The original documents are located in Box 72, folder "Williamsburg, VA - President's Speech, 1/31/76 (2)" of the John Marsh Files at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

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America is in its Bicentennial Year. The countdown Independence Day has begun.

It is appropriate for the first address that I as President

should make on the Bicentennial should occur
here where it all began. It is one of the ironies of history that
within a few miles of this place the first permanent English
settlement in the new world would be made in 1607 and that 174
years later only 20 miles away at Yorktown the American Revolution
would end British colonial rule.

I am aware of the history of the Commonwealth and the heritage of Virginia. I would also point out, what I am sure this Assembly knows, is that 100 years prior to the American Revolution

the colony of Virginia in a

preclude to Independence overthrew its royal government and for a

brief but significant period in American history asserted its independence from the Crown, under the leadership of Nathaniel Bacon. Bacon's rebellion planted, many believe, the seeds of the American Revolution.

Knowing of Virginians appreciation of history, I am sure that these Tercentennial events will be properly noted.

As I am sure many of you are aware, the Commonwealth is my second home. Betty and I still own our home of many years in Alexandria and our younsters have been educated in your schools. So I hope that you will not feel I come as a stranger.

This Assembly, can continuously trace its origins to 1619, the oldest Assembly in the new world. It is the oldest legislative body under a written Constitution in the western world.

The names of some of those who have served in this colonial

Legislature read like a litany of American greatness: Washington,

Jefferson, Henry, Lee, Mason, Randolph, Madison, Monroe.

The events that occurred in Williamsburg shaped not only

America but world history. George Mason, author of the immortal

Declaration of Rights, in looking back on the events that transpired here observed: "We seem to have been treading on enchanted ground." We tread today on enchanted ground.

An examination of the lives of the men of this era inescapably leads to the conclusion that the college of William and Mary played a significant role in the development and training of an enlightened leadership. William and Mary in age is second only to Harvard. The influence of all the colonial colleges on developing the ideas of the Revolution is one that should be studied and explored as we examine the Bicentennial period.

The men and women in the colonies extending along the rim of our eastern coast were pioneers in a colonial era. They faced a frontier that was an unexplored wilderness. A vast continent whose resources and riches they could not measure nor imagine. They lived in a world of harsh reality and constant danger. They were the victims of the elements and of disease.

Isolation and loneness were their accepted lot. The West was

scarely 200 miles away, the ridges of the Allegheny Mountain, the Continent was a pawn for the power blocs of Western Europe not only the British Empire but France and Spain asserted dominion over substantial parts of what are today the Continental United States. These pioneers in a colonial world who faced a wilderness of nature would become pioneers in another way they did not plan.

They became pioneers in representative government.

Pioneers in the rule of law. Pioneers in individual liberty and institutional democracy. Pioneers in the role of the States as servants of the people. The discoveries of the new world would not be limited to land or resources but the freedom of speech, religion and the press. These pioneers in representative government, in Chambers such as this, assured for us trial

by jury, freedom from self incrimination, the right to bear arms, and freedom from unlawful search and seizure.

Their exploration carried them not only across the

American continent but opened new horizons for the American
spirit and opportunities for individual achievement.

These discoveries in self government which were spelled out in our Declaration were won at Yorktown and assured in our Constitution. They are as precious today as they were two centuries ago.

I submitt to you we are pioneers in a modern world.

Ours is a wilderness that by-in-large is the creation of man.

It is a wilderness of teaming urbanization and highrises
with masses of population. It is a society impacted by the

discovery and adaptation of science and technology. Assembly lines and mass production, automation and computerized programming become pace makers of our people. Individualism is often a casualty of the machine age.

Americans today live in the truly first nation of the modern world. We are the first to face this wilderness of the masses.

The first to deal with the impact of communication and technology not only on humanity but on the institution of a free people.

We are pioneers in a new age.

Democracy on this planet is becoming increasingly rare.

Beyond our shores representative government is not expanding;

rather it is retreating. It can be correctly said that on the face

of this globe, Americans are still the true revolutionaries.

The ideas discussed and debated at Raleigh Tavern or here in this House of Burgess or at the townhall meeting of colonial New England or at Independence Hall -- these ideas went West with the American people.

Before the golden spike was driven in Utah to link the continent by rail, we were bound to each other by the invisible links in a chain of ideas that produced governments of states, cities, counties, and towns which share a common heritage and sought to govern for the common good.

We know that we have not as yet formed the perfect union.

We are aware that we have made mistakes, but I also know that

succeeding generations of Americans have formed a better union.

The challenges we face are the challenges of a modern world. As pioneers in this new wilderness can we address our national needs, assure the public safety, defend the nation,

provide the economic opportunities, fullfill the aspirations of our people, cope with science and technology, manage our resources, protect our environment within the concepts of limited government and institutional democracy?

Can a free people with representative government live and compete - achieve national greatness and sustain world leadership - in a modern world? I believe we can. It is going to require common sense and self-restraint.

The American experiment is a constantly evolving one. It is not limited to region or to a period of history. The gradual but unremitting expansion of freedom for all of our people has unfolded throughout our history as a Nation. It, therefore, follows that the Bicentennial should be observed in different ways across our land as people of different cultures and regions mark their contributions to the achievement of this Republic.

The pursuit of happiness by the participation in the American experiment and contributing to the Revolutionary concepts of limited self-government and individual liberty is an American legacy you and I share.

Washington, Franklin, Adams, Jefferson -- these giants and their contemporaries do not belong to Virginia or Pennsylvania or Massachusetts. They belong to the ages.

And what shall posterity say of us a decade, a century, a thousand years hence. Shall some historians in another day, another age, at another place write that the American Republic, man's greatest hope for man, perished from the earth because its people were not true to the legacy of their forebearers and lacked the will to meet the challenge of their time.

I believe that of us historians shall record that this

Republic and its people in a unique moment of human history

shaped a new desitny. Built a new world based on law, individual achievement and human freedom, and thereby repaid in part the debt we all owe to a tiny, handfull of men, who with a firm reliance on the protection of a Divine Province, 200 years ago at Philadelphia, mutually pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor that liberty might grow old.

Let us this day resolve we shall write this story for our country.

(old sheet of 1/24 speech)

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 28, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

JACK MARSH

Attached are seven additional pages to the original Williamsburg speech draft which I gave to you. You may wish to review these from the standpoint of suggestions and ideas.

I have given a copy of the draft to Milt and he is pulling together a combined draft which incorporates his own thoughts.

You should be aware that we have had requests from some on your staff for you to make an appeal on this occasion for Virginia to adopt the Equal Rights Amendment. Copies of two incoming memos are attached.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 27, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JACK MARSH

FROM:

Bors BOBBIE GREENE KILBERG

SUBJECT:

ERA statement in President's speech at Williamsburg

As a follow-up to my memorandum of earlier this week, I want to make two additional points in support of the President making a pro-equal rights statement in his speech at Williamsburg:

- It is my understanding that the President spoke in support of the ERA in Illinois and North Carolina, two states which, like Virginia, have not ratified the amendment;
- In response to any allegations that the President is an outsider 2. interfering with a state ratification process, the President can point out in a graceful manner that he and Mrs. Ford feel a special affection and allegiance for two states -- Michigan. their home state, and Virginia, the state where they lived for many years when he served in Congress. Thus, the President is a concerned "constituent" of Virginia and not an outsider.

cc: Philip W. Buchen

cc: Russ Rourke



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 26, 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR:

JACK MARSH

FROM:

PAT LINDHOL KAREN KEESLING

SUBJECT:

President's Virginia General Assembly Speech

The President's support for ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment has been strong. We receive requests daily for the President to speak out in states that have not ratified. The President has been responsive to questions from reporters and has referred to the ERA in speeches previously such as his North Carolina Central University address.

Virginia is one of the few states where the ERA has not come to the floor of the General Assembly. It has been bottled up in committee.

We request that a reference be made to the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment when the President addresses the Virginia General Assembly on Saturday. We are attaching the President's Women's Equality Day Proclamation in which the President asks unratified states to give serious consideration to this issue.





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Women's Equality Day, 1975

By the President of the United States of America

A Proclamation

In October 1971 and March 1972, the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States adopted a proposed amendment to our Constitution providing equal rights for men and women. By August 26, 1972, twenty States had ratified the proposed constitutional amendment, only eighteen more were needed for the proposed amendment to become part of our Constitution.

August 26 is a significant date because it was on that day in 1920 that the Nineteenth Amendment, prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sex with regard to voting, was certified as part of our Constitution after ratification by the necessary three-fourths of the States. Recognizing that the proposed Equal Rights Amendment is the logical and rightful extension of the Nineteenth Amendment to rights other than voting, the President has, since 1972, annually set aside the 26th of August in recognition of the real and practical need to ensure that equal legal rights are enjoyed by women and men.

This year, 1975, has been designated as International Women's Year, dedicated to equality between men and women. It is also the two-hundredth year of our Nation—a Nation born, nurtured and dedicated to the proposition that all people are entitled to be equal before the law.

Several more States need to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment before it becomes part of our Constitution. It would be most fitting for this to be accomplished during our Nation's two-hundredth year. In this Land of the Free, it is right, and by nature it ought to be, that all men and all women are equal before the law.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GERALD R. FORD, President of the United States of America, to remind all Americans that it is fitting and just to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment adopted by the Congress of the United States of America, in order to secure legal equality for all women and men, do hereby designate and proclaim August 26, 1975, as Women's Equality Day.

I call upon all the citizens of the United States to mark this day with appropriate activities, and I call upon those States who have not ratified the Equal Rights Amendment to give serious consideration to its ratification and the upholding of our Nation's heritage.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I hereunto set my hand this twenty-sixth day of August, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and seventy-five, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two-hundredth.

Gerall R. Ford



MEMORANDUM FOR:

DICK CHENEY DAVE GERGEN BOB ORBEN

FROM:

JACK MARSH

In reference to the Williamsburg speech, attached is some additional material for inclusion with the earlier draft I sent you.

Attachment

JOM/dl



eral system is the creature of the colonial assemblies.

Our tripartite system of government with checks and balances, is the evolution of the representative system which traces it origin to the Magna Charta and the English Bill of Rights. Our Constitution with its Bill of Rights is a product of our colonial experience. The resovoir of all governmental power is rested in the people.

R And the American experience has shown that the closer government is to the people, the more difficult the task of governing. The modern federal system has lead to a detachment by distance which at times runs counter to our basic needs. The trend to centralism and increased federalism is beginning to change as we see that big government is not necessarily the answer to our problems.

In the first decade of our third century, we must intensify the examination of the role to be played by government at all

levels in addressing our national needs. This is not to say all national problems have State answers, but neither is a federal solution the best answer to every human need. You must

remember The reservation of the rights to the people set out in the 10th Amendment of the Constitution is a recognition you was pay a price for everything. You must always remember that any government which is big enough to give us everything we

This was a view that I held.

Both our state and federal system is unique in the separation

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decade for a number of reasons including the avalanche of change.

There is a great need that this principle remain strong. This

is especially true between the Executive and Legislative branches.

Our history has shown where the spirit of comity is weakened, the effectiveness of our Federal system has been weakened.

This principle is particularly vital in the conduct of foreign

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they have.

From this expressivence appeal to Greatness if we respond -- and I think we shall -- there shall be shared by as a century hence a common destiny for all mankind that draws its inspiration from those institutions we honor in this place on this day.

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We must always remember that any government which is big enough to give us everything we want is also big enough to take away everything we have.

Both our State and Federal systems are unique in the separation of powers between three co-equal branches of government. Some have called it the Executive System with exclusive duties and jurisdictions reserved to each branch.

Out of this arrangement, particularly at the Federal level, has arisen a relationship described as comity, which enables the branches to perform smoothly in their respective roles. Comity is not precise and it is difficult to define. It might be described as a civility or courtesy that enables our representative system to work. There is a great need that this principle remain strong.

Nationally the doctrine of comity has suffered in the last decade for a number of reasons, including an avalanche of change. This is especially true between the Executive and Legislative branches. Our history has shown where the spirit of comity is weakened, the effectiveness of our Federal system has been weakened. This principle is particularly vital in the conduct of foreign affairs and in the execution of the duties of the President as Commander-in-Chief in providing for the national defense.

In the matters involving our intelligence community, for example, in the transfer of highly sensitive documents from the Executive Branch to the Legislative Branch, this can be more successfully accomplished in the long run by the recognition and exchange of comity than it can by legislation. This doctrine can reach an area that neither a statute or an Executive Order can adequately achieve.

We must not permit partisanship nor politics to erode away a time tested means of promoting executive-legislative cooperation.

I am certain that the Congress will join with me in the recognition and strengthening of this fundamental American principle of government.

The revolution through which our forebearers lived, was one of momentous change. Perhaps the greatest tribute that can be paid to these men and women two centuries ago is through out that difficult period of military strife civil order was maintained.

There existed the capacity to capture and retain something of value. Order never dissolved into chaos and thereby destroy the aspirations of a common cause.

The winds of change that swept away the old order in the 13 colonies did not so destroy the civil and economic foundations of society to preclude a new order being built on the cornerstone

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Neither can it be realized in only plans and programs for bold projects and public improvements in another decade. However, the imagination and ingenuity of the American people should be directed to that end.

Rather a meaningful observance of our Bicentennial is a combination of these and more. It is the capture of a spirit,

the seizing of an intangible. It is the essence of the Declaration of Rights -- and the Declaration of Independence -- and the Federal Constitution.

These documents are something more than compacts of government. They were, and still are, expressions of the will and the spirit of a people. A people who took an unbelievable risk for their future but ended up shaping a new destiny for a new nation. They were unaware of the greatness they they had done --- but we should not be.

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(File)

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