem. — Virgil's Æn.
Qui, metulæ vivit, liber mihi non erit unquam. — Hor. Epis.

Boston: Printed by Edes and Gill, in Queen Street, and by Joseph Greenleaf in Union Street, near the Market, M.DCC.LXXV."

An edition was printed, probably in 1775, in a pamphlet in New York by John Anderson, at Beekman's Slip. The titlepage has no date.

It has several times since been reprinted. A volume of the orations commemorative of the Fifth-of-March tragedy, was printed in Boston, by Peter Edes, with a preface dated January, 1785. These orations, with Perez Morton's "Eulogy," were printed by William T. Clapp, Boston, the second edition of which is dated 1807.

The speeches in which prominent actors in Grecian and Roman story develop their policy or promote their objects, not words actually spoken, but what the relator thought were fitting to have been spoken, are regarded as valuable delineations of the temper of those times. But here are the words of an earnest and representative man, uttered on the eve of a great war, and in the presence of the military power whom he was soon to meet in the field. For the sake of the cause, —

"He dared to speak what some scarce dared to think."

His speech, imbued with the spirit of a high chivalry and faith, resounds with the clash of arms.¹

Though it is said that some of the officers groaned as the enthusiastic audience applauded, yet they were generally quiet to the close of the oration. One of them, seated on the pulpit stairs, in the course of the delivery, held up one of his hands with several pistol bullets on the open palm, when the orator, observing the action, gracefully dropped a white handkerchief on them.² After the delivery, when it was moved that the thanks of the town be presented to the orator for the oration "on the commemoration of the horrid massacre," some of the officers struck their canes on the floor, others hissed, others exclaimed, "Oh fie, fie!"³ which was understood as a cry of fire, and

¹ Magoon's Orators of the American Revolution, 167.

² Everett's Life of Warren, 182.

³ Several accounts of this disturbance have been printed. The following is from manuscript in J. Greene's "Almanack," loaned to me by Dr. S. A. Green:—

"March 6. Oration delivered at the Old South Meeting-house, by Dr. Joseph Warren. After which a number of the army, in particular Captain B. Chapman, of the Eighteenth, and ———, of the Royal Irish, put on their hats when the town was upon business, nominating persons, holding up their hands

to the inhabitants of
 assembled at Faneuil
 to the Old South
 the day of MARCH

A N

unanimously, That
 e. and hereby are
 N. for the elegant
 by him at their re-
 acrid MASSACRE
 h of March, 1770
 6th Regiment, un-
 omas Preston; and

ORATION.

Hancock Esq; Ben-
 Pitts, John Scollay,
 and Mr. Samuel Lu-

JOSEPH WARREN
 desire a copy of
 PER, Town-Clerk.
 y of the ORATION
 ng mess'ge,

influenced me yet
 fellow-citizens, in-
 you.

Respect,
 ent

JOSEPH WARREN

MY EVER HONORED FELLOW-CITIZENS,

IT is not without the most humiliating conviction
 of my want of ability that I now appear before
 you: But the sense I have of the obligation I am
 under to obey the calls of my country at all
 times, together with an animating recollection of your
 indulgence exhibited upon so many occasions, has in-
 duced me once more, undeserving as I am, to throw
 myself upon that candour which looks with kindness
 on the feeblest efforts of an honest mind.

You will not now expect the elegance, the learn-
 ing, the fire, the enrapturing strains of eloquence which
 charmed you when a LOVELL, a CHURCH, or a HAN-
 COCK spoke; but you will permit me to say that with
 sincerity, equal to their's, I mourn over my bleed-
 ing country: With them I weep at her distress, and
 with them deeply resent the many injuries she has
 received from the hands of cruel and unreasonable
 men.

THAT

"An Oration delivered March sixth, 1775, at the request of the request
 of the Inhabitants of the town of Boston: to commemorate the bloody
 Tragedy of the fifth of March, 1770" by Dr Joseph Warren.

THAT personal freedom is the natural right of every man; and that property or an exclusive right to dispose of what he has honestly acquired by his own labor, necessarily arising therefrom, are truths which common sense has placed beyond the reach of contradiction. And no man or body of men can, without being guilty of flagrant injustice, claim a right to dispose of the persons or acquisitions of any other man, or body of men, unless it can be proved that such a right has arisen from some compact between the parties in which it has been explicitly and freely granted.

If I may be indulged in taking a retrospective view of the first settlement of our country, it will be easy to determine with what degree of justice the late parliament of Great-Britain have assumed the power of giving away *that property* which the Americans have earned by their labor.

OUR fathers, having nobly resolved never to wear the yoke of despotism, and seeing the European world through indolence and cowardice, falling a prey to tyranny; bravely threw themselves upon the bottom of the ocean; determined to find a place in which they might enjoy their freedom, or perish in the glorious attempt. Approving Heaven beheld the favourable ark dancing upon the waves, and graciously preserved it until the chosen families were brought in safety to these western regions. They found the land swarming with savages; who threatened death with every kind of torture. But savages, and death with torture were far less terrible than slavery:---Nothing was so much the object of their abhorrence as a tyrant's power

er:---They knew that it was more safe to dwell with man in his most unpolished state than in a country where arbitrary power prevails. Even *anarchy itself*, that bugbear held up by the tools of power (though truly to be deprecated) is infinitely less dangerous to mankind than *arbitrary government*. *Anarchy* can be but of short duration; for when men are at liberty to pursue that course which is most conducive to their own happiness, they will soon come into it, and from the rudest state of nature, order and good government must soon arise. But *tyranny*, when once established, entails its curse on a nation to the latest period of time; unless some daring genius, inspired by Heaven, shall unappalled by danger, bravely form and execute the arduous design of restoring liberty and life to his enslaved, murdered country.

THE tools of power in every age have racked their inventions to justify the FEW in sporting with the happiness of the MANY; and, having found their sophistry too weak, to hold mankind in bondage, have impudently dared to force *religion*, the daughter of the King of Heaven to become a prostitute in the service of Hell. They taught that princes, honored with the name of christian, might bid defiance to the founder of their faith, might pillage pagan countries and deplete them with blood, only because they boasted themselves to be the disciples of that teacher who strictly charged his followers to *do to others as they would that others should do unto them*.

THIS country, having been discovered by an English subject in the year 1620, was (according to the system which the blind superstition of those times supported)

ported) deemed the property of the crown of England. Our ancestors, when they resolved to their native soil, obtained from King James a grant of certain lands in North-America. This they probably did to silence the cavils of their enemies, for cannot be doubted, but they despised the pretended right which he claimed thereto. Certain it is that, with equal propriety and justice, have made them a grant of the planet Jupiter. And their subsequent conduct plainly shews that they were too well acquainted with humanity and the principles of natural equity to suppose that the grant gave them a right to take possession; they therefore entered into a treaty with the natives and bought from them the lands: Nor have I yet obtained any information that our ancestors ever *pleaded*, or that the natives ever *guarded* the grant from the English crown: The business was transacted by the parties in the same independent manner that it would have been, had neither of them ever known or heard of the Island of Great Britain.

HAVING become the honest proprietors of the soil they immediately applied themselves to the cultivation of it; and they soon beheld the virgin earth teeming with richest fruits, a grateful recompence for their unwearied toil. The fields began to wave with opening harvests, and the late barren wilderness was seen to blossom like the rose. The savage natives with wonder beheld the delightful change, and quickly formed a scheme to obtain *that* by fraud or force, which nature meant as the reward of industry alone. But the illustrious emigrants soon convinced the rude invaders that they were not less ready to take the first

for battle than for labour; and the insidious foe was driven from their borders as often as he ventured to disturb them. The crown of England looked with indifference on the contest; our ancestors were left alone to combat with the natives.---Nor is there any reason to believe, that it ever was intended by the one party, or expected by the other, that the *grantor* should defend and maintain the *grantees* in the peaceful possession of the lands named in the patents: And it appears plainly from the history of those times that neither the Prince nor the People of England thought themselves much interested in the matter. They had not then any idea of a thousandth part of those advantages which they since *have* and we are most heartily willing they should *still continue* to reap from us.

BUT *when* at an infinite expence of toil and blood, this widely extended continent had been cultivated and defended: *When* the hardy adventurers justly expected that they and their descendants should peacefully have enjoyed the harvest of those fields which they had sown, and the fruit of those vineyards which they had planted; this country was *then* thought worthy the attention of the British ministry; and the only justifiable and only successful means of rendering the colonies serviceable to Britain were adopted. By an intercourse of friendly offices, the two countries became so united in affection, that they thought not of any distinct or separate interests, they found both countries flourishing and happy. Britain saw her commerce extended and her wealth increased; her hands raised to an immense value, her fleets riding triumphant

triumphant on the ocean, the terror of her arms spread
 ing to every quarter of the globe. The colonist found
 himself free, and thought himself secure: He dwelt
*under his own vine and under his own fig-tree, and had
 none to make him afraid*: He knew indeed that by
 purchasing the manufactures of Great-Britain he con-
 tributed to its greatness: He knew that all the wealth
 that his labour produced centered in Great-Britain.
 But that, far from exciting his envy, filled him with
 the highest pleasure; *sheer delights* supplied him with
 all his toils. When the business of the day was past
 he selected himself with the *contemplation* or perhaps
 entertained his evening family with the *recital* of
 some great, some glorious transaction which shined
 conspicuous in the history of Britain: Or perhaps his
 elevated fancy led him to foretell, with a kind of en-
 thusiastic confidence, the power and duration
 of an empire which should extend from one end of
 the earth to the other: He saw, or thought he saw
 the British nation risen to a pitch of grandeur which
 cast a veil over the Roman glory, and, ravished with
 the prospect, boasted a race of British Kings, whose
 names should echo through those realms where Cy-
 rus Alexander, and the Cæsars were unknown; *Prin-
 ces*, for whom millions of grateful subjects, redeemed
 from slavery and pagan ignorance, should with thank-
 ful tongues offer up their prayers and praises to the
 transcendentally great and beneficent Being, by whose
Kings reign and Princes decree justice.

THESE pleasing connexions might have continu-
 ed; these delightful prospects might have been every
 day extended; and even the reveries of the mo-
 -war

warm imagination might have been realized; but
 unhappily for us, unhappily for Britain, the madness
 of an avaricious minister of state has drawn a fable
 curtain over the charming scene, and in its stead has
 brought upon the stage, discord, envy, hatred and re-
 venge, with civil war close in their rear.

SOME demon in an evil hour suggested to a short
 sighted financier the hateful project of transferring the
 whole property of the King's subjects in America to
 his subjects in Britain. The claim of the British par-
 liament to tax the colonies can never be supported
 out by such a TRANSFER; for the right of the house
 of commons of Great-Britain to originate any tax or
 to grant money is altogether derived from their be-
 ing elected by the people of Great-Britain to act for
 them, and the people of Great-Britain cannot confer
 on their *representatives* a right to give or grant any
 thing, which *they themselves* have not a right to give or
 grant *personally*. Therefore it follows, that if the mem-
 bers chosen by the people of Great-Britain to repre-
 sent them in parliament have, by virtue of their being
 so chosen, any right to give or grant American pro-
 perty, or to lay any tax upon the lands or persons of
 the colonies, it is because the lands and people in the
 colonies are, bona fide, owned by, and justly belong
 to the people of Great-Britain. But (as has been be-
 fore observed) every man has a natural right to person-
 al freedom, consequently a right to enjoy what is ac-
 quired by his own labor. And as it is evident that
 the property in this country has been acquired by our
 own labor, it is the duty of the people of Great-Bri-
 -tain to produce some compact in which we have ex-
 plicitly

plicity given up to them a right to dispose of our *persons* or *property*. Until this is done, every attempt of theirs, or of those whom they have deputed to act for them, to give or grant any part of our property, is directly repugnant to every principle of reason and natural justice. But I may boldly say that such a compact never existed, no, not even in imagination. Nevertheless the representatives of a nation, long famed for justice and the exercise of every noble virtue, have been prevailed on to adopt the fatal scheme; and although the dreadful consequences of this wicked policy have already shaken the empire to its center; yet still it is persisted in. Regardless of the voice of reason---deaf to the prayers and supplications---and unaffected with the flowing tears of suffering millions, the British ministry still hug the darling idol; and every rolling year affords fresh instances of the absurd devotion with which they worship it. Alas! how has the folly, the distraction of the British councils, blasted our swelling hopes, and spread a gloom over this western hemisphere. The hearts of Britons and Americans, which lately felt the generous glow of mutual confidence and love, now burn with jealousy & rage. Though but of yesterday, I recollect (deeply affected at the ill boding change) the happy hours that past whilst Britain and America rejoiced in the prospect of prosperity and greatness of each other (Heaven grant those happy days may soon return.) But now the Briton too often looks on the American with an envious eye, taught to consider his just plea for the enjoyment of his earnings as the effect of pride and stubborn opposition to the parent country. Whilst the American beholds the Briton as the Russian, ready *first* to take

away

may his property, and *next*, what is dearer to every virtuous man, the liberty of his country.

WHEN the measures of administration had disgusted the colonies to the highest degree, and the people of Great-Britain had by artifice and falsehood been incited against America, an army was sent over to enforce submission to certain acts of the British parliament, which reason scorned to countenance, and which placemen and pensioners were found unable to support.

MARTIAL law and the government of a well regulated city are so entirely different, that it has always been considered as improper to quarter troops in populous cities, as frequent disputes must necessarily arise between the citizen and the soldier, even if no previous animosities subsist. And it is further certain from a consideration of the nature of mankind, as well as from constant experience, that standing armies always endanger the liberty of the subject. But when the people, on the one part, considered the army as sent to enslave them, and the army on the other were taught to look on the people as in a state of rebellion, it was but just to fear the most disagreeable consequences. Our fears, we have seen, were not too well grounded.

THE many injuries offered to this town I pass over in silence. I cannot now mark out the path which led to that unequalled scene of horror, the sad remembrance of which takes the full possession of my soul. The sanguinary theatre again opens itself to view.

view. The baleful images of terror croud around me---and discontented ghosts, with hollow groans appear to solemnize the anniversary of the FIFTH OF MARCH.

APPROACH we then the melancholy walk of death ! Hither let me call the gay companion, here let him drop a farewell tear upon that body which so late he saw vigorous and warm with social mirth ---Hither let me lead the tender mother to weep over her beloved son---Come widowed mourner here satiate thy grief ; behold thy murdered husband gasping on the ground, and to complete the pompous show of wretchedness bring in each hand thy infant children to bewail their father's fate---Take heed ye orphan babes, lest whilst your streaming eyes are fixed upon the ghastly couple, *your feet slide on the stones bespattered with your father's brains.* * Enough ! This tragedy need not be heightened by an infant weltering in the blood of him that gave it birth. Nature reluctant shrinks already from the view, and the chilled blood rolls slowly backward to its fountain. We wildly stare about, and, with amazement ask, who spread this ruin around us ? What wretch has dared deface the image of his God ? His haughty France or cruel Spain sent forth her myrriads ? Has the grim savage rushed again from the far distant wilderness ? Or does some fiend, fierce from the depth of Hell, with all the rancorous malice which the apostate damned can feel, twang her destructive

* After Mr. GRAZ had been shot through the body and had fallen dead on the ground---a bayonet was pushed through his skull, part of the bone being broken, his brains fell out upon the pavement.

bow and hurl her deadly arrows at our breast ? No. None of these---but, how astonishing ! It is the hand of Britain that inflicts the wound. The arms of George our rightful King have been employed to shed that blood which freely would have flown at his command, when justice or the honor of his crown had called his subjects to the field.

BUT pity, grief, astonishment, with all the softer movements of the soul must now give way to stronger passions. Say, fellow-citizens, what dreadful thought now swells your heaving bosoms---You fly to arms---Sharp indignation flashes from each eye---Revenge gnashes her iron teeth---Death grins an hideous smile, secure to drench his greedy jaws in human gore---Whilst hovering furies darken all the air.

BUT stop, my bold adventurous countrymen, stain not your weapons with the blood of Britons. Attend to reason's voice---Humanity puts in her claim---and sues to be again admitted to her wonted seat, the bosom of the brave. Revenge is far beneath the noble mind. Many, perhaps, compelled to rank among the vile assassins, do, from their inmost souls, detest the barbarous action. The winged death, shot from your arms, may chance to pierce some breast that bleeds, already, for your injured country.

THE storm subsides---a solemn pause ensues--- You spare upon condition they depart. They go--- they quit your city---they no more shall give offence. ---Thus closes the important drama.

AND

AND could it have been conceived that we again should have seen a British army in our land, sent to enforce obedience to acts of parliament destructive of our liberty? But the royal ear, far distant from this western world, has been assaulted by the tongue of slander; and villains, traitorous alike to king and country, have prevail'd upon a gracious prince to clothe his countenance with wrath, and to erect the hostile banner against a people ever affectionate and loyal to him and his illustrious predecessors of the house of Hanover. Our streets are again filled with armed men: Our harbour is crowded with ships of war; but these cannot intimidate us; our liberty must be preserved; it is far dearer than *life*, we hold it even dear as our *allegiance*; we must defend it against the attacks of *friends* as well as *enemies*; we cannot suffer even BRITONS to ravish it from us.

No longer could we reflect with generous pride on the heroic actions of our American fore-fathers,---no longer boast our origin from that far famed island, whose warlike sons have so often drawn their well-tried swords to save her from the ravages of tyranny; could we but for a moment entertain the thought of giving up our liberty. The man who meanly will submit to wear a *shackle*, contemns the noblest gift of Heaven, and impiously affronts the God that made him free.

It was a maxim of the Roman people, which eminently conducted to the greatness of that state, never to despair of the common-wealth. The maxim may prove as salutary to us now, as it did to them. Short
fought

fought mortals see not the numerous links of small and great events, which form the chain on which the fate of kings and nations is suspended. Ease and prosperity, (though pleasing for a day) have often sunk a people into effeminacy and sloth. Hardships and dangers (though we forever strive to shun them) have frequently called forth such virtues, as have commanded the applause and reverence of an admiring world. Our country loudly calls you to be circumspect, vigilant, active and brave. Perhaps (all gracious Heaven avert it) perhaps, the power of Britain, a nation great in war, by some malignant influence, may be employed to enslave you: But let not even this discourage you. Her arms, 'tis true, have filled the world with terror: Her troops have reaped the laurels of the field: Her fleets have rode triumphant on the sea---And *when* or *where* did you, my Countrymen, depart inglorious from the field of fight?

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You

* The Patience with which this People have borne the repeated Injuries which have been heap'd upon them, and their unwillingness to take any sanguinary Measures, has very injudiciously been ascribed to Cowardice, by Persons both here and in Great Britain. I most heartily wish that an Opinion so erroneous in itself, and so fatal in its consequences, might be utterly removed before it be too late: And I think nothing further necessary to convince every intelligent Man, that the Conduct of this People is owing to the tender Regard which they have for their Fellow Men, and an utter Abhorrence to the shedding of human Blood, than a little Attention to their general Temper and Disposition, discovered when they cannot be supposed to be under any Apprehension of Danger to themselves.—I will only mention the universal Detestation which they show to every Act of Cruelty, by whom and upon whomsoever committed; the mild Spirit of their Laws; the very few Crimes to which capital Penalties are annexed; and the very great Backwardness which both Courts and Juries discover in condemning Persons charged with capital Crimes.—But if any should think this Observation not to the Purpose, I readily appeal to those Gentlemen of the Army who have been in the Camp, or in the field, with the Americans,

You too can shew the trophies of your *forefather's* victories and your *own*; can name the fortresses and battles you have won; and many of you count the honorable scars of wounds received, whilst fighting for your King and country.

WHERE justice is the standard, Heaven is the warrior's shield: But conscious guilt unnerves the arm that lifts the sword against the innocent. Britain united with these colonies, by commerce and affection---by interest and blood, may mock the threats of France and Spain: May be the seat of universal empire. But should America either by *force*, or those more dangerous engines, *luxury* and *corruption*, ever be brought into a state of vassalage, Britain must lose her freedom also. No longer shall she sit the *empress* of the sea:---Her ships no more shall waft her thunders over the wide ocean:---The *wreath* shall wither on her temples:---Her weakened arm shall be unable to defend her coasts: And she at last must bow her venerable head to some proud foreigner's despotic rule.

BUT if from past events we may venture to form a judgment of the future, we justly may expect that the devices of our enemies will but increase the triumphs of our country. I *must* indulge a hope that *Britain's* liberty as well as *ours*, will eventually be preserved by the virtue of America.

THE

THE attempt of the British parliament to raise a revenue from America, and our denial of their right to do it, have excited an almost universal inquiry into the rights of mankind in general, and of British subjects in particular; the necessary result of which must be such a liberality of sentiment, and such a jealousy of those in power as will, better than an adamant wall, secure us against the future approaches of despotism.

THE malice of the *Boston* Port-Bill has been defeated in a very considerable degree, by giving *you* an opportunity of *deserving*, and *our brethren* in this and our sister colonies an opportunity of *bestowing* those benefactions which have delighted your friends and astonished your enemies, not only in America, but in Europe also: And what is more valuable still, the sympathetic feelings for a brother in distress, and the grateful emotions excited in the breast of him who finds relief, must forever endear each to the other, and form those indissoluble bonds of friendship and affection, on which the preservation of our rights so evidently depends.

THE mutilation of our charter has made every other colony jealous for its own; for *this*, if once submitted to by us, would set on float the property and government of every British settlement upon the continent. If Charters are not deemed sacred, how miserably precarious is every thing founded upon them!

EVEN

EVEN the sending troops to put these acts in execution is not without advantages to us. The exactness and beauty of their discipline inspire our youth with ardor in the pursuit of military knowledge. Charles, the *Invincible*, taught Peter the *Great* the art of war. The battle of Pultowa convinced Charles of the proficiency Peter had made.

OUR Country is in danger, but not to be despaired of. Our enemies are numerous and powerful---but we have many friends; determine to BE FREE, and Heaven and Earth will aid the RESOLUTION. On you depend the fortunes of America. You are to decide the important question, on which rests the happiness and liberty of millions yet unborn. Act worthy of yourselves. The faltering tongue of hoary age calls on you to support your country. The lisping infant raises its suppliant hands, imploring defence against the monster slavery. Your fathers look from their celestial seats with smiling approbation on their sons, who 'boldly stand forth in the cause of virtue; but sternly frown upon the inhuman miscreant, who, to secure the loaves and fishes to himself, would breed a serpent to destroy his children.

BUT, pardon me, my fellow citizens, I know you want not zeal or fortitude. You will maintain your rights, or perish in the generous struggle. However difficult the combat, you never will decline it when freedom is the prize. An independence on Great-Britain is not our aim. No, our wish is, that Britain
and

and the Colonies may, like the oak and ivy, grow and increase in strength together. But whilst the infatuated plan of making one part of the empire slaves to the other, is persisted in; the interest and safety of *Britain*, as well as the *Colonies*, require that the wise measures recommended by the honorable, the continental Congress, be steadily pursued; whereby the unnatural contest between a parent honored, and a child beloved, may probably be brought to such an issue, as that the peace and happiness of both may be established upon a lasting basis. But if these pacific measures are ineffectual, and it appears that the only way to safety is, through fields of blood, I know you will not turn your faces from your foes; but will undauntedly press forward, until tyranny is trodden under foot, and you have fixed your adored goddess LIBERTY, fast by a BRUNSWICK'S side, on the American Throne.

You then, who nobly have espoused your country's cause, who generously have sacrificed wealth and ease---who have despised the pomp and shew of tinsel'd greatness---refused the summons to the festive board, been deaf to the alluring calls of luxury and mirth, who have forsaken the downy pillow, to keep your vigils by the midnight lamp, for the salvation of your invaded country, that you might break the Fowler's snare, and disappoint the vulture of his prey, you then will reap that harvest of renown which you so justly have deserved. Your country shall pay her grateful tribute of applause. Even the children of your most inveterate enemies, ashamed to tell from whom they

they sprang, while they in secret curse their stupid, cruel parents, shall join the general voice of gratitude to those who broke the fetters which their fathers forg'd.

HAVING redeemed your Country, and secured the blessing to future generations, *who* fired by your example, shall emulate your virtues, and learn from *you* the heavenly art of making millions happy ;---with heart-felt joy, with transports all your own, YOU CRY, the GLORIOUS WORK IS DONE. Then drop the mantle to some young ELISHA, and take your seats with kindred spirits in your native skies.

F I N I S.
