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BLUE ROOM

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

"White House Conversations"

Sheldon Hackney

include journalists and
opinion leaders

televisé? radio

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Memorandum to: Melanne Verveer and Ann Stock

From: Rahm Emanuel

Re: Blue Room Lecture Series

Date: April 24, 1997

*Ellen
Jr's*

I thought you would find the attached interesting. Please let me know where we are on the Blue Room Lecture Series.

*Memos from Ann Stock
Blue Room Lecture
Series + list*



The President

FITCHBURG STATE COLLEGE

Fitchburg, Massachusetts 01420-2697
508/665-3112 Fax: 508/665-3699

April 15, 1997

Mr. Rahm Emanuel
Senior Advisor to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Emanuel:

In late January you asked if I would be interested in doing a session on the American presidency in Washington, D.C. I had called Sheldon Hackney offering to assist him, but I think his personal plans are unclear now. You also asked that I let you know when I would be in Washington so that I could visit you on the matter.

I will be gone to China in April for a week, but would be available in May. I would like to focus any session on a broader presentation of presidential greatness and how the criteria will change in our own period. I will probably discuss the older studies that emphasize war and depression leadership, and then focus on the changing criteria that are more appropriate for the United States as it enters the twenty-first century. Indeed, I think the older versions are so narrow and so distorted that they send the wrong message about the values that we as a people must embrace in the future.

A few years ago, I made somewhat of the same argument in an article on Winston Churchill and his influence on modern presidents. I know that you do not have a great deal of reading time, but I have enclosed a copy if you ever get a true occasion.

As you know, the President recently sent me a very nice note on my books and on my *USA Today* interview. I appreciate the role that you have played in all of that notice.

With personal regards,

Michael P. Riccards

Enclosure

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in National Security Policy



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Waging The Last War: Winston Churchill and the Presidential Imagination

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Abstract

This study examines the political influence of Winston S. Churchill on American presidents. Churchill's reputation changed markedly during the near half century he dominated the world stage. To Wilson and Hoover, he was a difficult and contentious person whose vanity prevented him from seeing others' point of view; to his contemporaries, such as FDR and Eisenhower, Churchill was a faithful and devoted ally; and to the younger presidents of the post-war period, he was a living legend whose determination was a guide for their conduct as well. Faced with the Cold War, impressed by Churchill's great historical stature, and lacking an appropriate role model in FDR, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon looked to Churchill and drew lessons, both appropriate and inappropriate, for their own times.

In 1963, the United States Congress presented to Sir Winston Spencer Churchill its rarest honor. For only the second time in American history up to then, a foreign national was granted the privilege of honorary U.S. citizenship. For Churchill this award was symbolic recognition of the incredible hold he had on the affections of his American cousins, and he generously called it "honor . . . without parallel." As President John F. Kennedy confirmed the distinction, he cited Churchill's great services to freedom-loving peoples, and praised how during World War II, "he mobilized the English language and sent it into battle."¹

Before Hitler

For the World War II generation, Churchill came to be revered as the lone barrier to the triumph of Nazism in the West, a monument of personal integrity who had suffered vilification and continued abuse in the 1930s, while the appeasers readily traded away the future and the treasures of the democracies. Churchill's importance became magnified after the war, as American presidents cited his example and his authoritative statements to buttress their own foreign policy objectives, especially against the Soviet Union. The popular lesson ascribed to Churchill was that the democracies had to stand up to aggressive totalitarian states, that the Soviets like the Nazis, profited from indecision and respected only demonstrations of power. No more Munichs became the slogan, and Winston Churchill the hero in what was to be the Manichean struggle of light and darkness that so preoccupied the great powers in the 1950s and 1960s.

For modern American presidents, though, Churchill was more than a revered historical figure they could appropriate for their own purposes. Instead, he became a touchstone for their historical ambitions, the yardstick against which they could measure themselves as they aspired to greatness and immortality. In this transformation from political ally to role model, Churchill's fame was late in coming, and made possible by a rare constellation of events. What finally secured his position in history was Churchill's remarkable ability to write the very chronicle of his times and, by his speeches, to define the contours of many of the events in which he participated. Much of the hold Churchill had over the imaginations of American presidents is due to his ability to dramatize the mundane, to interpret clearly the ambiguous, to raise up to almost mythic levels the crises, confrontations, cheap partisan intrigues, and terrible battles and campaigns of this scarred century.

Despite this final and highly favorable verdict on Churchill, he was not always so well regarded either by the British or by earlier American presidents. The first American president Churchill met was McKinley, and the first he dealt with was Woodrow Wilson, another Victorian statesman with a powerful sense of history and a gift for rhetoric and historical allusion. Before Wilson arrived in Paris for the peace conference, he had already known of Churchill by reputation. The American ambassador to Great Britain, Walter Hines Page, in his messages to the Secretary of State and the President, was clearly pleased when Balfour replaced Churchill at the Admiralty post in 1915, arguing that Balfour was "more reasonable, less dictatorial and less vain."² Churchill's support for the war and his speeches advocating American entry into that conflict were well known and discussed by the highest leaders in the United States.³

Apparently, there were two confrontations between Wilson and Churchill during that period. On arriving in London in late 1918, Wilson made an eloquent plan for the League of Nations—a theme he would continue to press. Annoyed by Churchill's earlier public statements that the United States owed everything to the British navy, and that the League was no substitute for its strength, Wilson cut the Englishman short on one occasion after his arrival. "Well, Mr. Churchill, and how is the Navy?" Churchill gave no reply and Wilson moved on. Their second meeting was of more consequence. At the end of his initial visit, on February 14, 1919, Wilson was cornered by a persistent Churchill who tried to convince the President to support a long term commitment to continue to employ Allied troops in Russia in order to protect the non-Bolshevik armies there. Wilson demurred, predicting, "Sooner or later we'll have to clear out."⁴ But Churchill insisted, and after Wilson's departure, he continued to advocate military intervention, a step that Wilson finally killed by a cable message sent when he was in the United States.⁵

During the war and late in the 1920s, Herbert Hoover had an equally negative relationship with Churchill. As a minister in the British cabinet, holding in succession the First Lord of the Admiralty, Minister of Munitions, and later Secretary of State for War and Minister of Air positions, Churchill became a central figure in the British military effort. He used his considerable power to oppose American efforts to rush aid to the starving Belgians during the war, arguing that such generosity

would relieve the Germans of the burden that came with conquest. Churchill judged Hoover to be a stubborn "son of a bitch," and the American engineer retained an equally intense dislike for Churchill throughout his long career.⁶ Later in the 1920s, Hoover again crossed swords with Churchill, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, who initiated the compulsory government restraint of British rubber production to drive up prices.⁷

In his postmortem history of the Great War and its aftermath, Churchill was both tactfully admiring and frankly critical of the American leadership. Of Wilson, he wrote that he "sought to play a part out of all proportion to any stake which his country had contributed or intended to contribute to European affairs. . . . The influence of mighty, detached and well-meaning America upon the European settlement was a precious agency of hope. It was largely squandered in sterile conflicts and half-interested and half-pursued interferences."⁸ Judging the American record after the war, he concluded, they "simply gaped at the vast changes which were taking place in Europe, and imagined they were no concern of theirs."⁹ And when in the 1920s, the Republican presidents and secretaries of state pushed for disarmament and parity, Churchill, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, joined forces with the British admirals, to stop the move. But in the end, the post-war leaders supported a mathematical proportioning of armaments, one that indeed granted Americans parity with the British navy.¹⁰

So, by the beginning of the 1930s, Churchill was not a revered figure in America, and certainly not a role model for American presidents. To many in this country and in his own, he appeared to be an extremist, preoccupied with anti-Bolshevism and prone to grandiose defenses of war and belligerent action. For them, Churchill had been wrong all too often before—in praising Mussolini for his revitalization of Italy; in citing Hitler in 1935 for his patriotic awakening of Germany; for his futile support of the King in the Mrs. Simpson affair; for his blind imperialism concerning India; and most critically, for his decisive role in the abortive Dardanelles campaign.¹¹

But by the end of the 1930s, Churchill was obviously right on one score—the consequences of appeasing Hitler. More than any other major figure in the West, Churchill became a symbol of resistance to appeasement and a sure guide to the true intentions of the Nazi regime. Faced with the Munich settlement, he attacked the British Government, prophesying that Chamberlain had had a choice between war and dishonor; and that by choosing dishonor, he would have war. And so, the war came, and on September 3, 1939, two days after Hitler invaded Poland, Churchill was called back into the Cabinet as First Lord of the Admiralty and by May 10, 1940, he succeeded to the Prime Minister's position. Through Hitler's intervention and by strange strokes of fortune, Churchill was rescued from virtual retirement and placed at the center of history.

Churchill as Colleague

In the crucible of war, Churchill's rhetoric once considered so flamboyant and self-consciously historical, now became immortal phrases. His style of leadership, criticized before as too personal and belligerent, was now proclaimed inspiring and

confident. The period from 1940 on marks a radical and final change in Churchill's reputation and in American perceptions of the man. He became the major voice of democratic resistance to the sweeping forces of Nazism that were moving with alarming rapidity across Europe. To many Americans he remained a heroic presence, even more popular to this day with some conservative Americans who retain deep reservations about Franklin D. Roosevelt. Churchill dealt with the next three presidents, FDR, Truman and Eisenhower, as colleagues and allies. Gone was the cockiness of the young minister who dealt with Wilson and Hoover. Subdued were the studied critiques of American leadership that would make their way into the history he was to write of the Second World War.

In leading Britain in 1940–41, when his nation stood alone, Churchill surely gave inspiration to the Allied cause with his rolling cadences and his war-time speeches. To his fellow countrymen, he paraphrased Garibaldi's words by promising the British, "blood, toil, tears and sweat." And he seemed to be gifted with the ability to celebrate retreats such as Dunkirk and the desperate defensive actions of the Royal Air Force. He cited the RAF by judging, "never have so few done so much for so many." After Dunkirk, he insisted, "we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender and if, which I do not for a moment believe, this Island or a large part of it were subjugated and starving, then our Empire beyond the seas, armed and guarded by the British Fleet, would carry on the struggle, until, in God's good time, the New World, with all its power and might, steps forth to the rescue and the liberation of the old." Harold Nicholson, the essayist and man of letters, was to judge these remarks the most magnificent words ever uttered in the English language. In that period before Pearl Harbor, Churchill was the single voice of the Western democracies, calling those disastrous days and string of defeats—their "finest hour." Listening to Churchill's speeches, Franklin D. Roosevelt, a gifted orator himself, asked his advisors one day to find out who Churchill's speech writers were—only to be told that the Prime Minister wrote his own orations himself.¹²

Churchill, of course, aimed much of his persuasive talents at the Americans, and especially at President Roosevelt with whom he carried on an extensive correspondence which began before Churchill became prime minister. The compiler of these messages, Warren Kimball has described four different phases in their relationship. The correspondence becomes more informal and personal over the years, but there is also a clear indication that with America's entry into the war and with massive U.S. aid to Britain and Russia, Roosevelt clearly eclipsed Churchill as the senior partner in the alliance.¹³

When he went to write his history of the Second World War, Churchill deliberately glossed over the disputes between the British and the American high commands. The period from June 1944 to the summer of 1945 was marked by differences of opinion concerning the reconstruction of the post-war world, and by FDR's attempts to woo Stalin, often at Churchill's expense. But in his war memoirs, Churchill underlined the strength of Allied cooperation, and in 1953, he wrote Eisenhower that he was anxious that nothing should be published which would impair the ties between the two nations. Thus many of the important strategic controversies, the strained feelings,

the clash of nationalistic ambitions are covered over by a rosy hue of Anglo-American concord. To Churchill, the history of the war was then a continuation of his own view expressed in *The History of the English Speaking Peoples*, published in the late 1930s, which foresaw a strong community of interest between Britain and the United States.¹⁴ And in one sense, Churchill, the son of an American mother and an English nobleman, epitomized that union.

Thus by the end of the war, Churchill had established himself as the major democratic public figure of the era and a war time orator of the classic stature of Demosthenes and Cato. With Roosevelt's death, Churchill tried to establish strong ties with Truman. But at first in 1945, Truman felt that he was having as much difficulty with Churchill as with Stalin, and at Potsdam he seemed somewhat nervous in the presence of both of these leaders. But by July 1945, Churchill's party was voted out of power, and he resigned the prime ministership. Truman, in general, respected Churchill, as did most Americans of the period, for his war-time services. Yet his *Memoirs* contain few personal judgments concerning Churchill. Churchill was a colleague, a difficult one at times, but still a loyal supporter of what Truman prized, and a common ally in the President's suspicions about Soviet intentions. That posture was clearly delineated when Churchill in Fulton, Missouri on March 5, 1946 went on to warn, "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent." For Truman, Churchill's description was an apt summary of what he felt was occurring in Europe. The Alliance was clearly over in the eyes of many American leaders. But for most Americans, especially a great many New Deal liberals, Churchill's speech was an extreme statement, one out of touch with Roosevelt's policies and at variance with the extensive war propaganda which celebrated the sacrifices and heroism of our Russian allies.¹⁵

But once again it seemed his adversaries were to prove him correct. As Stalin moved to create a series of Communist buffer states on his borders, he supported the judgment of many people in the West that the democracies had to stand together a second time to stop aggression. Consequently, Truman initiated a series of steps designed to rehabilitate Europe and encircle the Soviet Union with a series of military bases. No more Munichs, never again. Once more Churchill has prophesied the natural tendencies of totalitarian states, once more in exile and out of power he had been proven to be correct.

By October 26, 1951, the Conservative Party had re-captured control of the House of Commons, and Winston Churchill was made prime minister. Now Churchill was to work with not only Truman, but after the 1952 election, with Eisenhower. The new president knew Churchill better than any of his predecessors. For years, he had heard first-hand the Churchillian call to arms, the canonization of valor and brave deeds, the gallant determination to fight. But in private, Eisenhower was also well-aware of the difficult Churchill, the Churchill given to half-baked military strategems and temper tantrums. On occasion, he would lament that the old man was trying to relive the war years and his time of glory. Yet Eisenhower recognized the importance of getting Churchill's imprimatur on his various foreign policy objectives, whether they were pacific or bellicose. Having commanded the Allied troops in Europe, having

put up with DeGaulle and Montgomery, having been responsible for the greatest amphibious landing in the history of warfare, Eisenhower had a peculiar hold on Churchill, the amateur soldier and military historian.

Thus in many ways, the relationship between Eisenhower and Churchill was the most complex, because in part it was the most personal. In his first term, Eisenhower watched the pronounced deterioration of his old friend who was by the early 1950s suffering from deafness and given to tiredness and lack of concentration. At one point, the President told his cabinet that Churchill refused to face reality either about his age and about Britain's role in the world. "In many ways, he's just a little Peter Pan," Eisenhower noted.¹⁶ But still, he went out of his way to court the Prime Minister. Eisenhower asked for Churchill's suggestions, and thus his consent for his "Atoms For Peace" proposal in December 1953. Faced six months later with the possibility of a French defeat in Indochina, Eisenhower wanted joint American-British intervention with air support and military hardware. He appealed to Churchill's sense of history, and in language so similar to the Prime Minister's past orations that it could have been written in Ten Downing Street instead of the White House, he wrote, "I am sure that when history looks back upon us of today it will not long remember any one of this era who was merely a distinguished war leader whether on the battlefield or in the council chamber." Rather Eisenhower thought posterity would remember what had been done to curtail the Russian threat. "Destiny has given priceless opportunity to some of this epoch. You are one of them. Perhaps, I am also one of the company on whom this great responsibility has fallen." But Churchill did not rise to the occasion or to the bait. Instead, he reiterated his confidence in the future of the English-speaking peoples.¹⁷ On April 4, 1954, Eisenhower continued his pleas with an extraordinary appeal to the familiar past, "We failed to halt Hirohito, Mussolini, and Hitler by not acting in unity and in time. That marked the beginning of many years of stark tragedy and desperate peril. May it not be that our nations have learned something from that lesson?" Perhaps, Churchill had reached his dotage, or perhaps he felt that the future of Indochina, with the exception of course of Singapore, was not vital to the western democracies.¹⁸

Despite their differences of opinion, Eisenhower retained considerable admiration for Churchill. In pondering the question of greatness, he concluded that the truly great man left a favorable mark on the future, and he went on to list such individuals as Plato, Luther, Napoleon, George Marshall, Henry Stimson, Washington, Lee, Lincoln, and John Quincy Adams. But he saved his highest accolades for Churchill. A great man should have vision, integrity, courage, understanding, character, and the power of articulation. The greatest individual he had ever met, Eisenhower concluded, was Churchill.¹⁹ Several years later when General Montgomery issued his memoirs which were critical of Eisenhower's leadership of the Allied troops in World War II, the President was concerned about how the book might strain British-U.S. relationships. On January 14, 1959, he took the occasion to praise Churchill in the most fulsome terms and to cite his greatness as if to counteract Montgomery in an oblique, but telling way.²⁰

Eisenhower was the last president to work with Churchill in the autumn of his

prime, and the first to see him move beyond activity into history, and soon into legend. His successors in the White House were the junior officers of the war: Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon. They were just born when Churchill was arguing passionately for the Dardenelles campaign; youths when he was warning about the futility of appeasement; and impressionable men when the Prime Minister stirred the West with tales of glory and the terrible price of valor. In their eyes, Churchill's image was further enhanced by the post-war criticisms of FDR's alleged weaknesses in dealing with Stalin. Although Churchill was more than a casual observer at Teheran, Casablanca, and Yalta, he somehow has avoided the stigma frequently attached to those conferences. In part, this oversight was due to Churchill's determined effort in his memoirs to place some subtle, but discernible distance between himself and Roosevelt on Soviet intentions. Then too, Churchill had indeed been more guarded in his dealings with Stalin, while FDR appeared at times to be facile, if not cavalier; Churchill's increasing reputation in the United States then took place, somewhat in the vacuum created by the early disillusionment in the late 1940s and early 1950s with the only major president most young Americans knew.

This special attachment to Churchill and his memory can be seen most clearly in John F. Kennedy. Despite the popular view of the Kennedy clan as the Irish-American First Family, Joseph Kennedy and his progeny were strong Anglophiles in temperament and aspirations. John F. Kennedy's favorite biographies were Cecil's *Melbourne* and Churchill's six volume account of the first Duke of Marlborough.²¹ During his senior year at Harvard, Kennedy wrote a thesis highly critical of the appeasement policies of Chamberlain—a conclusion toned down, probably under the influence of his father, in the final book entitled, *Why England Slept*, a title similar to Churchill's own *While England Slept*. The real hero in Kennedy's account of the weakness of the Western democracies is, of course, the prophet in exile, Winston Churchill.²²

Years later, Kennedy was to meet Churchill, but by then the aged leader was somewhat deaf, and the overall conversation was strained. Schlesinger records, "He had met his hero too late. But Churchill remained his greatest admiration." Still Kennedy had memorized quotes and passages from Churchill's works. One of his favorites was the description of the death of Raymond Asquith in France in 1915. "The War which found the measure of so many men never got to the bottom of him, and, when the Grenadiers strode into the crash and thunder of the Somme, he went to his fate, cool, poised, resolute, matter-of-fact, debonair." Kennedy was also fond of Churchill's observation that, "The whole history of the world is summed up in the fact that, when nations are strong, they are not always just, and when they wish to be just, they are often no longer strong . . . Let us have this blessed union of power and justice." But Kennedy's favorite quotation, which he cited frequently during his own presidency, was Churchill's observation "that democracy is the worst form of government, except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time." Kennedy used the statement before domestic audiences, foreign students and dignitaries, and even at his birthday party at Madison Square.²³

In the campaign of 1960, Kennedy had sought to strike an image of resolution

and leadership, a modern reworking of the now revered Churchill model. The issues were more complicated, the villains not as obviously heinous, the final resolution through war impossible, but Kennedy persisted. He called into question the very viability of democracy against these new autocracies, and in echoes of Churchill's call for sacrifice, he asked for a re-dedication to the nation. Churchill, of course, was successful because the Nazi threat was so stark; when the war was over, even his heroic fellow-countrymen quickly voted for a Socialist Labor government that promised more creature comforts and a dependable welfare state. For Kennedy, an American commitment to grandeur required a facing of persistent dangers in a long twilight struggle, and he clearly appropriated Churchill's mantle. During the Cuban Missile Crisis, Kennedy realized that his Republican critics were right in warning about the possibilities of Russian missiles on the island. He glumly concluded that Senator Homer Capehart was "the Winston Churchill of his generation"—the implication being that Kennedy was perhaps the Chamberlain of the script.²⁴ In a more pointed rebuke, when Kennedy sought to follow a moderate response in the Berlin Wall controversy, some disenchanted German students sent him an umbrella—the symbol of Chamberlain and his misguided search for peace in his time. Sobered by the burdens and the limitations of power in the modern world, Kennedy still retained his awe for Churchill, and reminded audiences of the former Prime Minister's preference for diplomacy over force.²⁵ When Kennedy met DeGaulle, a significant historical figure in his own right, Kennedy asked the French president for his assessment of Churchill and Roosevelt. DeGaulle judged Churchill to be a fighter, concerned with short term considerations, extremely interesting, casual in manner, and often totally, impossible to deal with. But still, he preferred and trusted him over FDR.²⁶

In the end, the Kennedy Administration was an unstable blend of moderate pragmatism and Churchillian rhetoric, a condition that led to its meager achievements and its continuing fascination. Kennedy though was not alone in using Churchill's words to define his own deeds. As the President and his Administration got in more deeply in South Vietnam, Kennedy decided to send Lyndon Johnson on a good will visit to Diem. Privately, Johnson concluded that Diem was remote from the people and surrounded by subordinates less admirable than he was. Publicly though, he paid the South Vietnamese leader the highest compliment possible in the vocabulary of the Cold War. Johnson hailed Diem as "the Winston Churchill of Southeast Asia." The comparison drew instant criticism from American newspapermen, and one pointedly asked the Vice President if he really believed what he had proclaimed. Johnson's response avoided any continuing analogy; quite bluntly he answered, "S-t, man, he's the only boy we got out there."²⁷

Throughout his career, Johnson remained a genuine admirer of the rhetoric and deeds of the great Prime Minister. Faced with his own war, he desperately tried to control events. And what better way to do that than to imitate the very model of resoluteness? The President ordered his speech writers to read everything about Churchill, in the judgment of one critic, "to help give Johnson a Churchillian twist."²⁸ But Johnson too was to learn that in using American power the contemporary world presented him with a narrow range of choices. A limited war required that he limit

his rhetoric, and with rare exceptions, he avoided the kinds of definitive and stirring speeches so characteristic of Churchill.²⁹ Those orations, which Johnson so much admired, were effective in a world of obvious extremes, in a time of total and unconditional victory, but less than useful in limited wars circumscribed by a constant awareness of nuclear weaponry.

Yet Churchill's appeal continued and was acknowledged by leaders of both political parties in the United States. Richard Nixon, in his second collection of memoirs, cited Churchill's role in awakening him to the threat of international Communism. The former president writes that before the Iron Curtain speech, he himself was still influenced by Quaker pacifism and not much concerned with Russia or Communist expansionism. In fact, immediately after Munich, he thought Chamberlain was the greatest man alive, and that Churchill was a madman. The Russian solidification of control in Eastern Europe convinced Nixon that Churchill was correct once again, and that "the defeat of Hitler and Japan had not produced a lasting peace, and freedom was now threatened by a new and even more dangerous enemy." Years later, when Nixon as President went to the Washington Monument one morning to talk to students protesting his war policies in Southeast Asia, he recalled his views on Munich and praised Churchill for his foresight and determination. Once again the shadow of the war-time Prime Minister fell on the American intervention in Vietnam and the surrounding region. And once again, beleaguered American presidents turned to the image of the lonely, but in the end, prophetic leader to support their own unpopular decisions.

Thus, in the nearly half century in which Churchill has played such an important role on the world stage, his reputation has changed immensely in this country. From being a difficult and testy competitor during the times of Wilson and the Republican presidents, he became a valiant ally in war and peace, and especially for the younger post-war presidents, Churchill was the model leader, the very exemplar of courage and farsightedness. Lacking an unequivocal consensus on FDR, faced with the stresses and excitement of world leadership, and cast into an uncertain future with often weak domestic political support, the latter American presidents have adopted Churchill's style, his rhetoric, and his even pugnaciousness as appropriate guides for their own exercise of responsibility. They have held up themselves as alert students of his lessons, and warned us to beware of failing to face up to the new aggressors.

Churchill is, in many ways, a fine and appropriate role model for democratic statesmen. But he was more than a prophet, strategist, and diplomat. He was an historian, and more importantly, a leader well-versed in history. He could recall lessons from the past and reinterpret the present within those contexts. Yet he also was well aware that the future is not a re-run of what has gone before. While Eisenhower, for example, could cite chapter and verse on the need to look upon Asia in the 1950s as Churchill looked on Europe in the 1930s, the aged English prime minister demurred. He seemed to know that while history can be a guide, it can also be a demanding and fickle mistress. American presidents do well to acknowledge the wisdom of the premier democratic statesman of this century, but they would do better to understand the uniqueness of their own era, for no leader achieves greatness by waging the last

war once again. More than most men, Churchill was a unique product of his unsettled times, and he himself exhibited remarkable flexibility and determination in trying to extricate fate from seeming necessity.

Notes

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3. *Ibid.*, pp. 121, 239, 484; vol. 45, pp. 208–209; See also: *Cabinet Diaries of Josephus Daniels, 1913–1921*, edited by E. David Cronon (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1963), pp. 153, 405.
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM

TO: Rahm Emanuel
✓ Melanne Verveer

FROM: Ann Stock A.S.

RE: Blue Room Lecture Series

DATE: April 7, 1997

Per our conversation, I spoke to the curators about the lecture series that the Bush Administration hosted at the White House.

The Bush Administration established "Presidential Lecture Series on the Presidency." The series was sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities and was filmed for television by PBS.

The series included the following lectures:

- President Abraham Lincoln by David Herbert Donald - - January 1990
- President Theodore Roosevelt by David McCullough - - May 1990
- President Andrew Jackson by Robert Remini - - June 1991
- President George Washington by Gordon Wood - - October 1991
- President Harry Truman by David McCulloch - - July 1992

President and Mrs. Bush hosted the lecture in the East Room and had a reception to follow in the State Dining Room. President Bush made welcoming remarks and introduced the lecturer who spoke for approximately an hour. They also displayed relevant historical objects and portraits that related to the featured President throughout the State Floor, etc.

I have attached press clippings, etc. that the curator had on file from the events for your information.

Please give me a call if you have any questions.

Thank you.

Melanne — Please read and pass to Ellen when you're finished. Thanks!
Ann

Harking Back To Lincoln

Bush & Co. Launch a White House Lecture Series

By Donnie Radcliffe
Washington Post Staff Writer

"What were they like? How did they live? How was history, the history of America's house, molded by their dreams? To occupy this office," George Bush said last night of his predecessors in the American presidency, "is to ask those questions."

Standing beneath the brooding portrait of Abraham Lincoln in the State Dining Room at the White House, where he launched a new lecture series on the presidency, Bush observed that "perhaps no president had greater doubts, nor more brilliantly resolved them," than America's 16th president.

"As president, Lincoln abolished slavery and saved the Union. Perhaps no leader has been so severely tested before or since. And yet," Bush continued, "we remember him not merely for what he did. We revere him for what he was—an arm-wrestler, a rail-splitter. He was a hard and gentle person."

It was that human side of Lincoln that Bush decided some months ago he wanted to know more about, and that led him to invite

See LINCOLN, B12, Col. 3

The Lincoln Lecture

LINCOLN, From B1

Pulitzer Prize-winning biographer and Lincoln scholar David Herbert Donald to give the inaugural lecture in a brand-new series on the presidency. The Bushes invited about 100 guests to join them.

Donald, who believes Lincoln was probably the greatest of American presidents, could not have agreed more that the first Republican president was the appropriate subject to launch the series.

"I have no moral to point [to], no directions to suggest, no policies on your relations with Congress," Donald told Bush last night. "Indeed, it seems to me that Americans think you don't need instructions."

For almost an hour, Donald took his audience behind the scenes of a very different White House where the Lincolns of Illinois settled in 1861, probably less prepared to live there than any previous occupants. Arriving in Washington without close friends or connections with foreign powers, Lincoln saw his days filled with an endless succession of petitioners, with neither staff nor privacy to relieve the burden. Mary Lincoln suffered the snubs of Washington's resident Southern ladies, who thought her unschooled and uncouth and suspected she was a spy because of relatives fighting on the side of the Confederate army.

Within a year, though, the Lincolns seemed in control and his government in command. He had become "Father Abraham" to the people, who admired his accessibility and humility. Mary Lincoln had had no intention of fading into the background; for her the title "First Lady of the Land" was coined. But the tragic death by typhoid of their son Tad would alter their private lives significantly, affecting the remaining time they lived in the White House.

"We always think our lives are so complicated, and then you look at what

Lincoln stepped into," Barbara Bush said later to a group gathered around her.

George Bush, part of another group gathered around Donald in the East Room, sought answers for still more questions: How long did Mary Lincoln remain in the White House after her husband's assassination? Were people prepared to give Abraham Lincoln broad national acceptance once the war was over?

The series grew out of a conversation the president had last year with his sister, Nancy Bush Ellis (who was present last night), about a lecture Donald gave on Lincoln in which she said the Harvard professor had made the Great Emancipator "come alive."

Donald said he and Ellis, both of whom live in Lincoln, Mass., got acquainted when they would run into each other at the village post office. In the course of exchanging news, he told her about his research and writing project on Lincoln.

"She reported to the president that I was working on the life of Lincoln. He said he thought that was wonderful and hoped that I would do it. And would I please keep it to one volume? Which, indeed, I am doing," Donald said.

Last May, Donald was awarded a three-year research grant totaling \$90,000 to \$100,000 by the National Endowment for the Humanities. He said his biography will be published by Simon and Schuster in 1993.

Last fall, NEH Chairman Lynne Cheney extended Bush's invitation to Donald to start off the series of lectures about the presidency after Bush, over lunch with several agency heads, had talked about the project.

"The only trouble I have now is that my sister is going to take all the credit," Bush joked last night.

Among the other Lincoln scholars enjoying this first lecture in the series was Lee Atwater, GOP chairman. Atwater explained that he wrote his doctoral dissertation—he has yet to complete his PhD—on the American presidents and offered his own personal list of books to read about Lincoln.

The evening drew a list of scholars

and names in the news: Librarian of Congress James Billington and his predecessor, Daniel Boorstin; author and Civil War scholar James McPherson; Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist and his predecessor, Warren Burger; Sen. Charles Robb (D-Va.) and his wife, Lynda, daughter of President Lyndon Johnson; New York Times columnist William Safire; Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; Defense Secretary Richard Cheney and Lynne Cheney; National Endowment for the Arts Chairman John E. Frohnmayer; Sen. Richard Lugar (R-Ind.); the president's sister, Nancy Ellis; Rep. G.V. Montgomery (D-Miss.); MacNeil/Lehrer correspondent Roger Mudd.

Taped for rebroadcast by Rochester, N.Y., public television station WXXI, the Donald lecture will be made available for use around the country in connection with Lincoln's birthday. Bush said two other lectures are coming, but did not identify which presidents he's chosen.

"I've always loved Teddy Roosevelt," he said.

WASHINGTON WAYS

For Lincoln Scholar, an Invitation to Dream

By Donnie Radcliffe
Washington Post Staff Writer

Pulitzer Prize-winning author David Herbert Donald, the Harvard professor now writing a biography of Abraham Lincoln to be published in 1993, has the kind of standing invitation from President Bush that writers may dream about but few expect to receive.

"Anytime you want to come and write something in the Lincoln Bedroom, you're welcome," Bush told Donald Sunday night after the biographer delivered the inaugural lecture in the new White House series on the presidency.

Bush's hospitality proved to be second only to his generosity. In the East Room after the lecture, he and Donald were surrounded by a group that included former librarian of Congress Daniel J. Boorstin and his wife, Ruth.

Describing a shoe box wrapped in brown paper that her husband came across in a Library of Congress safe some years back, Ruth Boorstin told Bush that when the box was opened it contained a touching array of personal items found in Lincoln's pocket the night he was assassinated. Among the items—which were later displayed to the public—were a pair of folding eyeglasses, a clipping about what a good president he was, a handkerchief embroidered in red with "A. Lincoln," and a Confederate \$5 bill that Lincoln was believed to have brought back from a trip to Richmond, prompting the inevitable jokes about Lincoln "covering all bets." There was also a penknife.

At the mention of the penknife, Bush reached into his jacket pocket, pulled out his own small penknife and told Donald to keep it. Donald, whose works about Lincoln and the Civil War years are prodigious and include "Lincoln's Herndon," "Divided We Fought," "Inside Lincoln's Cabinet," "Lincoln Reconsidered" and a two-volume life of Charles Sumner, was momentarily speechless.

Recovering, he expressed his gratitude simply: "I'll treasure this, Mr. President."

Bush may be the first president to institute a White House lecture series on the presidency, but he's not the first to seek enlightenment by renowned scholars. John F. Kennedy would sometimes turn up at the seminars Robert and Ethel Kennedy called "Hickory Hill Tech," at which the likes of Arthur Schlesinger Jr. and Walt Whitman Rostow talked about their scholarly specialties.

According to historian Donald, who remembers one such after-dinner session with President Kennedy, those gatherings featured no talk about the presidency or the White House. Instead, says Donald, "people talked about things like logical positivism."



DAVID HERBERT DONALD

Even so, author Herbert S. Parmet, in his book "JFK: The Presidency of John F. Kennedy," quotes Kennedy as telling Donald that night that he was "determined to go down in our history books as a great president" and saying he wanted to know the ways of doing that.

The checkout-stand tabloids haven't yet heard about this juicy little scandal:

"White House Romance—Offspring in Love With Celebrated Mother."

In this case, the mother is Millie, the Bushes' springer spaniel, who last year produced what for a while was the world's most famous litter of puppies, delivered with the assistance of the world's most famous midwife.

The puppies have all gone their separate ways, although Ranger, Millie's only son, who lives in Virginia with Marvin and Margaret Bush, pays periodic visits to the White House. According to knowledgeable sources, Ranger has turned into a rowdy type with a roving eye.

Says eyewitness reporter George Bush: "Momentarily, he fell in love with his mother."

Bush hastens to add that this kind of Oedipal amour has been discouraged.

Meanwhile, the seductress herself probably has no idea that dog collars are out and triple strands of pooch pearls are in. It's doubtful that Millie will hear about them from her mistress.

Somebody recently sent Barbara Bush a catalogue advertising the necklaces in case she needed a present for Millie. She didn't.

In fact, say downstairs sources, the First Lady said she was "taken aback a little."

Six down and four to go. That's the number of radiation treatments Mrs. Bush still has to take at Walter Reed Army Medical Center before she's completed the series aimed at reducing the swelling in her eyes brought on by Graves' disease. Checking in at 7 a.m. every day for a 10-minute session of low-dose X-rays, she's back at the White House pool swimming her laps before some people in town have even had breakfast.

Medical experts continue to say it may be weeks before the effect of the treatments is known. Surgery as an option to correct her double (and, according to one source, occasionally triple) vision is "way down the line," says one of her doctors, since they want to establish her chances of returning to normal without it.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Bush confirms that she may have dropped a little weight. She's given up desserts for the duration—well, sort of—having fallen off the calorie cart only once since the first of the year. She blames that on an irresistible triple-layer creation of meringue, Grand Marnier parfait, raspberry sorbet and whipped cream topped with two white blown-sugar swans. It was served in the residence Saturday night when she and President Bush celebrated their 45th wedding anniversary at a private dinner with family and friends.

Besides a newly redecorated room at their Walker's Point home in Kennebunkport, Maine, Mrs. Bush says she and the president exchanged "a big kiss and maybe even a big hug."

Barbara Bush called RNC Chairman Lee Atwater a few days ago asking whether she could drop over to meet his 300-member staff. After she had postponed an earlier visit, Atwater and Co. sent her a gift by way of her husband.

Yesterday there was another gift, a red and black afghan for Camp David. Perhaps that will make up for the earlier gift, a framed photograph of the Bush children dancing at a inaugural party with an inscription by Atwater that reads: "It's 2 a.m. Do you know where your kids are?"

She said she hasn't seen that gift yet. She has a good idea who has though—not mentioning any names, of course.

The Post

11/16/90

them more accessible to new generations."

Bush brought in a noted historian, Harvard's **David Herbert Donald**, to humanize Lincoln for an audience of scholars and academicians seated beneath the gaze of America's 16th president in the State Dining Room.

On Richard Nixon's orders for a "full and fair treatment of Watergate," the tapes revealing his role in the scandal are being selected by the New York design firm organizing the library's exhibits. **Alexander Cranstoun**, vice president of DeMartin-Marona Cranstoun and Downes Inc., says Nixon's instructions are to select "the most damning. He's placed no restrictions on us."

But it is **George Washington**, perhaps, who will come across as the most human of them all. Kitman, author of "George Washington's Expense Account," says he wanted to "flesh out" the rest of **Gilbert Stuart's** unfinished portrait of Washington as a lot less fatherly guy than kids are taught.

Kitman's tongue-in-cheek approach reveals that Washington was a gambler who liked to imbibe more than a little, had an eye for the ladies, padded his expense account, cleaned up in real estate and let his "Mount Vernon machine" engineer his election.

"Like President Reagan, Washington looked great in a suit. Another one of his talents was his uncanny knack of disassociating himself with failure. Nothing stuck on him. He was the first Teflon president, not Reagan," the author notes.

Still, writes Kitman, humorist and syndicated columnist, "You don't have things such as the nation's capital, a state, a bridge, seven mountains, eight streams, 10 lakes, 33 counties, nine colleges, 121 cities and villages, and one monument named after you unless you're something special."

President Bush tried it for **Abraham Lincoln**.

A soon-to-open library at Yorba Linda, Calif., will try to do it for **Richard M. Nixon** with a 60-foot-long Watergate Room complete with sound-and-light show featuring Watergate break-in and White House cover-up conversations.

The **Eisenhower Library** in Abilene, Kan., is doing it by borrowing **Franklin Roosevelt's** Yalta cape, **John Kennedy's** rocking chair, **Thomas Jefferson's** spectacles, **Calvin Coolidge's** electric horse and **Teddy Roosevelt's** branding iron, among other presidential artifacts, as part of the centennial celebration marking **Ike's** birth.

And **Marvin Kitman** has done it with his new book, "The Making of the President 1789" (that's no misspelling; the "f" is the way an "s" looked in the 18th century), a wickedly unauthorized biography of America's First Father.

And exactly what is it they're all doing? Humanizing the presidents.

Or, as **Richard Norton Smith**, the Hoover Library director who is currently on loan as acting director of the Eisenhower Library, explained it to the Boston Globe recently: "Scholars use the libraries anyway for their work. But, as the years go by, most people lose interest in former presidents. This is a way of humanizing former presidents and making

Teddy Roosevelt's Poignant Pose

By Donnie Radcliffe
Washington Post Staff Writer

“I can do one of two things. I can be president of the United States or I can control Alice. I cannot possibly do both,” **Theodore Roosevelt** once replied when asked what he was going to do about his headstrong daughter, who kept the American public riveted by her antics at the White House.

Alice was TR's oldest child, daughter of his first wife, **Alice Lee**, who died in childbirth. He never mentioned his wife again, not even in his autobiography, and that, plus a melancholy expression in **John Singer Sargent's** 1903 portrait of Roosevelt, became two of the main reasons historian **David McCullough** decided to write “Mornings on Horseback,” his award-winning biography of young Roosevelt.

“I wanted to find out more about what was behind this wistful look that Sargent caught so marvelously. No reproduction of that painting does it justice,” McCullough told a White House audience that included 10 Roosevelts at the second in **President** and **Mrs. Bush's** lecture series on the presidency Sunday night.

White House visitors see that expression every time they pass through the East Room, where the painting hangs at extreme right on the east wall, though it was moved to a more central position for the lecture. According to McCullough, Sargent had been hanging around the White House one morning hoping to catch Roosevelt as he came down the main stairway. Just as Roosevelt reached the foot of the stairs, Sargent went over to him.

“I had been hoping to see you,” Sargent said. “When would you be willing to pose for me?” “Now,” said Roosevelt, striking the now-familiar pose with his right hand on the newel post.

Barbara Bush says it doesn't worry her in the least that the CEO of General Motors may get a pension more than 12 times as large as that of the CEO of the United States. If GM's board votes to double Chairman **Roger B. Smith's** annual retirement pay to \$1.2 million, that's about \$1.1 million more than **George Bush** will receive when the cheering stops.

“The president chose his job. He could have been a CEO if he wanted,” Mrs. Bush says. “I really have no opinion about the amount. That is something the stockholders decide. It's privately owned. They can do whatever they want.”

The pension Congress has set for a former president is currently \$99,500 a year (the amount equal to the salary of a Cabinet secretary), which does not include free mailing privileges, office space or staff salaries.

“George is paid plenty. He may not like

that,” said the First Lady, “but he's paid plenty so I'm not sympathetic. It's tough living here.”

In Washington, where public figures want to make sure they don't have to do too much backpedaling, no one has yet come out with a really memorable quote about the Bush-Gorbachev summit this month.

While that may not bother most of us, a few people over at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel on Massachusetts Avenue are getting a little nervous.

For the 1987 Reagan-Gorbachev summit, **President Reagan** communicated all over the place. “I want my meeting with Mr. Gorbachev to help build a true peace that will last for your lifetime, and that of your children, and of their children,” he said at one point.

The Ritz-Carlton liked that remark so much that it was printed on cards left in guest rooms at turndown time with white frosted cookies shaped like doves. The cookies proved such a hit that the chef is ready to fire up the ovens again. The only hitch is whether anybody—and nobody's mentioning any names—says anything elegant enough to print.

When George Bush “gets out of this job,” as Barbara Bush put it the other day, she has no intention of renewing her driver's license.

She said she figured out that “with insurance and car payments and parking” she could well afford to go in a limousine or a cab any place she wanted.

“I couldn't believe how much you pay for a parking lot—\$150 a month. That would take me a long way in cabs. But insurance, upkeep. What do cars cost now?” she asked, then, apparently deciding that she didn't really want to know, said, “Don't tell me.”

Back in her pre-White House limousine days she drove many cars of her own, so many in fact that she finally took a course in car repairs at Mount Vernon College. The main thing she learned, she said, was “get radial tires. And the second thing I learned was if your car really sounds bad, listen to it. Race to the nearest repairman.”

The reason she signed up for the course, she said, was that she had just bought a new car and didn't want to be dependent upon the mechanic. “I wanted to be able to say, ‘That's not right—my gasket looks good!’”

Like Britain's **Queen Elizabeth II**, who knows how to change a tire and check the oil from her World War II days as a mechanic and driver, the First Lady's other handywoman talents include minor household repairs. She says it was a talent born of impatience with repairmen, helped along by a tool box given her years ago by family friend **Fred Zeder**. The box came with a book explaining “that inside your wall are not enemies sitting there to shock you, they're there for you to conquer.”

She hasn't had to “lift a finger” at the White House, of course, “but I still have the tool box . . . sitting right in my closet. It's a little yellow tool box and very decorative and feminine.”

That tool box was such a hit with her that one year, when Bush was U.S. representative to the United Nations, the Bushes gave copies of it as Christmas gifts to about 20 ambassadors. To this day she highly recommends them as gifts.

Speaking of **Queen Elizabeth** (well, we sort of were), Buckingham Palace announced last week that she has named **Charles Anson**, deputy press spokesman in the British Embassy here from 1981 to 1985, as her new spokesman. He takes over from **Robin Janvrin**, who becomes one of her private secretaries.

The shift is set for July 4, which may not be significant to the British media but will be to their American cousins since it was during the queen's 1983 trip to the United States that they, he and she all got acquainted. She entertained a number of those cousins on her yacht *Britannia* as she and **Prince Philip** sailed up the California coast at the invitation of **President** and **Nancy Reagan**.

From Washington, Anson returned to London as spokesman in the foreign office and two years later went to work for the British investment firm of Kleinwort Benson, where he currently is in charge of press and public affairs. His U.S. connections actually predate his deputy spokesman job here in the '80s. From 1968 to 1971 he was in the embassy's commercial section.

He had brought along a letter from a very good friend but before he read it to 300 other young professionals Saturday night at a dinner-dance in Pentagon City's new Ritz-Carlton Hotel, he had something to say.

“If there's anybody here who went to Wellesley, you got 10 seconds to leave the room,” joked **Marvin Bush**.

Nobody did.

His “friend,” of course, was First Mom **Barbara Bush**, whose invitation to speak at the college's commencement has angered some students. The First Lady added her support for a Childhelp Center to be built in the Washington area for abused and homeless 2- to 12-year-olds. The dinner raised about \$60,000 for Childhelp USA.

In Florida last week, the First Lady visited a center for abused children after stopping next door to hold and hug some AIDS-stricken babies. What she learned there, she said, was that of children who test positive for AIDS at birth, 60 percent “throw it off—we always thought they were history.”

Later, she said she wasn't sure which had been harder, looking at those babies or seeing the abused children.

“That may have been harder, although they were all abused,” she said.

News and Notes

both served as Assistant Secretary of the Navy. TR was the author of *The Naval War of 1812*, and FDR assembled one of the most important collections of naval prints and pictures that exists today.

Bill Weld

.Congratulations to William F. Weld on his election as Governor of Massachusetts! Bill Weld is married to Susan Roosevelt, daughter of Frances Webb Roosevelt and the late Quentin Roosevelt, II. Susan is a granddaughter of Brigadier General Theodore Roosevelt, Junior, and great granddaughter of President Theodore Roosevelt. Bill and Susan Weld have five children. Susan holds both a law degree and a Ph.D. in Chinese studies.The Welds are not the only members of the Roosevelt family in Massachusetts politics. Mark Roosevelt, great grandson of TR, grandson of Kermit Roosevelt, is a member of the Massachusetts State House of Representatives. Mark Roosevelt is a Democrat and Bill Weld is a Republican.Bill Weld was formerly U.S. Attorney for Massachusetts, 1981-1986, and Assistant Attorney General, Criminal Division, U.S. Department of Justice, 1986-1988. Bill Weld and Susan Roosevelt were married in Christ Church, Oyster Bay, NY on June 7, 1975.Frances Webb Roosevelt has long been active as a Trustee of the TRA.

Washington Cathedral

On September 29, 1990, 83 years after President Theodore Roosevelt laid the cornerstone of the great Washington Cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul, President George Bush was present for the placing of the final stone in the cathedral, a 1,100-pound chunk of Indiana limestone, atop St. Paul's Tower. The Washington Cathedral is a structure of 873,021 square feet.

Archibald B. Roosevelt, Junior

This issue of the *TRA Journal* is dedicated to the memory of Archibald Bulloch Roosevelt, Junior, who died, at the age of 72, in Washington, D.C., May 31, 1990. Mr. Roosevelt was director of international relations of the Chase Manhattan Bank, and had been for many years previously a high-level official of the Central Intelligence Agency. His memoirs, *For Lust of Knowing*, were published in 1988. He was a grandson of President Theodore Roosevelt, and the son of Archibald B. Roosevelt and Grace Stackpole Lockwood Roosevelt. Mr.



Roosevelt is survived by his widow Selwa Showker Roosevelt, former Chief of Protocol of the United States, who has recently published her memoirs, *Keeper of the Gate* (reviewed in this issue of the *Journal*). He is also survived by his son Tweed Roosevelt. Mr. Roosevelt's ashes were buried in Youngs Memorial Cemetery, Oyster Bay, and a memorial service was held in Washington on June 7.

DAVID MCCULLOUGH GIVES LECTURE ON TR AT WHITE HOUSE

Presidential Lecture Series Features TR

The distinguished author David McCullough delivered a fascinating and colorful lecture, "Theodore Roosevelt: The Strenuous Life," in the East Room of the White House on Sunday, May 6, 1990, as part of the current "Presidential Lecture Series on the Presidency" established by President George Bush. The lecture was filmed for television. The audience in the East Room included President & Mrs. Bush, Speaker of the House of Representatives Thomas Foley, Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney, Senator Robert Dole, and other administration and Congressional leaders as well as descendants of Theodore Roosevelt. The Theodore Roosevelt Association was represented by President Theodore R. Kupferman, Treasurer P. James Roosevelt, and Executive Director John A. Gable.

McCullough, with the charm and insight that has characterized his numerous appearances on the PBS series "Smithsonian World," "The American Experience," and "The Civil War," described Theodore Roosevelt's life, personality, and administration. McCullough spoke without notes for over forty minutes. The lecture included a performance of Scott Joplin's "Strenuous Life Rag" by the pianist Edward Wise, a piece written in honor of TR after the President invited the black leader Booker T. Washington to dinner at the White House. McCullough noted that the White House as we know it today is the legacy of the extensive redecorations and changes made by Edith Kermit Roosevelt, the First Lady. McCullough emphasized Mr. & Mrs. Roosevelt's deep interest in the arts and their dedication to family life.



Photograph Courtesy of the White House

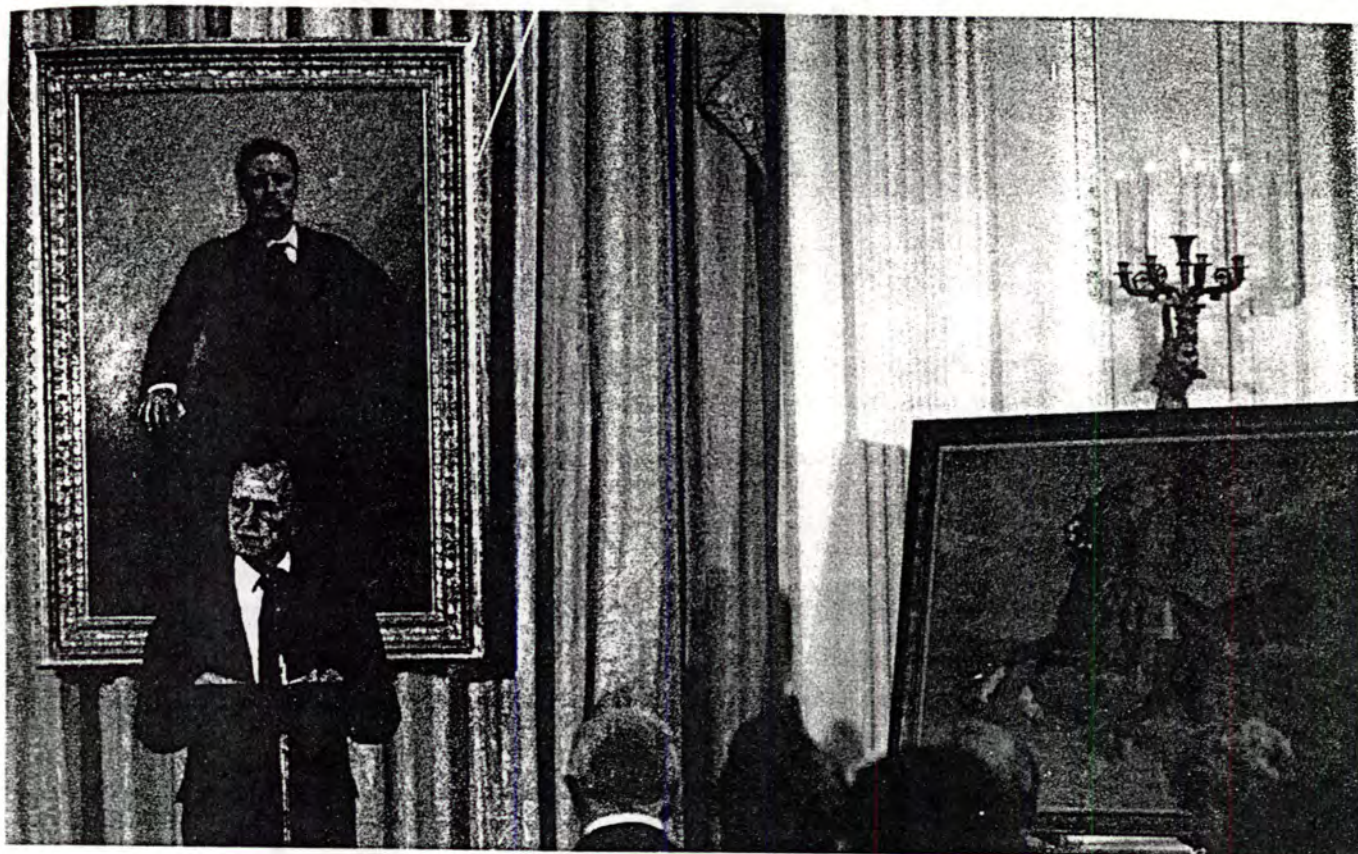
David McCullough, author of *Mornings on Horseback* (1981) and host of the PBS series "The American Experience," with President George Bush in the East Room of the White House, on May 6, 1990, when McCullough spoke on Theodore Roosevelt for the "Presidential Lecture Series on the Presidency."

News and Notes

McCullough's lecture was the second in the current "Presidential Lecture Series on the Presidency" being held at the White House. The first lecture, on Abraham Lincoln, was given in January, 1990. McCullough lauded President Bush for establishing the series, which will eventually reach the public through television. McCullough's lecture was followed by a reception in the State Dining Room, the main table graced by James E. Fraser's profile of TR in chocolate. The series is being sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities.

David McCullough, who was elected a Trustee of the Theodore Roosevelt Association in 1979, is the author of *The Johnstown Flood* (1968), *The Great Bridge* (1972), the story of the building of the Brooklyn Bridge, *The Path Between the Seas* (1977), a book on the building of the Panama Canal, and *Mornings on Horseback* (1981), a narrative account of Theodore Roosevelt and his family circle in the years 1858-1886. Both *Path Between the Seas* and *Mornings on Horseback* won the National Book Award. McCullough, who is now working on a biography of Harry Truman, is married to the former Rosalee Barnes. They live on Martha's Vineyard and have five children.

.The Executive Director of the Theodore Roosevelt Association, Dr. John A. Gable, was a guest at the White House on May 31, 1990 for the arrival of President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev of the U.S.S.R.Dr. Gable lectured on the subject of "Theodore Roosevelt and the Media" at the Malverne Historical Society on May 21 and for the Seaford Historical Society on November 12, 1990, both local groups on Long Island. Dr. Gable also spoke for the Friends of Raynham Hall and the Oyster Bay Historical Society in a lecture series on March 28. March 1-3, 1990, Dr. Gable visited the United States Sports Academy in Daphne, Alabama for the unveiling of the medallion of Theodore Roosevelt by sculptor Blair Buswell for the new Theodore Roosevelt Meritorious Achievement Award of the Academy. The first TR award of the U.S. Sports Academy was presented to former President Ronald Reagan in a ceremony in Los Angeles attended by Richard Derby Williams, a great grandson of TR.David McCullough's May 6 lecture at the White House on TR was featured in Charles Osgood's newspaper column "Light Takes" on May 13, 1990.The award of the Theodore Roosevelt Distinguished Service Medal of the Theodore Roosevelt Association to the Hon. Hamilton Fish, Senior, was noted in a profile on Fish, "A Golden Oldie, In Every Way," published in *Sports Illustrated*, November 5, 1990.



Photograph courtesy of the White House.

President George Bush, in the East Room of the White House, May 6, 1990, introducing David McCullough's lecture. Behind the President is John Singer Sargent's portrait of Theodore Roosevelt, painted in the White House, now permanently in the East Room. To the right, is seen the equestrian portrait of TR as Rough Rider by Tade Styka, which usually hangs in the Roosevelt Room in the West Wing of the White House.



Photograph courtesy of the White House.

President Bush greets Professor William Henry Harbaugh of the University of Virginia, at the White House, on May 6, 1990, after David McCullough's lecture. Professor Harbaugh is the author of *Power and Responsibility: The Life and Times of Theodore Roosevelt* (1961). Mrs. Harbaugh is to the left. Professor Harbaugh is a Trustee and former member of the Executive Committee of the Theodore Roosevelt Association.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

OBJECTS DISPLAYED FOR PRESIDENTIAL LECTURE ON ANDREW JACKSON
BY DR. ROBERT REMINI, MONDAY, JUNE 3, 1991

East Room

NMAA loan - Portrait of Jackson by Ralph E.W. Earl
[easel constructed by Carpenters, sent to
Warehouse for storage]

Cross Hall

829.458.1 - Pier Table, mahogany and marble, by Anthony
Quervelle, Philadelphia, from set of four
purchased for East Room in 1829
[from Ground Floor Corridor]

blow-up photo -
961.99.1 - East Room in the Presidents Mansion,
color lithograph, c.1861, showing Jackson
furnishings [on plexiglas easel atop pier table]

Entrance Hall [objects on center table]

* presence in Entrance Hall cited by Remini in his remarks

*829.269.1 - Center Table, mahogany and marble, by Anthony
Quervelle, Philadelphia, from set of three
purchased for East Room, 1829 [from Warehouse]

*830.3872.1.3.3 - Decanter, cut glass, by Bakewell, Page &
Bakewell, Pittsburgh, from state glass service
[from B5C]

*833.3690.2 - Tureen, silver, by Martin Biennais, Paris,
from de Tuyl service [body from B24, lid from
BM15; both returned to BM15]

*972.829.12 - Dessert Plate, porcelain, by Edouard Honore, Paris,
from state dessert service [from B5C]

975.1165.1 - Print, Grand Reception Room of the White House at
Washington, D.C., cover page from Gleason's
Pictorial Dollar Weekly, May 6, 1865 (showing
Quervelle center tables) [put in temporary frame
for display; unframed and returned to BM15]

LABELS FOR JACKSON LECTURE, JUNE 3, 1991:

The President's House, Washington, c. 1833.

City of Washington from beyond the Navy Yard, 1833,
by George Cooke.

President's Levee or All Creation Going to the White House, 1840,
a crowded Jackson reception.

East Room in the Presidents Mansion., c. 1861, with Jackson
furnishings and chandeliers.

View of the President's House. Washington, D.C., c. 1835-1840.

1855 version of original Clark Mills' statue in Lafayette Park.

On one label:

Center Table, mahogany and marble, Philadelphia, from a set
of three purchased for the East Room in 1829.

Dessert Plate, French porcelain, from a State Service
purchased in 1833.

Decanter, cut glass, Pittsburgh, from a State Service
purchased in 1830.

Tureen, French silver, purchased in 1833 from the estate of
the Russian Minister.

Green Room

- 946.1541.1 - Portrait of Emily Donelson attributed to Ralph E.W. Earl, 1830 [from Queens' Bedroom - placed in SW corner beneath portrait of Jackson by Earl 977.1324.1]

Blue Room

- 859.1451.1 - Statuette, equestrian Jackson by Clark Mills, pot metal [from West Wing Reception Room Entry - placed on center table]

blow-up photos [on easels before windows] -

- 964.529.1 - The President's House, Washington, c.1833,
hand-colored engraving after H. Brown
972.883.1 - City of Washington from beyond the Navy Yard,
1833, painting by George Cooke
983.1523.1 - View of the President's House, Washington,
D.C., c.1835-40, lithograph
961.155.1 - President's Levee or All Creation Going to the
White House, 1840, hand-colored engraving
by George Cruikshank

WHITE HOUSE LECTURE

It seems very appropriate for me to be speaking to you about Andrew Jackson here in the East Room. For this room was his room. Before Jackson it was just a barn of a room, with no decorations, no furniture to speak of. It was used for overflow crowds from the transverse hall during levees and special celebrations like the 4th of July.

But before I speak more particularly about this East Room perhaps a few words about Jackson would help provide better understanding. He was born on the frontier and migrated to Tennessee. Early career. Battle of New Orleans. Popularity. Election as 7th President. He was sixty two at the time of his inauguration.

He walked from Brown's Hotel up Pennsylvania Avenue for his inauguration on the east portico of the Capitol. After the inaugural he walked out the west entrance of the capitol and down the hill to a gate where he mounted a horse. He rode down Pennsylvania Avenue with a mob in tow. Ladies and gentlemen invited but a mob invaded. And oh, recorded Mrs. Samuel Smith "such a cortege as followed him! Country men, farmers, gentlemen, mounted and dismounted, boys, women and children, black and white. Carriages, wagons and carts all pursuing him to the President's house."

People, said Joseph Story, from the "highest and most polished down to the most vulgar and gross in the nation" poured through the President's palace. "I never saw such a mixture," he

said. "The reign of KING MOB seemed triumphant."

Three long tables in the East Room had been set up for food and drink. Lemonade and orange punch, spiked with whiskey. Men and boys stood on the satin damask covered sofas and chairs to get a better look. Pails of refreshments splashed to the floor, glasses were smashed and stepped on and such a mayhem ensued that "wine and ice creams could not be brought out for the ladies." One black woman, said Senator James Hamilton of South Carolina, sat quietly by herself "eating in this free country a jelley with a gold spoon at the President's House." "The Majesty of the People had disappeared," said Mrs. Smith, "and a rabble, a mob of boys, negros, women, children, scrambling, fighting, romping. What a pity What a pity."

Visitors poured through the window. And Jackson in the Oval Room to receive his guests was nearly crushed to death by well-wishers before he was rescued and rushed out of the house. The food and liquor were taken outside to the lawn and people jumped through the windows to get to them. "It was the People's Day and the People's President and the People would rule," wrote Mrs. Smith. "God grant that one day or other, the People do not pull down all rule and rulers."

It took almost a week before the mess could be cleaned up and Jackson move in. And almost immediately he began to make changes. Like everything else he touched Jackson altered the structure and appearance of the White House, as he did the presidency, the city and the nation.

Jackson took three rooms at the southwest corner of the second floor: dressing room, bedroom and sitting room. At the other end of the hall, the east end next to the circular Green room on the second floor, Jackson had an audience room to receive guests. Next came the present Lincoln bedroom which served as Jackson's office where he held cabinet meetings. Then a small water closet. To separate bedrooms from office area Jackson installed archways with glass doors so that callers used the staircase off the entrance hall to see the President while the family used the grand staircase at the west end of the transverse hall. Servants used another small stairwell off the porter's room.

Emily Donelson served as First Lady and said she wanted to make the White House a "model American home" for all women to emulate. She bore four babies in the White House. But Antoine Guista and his wife actually ran the house. Gave food to the Adames. The staff included from 18 to 24 slaves. The staff consisted of: a house stewart and housekeeper, a butler and an under butler, a doorkeeper, and "odd man," a cook, an assistant cook, two sculleries, a housemaid, a staff maid, two laundry maids, two messengers, a valet, a coachman, and a footman. This list did not include gardeners, stablemen, porters etc. The cook paid \$35 per month during the summer and \$45 during the Congressional session.

He completed the building of the White House by erecting the north portico. It had been designed 22 years before by Benjamin

Latrobe but never built. Jackson put it up in 1829. A colossal colonnade. Greek revival in architecture. He built a stable for his horses--again with columns--and converted the single story wings east and west from the main building as service offices. New Treasury building.

Jackson extensively cultivated the White House grounds, and ornamental shrubs were introduced for the first time. There was also a kitchen garden on the south lawn. Jackson himself planted several magnolia trees in memory of Rachel. He also built a hothouse with a central section for large plants and glass roofed wings that stretched from either side. This orangery, as it was called, was demolished in 1859.

And in 1833 iron pipes were laid to bring running water from Franklin Park to the White House. Previously two pumps had provided water from two wells situated in the breezeways between the House and the east and west wings. And there were tin cisterns built into the attic to provide water for two water closets. An engineer named Robert Leckie supervised the work. The laying of the pipes went very quickly, and the system used pumps, reservoirs and fountains. It was primitive. It provided water at two or maybe three places: the basement corridor, the butler's pantry and the kitchen. Shortly thereafter a "bathing room" was installed with large cooper boilers for heating the water. The location of this room is uncertain and probably the basement if not the east wing. The Treasury and State Department building were also supplied reservoirs. Later running water was

brought to the Capitol itself.

To improve interior decoration of the house, Congress allotted \$50,000. A full fifth (\$10,000) of this amount went to refurbish the East Room. All it had was a frieze running all around; four fireplaces with mantels of wood, nothing else. Because of its size, 80 feet by 40, and 22 feet high it handled overflow crowds from the entrance and transverse halls. William B. Lewis, Jackson's friend and neighbor who became an auditor in the Treasury Department and lived in the White House, took charge of the decoration by going to the "furniture warehouse" run by Louis Veron where they sold everything from tables, chairs, beds, sofas, bookcases, wallpaper etc. Decorative wooden beams and wood paneling were installed. Jackson wanted an "air of thundering grandeur" and that meant gilt and color. There was a huge arched doorway leading into the room. It was now blazoned with gilded sun rays spreading spoke-like over the wallpaper and 24 golden stars emblematic of the states. When completed the East room had four fireplaces with mantels faced with Egyptian black marble. Three enormous sunflowers in plaster of paris were affixed to the ceiling and three immense cut-glass chandeliers of gilded brass hung from each. Each chandelier held 18 oil burners and fonts with glass shades. On the walls were attached bracket lights holding five oil lamps each with heavily gilded globe lamps scattered throughout the room. A lemon-colored wall paper (probably French) was trimmed with cloth borders of blue velvet. A series of wide and high French plate mirrors in gilded frames

hung on the four walls and positioned so that the reflections carried the eye to an infinite distance. At the windows silks of bright yellow and imperial blue combined with luxuriant Grecian drapery hung from cornices decorated with a line of golden stars and topped with gilded eagles. Upholstery for 24 armchairs and four sofas needed replacement. Three cut-glass chandeliers, several marble top tables, a Brussels carpet that cost \$1,058.25 and 20 spittoons were installed. The 3 chandeliers cost \$1,800, the 20 spittoons cost \$12.50 (roughly 60 cents each). Washington society protested the spittoons. Not the objects themselves but the number. The entire cost came to \$9,358.27. At night when the lamps were lit the East Room dazzled the eye. The sheen of the curtains, the black marble against a yellow wallpaper, the many surfaces of gilt metal and the explosions of sunbursts made the room Jackson's own. Unfortunately it was destroyed in 1950.

Jackson also began a true wine cellar at the White House. It was located under the state dining room. Racks for bottles and barrels were constructed along the walls beneath the state dining room what is now the map room. It stored hard liquor, wine and beer.

A great deal of liquor was consumed in the White House during Jackson's administration. In 1834, for example, Jackson purchased on January 13 twenty baskets of champagne, one barrel of gin, one barrel of brandy, two hogsheads of claret, one half pipe of sherry. In April of the same year he purchased two and a half barrels of ale, one dozen London porter, and one dozen of

old port wine. In May he purchased five and half barrels of ale, three dozen London porter, and two gallons of whiskey. During the congressional session he purchased bottles of Chateau Margaux and Chateau Lafitte. When he went on vacation to the Rip Raps with his family he had gin, whiskey, brandy, Madeira wine, pale sherry and champagne sent. For the six month period the liquor bill for the White House came to \$511.11.

This very same year he and James Madison and John Quincy Adams signed a declaration prepared by a temperance organization." It read:

"Being satisfied, from observation and experience, as well as from medical testimony, that ardent spirit, as a drink, is not only needless, but hurtful; and that the entire disuse of it would tend to promote the health, the virtue, and the happiness of the community, we hereby express our conviction, that should the citizens of the United States, and especially ALL YOUNG MEN, discontinue entirely the use of it, they would not only promote their own personal benefit, but the good of our country and the world."

Because he entertained sumptuously, Jackson bought a splendid French sterling silver service for 36 persons from the Russian minister and it cost \$4,308.82. Jackson also purchased the "richest-cut" crystal for \$1,451.75, French porcelains and fine silks. He also purchased a 440 piece dinner set of French porcelain for \$1,500 and 412 piece dessert set for \$1,000. All told for the furniture, silver, china, cut glass, silks,

porcelains, Jackson spent \$45,000.

Jackson gave sumptuous dinners. He hired a Belgium cook by the name of Joseph Boulanger. Senator Thomas Hart Benton's daughter remembered a formal dinner in which an enormous number of candles were burning in each of the state rooms, with stands of camelias and laurestina in each corner. The supper table was shaped in a horseshoe with an enormous salmon in waves of meat jelly at either end. For the dinner the first course was soup in the French style; then a beef bouille, next wild turkey boned and dressed with brains; then fish; then cold chicken interlaided with slices of tongue and garnished with dressed salad; then canvass back ducks and celery; then partridges with sweet breads; and lastly pheasants and old Virginia ham. For dessert the chef served jelly and small tarts in the Turkish style, blanche mode and kisses with dried fruits, preserves, ice cream and oranges and grapes. With the meal sherry, port, Madeira, champagne, claret and old cherry were served.

A small dinner party began at 3PM in the family dining room opposite the state dining room. On each plate was an elaborately folded napkin with a slice of good light bread in the middle of it. Jackson asked a blessing, the servants closed in, "one to every man." All kinds of beef served: roast beef, corn beef, boiled beef, and beef steak. After dessert the guests crossed the hall to the Washington Parlor for coffee. It ended at 7:00.

Jackson household accounts for one month in 1829 showed that he paid for steaks, milk and eggs, .68 cents; 7 lbs of ham and

one sheeps head came to \$1.62 and a half cents; 23 lbs of flour cost \$1.15; chickens and ducks (no number given) \$1.00; veal and chicken came to .50 cents; fish .19 cents; bread came to .12 cents; but one bottle of ketchup cost \$1.00 and one gallon of whiskey cost \$1.00.

Jackson regularly held levees on Thursdays between 6 and 8 PM, and on New Years and the Fourth of July between 12 and 3 PM. Mobs crowded into the House. All kinds, black, white and red. It reminded one man of Noah's Ark--"all sorts of animals, clean and unclean."

On one of these levees in 1835 Jackson presented with a mamoth 1,400 pound cheddar cheese from Sandy Creek, New York by Colonel Thomas S. Meacham. 150 cows working 15 days produced this behemoth. It took 5 days to pour the curd into a hoop mold. It was 4 feet in diameter and 2 feet thick. A team of 24 horses brought it to Washington. It was cured in the hall over a two year period. Jackson directed that an invitation to all citizens to come to the White House between 1 and 3 PM on February 22--Washington's birthday--to sample the cheddar. And everyone came--cabinet, congressmen, diplomats etc. "All you heard was cheese, all you smelled was cheese. The carpets were slippery with cheese, pockets were filled with the stuff, and the very air for half a mile around was permeated with the aroma of cheese. The mob demolished the cheese in two hours.

People walked into the White House at any hour. On April 17, 1835 and intruder gained access to the upper floor and

Jackson heard him and demanded to know who it was. The intruder called out that he had lost his way and was simply trying to get out of the House. Other members of the family seized the man but since he had no weapons they decided that theft not assassination was his object. He was locked up in the stables for the night but he escaped through an unlocked window. "I trust that in the future," said Donelson, "Uncle will never forget to lock his door when he retires to bed."

Many children and Jackson held frolics for them. They played blind man's bluff, puss in the corner, and forfeits. Then they had snowball fights. The snowballs were made of cotton and stacked on a table.

Jackson also revolutionized the presidency. Paid debt. Veto. Removed cabinet officer. Protest message: representative of all the people and responsible to them. Put down nullification and declared the Union an dissoluble one. He also changed the dress of state department members serving abroad as ministers as they were called. The dress adopted by the ministers at the Treaty of Ghent offended him. He sent this directive to Martin Van Buren his secretary of state:

"The dress of an American minister as fixed by the mission to Ghent and adopted by the Department of State being extremely ostentatious and probably equal in expense to one eighteenth part of the outfit (salary) allowed to a minister of the highest grade, the order prescribing it is henceforth abrogated. But as it is considered necessary that our ministers should be

distinguished by their dress while at Foreign courts from unofficial personages, I am willing to prescribe one which shall conform to the simplicity of our government founded upon, and guided as it is, by pure republican principles. I therefore direct when the minister thinks proper to wear a court dress, that it shall be a Black coat with a gold star on each side of the collar near its termination--the under clothes to be black or white at the option of the wearer--a three cornered Chapeau de Bras, a black cockade and eagle, and a steel mounted sword with a white scabbard."

Last six months of his life only left his bedroom three times. Hemorrhages. He suffered pain almost every day of the last twenty five years of his life. He believed in exercise and relaxation. He also approved blood letting, fasting, special diets, regular doses of calomel, the "matchless sanative," brandy, whiskey, and salt. For dropsy in the lungs he prescribed "a dry diet such as broiled beef on the coals, and ash cake bread, or hard biscuit, using a little liquids as possible. Bathe frequently in warm salt water and then rub brandy or whisky over your legs and arms. And horseback riding for exercise. Died nine years after leaving the White House at the age of 78.

Offer of a sarcophagus made for the Roman Emperor Alexander Severus and brought from Palestine by Commodore Jesse Duncan Elliott. Jackson declined. He wrote: "I must decline accepting the honor intended to be bestowed. I cannot consent that my mortal body shall be laid in a repository prepared for an Emperor

or a King--my republican feelings and principles forbid it. True virtue cannot exist where pomp and parade are the governing passions." It is now in the possession of the National Museum in Washington. Nor did he want any dirt thrown on top of him when he was buried. He was buried in an open vault lined with limestone and brick.

George, Taking Heart From Give-'Em-Hell Harry

By Donnië Radcliffe
Washington Post Staff Writer

He was Give-'Em-Hell Harry to the country, but in private, Harry S. Truman was often lonely—"wishing," said historian David McCullough in a lecture at the White House last night, "that he could be anything but president of the United States."

But if McCullough's word portrait of America's 33rd president captured Truman as forlorn

at times, particularly when Bess, "the Boss," was back home in Missouri and he was writing her what turned out to be hundreds of letters, there was never any suggestion that despite the suddenness of his ascension to office he wasn't up to the job at hand.

"He faced more far-reaching, momentous decisions than any president prior to him or since—not Lincoln, not Roosevelt," said McCullough, whose new biography, "Truman," has already found its way onto two presidential bed-

side tables, one at the White House and the other at Camp David.

"As I make my way through this portrait," said President Bush, introducing McCullough to an invited East Room audience of 125, several of them former Truman aides, "I confess that I got into it early, then I skipped—guess what?—to the campaign of '48. This battle against the 'do-nothing Congress'—wait, that's Truman speaking—and a wonderful come-from-behind-victory. . . .

See TRUMAN, C4, Col. 3

THE WASHINGTON POST

Give-'Em-Hell Harry

TRUMAN, From C1

"Nothing like a story with a happy ending," added Bush, who is trailing Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton by some 30 points in the latest polls.

What Bush liked about Truman was his fighting spirit: "If you can't stand the heat, get out of the kitchen," and "I just told the truth and they thought it was hell"—those are the words of a fighter, someone you could never count out." Bush said he learned that "the hard way" when he lost a \$10 bet on "President" Dewey.

But something else struck him about Truman, who "was anything but a member of FDR's inner circle, [and who] first learned about the Manhattan Project on his 12th day as president but grasped immediately the immense

importance of the atomic bomb." And that was that " '48 was the start of the Marshall Plan, Berlin blockade, the year Stalin's actions turned the Soviet Union from ally to enemy. And once again this man rose to the occasion and led the nation, weary of war and ready for peace, and rallied it to the crusade of the free world. The victory we celebrate today—freedom's triumph and the death of communism—brings us closer to the kind of peace American presidents and the American people have longed for since Truman's time."

McCullough's talk, the fifth in the Presidential Lecture Series on the Presidency, was taped for later viewing on PBS. In addition to Cabinet officers, members of Congress and other VIPs, guests included former New York Times photographer George Tames, who often covered Truman; Alonzo Fields, White House maitre d'

during the Truman administration; George M. Elsey, a former Truman aide; and Robert Donovan, former White House correspondent for the New York Herald-Tribune.

Said McCullough, Truman's "most important gift" to his country was "Harry Truman—the kind of person he was and the kind of person he remained despite what happened. . . . He was exactly the kind of president that the Founding Fathers had in mind. . . .

"He said later, 'I tried never to forget who I was and where I came from and where I would go back to.' He believed in plain speaking, in plain food, in plain truth. He believed in the democratic process, that citizenship involves a social contract by everyone."

Later, as the Bushes and McCulloughs received guests, Barbara Bush told McCullough's wife, Rosalee: "I ended up by wanting to run right upstairs and read it. I loved the idea that he wrote all those letters."

Nice for history, maybe, but not for Truman, who was "really lonely," Ros-

alee McCullough reminded her. "Mrs. Truman didn't stay with her husband. She kept going home. If Mrs. Truman had been more like Mrs. Bush, we wouldn't have the letters. It was really hard to understand how she could leave him alone so much with some of these enormous things he was facing."

Besides letters, McCullough's research revealed that Truman's diaries were rich in detail of the sometimes humdrum existence he led while Bess was in Missouri visiting her mother. One passage described the elaborate formality of dining alone at Blair House—where the Trumans lived while the White House was being renovated—with its endless procession of butlers.

"What a life," he wrote.

"When he described Truman eating alone," Mrs. Bush went on, "I thought it a tad tragic. And you know what else? I'd been thinking George was sort of like Harry. But George has never eaten alone in his life."

The Post 7-29-92

File lists

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*Ellen -
Can we
discuss*

March 18, 1997

MEMORANDUM TO: MELANNE VERVEER
ANN STOCK

FROM: RAHM EMANUEL

SUBJECT: BLUE ROOM LECTURE SERIES

I would like to follow up on where we are on the Presidential Lecture Series.
I have attached a letter I received from Michael Riccards concerning his participation in the
lecture series that I thought you would find interesting.

History?

*Michael Riccards
at FDR receipt?*

FITCHBURG STATE COLLEGE

Fitchburg, Massachusetts 01420-2697
508/665-3112 Fax: 508/665-3699

The President

March 12, 1997

William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C.

*where is
Bue*

Dear President Clinton:

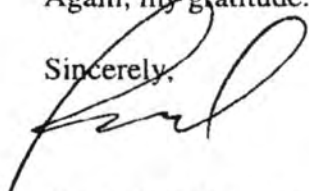
I have received your letter of March 3, 1997, concerning my interview in *USA TODAY* and my book, *The Ferocious Engine of Democracy*. I am pleased that you have enjoyed my history of the presidency. Quite a few people have bought the volumes, but I doubt if very many have made their way through them. I think that is what happens when you have a president who is a former Rhodes Scholar!

Your deputy chief of staff, Mr. Emanuel, called me a while ago and talked about my offering a seminar on the presidency and I told him that I would be delighted to do so. It seems to me that one of the most appropriate topics would be the discussion of how great presidents are ranked as being "great." A lot of the discussion that I hear about strong presidents having to lead the nation into war or being involved in extraordinary crises just is not correct. There are other ways that both presidents and other potential leaders achieve that high rank. There is a recent biography of the English Prime Minister Gladstone by Roy Jenkins which in fact shows how the greatest prime minister of the 19th century inspired people in a variety of ways.

I did, also, enjoy the opportunity to be at the *USA TODAY* roundtable. Your administration has had a string of marked successes that have not been fully appreciated. I believe that in the end history is better than journalism because of the very perspective that you noted in your letter.

Again, my gratitude.

Sincerely,



Michael P. Riccards

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM

TO: THE FIRST LADY
FROM: Ann Stock AS
DATE: April 7, 1997
CC: Melanne Verveer
Ellen Lovell ✓

April 29
5:00

I have had several conversations with Carl Sferrazza Anthony regarding the lecture he would like to do at the White House "*Jacqueline Kennedy: How a Timeless Woman Shaped a Modern Role.*"

He recommends the 5 minute film clip of Jacqueline Kennedy's Tour of the White House be included in his lecture. He also suggests Senator Kennedy make the closing remarks prior to Carl presenting you with his book.

I am enclosing the possible guest list which Carl sent to me. I am sending you his list instead of a grid because he has it categorized. In addition, we are waiting for a suggested press list from Paul Donovan.

I am working with Walter to develop a menu which would take us back to the days of a Kennedy Administration Reception.

Let me know your thoughts.

MRS. ONASSIS FAMILY, AND FRIENDS WHO CONTRIBUTED TO BOOK

Senator Edward M. and Vicki Kennedy

Senator John and Anne Glenn

Sargent and Eunice Kennedy Shriver

James and Barbara Ketchum

William and Rose Styron [not Vineyard address]

John Doar

Helen Bowdoin Spaulding, ~~Four Seasons Hotel Apartments, Boston~~

Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Sorenson, 212-373-3790

*14 Smith Point Rd
Manchester, NH 01944*

Nancy Tuckerman and ~~guest~~

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Salisbury, Connecticut, 06068

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Lisa Drew Books

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Scribner's

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12th Floor

New York, NY 10020

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Peggy McDonnell and guest

Pleasant Valley

Peapack, New Jersey 07977

Steven Rubin

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. list	[Re: attendees to lecture] (partial) (2 pages)	04/07/1997	b(6)

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Professor Richard Neustadt and Shirlee Williams [titled? in England]
John F. Kennedy School of Government
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Mimi Cecil
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Asheville, NC 28803

Bruce Tracy
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NY, NY 10023,

Charles Whitehouse
7476 Frogtown Road
Marshall, VA 22115

Tobie (Mrs. Franklin D.) Roosevelt, Jr.
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61

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Deputy Assistant Secretary for External Affairs
NEED ADDRESS

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Goucher College

NEED ADDRESS

Maryland

Phyllis Lee Levin, [biographer of Abigail Adams and Edith Wilson]

125 E 72nd St
NYC 10021

Blanche Weisen Cooke, [biographer of Eleanor Roosevelt]

240 W 98th Street

14H

NY, NY

Robert Seager [biographer of Julia Tyler]

NEED ADDRESS/VA. [?]

Frances Wright [Mrs. David] Saunders, [biographer of Ellen Wilson]

NEED ADDRESS

Chapel Hill, [?] North Carolina

Susan Eisenhower, [biographer of Mamie Eisenhower]

NEED ADDRESS

Bethesda, Maryland

Susan Ware, [20th Century American Women's History]

NEED ADDRESS

James McGregor Burns

Williams College

Fred Greenstein

Princeton University

Department of Political Science

Who wrote
Franklin + Eleanor?

Carol Lasser

Associate Dean, Oberlin College [?]

NEED ADDRESS

Edie Mayo, Smithsonian Curator Emeritus

8319 Midwood St.

Alexandria, VA, 22308

13

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Edwin and Caroline Kennedy Schlossberg

(b)(6)

[000]

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Bayside, NY 11361

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41st St.
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[Pulitzer Prize-winning biographer of U.S. Grant and Frederick Douglass]

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM

TO: THE FIRST LADY

FROM: Ann Stock

DATE: April 7, 1997

Jacques d'Amboise sent the attached letter to you and The President.

He is writing with a superb idea for possible entertainment at an appropriate venue. This summer he is bringing children from Tel Aviv and Bir Zeit to New York to participate in one of his summer dance programs. They will be dancing with his children from New York the month of July. Jacques is working on the choreography for a dance piece where the Palestinian and Israeli children dance together - forming an environment of universal communication.

I think this is a terrific idea and just wanted to plant it in the back of your mind.

Thanks!

-cc: Ellen Lovell

National Dance Institute

March 26, 1997

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Founder

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Artistic Director

Lesli R. Kapell
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To President Bill Clinton and First Lady Hillary:

Greetings to you. I hope this letter finds you well and happy. (Dear Mr. President, having had five different operations on my knees, I commiserate with you -- not so much for the injury, but for the boring therapy sessions you will most likely be plagued with for the rest of your life.)

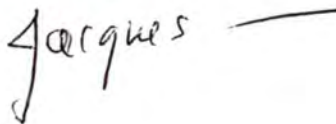
At the invitation of the American Ambassador to Israel, Mr. Martin Indyk, and his wife, Jill, I recently spent three weeks in Tel Aviv-Jaffa doing a dance program with some 200 children from that area. I also managed to do a sister program with Arab children from the town of Bir Zeit, a suburb of Ramallah. As the bulldozers were beginning construction on the settlements in East Jerusalem, we got to Bir Zeit by taking back roads and avoiding the army checkpoints. Both programs were heartwarming and enthusiastic successes.

This summer I expect to bring selected children from Tel Aviv and Bir Zeit to New York City to participate in our summer program. They will be dancing together every day, all day, for the month of July. Joining them will be many of the children that so happily performed for you and the Greek Head of State in the Rose Garden last spring. During the summer program, I plan to choreograph a piece where the Palestinian and Israeli children dance together. I write with the hope of planting in your hearts and minds the suggestion and hope of an "Event," the premiering of this dance piece for you at the White House.

Music and dance are two arts that establish an environment for immediate and universal communication. Children live and flourish without animosity in that environment. Because of the acrimony, mistrust, and hate that so taint relations between Jews and Arabs, I believe that the "Event" at the White House will be a national and international public relations bonanza. A statement of a possible and promising future, rather than a nihilistic one. In a gray landscape, some sunlight.

With Admiration and Warmest Wishes,

Your Jacques d'Amboise



594 Broadway, Room 805
New York, NY 10012
(212) 226-0083
FAX (212) 226-0761

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM

TO: THE FIRST LADY
Patti Solis

FROM: Ann Stock A.S.

DATE: April 7, 1997

I spoke with Dale Chihuly last week regarding his upcoming trip to Washington from April 16 to April 22. His Chihuly Over Venice show will open at the Corcoran on April 18 - the same day as the Corcoran Ball.

He would love to invite you to any or all of the following events while he is in town:

1. The Corcoran Ball and opening of Chihuly Over Venice on Friday, April 18.
2. The Drawing Workshop he is conducting at the Corcoran with "Very Special Arts Kids" on Thursday, April 17 from 10:00 am - 11:30 am.
3. One of his lectures at the Corcoran on Saturday, April 19 at 1:00 pm and again at 3:30 pm.
4. Or, Dale would be happy to escort you through Chihuly Over Venice.

I would recommend you accept his offer to personally escort you through the show.
Let me know what you think.

↳ and bring your
staff along!

cc: Ellen Lovell

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM

TO: THE FIRST LADY
FROM: Ann Stock A.S.
DATE: April 1, 1997
CC: Melanne Verveer
Ellen Lovell ✓

While you were away, Robert Pinsky was named by the Library of Congress to become the next Poet Laureate of the United States. I thought you might like to see the attached articles from *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* regarding Mr. Pinsky.

I will set up a meeting with him soon to discuss a possible poetry event at the White House.

Book World: Rosemary
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The Poet Of the People

Robert Pinsky Won't
Rest on His Laureate

By David Streitfeld
Washington Post Staff Writer

"The passion to make new beginnings can shatter/ The highest solitude, or living rock," Robert Pinsky wrote in his long poem "An Explanation of America."

Sometimes, it even brings a man to Washington. Librarian of Congress James Billington announced yesterday that he had selected Pinsky as the country's ninth poet laureate, a one-year position that brings \$35,000, increased sales, a few small responsibilities, an office in the library's attic, a staff of one, truckloads of mail from children and other versifiers eager for advice or recognition, and a prominent soapbox.

This is a difficult balancing act, and poets have been known to beg off. But Pinsky, speaking the other day from a New Jersey hotel room prior to a poetry reading at Drew University, seemed eager to begin the position in all its complexities.

See PINSKY, C2, Col. 3



(over)

Poet Laureate Pinsky

PINSKY, From C1

"It's a responsibility and an opportunity as well as an honor," he said. He spoke of harnessing the technology of the Internet to get poems to the people, of helping ordinary folks appreciate and accept the art "as related to the other ways we use language—as something that gives pleasure, that is an important part of life."

Prose, he said, is like wading—you see your toes, a starfish, an anemone, a sharp rock. You move slowly and deliberately, knowing where you're going. Poetry, on the other hand, "is like ice-skating. You glide and change directions fast. You cover a lot of ground, but it's also more dangerous."

Pinsky is 56, a teacher in the graduate creative writing program at Boston University and the author of five books of poetry and a highly regarded translation of Dante's "Inferno." He's been acclaimed by critics, sometimes extravagantly—last year the Nation magazine opined that "among the many writers who have come of age in our *fin de siècle*, none have succeeded more completely as poet, critic and translator than Robert Pinsky." But it's fair to say that the larger reading public hasn't heard of him.

The laureateship should change that, to the extent anything can. The program began in 1937, with the appointment of the scarcely remembered Joseph Auslander as the Library of Congress's first consultant in poetry. For the next five decades, some big names—Robert Lowell, Randall Jarrell, Robert Frost, Robert Penn Warren—served quiet terms. They advised, they consulted, they worked on their own projects.

In 1986, Robert Penn Warren was brought back in the newly created position of laureate. Due to his age and prominence, the appointment was largely honorary. Rita Dove's term in 1993 proved much more visible, and she was persuaded to sign up for a second year-long stint. Ditto for Robert Hass, the current laureate, who's racked up the frequent flier miles lecturing on literacy and doing readings.

"Rita and Bob have been surprised what two additional words—'poet laureate'—do in terms of public expectations and public demands," said Prosser Gifford, director of scholarly programs at the library. "They have risen to these expectations out of their own personality and commitment to the word and to poetry." Ideally, the library wants someone who will follow in this vein.

Hass couldn't be reached for this story; he had just left Amherst and was said to be on his way to Richmond, or maybe it was Roanoke. His answering machine in Berkeley asserted it was best not to leave a message; his wife Brenda's machine flat-out refused to accept any.

But his latest book, "Sun Under Wood," has sold three times as much as his previous book. A column by Hass introducing a different poem each week in The Washington Post Book World has won many fans and will be published as a book this fall; a book of his recent lectures will be out next year. All this fecundity and popularity comes at a price, though: Even on his answering machine, Hass sounds exhausted.

Pinsky said he is aware of the dangers. "I'm going to do it right and not go crazy."

While the expectations have risen, the technical requirements for the laureate remain minimal: a lecture in October to begin the year and a reading in May to end it, and advice on which other poets to bring to the library in between.



Robert Pinsky, named ninth poet laureate yesterday by the Library of Congress: "I'm going to do it right and not go crazy."

Any ceremonial verse—Mona Van Duyn, for instance, wrote a poem for Clinton's inauguration—is strictly voluntary. It's a whole different model than in Britain, where the poet laureate is appointed for life and is expected to commemorate royal functions (and then is often mocked for doing so).

Pinsky is not particularly prolific. His collected works, published last year as "The Figured Wheel," total 302 pages. He's also written several books of essays, but the most recent of these is nearly a decade old.

"Twenty years ago, he was the best young critic in America, but no one took him seriously," said the poet and critic Donald Hall. "So he stopped writing criticism and concentrated on poetry. He became a poet through willpower."

His work treats grand topics, avoids the confessional style and tends to be lengthy, although Pinsky doesn't particularly agree with this last point. "What we've come to call a long poem is awfully short," he protested. "A lecture that goes on for an hour wouldn't be called a long lecture, or a conversation that goes on for a thousand words a long conversation."

"An Explanation of America," Pinsky's second book, is a single poem, written during the mid-'70s for his daughter. The shadow of Vietnam falls over the work; the poet writes that the war will never be tamed or mere "history" for him, that he will always feel

"as if I lived/ In a time when the country aged itself":

As if we were a family, and some members

Had done an awful thing on a road at night,

And all of us had grown white hair, or tails:

And though the tails or white hair would afflict

Only that generation then alive

And of a certain age, regardless whether

They were the ones that did or planned the thing—

Or even heard about it—nevertheless

The members of that family ever after

Would bear some consequence or demarcation,

Forgotten maybe, taken for granted, a trait,

A new syllable buried in their name.

Said Hall: "He brings into contemporary poetry, and into contemporary possibilities of poetry, a great deal of learning and a spirit of rational inquiry, which is not generally considered part of the equipment. He takes on themes, which few people do, and then pursues them with both dogged and imaginative energy."

In "Essay on Psychiatrists," a long poem of 21 sections, Pinsky tries to figure out what separates those who "try to give medicine for misery" from everyone else. He fails, realizing every statement about psychia-

The Poet On Poetry

On a visit to the Illinois Schools for the Deaf and Visually Impaired, Robert Pinsky asked four student poets about the topics closest to their hearts. He wrote his own poem about their answers, titling the result "If You Could Write One Great Poem, What Would You Want It to Be About?"

Fire: because it is quick, and can destroy.

Music: place where anger has its place.

Romantic Love—the cold or stupid ask why.

Sign: that it is a language, full of grace.

That it is visible, invisible, dark and clear.

That it is loud and noiseless and is contained

Inside a body and explodes in air
Out of a body to conquer from the mind.

trists applies equally to all human beings:

They, too, Consult psychiatrists. They try tentatively

To understand, to find healing speech. They work For truth and for money.

The poem concludes:

... we are all psychiatrists, All fumbling at so many millions of miles Per minute and so many dollars per hour

Through the exploding or collapsing spaces
Between stars, saying what we can.

"Poetry is an art that's very much on an individual scale," Pinsky said. "The medium is one human body, one person—not necessarily the artist, but anyone saying the words of the poem over to him or herself."

Accordingly, in his role as laureate he'd like to ask all sorts of public and private figures to read a poem in public—police officers, President Clinton, high school kids. "More people than you might think have something they would enjoy saying aloud."

AP

Thoughts

an inspiration for us to create me from the heart."

statement that a portion of hum would open the Christoph in Brooklyn, adding, "I will also my role in music and life."

Combs's life contradictions at f. He was raised middle class i few York—more a skinny part bite than a ghetto bad boy. Bt has risen to become a key play bed gangsta rap. At its best, th

A New Poet Laureate at Home With Dante, the Internet and Sometimes Both

By RALPH BLUMENTHAL

Robert Pinsky, a prize-winning poet who bridges Dante and the Internet, has been named the nation's next poet laureate consultant in poetry. The selection is being announced today by the Librarian of Congress, James H. Billington, who cited Mr. Pinsky's mastery of computers as well as his translations and "his own probing poetry."

Like his 38 predecessors since 1937, the last 8 of them consultants as well as laureates, the 56-year-old Mr. Pinsky will have few statutory duties for the pay (\$35,000) outside of organizing several literary programs, readings and talks. But laureates have used their two-year platform to foster poetry in schools, workshops and cityscapes and to enhance the library's archives. The reigning laureate, Robert Hass, who bows out with a final lecture on May 1, crisscrossed the country taking the measure of literacy at citizen forums and Rotary Clubs and, not incidentally, collecting snippets of impromptu

Seeing poetry as a simple art on the individual scale of one human voice.

haiku from passers-by.

Mr. Pinsky, a professor of graduate writing at Boston University who propelled Dante onto the best-seller lists with his acclaimed 1994 verse translation of the "Inferno," said in an interview in New York yesterday that he might take a tack from his classes and ask a broad spectrum of Americans, including powers that be in Washington, to read and record their favorite poems for the library. "What would President Clinton or Al Gore pick?" he asked. "Or Jesse Helms?"

"If people ask in 1,000 years who Americans were, this might help them figure it out," he said. Although poetry seems to be in some vogue,

cropping up in movies and ever more popular public readings, Mr. Pinsky said it was still widely manhandled in schools.

"Teachers have pedagogically treated poems as an occasion to say something smart," he said. But poetry, he said, is as simple as art on an individual scale, its medium a single human voice. That, he said, is the secret of poetry's "immense power in an age of arts dominated by mechanical reproduction."

Not that Mr. Pinsky has anything against modern technology. He is the poetry editor of the Internet magazine Slate (at <http://www.slate.com>), and as a certifiable computer pioneer wrote a 1984 interactive "text adventure" modeled loosely on the "Inferno." "A side of me wants to try anything," he said.

In fact, he has commented, poetry and computers share two key attributes: speed and memory. "They share," he wrote, "the great human myth of trope, an image that could be called the secret passage: the discovery of large, manifold channels through a small ordinary-looking or

all but invisible aperture."

And anyway, he asked, what is poetry but technology that uses the human body? He also likens poetry to ice-skating with its daring leaps and flashing vistas.

If Mr. Pinsky's translation of the "Inferno" popularized his name, the work becoming a selection of the Book of the Month Club and a best seller, he has long been highly regarded in literary circles for his five books of poetry since 1975 ("Sadness and Happiness," "An Explanation of America," "History of My Heart," "The Want Bone," "The Figured Wheel"); three books of prose ("Londor's Poetry," "The Situation of Poetry," "Poetry and the World") and a translation of "The Separate Notebooks" by Czeslaw Milosz. He was at a Barnes & Noble bookstore in Boston last week giving a reading from "The Figured Wheel," his latest collection, published last year and just now coming out in paperback, when calls reached him about his appointment.

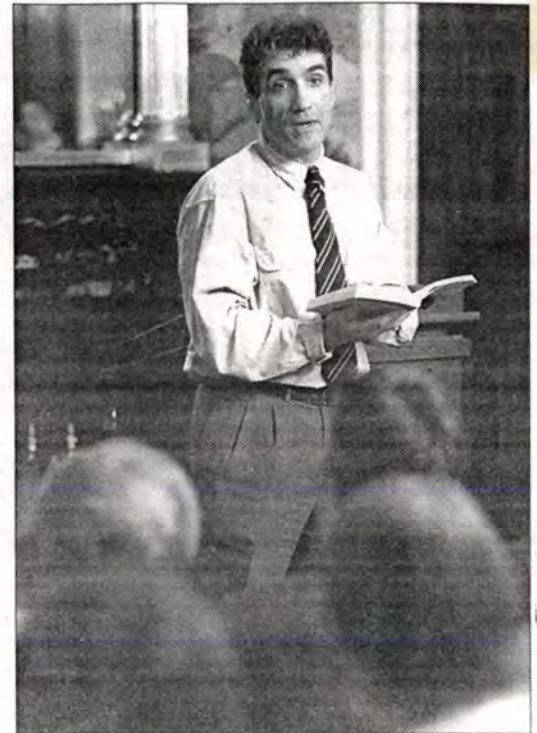
He achieved his translation of Dante without a scholar's knowledge of Italian. "My work is not a work of scholarship," he said. "It's a work of metrical engineering."

Poetry gripped him from youth in Long Branch, N.J., he recalled, although his was not a literary family. His father was an optician and his grandfather, David Pinsky, was a small-time prizefighter, tavern-owner and bootlegger. But even before he knew what poetry was, he said, he savored the sounds of words like the conductor's cry: "Passengers going to Hoboken, change trains at Summit."

At Rutgers University he wrote out Yeats's "Sailing to Byzantium" and taped it to a wall. Why? "It was the speed with which he covered the ground," Mr. Pinsky said. "Wow: 'artifice of eternity!'"

After college, he received a graduate fellowship at Stanford and taught English at the University of California at Berkeley before moving to Boston University, where, he said, he hopes to continue teaching after taking office in October. He and his wife, Ellen, a clinical psychologist, have three grown daughters.

He takes his poetic inspiration from everywhere and anything, he said. "If you look at this Tropicana container," he said, lifting it from the table, "when did they start putting paraffin on the carton and the fluttering banner here? If you could understand that, you might understand a lot of Western history." His poems seem hard to classify, ranging widely over Judeo-Christian themes,



Robert Pinsky, the new poet laureate of the United States, giving a reading on Wednesday at Drew University in Madison, N.J.

A professor in Boston with an idea to put Clinton on the spot.

He plays the saxophone, and is an avid baseball fan and Red Sox rooster, by way of the Brooklyn Dodgers. "Being a Dodger fan is good preparation for being a Red Sox fan," he said.

Both teams, he said, exemplify "values deeper than success."

He said he was proud to follow many of his icons, including Robert Lowell, Elizabeth Bishop, Conrad Aiken, William Carlos Williams, Robert Frost and Robert Penn Warren. But he is also glad, he said, that the job description has expanded from just plain poet laureate to consultant in poetry as well.

"It's a greater distinction to be consulted than to be laureated," he said.

autobiography and genre scenes. "I like human artifacts," he said. Being used to a noisy, crowded household, he says, he writes fast and almost anywhere, even in airports. "I can easily get a mass of clay on the table," he said, although he added that the last 20 percent could entail many drafts.

Journeys, in Strikingly Different Voices

*Breaking the deep sleep that filled my head,
A heavy clap of thunder startled me up
As though by force; with rested eyes I stood
Peering to find where I was — in truth, the lip
Above the chasm of pain, which holds the din
Of infinite grief: a gulf so dark and deep*

*And murky that though I gazed intently down
Into the canyon, I could see nothing below.
"Now we descend into the sightless zone,"*

*The poet began, dead pale now: "I will go
Ahead, you second." I answered, seeing his
pallor,
"How can I venture here if even you,*

*Who have encouraged me every time I falter,
Turn white with fear?" And he: "It is the pain
People here suffer that paints my face this color*

*Of pity, which you mistake for fear. Now on:
Our long road urges us forward."*

From "The Inferno of Dante," Canto IV, 1994

*The figured wheel rolls through shopping malls and
prisons,
Over farms, small and immense, and the rotten
little downtowns.
Covered with symbols, it mills everything alive and
grinds*

*The remains of the dead in the cemeteries, in
unmarked graves and oceans.*

Sluiced by salt water and fresh, by pure and

*contaminated rivers,
By snow and sand, it separates and recombines all
droplets and grains,
Even the infinite sub-atomic particles crushed
under the illustrated,
Varying treads of its wide circumferential track.*

From "The Figured Wheel," 1987

*A brilliant beard of ice
Hangs from the edge of the roof
Harsh and heavy as glass.
The spikes a child breaks off*

*Taste of wool and the sun.
In the house, some straw for a bed,
Circled by a little train,
Is the tiny image of God.*

*The sky is fiery blue,
And a fiery morning light
Burns on the fresh deep snow:
Not one track in the street.*

*Just as the carols tell
Everything is calm and bright:
The town is lying still
Frozen silver and white*

*Is only one child awake,
Breaking the crystal chimes? —
Knocking them down with a stick,
Leaving the broken stems.*

"Icicles," from "The Want Bone," 1990