The original documents are located in Box 2, folder "Bicentennial Speeches (4)" of the Ron Nessen Papers at the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

Copyright Notice

The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material. Ron Nessen donated to the United States of America his copyrights in all of his unpublished writings in National Archives collections. Works prepared by U.S. Government employees as part of their official duties are in the public domain. The copyrights to materials written by other individuals or organizations are presumed to remain with them. If you think any of the information displayed in the PDF is subject to a valid copyright claim, please contact the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.

THE WHITE HOUSE Washington

The Bicentennial Speeches of Gerald R. Ford

TEXT OF REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT TO BE DELIVERED AT THE VALLEY FORGE STATE PARK

VALLEY FORGE, PENNSYLVANIA

They came here in the snows of winter over a trail marked with the blood of their rag-bound feet.

The iron forge that gave this place its name had been destroyed by the British when General Washington and his ragged Continental Army encamped here, exhausted, outnumbered and short of everything except faith.

Yet we gather here today, the 200th anniversary of our independence, to commemorate their sacrifices even before we celebrate the glorious Declaration.

Americans will remember the name of Valley Forge as long as the spirit of sacrifice lives within their hearts.

Here the vein of iron in our national character was forged. In the 18th Century, the colonial American was far more free and prosperous than his European cousin. Englishmen regarded us with some envy as appropriate subjects to share their grinding tax burdens.

After Concord Bridge and Breed's Hill, the British generals were somewhat impressed with our marksmanship and fighting spirit, but they still dismissed Washington's militiamen as "a rabble in arms."

Many years later, when he was 91, a veteran of Concord was interviewed and asked why he took up his rifle against his King. Did he feel intolerably oppressed?

Mope. Never paid a penny for one of them stamps. Never drank any tea. Never heard of Locke; only read the Bible and the Almanac. Well then, what did all the fighting mean?

"Young man," the aging Revolutionary said firmly.
"What we meant in going for those Redcoats was this: We always had governed ourselves, and we always meant to."

"They didn't mean we should."

Without Jefferson's eloquence, those are the words of the American people's Declaration of our independence. That was the straight talk that brought some 11,000 ordinary Americans, farmers, workers, tradesmen, shopkeepers, into this valley of sacrifice in the bitter winter of 1777.

Uncounted hundreds were never to leave.

They did not die amid the furling banners and fearful sounds of battle. They weakened slowly and quietly succumbed to cold, sickness and starvation.

Yet their courage and suffering -- those who survived as well as those who fell -- were no less meaningful than the sacrifices of those who manned the battlements of Boston and scaled the parapets of Yorktown.

In the battle against despair, Washington and his men kept freedom's lonely vigil. The leader and the led drew strength and hope from one another. Around the winter campfires that dotted these fields the flame of liberty was somehow kept burning.

Something happened at Valley Forge.

That ragged, starving Army here emerged and changed in a way that can be sensed but never fully described. They suffered, they trained, they toughened, they buried their dead, and they stayed. They stuck it out.

When Spring melted the snows and green returned to this beautiful countryside, a proud and disciplined fighting force marched out of this valley on the road to victory, into the pages of history, unaware of the greatness they had done and oblivious to our gratitude.

As Abraham Lincoln noted long afterwards at another sacred site in Pennsylvania, nothing we can say here today can further consecrate or hallow this ground. But we can rededicate ourselves to the spirit of sacrifice shown at Valley Forge, Gettysburg, Argonne Forest, Anzio Beach and Iwo Jima.

Not all sacrifices are made in war. There are also sacrifices of peace.

The sturdy wagon trains that have returned here, the wonderful people who drove them and those along the way who rededicated themselves to the great principles of the Declaration of Independence, offer heartvarming proof that our American adventure has really just begun.

Our Bicentennial is the happy birthday of all 50 States, a commonwealth and self-governing territories. It is not just a celebration for the original thirteen colonies. Americans are one people, and we can still hear them saving:

"We always have governed ourselves, and we always mean to."

The earliest English settlers carried the Bible and Blackstone's Commentary across the Atlantic among their few precious possessions, and established their own self-governments on a strange and hostile coast. American families in prairie schooners like these took with them on the overland trails the principle of equality and the God-given rights of the Declaration of Independence.

Their restless search for a better life was begun in the spirit of adventure. But it was the spirit of sacrifice that sustained them. They too suffered cruel winters, savage attacks, blazing deserts and bloody feet. Many were buried beside the trail. But many more stuck it out, dug in and built permanent settlements, where women stood the same sentry duty as the men. In the West, the Declaration's promise of legal and political equality for women was first broadened.

The American pioneers knew that in their new wilderness homes they would not be colonials, ruled by a distant government. They had assurance that, in due course, they could govern themselves as full citizens of equal States. This political guarantee made all the risks and sacrifices worthwhile. Their children and future generations would have all the rights of Washington, Jackson and Lincoln.

And so do we -- and more.

As we continue our American adventure, the patriots of Valley Forge and the pioneers of the American frontier, indeed all our heroes and heroines of war and peace, send us this single urgent message: Though prosperity is a good thing, though compassionate charity is a good thing, though institutional reform is a good thing, a nation survives only so long as the spirit of sacrifice and self-discipline is strong within its people.

Independence has to be defended as well as declared; freedom is always worth fighting for; and liberty ultimately belongs only to those willing to suffer for it.

If we remember this, we can bring health where there is now disease, peace where there is strife, progress where there is poverty and want.

And when our Tricentennial celebration rolls around, 100 years from now, grateful Americans still will come to this shrine of quiet valor, this forge of our Republic's iron core.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE Washington

The Bicentennial Speeches of Gerald R. Ford

TEXT OF REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT TO BE DELIVERED AT THE HONOR AMERICA PROGRAM

KENNEDY CENTER

There are times for solemn ceremonies, and there will be many reverent thanksgivings all over America this week and next. But we Americans are uncomfortable with too much solemnity. We like to make a joyful noise unto the Lord, and to sing our country's praise with grateful hearts.

Laughter and liberty go well together. Ragtime and jazz and marches as well as hymns and spirituals set the beat of our American adventure. We have exported America's happiness to the world with our gramophones, our movies. our own talented performers.

Americans sang on the riverboats danced around the wagon trains, joked as they marched into battle all along our 200 year journey. We took all the arts of those who came to join the American adventure and made new arts of our own. No nation has a richer heritage than we do -- for America has it all.

The United States is probably the only country on earth that puts "the pursuit of happiness" right after life and liberty among the God-given rights of every human being.

When Jefferson wrote that he pulled off an historic switch. For a long time English law had used the phrase 'life, liberty and property" to describe the most precious things that couldn't be taken away from anybody without due legal process. But Jefferson dropped property" in the Declaration of Independence and substituted 'the pursuit of happiness."

Like any good politician, Jefferson knew how to say exactly what he meant when he wanted to. So life and liberty are plain enough to everybody, but Jefferson never did say what he meant by the pursuit of happiness. If we have liberty, how each of us pursues happiness is up to us.

However you define it, the United States of America has been a happy nation over the past 200 years. Nobody is happy all the time, but most of the people have been happy most of the time. Even in our darkest hours, we have managed a little fun.

I knew what happiness was when I was a boy. It was the Fourth of July. For weeks we would save up our pennies nickels and dimes and then at the last moment Dad would come through with a couple of dollars for skyrockets. You'd wake at the first crackle of sidewalk salutes and rush to the window to see if the weather was good. There'd be the big Flag to hang on the front porch, and the ice cream freezer to turn, and the first big spoonful that gave you a headache.

more

Then there were parades, and bands, and those long speeches -- this won't be one. There would be a picnic, and softball games, and the endless wait until it got dark enough for the Roman candles, and sparklers for the little ones, who really liked the lightning bugs better.

When it was all over, you went to bed happy because you knew it would happen all over again the next Fourth of July. And here we are on the eve of our 200th -- the greatest Fourth of July any of us will ever see.

We are a happy people because we are a free people, and while we have our faults and our failures, tonight is not the time to parade them. Rather let's look to our third century as the century in which freedom finds fulfillment in even greater creativity and individuality.

Tonight we salute the pursuit of happiness as we listen to our exciting past in song and story. Two hundred years ago this very day John Adams wrote his wife Abigail that he expected the glorious anniversary of Independence to be observed down through the ages "with Shews, Games, Sports, Guns, Bells, Bonfires and Illuminations from one End of this Continent to the other."

So, break out the flags, strike up the band, light up the sky and let the whole wide world know that the United States of America is about to have another happy birthday, still going strong at 200, and in the words of the great Al Jolson -- You ain't seen nothin' yet!

* # # #

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania)

THE WHITE HOUSE

PEMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT AT VALLEY FORGE STATE PARK

9:12 A.M. EDT

Governor Shapp, Senator Scott, Senator Schweiker, Governor Ray, Congressman Schulze, Lieutenant Governor Klein, Secretary Kleppe, Administrator Warner, Reverend Clergy, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

Governor Shapp, I am deeply grateful for your very kind and generous remarks. The sun always shines in Pennsylvania. (Laughter)

They came here in the snows of winter over a trail marked with the blood of the rag-bound feet. The iron forge that gave this place its name had been destroyed by the British when General Washington and his ragged Continental Army encamped here -- exhausted, outnumbered and short of everything except faith.

We gather here today, the 200th anniversary of our independence, to commemorate their sacrifices even before we celebrate the glorious Declaration. Americans will remember the name of Valley Forge as long as the spirit of sacrifice lives within their hearts.

Here the vein of iron in our national character was forged. In the 18th century the Colonial American was far more free and far more prosperous than his European cousins. Englishmen regarded us with some envy as appropriate subjects to share their grinding tax burden.

After Concord Bridge and Breed's Hill, the British Generals were impressed with our marksmanship and fighting spirit, but they still dismissed Washington's militiamen as a rabble of arms.

Many years later, when he was 91, a veteran of Concord was interviewed and asked why he took up his rifle against his King. Did he feel intolerably oppressed? "No, never paid a penny for one of them stamps, never drank any tea, never heard of Locke. Only read the Bible and the Almanac."

Well, then, what did all the fighting mean? "Young man," the aging Revolutionary said very firmly, "What we meant in going for those Redcoats was this -- we had always governed ourselves, and we always meant to. They didn't mean that we should."

Without Jefferson's eloquence, those are the words of the American people's Declaration of Independence. That was the straight talk that brought some 11,000 ordinary Americans -- farmers, workers, tradesmen and shop-keepers -- into this valley of sacrifice in the bitter winter of 1777. Uncounted hundreds were never to leave.

They did not die amid the banners and the tear-ful sound of battle. They weakened slowly and quietly succumbed to cold, sickness and starvation. Yet, their courage and suffering—those who survived as well those who fell—were no less meaningful than the sacrifices of those who manned the battlements of Boston and scaled the parapets of Yorktown.

In the battle against despair, Washington and his men kept freedom's lonely vigil. The leadership and the led drew strength and hope from one another. Around the winter campfires that dotted those fields, the flame of liberty was somehow kept burning.

Something happened at Valley Forge. That ragged, starving Army here emerged in a way that can be sensed but never fully described. They suffered, they trained, they toughened, they buried their dead and they stayed. They stuck it out.

When spring melted the snows and green returned to this beautiful countryside, a proud and disciplined fighting force marched out of this valley to victory and to the pages of history, unaware of the greatness they had done and oblivious of our gratitude.

As Abraham Lincoln noted long afterwards at another sacred site in Pennsylvania, nothing we can say here today can further consecrate or hallow this ground. But, we can rededicate ourselves to the spirit of sacrifice shown at Valley Forge, Gettysburg, the Argonne Forest, Anzio Beach and Iwo Jima.

Not all sacrifices are made in war. There are always sacrifices of peace. The sturdy wagon trains that have returned here, the wonderful people who drove them and those along the way who rededicate themselves to the great principles of the Declaration of Independence, offer heartwarming proof that our American adventure has just begun.

Our Bicentennial is the happy birthday of all 50 States, the commonwealth and self-governing territories. It is not just a celebration for the original 13 colonies. Americans are one people, and we can still hear them saying 'We have always governed ourselves, and we always mean to."

The earliest English settlers carried the Bible and Blackstone's Commentary across the Atlantic among their few cherished possessions and established their own self-government on a strange and hostile coast. American families in prairie schooners like these took with them on the overland trails the principles of equality and their God-given rights of the Declaration of Independence.

Their restless search for a better life was begun in the spirit of adventure, but it was the spirit of sacrifice that sustained them. They suffered cruel winters, savage attacks, blazing deserts and bloody feet.

Many were buried beside the trail, but many stuck it out, dug in and built permanent settlements where women stood the same sentry duty as the men.

In the West, the Declaration's promise of legal and political equality for women was first broadened. The American pioneers knew that in their wilderness homes they could not be colonials ruled by a distant Government. They had assurance that in due course they could govern themselves as full citizens of equal States.

Their children and future generations would have all the rights of Washington, Jackson and Lincoln. So do we, and more so.

As we continue our American adventure, the patriots of Valley Forge and the pioneers of the American frontier -- indeed, all our heroes and heroines of war and peace -- send us this single, urgent message -- though prosperity is a good thing, though compassionate charity is a good thing, though institutional reform is a good thing, a nation survives only so long as the spirit of sacrifice and self-discipline is strong within its people.

Independence has to be defended as well as declared. Freedom is always worth fighting for, and liberty ultimately belongs to those willing to suffer for it.

If we remember this, we can bring health where there is disease, peace where there is strife, progress where there is poverty and want, and when our Tricentennial celebration rolls around 100 years from now, grateful Americans will come to this shrine of quiet valor, this forge of our Republic iron core.

Thank you very much.

THE WHITE HOUSE Washington

The Bicentennial Speeches of Gerald R. Ford

TEXT OF REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT TO BE DELIVERED AT INDEPENDENCE HALL

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

July 4, 1976

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

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

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

From this small but beautiful building, then the most imposing structure in the colonies, came the two great documents that continue to supply the moral and the intellectual power for the American adventure in self-government.

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

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

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

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

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

With General Washington already commanding the American Army in the field, the second Continental Congress met here in 1776, not to demand new liberties but to regain longestablished rights which were being taken away from them without their consent.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We owe a great debt to these founders, and to the foot-soldiers who followed General Washington into battle after battle, retreat after retreat. But it is important to remember that final success in that struggle for independence, as in the many struggles that have followed, was due to the strength and support of ordinary men and women who were motivated by three powerful impulses -- personal freedom, self-government and national unity.

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

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

Six signers of the Declaration came back to forge the Constitution, including the sage of Philadelphia, Benjamin Franklin. Jefferson had replaced him as Ambassador in Paris. The young genius of the Constitutional Convention was another Virginian, James Madison. The hero of the Revolution, Washington, was called back from Mount Vernon to preside.

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

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

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

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

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

Later, after a tragic fraternal war, those guarantees were expanded to include all Americans. Later still, voting rights were assured for women and for younger citizens 13 to 21 years of age. It is good to know that in our own lifetimes, we have taken part in the growth of freedom and the expansion of equality which began here so long ago.

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

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

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

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

The American adventure is a continuing process.

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

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

- -- We must increase the independence of the individual, and the opportunity of all Americans to attain their full potential.
 - We must ensure each citizen's right to privacy.
- --- We must create a more beautiful America, making human works conform to the harmony of nature.
- -- We must develop a safer society, so ordered that happiness may be pursued without fear of crime or man-made hazards.
- -- We must build a more stable international order, politically, economically and legally.
- -- We must match the great breakthroughs of the past century in improving health and conquering disease.
- --- We must continue to unlock the secrets of the universe beyond our planet as well as within ourselves.
- --- We must work to enrich the quality of American life at work, at play and in our homes.

It is right that Americans are always improving - it is not only right, it is necessary. From need comes action, as it did here in Independence Hall.

Those fierce political rivals, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, in their later years carried on a warm correspondence. Both died on the Fourth of July of 1826 having lived to see the handiwork of their finest hour endure a full 50 years. They had seen the Declaration's clear call for human liberty and equality arouse the hopes of all mankind, and Jefferson wrote to Adams that "even should the cloud of barbarism and despotism again obscure the science and libraries of Europe, this country remains to preserve and restore light and liberty to them."

Over a century later, in 1936, Jefferson's dire prophesy seemed about to come true. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, speaking for a mighty nation reinforced by millions of immigrants who had joined the American adventure, was able to warn the new despotisms:

"We too, born to freedom, and believing in freedom, are willing to fight to maintain freedom. We, and all others who believe as deeply as we do, would rather die on our feet than live on our knees."

The world knows where we stand. The world is ever conscious of what Americans are doing, for better or for worse, because the United States remains today the most successful realization of humanity's universal hope.

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

The American adventure began here with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence. It continues in a common conviction that the source of our blessings is a loving God, in whom we trust.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE Washington

The Bicentennial Speeches of Gerald R. Ford

TEXT OF REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT TO BE DELIVERED AT MONTICELLO

CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA

July 5, 1976

I am proud to welcome you as fellow citizens of the United States of America.

I invite you to join fully in the American adventure and to share our common goal and our common glory.

Our common goal is freedom — the liberty of each individual to enjoy the equal rights and to pursue the happiness which, in this life, God gives and self government secures.

Our common glory is the great heritage from the past which enriches our present and ensures our future.

In 1884 France, as a birthday gift, presented the United States with the Statue of Liberty in New York harbor. This year scores of friendly nations have sent us Bicentennial gifts which we deeply appreciate and will long cherish.

But you have given us a birthday present beyond price yourselves, your faith, your loyalty and your love. We thank you with full and friendly hearts.

After two centuries there is still something wonderful about being an American. If we cannot quite express it, we know what it is -- you know what it is or you would not be here.

Why not just call it 'patriotism?'

Thomas Jefferson was a Virginia planter, a politician, a philosopher, a practical problem-solver, a Palladian architect and a poet in prose. With such genius he became a Burgess, a Delegate, a Governor, an Ambassador, a Secretary of State, a Vice President and a President of the United States.

But he was, first of all, a patriot.

The American patriots of 1776 who pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor to declare and defend our Independence did more than dissolve their ties with another country to protest abuse of their liberties.

Jefferson and his colleagues very deliberately and daringly set out to construct a new kind of nation.

Men may be trusted, he said, to govern themselves without a master.

This was the most revolutionary idea in the world at that time. It remains the most revolutionary idea in the world today.

Washington, Franklin, Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton, Madison and all patriots who laid the foundation for freedom in our Declaration and our Constitution carefully studied both contemporary and classical models of government to adapt them to the American climate and circumstances. Just as Jefferson did in designing Monticello, they wanted to build in this beautiful land a home for equal freedom and opportunity, a haven of safety and happiness —— not for themselves alone but for all who would come to us through the centuries.

How well they built is told by millions upon millions who came, and are still coming:

Our first national census in 1790 recorded a population just under 4 million. Three-fourths of them traced their ancestry to the British Isles, though most had considered themselves Americans for several generations. There was already talk that further immigration should be selective and restricted, but this was swept aside by the greatest mass movement of people in all human history.

Immigrants came from almost everywhere, singly and in waves. Throughout our first century they brought the restless drive for better lives and the rugged strength that cleared the wilderness, plowed the prairie, and tamed the western plains, pushing on into the Pacific and Alaska.

Like the Mayflower Pilgrims and the early Spanish settlers, these new Americans brought with them precious relics of the worlds they left behind: a song, a story, a dance — a tool, a recipe, a seed — the name of a place, the rules of a game, a trick of the trade.

Such transfusions of traditions and cultures as well as of blood have made America unique among nations and Americans a new kind of people. There is little the world has that is not native to the United States today.

Unfettered by ancient hates, the people of the young United States really believed that "all men are created equal". We admit they had stubborn blind spots in their lofty vision —for blacks, whose forebears had been Americans almost as long as theirs — and for women, whose political rights we took even longer to recognize.

This is not the day, however, to deplore our shortcomings, or to regret that not all new citizens have been welcomed the way you are today. The essential fact is that the United States — as a national policy, and in the hearts of most Americans — has been willing to absorb anyone, from anywhere. We were confident that, simply by sharing our American adventure, these newcomers would become loyal, lawabiding productive citizens. And they did.

Older nations in the 18th and 19th centuries granted their nationality to the foreign-born only as a special privilege, if at all. We offered citizenship to all, and we have been richly rewarded.

The United States was able to do this because we are uniquely a community of values, as distinct from a religious community, a racial community, a geographic community or an ethnic community. This nation was founded, 200 years ago, not on ancient legends or conquests, or physical likeness or language, but on certain political values which Jefferson's pen so eloquently expressed.

To be an American is to subscribe to those principles which the Declaration of Independence proclaims and the Constitution protects: the political values of self-government, liberty and justice, equal rights and equal opportunity.

more

These beliefs are the secret of America's unity from diversity -- in my judgment, the most magnificent achievement of our 200 years as a nation.

"Black is beautiful" was a motto of genius which uplifted us far above its first intention. Once Americans had thought about it and perceived its truth, we began to realize that so are brown, white, red and yellow beautiful.

When I was young, a Sunday School teacher told us that the beauty of Joseph's coat was its many colors.

I believe Americans are beautiful -- individually, in communities, and freely joined together by dedication to the United States of America.

I see a growing danger to this country in conformity of thought and taste and behaviour. We need more encouragement and protection for individuality. The wealth we have of cultural, ethnic, religious and racial traditions are valuable counterbalances to the overpowering sameness and subordination of totalitarian societies.

The sense of belonging to any group that stands for something decent and noble, so long as it does not confine free spirits or cultivate hostility to others, is part of the pride every American should have in the heritage of his past.

That heritage is rooted now not in England alone, indebted as we are for Magna Carta and the common law; not in Europe alone or in Africa alone or in Asia or the islands of the sea. The American adventure draws from the best of all mankind's long sojourn here on Earth and now reaches out into the solar system.

You came as strangers among us and you leave here citizens, equal in fundamental rights, equal before the law, with an equal share in the promise of the future.

Jefferson did not define what the pursuit of happiness means for you or for me. Our Constitution does not guarantee that any of us will find it. But we are free to try.

Foreigners like Lafayette and Von Steuben and Pulaski came to fight in our Revolution because they believed its principles were universal. Immigrants like Andrew Carnegie came as a poor boy and created a great steel industry, then gave his fortune back to America for libraries, universities and museums. Maria Francesca Cabrini came as a missionary Sister to serve the sick and the poor. Samuel Gompers worked in a sweatshop and spent his lunchtime helping other immigrant workers learn to read so they could become citizens. We have gained far more than we have given to the millions who made America their second homeland.

Remember that none of us are more than caretakers of this great country. Remember that the more freedom you give to others, the more you will have for yourself. Remember that without law, there can be no liberty.

And remember, as well, the rich treasures you brought with you from whence you came, and let us share your pride in them.

This is the way we keep our Independence as exciting as the day it was declared, and the United States of America even more beautiful than Joseph's coat.

#####

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania)

THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT AT INDEPENDENCE HALL

11:18 A.M. EDT

Charlton Heston, Mayor Rizzo, Governor Shapp, Reverend Clergy, distinguished Members of Congress, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

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

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

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

From this small but beautiful building, then the most imposing structure in the Colonies, came the two great documents that continue to supply the moral and intellectual power for the American adventure in selfgovernment.

Before me is the great bronze bell that joyously rang out the news of the birth of our Nation from the steeple of the State House. It was never intended to be a church bell. Yet, a generation before the great events of 1776, the elected assembly of Pennsylvania ordered it to be inscribed with this Biblical verse:

"Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."

MORE

The American settlers had many, many hardships, but they had more liberty than any other people on earth. That was what they came for and what they meant to keep. The verse from Leviticus on the Liberty Bell refers to the ancient Jewish year of Jubilee.

In every 50th year, the Jubilee restored the land and the equality of persons that prevailed when the children of Israel entered the land of promise and both gifts came from God, as the Jubilee regularly reminded them.

Our Founding Fathers knew their Bibles as well as their Blackstone. They boldly reversed the age-old political theory that King's derive their powers from God and asserted that both powers and unalienable rights belong to the people as direct endowments from their creator. Furthermore, they declared that Governments are instituted among men to secure their rights and to serve their purposes, and Governments continue only so long as they have the consent of the governed.

With George Washington. already commanding the American Continental Army in the field, the Second Continental Congress met here in 1776, not to demand new liberty, but to regain long-established rights which were being taken away from them without their consent.

The American Revolution was unique and remains unique in that it was fought in the name of the law as well as liberty. At the start, the Declaration of Independence proclaimed the divine source of individual rights and the purpose of human Government as Americans understood it.

That purpose is to secure the rights of the individuals against even Government itself. But, the Declaration did not tell us how to accomplish this purpose or what kind of Government to set up.

First, our independence had to be won. It was not won easily won, as the nearby encampment of Valley Forge, the rude bridge at Concord and the crumbling battlements at Yorktown bear vivid interest (interest).

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

Do you know what price the signers of that parchment paid for their patriotism, the devition to principle of which Lincoln spoke? John Hancock of Massachusetts was one of the wealthiest men who came to Philadelphia. Later, as he stood outside Boston and watched the enemy sweep by, he said, "Burn Boston, though it makes John Hancock a beggar."

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

Those men knew what they were doing. In the final stirring words of the Declaration, they pledged to one another "our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor." And when liberty was at stake, they were willing to pay the price.

We owe a great debt to these founders and to the foot soldiers who followed General Washington into battle after battle, retreat after retreat. But, it is important to remember that final success in that struggle for independence, as in the many struggles that have followed, was due to the strength and support of ordinary men and women who were motivated by three powerful impulses -- personal freedom, self-government and national unity.

For all but the black slaves--many of whom fought bravely beside their masters because they also heard the promise of the Declaration,-freedom was won in 1783, but the loose Articles of Confederation have proved adequate in war and were even less effective in peace.

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

Six signers of the Declaration came back to forge the Constitution, including the sage of Philadelphia, Benjamin Franklin. Jefferson had replaced him as Ambassador in Paris. The young genius of the constitutional convention was another Virginian, James Madison. The hero of the Revolution, Washington, was called back from Mount Vernon to preside.

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

The Constitution was created to make the promise of the Declaration come true. The Declaration was not a protest against Government but against the excesses of Government. It prescribed the proper role of Government to secure the rights of individuals and to effect their safety and their happiness.

No modern society, no individual can do this all alone, so Government is not necessarily evil but a necessary good.

The framers of the Constitution feared a central Government that was too strong, as many Americans rightly do today. The framers of the Constitution, after their experience under the Articles, feared a central Government that was too weak, as many Americans rightly do today.

They spent days studying all of the contemporary Governments of Europe and concluded with Dr. Franklin that all contained the seeds of their own destruction. So, the framers built something new, drawing upon their English traditions, on the Roman Republic, on the uniquely American institution of the town meeting to reassure those who felt the original Constitution did not sufficiently spell out the unalienable rights of the Declaration.

The First United States Congress added -- and the States ratified -- the first ten Amendments, which we call the Bill of Rights.

Later, after a tragic fraternal war, those guarantees were expanded to include all Americans. Later still voting rights were assured for women and for younger citizens 18 to 21 years of age.

It is good to know that in our own lifetime we have taken part in the growth of freedom and in the expansion of equality which began here so long ago. This union of corrected wrongs and expanded rights has brought the blessings of liberty to the 215 million Americans, but the struggle for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness is never truly won.

Each generation of Americans, indeed of all humanity, must strive to achieve these aspirations anew. Liberty is a living flame to be fed, not dead ashes to be revered, even in a Bicentennial year. It is fitting that we ask ourselves hard questions even on a glorious day like today.

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

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

The American adventure is a continuing process. As one milestone is passed, another is sighted. As we achieve one goal, a longer lifespan, a literate population, a leader-ship in world affairs, we raise our sights.

As we begin our third century, there is still so much to be done. We must increase the independence of the individual and the opportunity of all Americans to attain their full potential. We must insure each citizen's right to privacy. We must create a more beautiful America, making human works conform to the harmony of nature.

We must develop a safe society, so ordered that happiness may be pursued without fear of crime or man-made hazards. We must build a more stable international order, politically, economically and legally. We must match the great breakthroughs of the past century by improving health and conquering disease.

We must continue to unlock the secrets of the universe beyond our planet as well as within ourselves. We must work to enrich the quality of American life at work, at play and in our homes.

It is right that Americans are always improving. It is not only right, it is necessary. From need comes action, as it did here in Independence Hall. Those fierce political rivals -- John Adams and Thomas Jefferson -- in their later years carried out a warm correspondence. Both died on the Fourth of July of 1826, having lived to see the handiwork of their finest hour endure a full 50 years.

They had seen the Declaration's clear call for human liberty and equality arouse the hopes of all mankind. Jefferson wrote to Adams that "even should the clouds of barbarism and despotism again obscure the science and libraries of Europe, this country remains to preserve and restore life and liberty to them."

Over a century later, in 1936, Jefferson's dire prophesy seemed about to come true. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, speaking for a mighty nation, reinforced by millions and millions of immigrants who had joined the American adventure, was able to warn the new despotisms:

"We too, born to freedom, and believing in freedom, are willing to fight to maintain freedom. We, and all others who believe as deeply as we do, would rather die on our feet than live on our knees." The world knows where we stand. The world is ever conscious of what Americans are doing for better or for worse because the United States today remains the most successful realization of humanity's universal hope.

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

The American adventure began here with a firm reliance on the protection of divine providence. It continues in a common conviction that the source of our blessings is a loving God, in whom we trust. Therefore, I ask all the members of the American family, our guests and friends, to join me now in a moment of silent prayer and meditation in gratitude for all that we have received and to ask continued safety and happiness for each of us and for the United States of America.

Thank you and God bless you.

END (AT 11:37 A.M. EDT)

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY (New York, New York) THE WHITE HOUSE

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
ABOARD THE
USS FOORESTALL

2:06 P.M. EDT

The second second

Secretary Middendorf, Ambassador Mosbacher, Admiral Kidd, Captain Barth, John Warner, Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen:

At the outset, let me express my gratitude and appreciation on behalf of all of the American people for everybody who had any part in making Operation Sail a success. I congratulate each and every one of you for a superb job.

It is a great pleasure for me to join my fellow Americans and the citizens of the world in this celebration of America's 200th birthday. No tribute could be more spectacular than the grand international armada, which filled this great harbor today.

The magnificent array of tall ships and naval vessels, the proud emissaries of 30 other nations, form an escort of special grace and beauty as the United States of America enters its third century of independence.

As we view this dramatic scene, we are reminded that America is a proud family of many peoples from many lands. We are reminded as well how the sea and ships have played a vital role in the life of our country. Our discoverers and explorers were sea voyagers from many nations. Our earliest colonists, seeking a new life in a new land, first had to test their strength and spirit against the Atlantic.

The U.S. Navy and the navies of our allies played a leading part in winning and defending the freedom we celebrate today. That tradition of strength and courage spans two centuries, from the time of John Paul Jones to the battles of Midway and Layte Gulf.

Since we became a nation the sea has also been a passageway for millions and millions of people from all over the world who have come to America to share its bounty and its opportunity and to enrich our future in return.

Page 2

MARTHEOMA, STORES AND PROPERTY OF SHEET AND MICH STORES In this harbor stands the Statue of Liberty, -herself an immigrant from France, lifting her torch to those who come to join the American adventure.

As we close the log of our second century, we begin an uncharted voyage toward the future. What may lie along that course and where it may finally take us, we cannot know.

But, we do know this: Americans have always moved ahead with confidence, as we do now, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine providence and guided by the fixed star of freedom.

So, let us journey together into the seas of tomorrow. For America, the future is a friend.

သည်။ မြေရွာရေးများသည်။ သည်။ လောက်သည် သည်သည်။ သည်သည်။ အောင်းသည် မြောင်းသည်။ မြေရွာင်းသည်။ ကန်းနှိုင်သည်။ ရှိသည် သင့် ကြောင်းသည် ရှိသည်။ သည်သည်။ သည်သည်။ မြေရွာင်းသည် သည် မြောင်းသည်။ နေလည်း သည်သည် သည်များသည်။ မေရွာင်သည် သည်များသည် မြေရွာင်းသည်။ မေရွာင်းသည် သည်များသည်။ အောင်းသည် အောင်းသည် မြောင်းသည် မေရွာင်းသည်။ သည်များသည်။ မေရွာင်းသည် မြေရွာင်းသည်။ မေရွာင်းသည်။ မေရွာင်းသည် သည်များသည်။ မေရွာင်းသည်။ မေရွာင်းသ

If the office the Parish of the Control of the C

Thank you very kindly. 1 1700

BOOK OF THE

.

END (AT 2:09 P.M. EDT)

- Bungari Carl

ខេត្ត ក្រុម ប្រទេស ខេត្ត ប្រើប្រទេស ប្រើការប្រទេស ប្រទេស គឺ ប្រទេស ខេត្ត ប្រែក្រុម ប្រទេស ខេត្ត ប្រែក្រុម ប្រ ប្រទេស ប្រទេស ប្រទេស ប្រទេស ប្រទេស ប្រទេស ខេត្ត ប្រទេស ខេត្ត ប្រទេស ប្រទេស ប្រទេស ខេត្ត ប្រទេស ខេត្ត ប្រទេស ប្រទេស ប្រទេស ប្រទេស ខេត្ត ខេត្ត ប្រទេស ខេត្ត ប្រទេស ប្រទេស ប្រទេស ប្រទេស ប្រទេស ប្រទេស ប្រទេស ប្រទេស ប្រ

OFFICE OF THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY (Valley Forge, Pennsylvania)

THE WHITE HOUSE

PEMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT AT VALLEY FORGE STATE PARK

9:12 A.M. EDT

Governor Shapp, Senator Scott, Senator Schweiker, Governor Ray, Congressman Schulze, Lieutenant Governor Klein, Secretary Kleppe, Administrator Warner, Reverend Clergy, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

Governor Shapp, I am deeply grateful for your very kind and generous remarks. The sun always shines in Pennsylvania. (Laughter)

They came here in the snows of winter over a trail marked with the blood of the rag-bound feet. The iron forge that gave this place its name had been destroyed by the British when General Washington and his ragged Continental Army encamped here -- exhausted, outnumbered and short of everything except faith.

We gather here today, the 200th anniversary of our independence, to commemorate their sacrifices even before we celebrate the glorious Declaration. Americans will remember the name of Valley Forge as long as the spirit of sacrifice lives within their hearts.

Here the vein of iron in our national character was forged. In the 18th century the Colonial American was far more free and far more prosperous than his European cousins. Englishmen regarded us with some envy as appropriate subjects to share their grinding tax burden.

After Concord Bridge and Breed's Hill, the British Generals were impressed with our marksmanship and fighting spirit, but they still dismissed Washington's militiamen as a rabble of arms.

Many years later, when he was 91, a veteran of Concord was interviewed and asked why he took up his rifle against his King. Did he feel intolerably oppressed? "No, never paid a penny for one of them stamps, never drank any tea, never heard of Locke. Only read the Bible and the Almanac."

Well, then, what did all the fighting mean? "Young man," the aging Revolutionary said very firmly, "What we meant in going for those Redcoats was this -- we had always governed ourselves, and we always meant to. They didn't mean that we should."

Without Jefferson's eloquence, those are the words of the American people's Declaration of Independence. That was the straight talk that brought some 11,000 ordinary Americans -- farmers, workers, tradesmen and shop-keepers -- into this valley of sacrifice in the bitter winter of 1777. Uncounted hundreds were never to leave.

They did not die amid the banners cand the tear-ful sound of battle. They weakened slowly and quietly succumbed to cold, sickness and starvation. Yet, their courage and suffering—those who survived as well those who fell—were no less meaningful than the sacrifices of those who manned the battlements of Boston and scaled the parapets of Yorktown.

In the battle against despair, Washington and his men kept freedom's lonely vigil. The leadership and the led drew strength and hope from one another. Around the winter campfires that dotted those fields, the flame of liberty was somehow kept burning.

Something happened at Valley Forge. That ragged, starving Army here emerged in a way that can be sensed but never fully described. They suffered, they trained, they toughened, they buried their dead and they stayed. They stuck it out.

When spring melted the snows and green returned to this beautiful countryside, a proud and disciplined fighting force marched out of this valley to victory and to the pages of history, unaware of the greatness they had done and oblivious of our gratitude.

As Abraham Lincoln noted long afterwards at another sacred site in Pennsylvania, nothing we can say here today can further consecrate or hallow this ground. But, we can rededicate ourselves to the spirit of sacrifice shown at Valley Forge, Gettysburg, the Argonne Forest, Anzio Beach and Iwo Jima.

Not all sacrifices are made in war. There are always sacrifices of peace. The sturdy wagon trains that have returned here, the wonderful people who drove them and those along the way who rededicate themselves to the great principles of the Declaration of Independence, offer heartwarming proof that our American adventure has just begun.

Our Bicentennial is the happy birthday of all 50 States, the commonwealth and self-governing territories. It is not just a celebration for the original 13 colonies. Americans are one people, and we can still hear them saying 'We have always governed ourselves, and we always mean to."

The earliest English settlers carried the Bible and Blackstone's Commentary across the Atlantic among their few cherished possessions and established their own self-government on a strange and hostile coast. American families in prairie schooners like these took with them on the overland trails the principles of equality and their God-given rights of the Declaration of Independence.

Their restless search for a better life was begun in the spirit of adventure, but it was the spirit of sacrifice that sustained them. They suffered cruel winters, savage attacks, blazing deserts and bloody feet.

Many were buried beside the trail, but many stuck it out, dug in and built permanent settlements where women stood the same sentry duty as the men.

In the West, the Declaration's promise of legal and political equality for women was first broadened. The American pioneers knew that in their wilderness homes they could not be colonials ruled by a distant Government. They had assurance that in due course they could govern themselves as full citizens of equal States.

Their children and future generations would have all the rights of Washington, Jackson and Lincoln. So do we, and more so.

As we continue our American adventure, the patriots of Valley Forge and the pioneers of the American frontier -- indeed, all our heroes and heroines of war and peace -- send us this single, urgent message -- though prosperity is a good thing, though compassionate charity is a good thing, though institutional reform is a good thing, a nation survives only so long as the spirit of sacrifice and self-discipline is strong within its people.

Independence has to be defended as well as declared. Freedom is always worth fighting for, and liberty ultimately belongs to those willing to suffer for it.

If we remember this, we can bring health where there is disease, peace where there is strife, progress where there is poverty and want, and when our Tricentennial celebration rolls around 100 years from now, grateful Americans will come to this shrine of quiet valor, this forge of our Republic iron core.

Thank you very much.

Office of the White House Press Secretary (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania)

THE WHITE HOUSE

TEXT OF A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT TO YITZHAK RABIN, PRIME MINISTER OF ISRAEL

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

The American people join me in expressing our great satisfaction that the passengers of the Air France flight seized earlier this week have been saved and a senseless act of terrorism thwarted.

Sincerely,

CERALD R. FORD

#



"This book isn't just for yachtsmen or tall ship buffs, though it has a particular appeal for such readers. It's for every crewmember of every boat that was there, for every skipper who couldn't be there, for everyone who felt, even for a moment, the tremendous force of the greatest nautical festival in history."

A color portrait of every Tall Ship; photos of the Naval Review, the crowds, the festivities and the fireworks. Over 50 color photographs, plus diagrams, maps and illustrations.

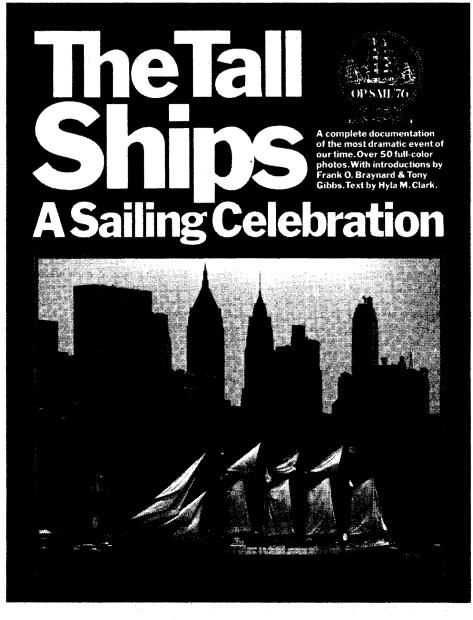
Written by Hyla M. Clark, with an introduction by Frank O. Braynard, General Manager of Operation Sail 1976.

A main selection of the Dolphin Book Club of the Book-ofthe-Month Club.

A TWO CONTINENTS / TREE COMMUNICATIONS / ALEXIS GREGORY BOOK. PUBLISHED IN ASSOCIATION WITH OPERATION SAIL 1976.

Available: November, 1976 Hardcover: \$12.95, softcover: \$7.95

Order from: Two Continents Publishing Group 5 South Union Street Lawrence, Massachusetts 01843 Phone order: (617) 682-6666



stylist; but this is advanced criticism, for readers well acquainted with the subject authors. Index, etc. [October]

RACIAL EQUALITY IN AMERICA.

John Hope Franklin. University of Chicago Press. \$7.95 ISBN 0-226-26073-9 Seldom has a tragic historical fact been so clearly and forcefully set forth as John Hope Franklin has done in these three 1976 Jefferson Lectures sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities. In describing the contrasting attitudes of the Founding Fathers toward George III's "tyranny" and on the other hand the institution of Negro slavery which even Jefferson acquiesced in once his anti-slavery paragraph was struck out of the Declaration of Independence. Hope pinpoints the origins of the "dream deferred" that has been, for blacks, a centuries-long nightmare and for other Americans an indescribably costly moral failure. Hope's documentation touches every turn of our history in every area of our national life, mounting indisputable evidence that equality is indivisible and that continuing racial inequality destroys our humanity and our democracy. In its impassioned clarity, proportion and coherence this is a classic work. [October]

CHIEF COUNSEL:

Inside the Ervin Committee—The Untold Story of Watergate. Samuel Dash. Random House, \$10 ISBN 0-394-40853-5

This intimate memoir by the chief counsel of the Senate Watergate Committee recreates the behind-the-scenes drama never caught by the TV cameras. Dash was in an excellent position to obtain valuable information while remaining professionally detached, and his lowkeved personal account is studded with startling revelations. He writes of a secret White House meeting between Nixon and Senator Howard Baker and of Baker's alleged attempts to stymie the investigation. Dash also tells of his own head-on collision with special prosecutor Archibald Cox, his private interrogation of John Dean, Alexander Butterfield and other witnesses, and of the backbiting and political maneuvering which nearly frustrated the committee's efforts. This is one of the most objective Watergate memoirs vet to appear, told from the inside with insight and compassion. Appendix.

[November 1]

GRANNY BRAND.

Dorothy Clarke Wilson. Christian Herald House, \$6.95 ISBN 0-915684-11-X This affectionate if somewhat verbose biography of a courageous woman who for most of her life was a missionary in India and became a beloved legend is by the author of "Ten Fingers For God," about Dr. Paul Brand, Granny

branu's son and a ramed proneer in the care of leprosy. In 1913 Evelyn Harris, a sheltered Victorian woman, married Jesse Brand, missionary to the poor of the Kolli Hills of India. For the next 60 years, though diminished by the loss of her husband and separation from her children for much of the time, she devoted herself to sharing the lives of those to whom she ministered, teaching, caring and fighting on behalf of outcasts in the disease-ridden hills. Granny Brand, who died at 95, remains an inspiration to many today, and Dorothy Wilson's following will find her story warm and rewarding. [November 1]

THE BOOK OF SHARKS.

Richard Ellis. Grosset & Dunlap, \$25 ISBN 0-448-12457-2

Ellis has fished for sharks, read most of the shark books available, and even fallen into a tankful while studying them. Better yet, he's one of this country's premier wildlife artists, doing covers for Scientific American, Audubon et al. If this book about sharks with its 20 original shark paintings (in color) by Ellis, its 86 drawings and 120 photos accompanying his substantial, scientifically informed and sometimes gruesomely exciting text doesn't rip a big bite out of the gift book season, it won't be his fault. Ellis has done a thorough job, setting his bait with some lucid, well-organized science—the evolution and biology of sharks; detailed descriptions of various kinds of sharks from the largest (whale shark) to the tiny sixinch squaloid—and then hooking his readers with sea-going shark adventures. Some are his own (mako-fishing with Peter Benchley); others are by "shark people," more than 25 of them including scientists as well as all-time master fishermen, writers and underwater pioneers (like Peter Gimbel). Ellis provides minibiogs of each before quoting generously from their published or oral shark tales. First printing 30,000. BOMC dividend book; alternate selections of Playboy Book Club, Natural Science Book Club, Outdoor Life Book Club. [November 1]

PATIENCE WRIGHT:

American Artist and Spy in George III's London. Charles Coleman Sellers. Wesleyan University Press, \$14.95 ISBN 0-8195-5001-9

Sellers, 1970 Bancroft Prize winner in history, at one stroke throws light on an unusual and almost totally neglected American woman and fills in some of the sociological interstices of the American Revolution in this scholarly, graceful and vivid biography. Patience Wright was a self-taught avant-garde artist who, while she presided over colorful waxwork salons on both sides of the Atlantic, was delighted by political intrigue. An extraordinary woman and a liberated wife and mother with a

touch of the madcap, she appointed herself advisor to Franklin in Paris and then hostess to the political elite of 1772 in her London salon, using both her esthetic and political talents on behalf of her dream of a peaceful revolution that would join England and the American colonies in republicanism. 35 illustrations. Index, etc. [November 4]

BLIND AMBITION:

The White House Years. John Dean. Simon and Schuster, \$7.95 ISBN 0-671-22438-7

John Dean's highly personalized story of Watergate and its attempted cover-up is downright dynamite. It was Dean, after all, who blew the whistle on the whole episode before the existence of the famous, now mangled tapes was made public. Step-by-step, inexorably, he takes us from the day in May, 1970 when he was first approached to join the White House staff until his release from prison, and in doing so makes graphically clear how a "calculating" (a word he uses about himself more than once) young man on the make in the Washington power scene could get himself trapped in such a mess. Dean, who goes in heavily for "conversations" in quotes involving all of the participants, says in an author's note that he relied on notes, memory, wherever possible checked facts with othersand of course, there were some tapes. He vouches for the "essential accuracy" of his story, while not claiming every conversation occurred exactly as quoted. What emerges is an intensely dramatic portrait of Nixon, Ehrlichman, Mitchell, Haldeman, Hunt, Liddy, et al., all depicted as guilty as hell, conniving, scheming, fighting and feuding. It's a snakepit of a scene—and it's very believable. The characterizations are devastating, the insider's gossip wicked and clever. BOMC full selection; 105,000 first printing, national author tour, big campaign. [November 8]

A HIGHLY RAMIFIED TREE.

Robert Canzoneri. Viking, \$8.95 ISBN 0-517-37205-6

In this moving and deeply felt book of reminiscences and self-discoveries, Canzoneri writes of his journey into his own ancestral past-the "highly ramified tree" of his title. His mother was a Standing Pine, Mississippi, woman, and his father came from Palazzo Adriano, Sicily. Knowing only his maternal heritage, Canzoneri took his father back to Sicily when the old man was 83; and as he describes it, he found in the warm, tumultuous embrace of that distant branch of his "tree" another dimension of himself. Canzoneri's people on both sides are colorful, and he brings both his southern American and Sicilian connections vividly alive. For some his passages of Italian dialect may prove difficult. [November 10]