

AMERICA'S OTHER INAUGURATION

by

STEPHEN W. STATHIS

and

RONALD C. MOE*

As the day approached in December 1973, when Gerald R. Ford would take the oath of office and become the Nation's first non-elected Vice President, there was concern expressed at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue regarding the form the inaugural proceedings should follow. It seemed reasonable to assume that in the nearly two centuries in which the Republic had flourished, certain distinctive and hallowed traditions regarding Vice Presidential inaugurals would have been established and that such traditions ought to be honored. Yet, when researchers went to the record, it became evident that there was painfully little information on the subject. Although much had been written on Presidential inaugurations, few writers had found the "other inauguration" either interesting or important enough to describe, much less analyze.¹

In December 1973, however, the details of the Vice Presidential inauguration suddenly took on unprecedented political and historical importance. Mr. Ford was the first Vice President selected under the provisions of the twenty-fifth Amendment ratified in 1967, and all were aware that whatever procedures were followed would be used as a guide in the future, as indeed was to be the case less than a year later with the selection of Nelson Rockefeller to be Mr. Ford's Vice President.² Of more immediate interest in late 1973, however, was the behind-the-scenes maneuvering between the new Vice President and the White House staff over the site of the imminent inauguration. President Nixon was reported to want the oath to be

administered in the East Room of the White House, while Ford preferred the chamber of the House of Representatives where he had served for the past twenty five years.³ Ultimately, the new Vice President-designate prevailed and the historic ceremony was held before a joint session of Congress attended by President Nixon, the Supreme Court, the Cabinet, and Washington's diplomatic corps on December 6, 1973.

Unknown to most of those present at the ceremony—and to the millions of others who watched in on television—was the rich heritage to which many preceding Vice Presidents had contributed. Historically, the most salient characteristic of Vice Presidential inaugurations has been their diversity of character and format. The oath of office has been administered to Vice Presidents at different times than that of the President; at different locations, once even in a foreign land; and by persons occupying a number of different offices. On only three occasions have the President and Vice President taken their respective oaths of office on the same day, at the same place, and from the same officer.⁴ Even then, they took different oaths.

Oath of Office

The oath required of the President is set forth in Article II of the Constitution.⁵ The Constitution also provides that the Vice President and other officers of the Government shall be required to take an oath upholding the Constitution, but is silent regarding its actual form. The Constitution also provides that the Vice President shall be President of the Senate.⁶

An act to regulate the time and manner of administering an oath to Federal officers other than the President was not enacted until June 1, 1789, some three months

* Stephen W. Stathis is an analyst in American history with the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress. Ronald C. Moe is a specialist in Government organization with the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress.

after the First Congress convened in New York. This statute, the first to be signed by President George Washington, declared that Senators, Representatives, and all officers of the United States would "solemnly swear or affirm (as the case may be) that I will support the Constitution of the United States." The Act went on to state that "the said oath or affirmation shall be administered within three days after the passing of this act, by any one member of the Senate, to the President of the Senate, and by him to all members and to the secretary."⁷

Initially, the law authorized only Senators to administer the oath to the Vice President, but it was substantially augmented by legislation passed later by the same Congress. The Judiciary Act of September 24, 1789 provided, among other things, that the courts could administer all oaths and affirmations.⁸

Twice since 1789, Congress has approved new oaths for the Vice President and other civil officers. The original oath remained in effect until July 2, 1862, when a law was signed by President Abraham Lincoln requiring all persons elected or appointed to Federal office (except the President) to solemnly swear (or affirm) that they had never voluntarily borne arms against the United States so long as they had been citizens; and that they had not voluntarily given "aid, countenance, counsel or encouragement to persons engaged in armed hostility thereto." It further stipulated that the persons receiving the oath should have "neither sought nor accepted nor attempted to exercise the functions of any office whatever, under any authority, or pretended authority in hostility to the United States," or have "yielded a voluntary support to any pretended government, authority, power or constitution within the United States, hostile or inimical thereto."⁹

In taking the oath, each officer agreed to support and defend the Constitution "against all enemies, foreign and domestic;" and to "bear true faith and allegiance to the same." This obligation was taken "freely without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion." Those officers reciting the oath committed themselves to dis-

charge the duties of the office which they were about to enter. It was this oath that was administered to Vice President Andrew Johnson on March 4, 1865.¹⁰

With the cessation of hostilities, Congress on July 11, 1868, once again altered the oath, this time to reflect the lifting of legal disabilities from those who had "participated in the late rebellion." All Federal officials by this new oath committed themselves to "support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic;" and did so "freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion." They also agreed "to faithfully discharge the duties of the office of which they were about to enter." This oath remains in effect today.¹¹

Timing of the Inaugural Ceremonies

When George Washington and John Adams were elected as President and Vice President by the Electoral College in February 1789, the new Constitution did not provide a specific date for their inauguration. On April 30, 1789, six days after he arrived in New York, Washington was inaugurated as the first President before a large assemblage. John Adams, the Vice President-elect, had the honor of greeting the new President upon his arrival in the city and to witness his inauguration.¹²

After having been officially informed of his own election as Vice President at his home in Braintree, Massachusetts, Adams had been cheered in every town and village he passed through prior to reaching New York on April 18. There he was met by an official reception committee of the heads of the departments of the new Government, officers of the army, members of Congress, and a great multitude of private citizens. Three days later, on April 21, he was presented to the Senate by the President *pro tempore* John Langdon and delivered an inaugural address to those assembled whereupon he began his role as the Senate's presiding officer.¹³

Adams, however, like the distinguished Senators seated before him, would continue to transact business for several weeks before Congress framed a specific oath of office for Federal officers other than the President. Only after the passage

of that legislation was the Vice President-elect permitted to take his oath from President *pro tempore* Langdon within the three day period required by the new law.¹⁴ The June 13 ceremony itself was brief and exclusive since the Senate met in closed session until 1795.¹⁵ Even the Vice President's wife could not attend the ceremony in the Senate chamber at Federal Hall in New York City.

Three years later, Congress, as part of the Presidential Succession Act of 1792, approved specific legislation requiring the President and Vice President to be sworn into office on March 4 of the year following each Presidential election. With the passage of the Twentieth Amendment in 1933, the inauguration day was changed to January 20.¹⁶

These statutory and constitutional provisions notwithstanding, there were four Vice Presidents prior to the Civil War who were not even in the Nation's capital on inauguration day. On another occasion during the same period, when the inauguration day fell on a Sunday, both the President and Vice President chose to take their oaths at the Capitol the following day. Twice since, when the date for an inauguration has fallen on a Sunday, the President in each instance was first sworn in privately, and then on Monday, March 5, shortly after the Vice Presidential inauguration in the Senate chamber, reaffirmed his allegiance to the Constitution before those assembled for the public ceremony at the Capitol. Each instance involved an unusual set of circumstances, only one of which was actually provided for by law. Together, they have contributed to a growing body of precedents.

President Washington's decision that his re-election as President necessitated a new oath of office resulted in a simple public ceremony being performed on March 4, 1793, in the Senate chamber.¹⁷ Following the lead of the President, Vice President Adams also took his oath for a second time in the Senate chamber, but the ceremony did not take place until the opening of the Third Congress on December 2, 1793.¹⁸ The question of whether or not Adams was the Vice President *de jure*

during the period between March 4, 1793 and December 2, 1793, is an interesting constitutional problem although one that evoked little interest at the time. Vice President George Clinton's absence from the inaugural ceremony of President James Madison was far more intriguing. Clinton apparently did not even bother to take the oath on the commencement of his second term in 1809.¹⁹

In 1821, on the first of five occasions when the inauguration day fell on a Sunday, President James Monroe sought the counsel of his Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, as to whether or not it would be proper and legal for him to enter his second term on the Christian sabbath. Adams, in turn, contacted Chief Justice John Marshall for an opinion.

After conversing with his Supreme Court colleagues, the Chief Justice wrote Adams explaining that, since "the Constitution only provides that the President shall take the oath it prescribes 'before he enters on the execution of his office,' and as the law is silent on the subject, the time seems to be in some measure at the discretion of that high officer." Marshall perceived "an obvious propriety in taking the oath as soon as it can be conveniently taken, and thereby shortening the interval in which the executive power is suspended. But some interval is inevitable. The term of the actual President will expire, and that of the President elect commence, at twelve in the night of the 3d of March."²⁰

Presidents have usually taken "the oath at mid day on the 4th. Thus there has been uniformly and voluntarily an interval of twelve hours during which the Executive power could not be exercised." On occasion "circumstances may prevent the declaration of the person who is chosen until it shall be too late to communicate the intelligence of his election until the 4th of March. This occurred at the first election."

The Chief Justice concluded that "undoubtedly, on any pressing emergency the President might take the oath in the first hour of the 4th of March, but it has never been thought necessary so to do, and he has always named such hour as he deemed

most convenient." Marshall was in "favor of postponing the oath until Monday unless some official duty should require its being taken on Sunday."

President Monroe apparently agreed with the Chief Justice's opinion because the inaugural ceremony was held on Monday, March 5. Vice President Daniel D. Tompkins, who, because of ill health, was not in Washington at the time and knew nothing of President Monroe's concern, was sworn into office privately at his residence near New York City on Saturday, March 3. After he learned of the President's intentions, Tompkins took the oath again the following Monday.²¹

When inauguration day again fell on a Sunday in 1849, President-elect Zachary Taylor and his running mate, Millard Fillmore, followed the precedent set by President Monroe and waited until Monday, March 5, to take their respective oaths. The decision by President Taylor and Vice President Fillmore to postpone their inaugural ceremonies until March 5 gave rise to an apocryphal story that David R. Atchison, President *pro tempore* of the Senate, had served as President of the United States for one day under the provisions of the Presidential Succession Act of 1792.²² Equally intriguing are the various stories which were published after William Rufus King was permitted by an act of Congress approved on March 2, 1853, to take his oath in Cuba on a day of his own choosing.²³

Controversy of a far different nature surrounded the 1877 inaugural. In late January of 1877, the electoral votes of several States were still in dispute and to resolve the issue Congress established a special Electoral Commission. Not until March 2, was the Commission's report accepted by Congress and Rutherford B. Hayes declared elected President by a single electoral vote (185-184).²⁴ Anxiety was further intensified at the time by the fact, that for the third time, the date set for the inauguration fell on a Sunday, thereby postponing the inaugural ceremonies to Monday, March 5.

Both President Ulysses Grant and Secretary of State Hamilton Fish feared the

consequences of even a brief technical interregnum and, accordingly, at a White House dinner on Saturday, March 3, honoring the Hayeses, the President-elect was secretly ushered into the Red Room where in the presence of the President and the Secretary of State the Chief Justice, Morrison R. Waite, administered the oath.²⁵ There is no record that concern was expressed for having the oath administered privately to Vice President-elect William A. Wheeler prior to the formal ceremony held in the Senate chamber on March 5.²⁶

In an equally simple ceremony, Woodrow Wilson was officially sworn into office for his second term at four minutes past noon on Sunday, March 4, 1917, in the President's Room at the Capitol. He had spent the previous hour and a quarter signing bills and working on other administrative matters while Senator Robert LaFollette, a few feet away, engaged in a filibuster to defeat the Administration's demand for congressional support in arming American merchant vessels for protection against possible U-boat attacks following the rupture of diplomatic relations with Germany. Shortly after the Sixty-fourth Congress adjourned at noon, with the Senate not voting on the Administration's bill, Wilson was sworn into office by Chief Justice Edward D. White.²⁷ A tired Vice President Thomas Marshall meanwhile spent the entire day quietly with his wife and a few friends from Indianapolis in his apartment at the Willard Hotel. He "had no appointments for the day and received no calls."²⁸ The following day, March 5, he took his oath for a second term in the Senate chamber.

More recently, unlike the three previous instances when the President and Vice President took their oaths on different days, both President Dwight Eisenhower and Vice President Richard Nixon were administered their oaths for a second term on Sunday, January 20, 1957. The three-minute ceremony in the East Room of the White House was witnessed by an audience of some eighty "relatives, close friends, high-ranking White House officials, maids, ushers and cooks."²⁹ The President and Vice President "considered

it necessary to take their oaths . . . lest some major action be necessary in advance of the ceremony for the public” which would take place at noon the following day.³⁰

There has been at least one instance in history when a delay by a Vice President in taking the oath of office conceivably might have been of profound significance. Abraham Lincoln, in anticipation of beginning his second term, sent a telegram on January 14, 1865, to his Vice President-elect, Andrew Johnson, then Military Governor of Tennessee, inquiring when he might be expected in Washington.³¹ Three days later, Johnson, in response, asked the President if he might delay the taking of his oath because “the ordinance abolishing slavery will be adopted by the people [of Tennessee] on the 22d of February. Legislature and Governor will be elected on the 4th of March, and will meet on the first Monday in April when the Senate will be organized, and resume all the functions of a State in the Union.” He preferred to remain in Tennessee “until that time, and then hand it all over to the people in their respective character.”

Johnson explained that he “would rather have the pleasure and honor of turning over the State, organized to the people properly constituted than be Vice President of the United States.” Then, “at some convenient time after the first Monday in April, I would be qualified etc. There are precedents for qualifying Vice Presidents after the fourth of March.” This course of action, he argued, “would have a good affect, [sic] and set the right precedent for restoring the State authority, whose people have been in rebellion.”³²

A week later, President Lincoln sent Johnson a telegram explaining that he had met with several members of the Cabinet to discuss the request. While they appreciated his “wish to remain in Tennessee until her State Government shall be completely re-inaugurated, it is our unanimous conclusion that it is unsafe for you to not be here on the fourth of March. Be sure to reach here by that time.”³³

Governor Johnson tarried to the last moment, not arriving in Washington until

March 1, 1865. He took the oath of office in the Senate chamber on March 4 and then accompanied the President to the east front of the Capitol where Lincoln took his oath for the second time.³⁴

The question of exactly what Andrew Johnson’s constitutional status would have been had Lincoln allowed Johnson to delay his arrival in Washington is unclear since the Succession Act of 1792 did not provide for such a contingency. Accordingly, had Johnson not taken his oath by April 14, 1865, when Mr. Booth extinguished the life of the President, President *pro tempore* of the Senate, Lafayette S. Foster of Connecticut, under provisions of the Presidential Succession Act, probably would have become “acting” President of the United States, thereby prompting an unprecedented constitutional crisis.

Administering the Oath

It has been the usual practice since the inauguration of John Adams in 1797 to have the Presidential oath of office administered by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.³⁵ This tradition stands in sharp contrast to the historical pattern surrounding the administration of the oath to the Vice Presidents. Officials occupying a variety of positions have been designated by the Vice Presidents to administer their oaths.

The first three Vice Presidents, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and Aaron Burr, each were administered the oath by the President *pro tempore* of the Senate, as were several of their successors prior to the Civil War. George Clinton broke with this nascent tradition in 1805 when Chief Justice John Marshall administered his oath in the Senate chamber immediately following the administration of the oath by the Chief Justice to President Jefferson.³⁶ In 1833, Chief Justice Marshall once again administered the oaths of office to both President Andrew Jackson and Vice President Martin Van Buren.³⁷

United States District Judge John Davis administered the oath to Elbridge Gerry in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1813. Eight years later, in 1821, Daniel Tompkins opted to have his friend, United

States District Judge William P. Van Ness, administer the oath to him at his home near New York City.³⁸

On March 4, 1825, immediately preceding the Vice Presidential inaugural ceremony in the Senate chamber, Senator Elijah Mills successfully moved to have Andrew Jackson, the oldest member of the Senate present, administer the oath of office to Vice President-elect John C. Calhoun.³⁹ It was an empty honor for Jackson, however, who only a few weeks earlier had won a plurality not a majority of votes for President in the Electoral College. When the voting process was constitutionally shifted to the House of Representatives, John Quincy Adams emerged the victor.

Hannibal Hamlin decided in 1861 to alter the procedure and for the first time had his predecessor, John Breckinridge, administer his oath.⁴⁰ Four years later, Hamlin administered the oath to his successor, Andrew Johnson, as would nine subsequent Vice Presidents. The next three Vice Presidents, Schuyler Colfax, Henry Wilson, and William A. Wheeler, were sworn into office by the President *pro tempore* of the Senate, as were seven of their successors. Only twice between the Civil War and the outbreak of hostilities in Korea was a Senator chosen for this honor.

Since World War II, Vice Presidents have tended to select friends and associates to administer their oaths. Alben Barkley in 1949 chose Associate Justice Stanley Reed for the honor. Richard Nixon asked his senatorial colleague from California, William Knowland, to administer the oath both in 1953 and 1957. In 1961, Lyndon Johnson had Speaker Sam Rayburn, his political mentor, perform the ceremony. Speaker John McCormack administered the oath to Hubert Humphrey in 1965, while Senator Everett Dirksen and Chief Justice Warren Burger, respectively, swore in Vice President Spiro Agnew in 1969 and 1973. Vice Presidents Gerald R. Ford and Nelson A. Rockefeller were sworn in by Chief Justice Burger in 1973 and 1974 respectively. Walter Mondale was sworn in by Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill in 1977.

Location of the Swearing-In Ceremony

If asked today where Vice Presidents take their oath of office, a reasonably well-informed citizen would be likely to respond: on the steps of the east front of the Capitol. Although this answer would be correct for more recent Vice Presidents, the tradition of administering the oath of office to the Vice President on the steps of the Capitol, before the same public assemblage present for the President's inauguration, is of comparatively recent origin. The first time a Vice President was sworn-in on the steps of the east front of the Capitol was in 1937, when John Nance joined Franklin D. Roosevelt. Prior to 1937, the location for the Vice Presidential inaugurations varied considerably.

During the early years of the Republic, before the Civil War, Vice Presidents were often of the opinion that their inaugurations were of little national significance. John Adams evidenced no particular concern for taking the oath for his second term as Vice President and waited until December 2, 1793, some nine months after President Washington's second inauguration, to take his own oath.⁴¹ Thomas Jefferson saw no reason to go to Philadelphia to take his oath of office in 1797 since he believed that it could be administered by any Senator or judge at Monticello, or anywhere else. He ultimately changed his mind "out of respect to the public and especially to silence the reports that he considered the second office beneath his acceptance."⁴²

From 1789 through 1805, the Vice Presidential oath of office was administered in the Senate chamber in New York City, Philadelphia, and finally Washington. The first Vice President actually known to have the oath administered away from the seat of Government was Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts. As Vice President-elect, Gerry wrote to President James Madison asking to be excused from making the trip to Washington during the winter season to participate in the inauguration ceremonies.⁴³ A few days later, Gerry took the oath of office at his Cambridge home, Elmwood, on March 4, 1813, before several distinguished guests that included former President John Adams.⁴⁴ At the

opening of the 13th Congress, on May 24, 1813, the Vice President exhibited a certificate of his having taken the oath as prescribed by law.⁴⁵

Gerry's successor, Daniel Tompkins, returned the ceremony to the Senate chamber in 1817. In 1821, however, when it was time for his second inauguration, Tompkins remained at his home near New York and was administered his oath there.⁴⁷ The absence of Mr. Tompkins from President Monroe's second inauguration and his continued neglect of his duties as President of the Senate were much commented upon at the time.⁴⁷

Martin Van Buren, on March 4, 1833, altered previous practice somewhat by having the oath administered in the House chamber immediately following the inauguration of President Jackson.⁴⁸

In March 1853, William Rufus King, long a prominent member of the Senate from Alabama and on several occasions President *pro tempore* of that body, was sworn-in as Vice President under bizarre and unprecedented circumstances. Three months earlier, in late December 1852, precarious health had forced his resignation as President *pro tempore*, and as a Senator he sought to regain his health prior to assuming his duties as Vice President.

On January 17, 1853, King left Norfolk, Virginia, aboard a government steamer and sailed to Havana, Cuba, landing there in early February. A week later he arrived at the port of Matanzas, some sixty miles east of Havana, and then traveled inland a few miles in the hope of easing his suffering from the final stages of tuberculosis. King's sufferings and travels, since his resignation as President *pro tempore*, had been closely watched by a sympathetic press.⁴⁹

With the inauguration of President-elect Franklin Pierce imminent, legislation was introduced and approved by the Senate on February 23, 1853, to permit the administration of the Vice Presidential oath on Cuban soil. The House passed the bill the following day and it was signed by President Millard Fillmore on March 2, 1853, just two days before the Presidential inauguration. The Act authorized

William L. Sharkey, Consul of the United States at Havana, to administer the oath to the Vice President-elect at Havana, or any other place on the island of Cuba, "on the fourth of March next, or some subsequent day." The statute also provided, that if King chose to leave Cuba, for any judge or magistrate in the United States could administer the oath as well.⁵⁰ A copy of the law was sent to Consul Sharkey in Havana by the new Secretary of State, William L. Marcy, on March 5.

Several weeks later the public was informed that Consul Sharkey, after receiving Marcy's dispatch, had traveled to the estate, "Ariadne," of Col. John Chartrand where, in a simple ceremony, King was administered the Vice Presidential oath of office on March 24, 1853.⁵¹

The ceremony, as described by a correspondent of the Philadelphia *North American*, was "very sad and impressive."⁵² King had consented to go through with the ceremony only after considerable persuasion since it was evident to him, and to others, that he would not live many weeks. Afterwards, the thirteen Americans who had witnessed the ceremony signed a certificate attesting to the validity of the occasion.⁵³

Vice President King left Cuba aboard the *Fulton* on April 7 and reached his plantation, Kings Bend, near Selma, Alabama on April 17. There he died the following day, never having reached Washington.⁵⁴

All subsequent Vice Presidential inaugurations would be held in Washington. From 1857 through 1933, the ceremony was conducted in the Senate chamber of the Capitol. During those years the ceremony took on a character of its own, distinct from that of the Presidential inauguration.⁵⁵

Since 1937 Vice Presidents have generally been sworn into office on the Presidential inaugural platform erected at the east portico of the Capitol. Exceptions to this practice occurred in 1945 when President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Vice President Harry Truman were administered their oaths at the White House,⁵⁶ in 1957 when Richard Nixon took his oath as Vice President privately on January 20 at the

White House prior to the ceremonial oath of the next day, and when in 1973 and 1974 Gerald Ford and Nelson Rockefeller were sworn into office in the House and Senate chambers, respectively. Gerald Ford's preference of the House chamber for his swearing-in ceremony had only one precedent in history and that was when Martin Van Buren chose the same setting more than a century earlier.

Inaugural Speeches

Vice Presidents have exhibited widely differing attitudes and emotions towards their inauguration. For some, it has been essentially a private affair. For others, it became a victory celebration, a pause before the final ascent, or the culmination of their career. Some Vice Presidents have used the occasion to express humility at the process that had elevated them, whereas others have simply endured the ceremonial requirements or used the opportunity to preach a sermon.

John Adams' brief remarks in 1789 conveyed his intentions regarding the practices he would follow as presiding officer of the Senate. He considered it inappropriate to interrupt the deliberations of such a distinguished group of men with "general observations on the state of the Nation, or by recommending, or proposing, any particular measures." Adams apologized for his own shortcomings as a presiding officer. Although he was more experienced in debate than presiding over debate, he assured the Senators he would "behave towards every member of this most honorable body with all that consideration, delicacy, and decorum, which becomes the dignity of his station and character."⁵⁷

Adams' inaugural address in 1789 has been given in variant forms many times over the years although Mr. Adams himself declined to give a speech at the beginning of his second term. While most Vice Presidents have given inaugural addresses, however modest in scope and length, a substantial minority have opted to forego this opportunity. Of the fifty occasions on which Vice Presidents have taken their oath of office, thirty-eight have been marked by inaugural addresses.

Although these addresses have not always been delivered on the same day as the swearing-in ceremony, in almost every instance they were given in the Senate chamber.

When Thomas Jefferson delivered his Vice Presidential inaugural address on March 4, 1797, he modestly proclaimed that his long absence from a legislative body had diminished his "familiarity" with such proceedings. He continued by promising "diligent attention" to his new functions and confidently proclaimed that so far as the rules of the Senate were dependent upon him for their application, they would be "applied with the most rigorous and inflexible impartiality, regarding neither persons, their views, or principles, and seeing only abstract propositions subject to my decision."⁵⁸ During the next four years, Jefferson exercised his limited functions as the presiding officer of the Senate as he promised and "of all men in our public life, none left so enduring a mark on legislative procedure as he did in his *Manual of Parliamentary Practice*," which was first published in 1801.⁵⁹

Elbridge Gerry, in his inaugural remarks of 1813, reviewed the state of America's "sanguinary conflict" with Great Britain and confidently and accurately predicted that "Divine Providence" would soon smile on the United States and that the "two nations [would] be speedily restored to their wanted friendship and commerce."⁶⁰

Vice President John Tyler, in 1841, told the Senate that as long as it "continued to be what by its framers it was designed to be—deliberative in its character, unbiased in its course, and independent in its action—then may liberty be regarded as entrenched in safety behind the sacred ramparts of the Constitution."⁶¹

Unfortunately, the most remembered inaugural address by a Vice President is Andrew Johnson's speech of 1865. The memorable nature of the address was achieved not by the words uttered, but by the incoherent manner in which it was delivered. While there was considerable disagreement at the time regarding the nature of the new Vice President's indisposition and the degree to which it disabled

him, there was no disagreement as to the baneful effect his maudlin performance had on those in attendance. Reaction throughout the country was one of shock, dismay, and humiliation.⁶² Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy, later commented in his diary that Johnson's "rambling and strange harangue . . . was listened to with pain and mortification by all his friends." It was Welles' impression "that he was under the influence of stimulants, yet I know not that he drinks. He has been sick and is feeble; perhaps he may have taken medicine, or stimulants, or his brain may have been overactive in these new responsibilities. Whatever the cause, it was all in very bad taste."⁶³ Johnson was indeed sick at the time, but even when that became more widely known the negative impact of this speech remained.

During the remaining years of the 19th century, the Vice Presidential inaugural speeches were short, formal, and uneventful. Expressions of unwavering respect for the Senate as a democratic institution, together with expressions of sincere gratitude for having the opportunity to be its presiding officer were preeminent.

In 1901, Theodore Roosevelt was sworn into office as Vice President. Although he was less loquacious than usual, he still found the traditional bounds of an inaugural speech far too constraining. Instead he shared his visions for the future of America. "We are a young nation, already of giant strength," he reminded the audience, still our "present strength is but a forecast of the power that is yet to come. We stand supreme on a continent, supreme in a hemisphere." As we look toward the future, Roosevelt suggested, "duties, new and old, rise thick and fast to confront us from within and without. There is every reason why we should approach those duties with a solemn appreciation alike of their difficulty and of their far-reaching and tremendous importance." We have "every reason for facing them with high-hearted resolution, courage, eager and confident faith in our power to do them aright."⁶⁴

Our real greatness as a Nation, Thomas

Marshall declared in his first inaugural address of 1913, "rests upon its unsullied honor, and it is the duty of [the Senate] to search down rumors of bad faith and dishonesty and to rectify wrong wherever wrong is discovered." It is here in this most sacred spot, Marshall noted with humility, that "war has been made and peace declared." In beginning what he perceived would be "a four years silence," Marshall availed himself of the opportunity to express the hope "that all our diplomacy may spell peace with all peoples, justice for all Governments, and righteousness the world around."⁶⁵

When Charles Dawes took his oath as Vice President in 1925, he viewed the mantle he would wear quite differently. "What I say upon entering this office," Dawes felt, "should relate to its administration and the conditions under which it is administered. Unlike the vast majority of deliberative and legislative bodies, the Senate does not elect its presiding officer. He is designated for his duties by the Constitution of the United States."⁶⁶

Dawes went on to point out that he was elected by the people of the United States, not "by the members of this body," and that he viewed his trust to be to oppose the implementation of Senate Rule XXII. "That rule, which, at times, enables Senators to consume in oratory those last precious minutes of a session needed for momentous decisions, places in the hands of one or a minority of Senators a greater power than the veto power exercised under the Constitution by the President of the United States." For nearly twenty minutes he vigorously and pungently attacked the rules conducive to filibustering. He concluded with the declaration that "reform in the present rules is demanded, not only by American public opinion, but, I venture to say, in the individual consciences of a majority of the members of the Senate itself." Dawes considered it his duty as Presiding Officer of the Senate to call attention to defective methods in the conduct of its business.⁶⁷

When Dawes finished the speech there was an "icy silence" in the Senate. "But if the Senate deplored the speech, the nation

applauded."⁶⁸ For Dawes personally, the speech was viewed with a sense of achievement.⁶⁹

During the ensuing four years, Dawes returned frequently to this theme at public gatherings. His valedictory comments, on March 4, 1929, provided one final opportunity to chide his colleagues and urge an easing of cloture rules. Dawes concluded his brief remarks with the cryptic, yet good-natured, phrase, "I take nothing back."⁷⁰

Scarcely two minutes later, Charles Curtis of Kansas, Dawes' successor, assured the Senators that a Vice President of the United States was "not one of the makers of the law nor is he consulted about the rules governing your actions." As the presiding officer of the Senate it was his duty to "call for a fair and impartial construction of the rules which you yourselves have adopted and which you alone may change."⁷¹ That evening, Curtis, the grandson of an Indian princess of the Kaw tribe, received an enthusiastic ovation from an audience of more than 8,000 when he arrived at the Charity Inaugural Ball escorted by an entourage of Indian warriors.⁷²

Within the span of an hour on March 4, 1933, John Nance Garner became the first person to preside over both Houses of Congress on the same day. Before noon, as Speaker of the House, the "sharwitted Texan" had indulged "in repartee with his colleagues that rocked the House with laughter."⁷³ At 12:01 he was sworn in as Vice President in a brief and solemn ceremony. Afterwards he uttered a "plain, friendly greeting" of some 100 words to "his new associates."⁷⁴ In 1937, Garner became the first Vice President to take his oath on the same platform as the President.⁷⁵

With this transfer in venue, much of the interest and significance of the Vice Presidential inaugural ceremony passed into history. An important casualty of this change has been the gradual elimination of the Vice Presidential inaugural address. Since 1937, only three Vice Presidents—Alben W. Barkley in 1949, Hubert Humphrey in 1965 and Spiro Agnew in 1969—have offered remarks which could

be construed as an inaugural address. Barkley's comments were essentially those of gratitude for the honor of serving his country. Humphrey, in the three minutes he was officially allotted, assured the Senate that "many blessings come from change. One of them, perhaps, is that my colleagues will be able to go home a little earlier than usual." Agnew's remarks consisted of 80 words.⁷⁶

While Vice Presidential inaugural addresses have rarely been of momentous importance or interest, until recent years they have been an integral part of the ceremonial aspect of the inauguration. Today, even the polite protestations of humility in the face of such awesome responsibilities appear to be out of fashion.

Republican Investiture

The gradual decline in the prominence and individuality of the Vice Presidential inauguration should not be interpreted, however, as evidence of decline in its significance to the maintenance of the American republic. Vice Presidential inaugurations can only be properly understood and appreciated within the broader context of the American Presidency. The Presidency of the United States is an extraordinary institution in that it combines in one person the twin offices and authorities of a chief of state and a chief of government. In most nations, these offices and authorities are divided between two persons, as in England where the Queen is the chief of state and the Prime Minister is chief of government. Even the Communist nations, generally provide for a chief of state separate from the chief of government. By combining these offices and authorities, the Constitution established for the United States a Presidency which resembled, in its essentials, an elected kingship.

The traditional appeal of monarchies is that they appear to satisfy two basic needs of civilized society: a single repository of legal sovereignty, and an orderly succession of power. The Founding Fathers, recognizing these needs, and viewing the failure of previous attempts at popular government, decided to establish a gov-

ernment with a vigorous, yet responsible, executive, resembling in its power the British Monarchy of the eighteenth century.

An understanding of this basic intent by the Founding Fathers with regard to the office of the President is necessary if one is to understand why it is that Vice Presidents are inaugurated, or invested, in the manner followed throughout our history. If the President is our elected king, this suggests that the Vice President is our elected crown prince.

Succession to power is one of the oldest problems to face the body politic. In most nations, at most times, this problem has been the root cause of civil strife and conflict. If anything, the problem is more acute in our contemporary age than in the past. America has been fortunate during its first two centuries to have avoided the turmoil often associated with the transfer of power and authority.

During the 1970s, the United States underwent a series of unprecedented crises involving both the Presidential and Vice Presidential institutions. Although a concerned citizenry and an interested world followed the events which saw American inaugurate three Vice Presidents and two Presidents within a period of less than two

years, few, if any, doubted that the transfer in power would come about in an orderly fashion. The legitimacy of these transitions was never an issue.

It should not be assumed, however, that the general confidence accompanying these changes in leadership was based solely upon the twenty-fifth Amendment. The custom of a peaceful changing of the guard began with President Washington's voluntary and deliberate retirement after eight years in office. Equally important have been the peaceful, almost routine, transfers of the Presidential mantle that have followed the death of eight incumbent Presidents.

Vice Presidential inaugurations are a republican investiture, a public ceremony where the power and authority of the office are given legitimacy. The Vice President swears before the people to uphold the Constitution. Equally important, the Vice Presidential inauguration signals to all that a legitimate line of succession has been established and that a transfer of authority is automatic in the event of a Presidential death or resignation. The real significance of the "other inauguration," then, lies in the very fact that it is accepted without question and with little notice.

Vice Presidential Inaugurations

Vice President	Date Oath Taken	Location	Oath Administered By	Date Inaugural Address	Date Presidential Inaugural	Location	Oath Administered By
John Adams (Washington)	6/3/1789	Senate Chamber N.Y.	Pres. pro temp. John Langdon	4/21/1789	4/30/1789	Balcony Fed. Hall N.Y.	N.Y. Chancellor Robert Livingston
John Adams (Washington)	12/2/1793	Senate Chamber Phil.	Pres. pro temp. John Langdon	None	3/4/1793	Senate Chamber Phil.	Associate Justice William Cushing
Thomas Jefferson (Adams)	3/4/1797	Senate Chamber Phil.	Pres. pro temp. William Bingham	3/4/1797	3/4/1797	House Chamber Phil.	Chief Justice Oliver Ellsworth
Aaron Burr (Jefferson)	3/4/1801	Senate Chamber Wash.	Pres. pro temp. James Hillhouse	None	3/4/1801	Senate Chamber Wash.	Chief Justice John Marshall
George Clinton (Jefferson)	3/4/1805	Senate Chamber	Chief Justice John Marshall	None	3/4/1805	Senate Chamber	Chief Justice John Marshall
George Clinton (Madison)					3/4/1809	House Chamber	Chief Justice John Marshall
Elbridge Gerry (Madison)	3/4/1813	Cambridge Mass.	U.S. District Judge John Davis	5/24/1813	3/4/1813	House Chamber	Chief Justice John Marshall
Daniel Tompkins (Monroe)	3/4/1817	Senate Chamber	Pres. pro temp. John Gallard	3/4/1817	3/4/1817	Front of Congress Hall	Chief Justice John Marshall
Daniel Tompkins (Monroe)	3/3/1821 3/5/1821	New York	U.S. District Judge William P. Van Ness	None	3/5/1821	House Chamber	Chief Justice John Marshall
John C. Calhoun (Adams)	3/4/1825	Senate Chamber	Senator Andrew Jackson	3/4/1825	3/4/1825	House Chamber	Chief Justice John Marshall
John C. Calhoun (Jackson)	3/4/1829	Senate Chamber	Pres. pro temp. Samuel Smith	None	3/4/1829	East Front	Chief Justice John Marshall
Martin Van Buren (Jackson)	3/4/1833	House Chamber	Chief Justice John Marshall	12/16/1833	3/4/1833	House Chamber	Chief Justice John Marshall
Richard Johnson (Van Buren)	3/4/1837	Senate Chamber	Pres. pro temp. William R. King	3/4/1837	3/4/1837	East Front	Chief Justice Roger Taney
John Tyler (Harrison)	3/4/1841	Senate Chamber	Pres. pro temp. William R. King	3/4/1841	3/4/1841	East Front	Chief Justice Roger Taney

Vice Presidential Inaugurations

Vice President	Date		Location	Oath Administered By	Date		Location	Oath Administered By
	Oath Taken	Inaugural Address			Inaugural	Presidential		
George M. Dallas (Polk)	3/4/1845	Senate Chamber	Pres. pro temp. Willie P. Mangum	3/4/1845	3/4/1845	East Front	Chief Justice Roger Taney	
Millard Fillmore (Taylor)	3/5/1849	Senate Chamber	Pres. pro temp. David R. Atchison	3/5/1849	3/5/1849	East Front	Chief Justice Roger Taney	
William R. King (Pierce)	3/24/1853	Cuba	U.S. Consul William Sharkey	None	3/4/1853	East Front	Chief Justice Roger Taney	
John Breckinridge (Buchanan)	3/4/1857	Senate Chamber	Pres. pro temp. James M. Mason	3/4/1857	3/4/1857	East Front	Chief Justice Roger Taney	
Hannibal Hamlin (Lincoln)	3/4/1861	Senate Chamber	Vice President John Breckinridge	3/4/1861	3/4/1861	East Front	Chief Justice Roger Taney	
Andrew Johnson (Lincoln)	3/4/1865	Senate Chamber	Vice President Hannibal Hamlin	3/4/1865	3/4/1865	East Front	Chief Justice Salmon Chase	
Schuyler Colfax (Grant)	3/4/1869	Senate Chamber	Pres. pro temp. Benjamin F. Wade	3/4/1869	3/4/1869	East Front	Chief Justice Salmon Chase	
Henry Wilson (Grant)	3/4/1873	Senate Chamber	Pres. pro temp. Schuyler Colfax	3/4/1873	3/4/1873	East Front	Chief Justice Salmon Chase	
William A. Wheeler (Hayes)	3/5/1877	Senate Chamber	Pres. pro temp. Thomas W. Ferry	3/5/1877	3/5/1877	White House	Chief Justice Morrison Waite	
Chester A. Arthur (Garfield)	3/4/1881	Senate Chamber	Vice President William A. Wheeler	3/4/1881	3/4/1881	East Front	Chief Justice Morrison Waite	
Thomas Hendricks (Cleveland)	3/4/1885	Senate Chamber	Pres. pro temp. George F. Edmunds	3/4/1885	3/4/1885	East Front	Chief Justice Morrison Waite	
Levi P. Morton (Harrison)	3/4/1889	Senate Chamber	Pres. pro temp. John J. Ingalls	3/4/1889	3/4/1889	East Front	Chief Justice Melville Fuller	
Adali Stevenson (Cleveland)	3/4/1893	Senate Chamber	Vice President Levi P. Morton	3/4/1893	3/4/1893	East Front	Chief Justice Melville Fuller	
Garrett Hobart (McKinley)	3/4/1897	Senate Chamber	Vice President Adali Stevenson	3/4/1897	3/4/1897	East Front	Chief Justice Melville Fuller	

Theodore Roosevelt (McKinley)	3/4/1901	Senate Chamber	Pres. pro temp. William P. Frye	3/4/1901	3/4/1901	East Front	Chief Justice Melville Fuller
Charles Fairbanks (Roosevelt)	3/4/1905	Senate Chamber	Pres. pro temp. William P. Frye	3/4/1905	3/4/1905	East Front	Chief Justice Melville Fuller
John S. Sherman (Taft)	3/4/1909	Senate Chamber	Vice President Charles Fairbanks	3/4/1909	3/4/1909	Senate Chamber	Chief Justice Melville Fuller
Thomas R. Marshall (Wilson)	3/4/1913	Senate Chamber	Pres. pro temp Jacob H. Gallinger	3/4/1913	3/4/1913	East Front	Chief Justice Edward White
Thomas R. Marshall (Wilson)	3/5/1917	Senate Chamber	Pres. pro temp Willard Saulsbury	3/5/1917	3/4/1917	Pres. Room Capitol	Chief Justice Edward White
Calvin Coolidge (Harding)	3/4/1921	Senate Chamber	Vice President Thomas R. Marshall	3/4/1921	3/4/1921	East Front	Chief Justice Edward White
Charles G. Dawes (Coolidge)	3/4/1925	Senate Chamber	Pres. pro temp Albert B. Cummins	3/4/1925	3/4/1925	East Front	Chief Justice William H. Taft
Charles Curtis (Hoover)	3/4/1929	Senate Chamber	Vice President Charles Dawes	3/4/1929	3/4/1929	East Front	Chief Justice William H. Taft
John Nance Garner (Roosevelt)	3/4/1933	Senate Chamber	Vice President Charles Curtis	3/4/1933	3/4/1933	East Front	Chief Justice Charles E. Hughes
John Nance Garner (Roosevelt)	1/20/1937	East Front	Senator Joseph T. Robinson	1/20/1937	3/4/1937	East Front	Chief Justice Charles E. Hughes
Henry A. Wallace (Roosevelt)	1/20/1941	East Front	Vice President John Nance Garner	1/20/1941	1/20/1941	East Front	Chief Justice Charles E. Hughes
Harry S. Truman (Roosevelt)	1/20/1945	White House	Vice President Henry A. Wallace	None	1/20/1945	White House	Chief Justice Charles E. Hughes
Alben W. Barkley (Truman)	1/20/1949	East Front	Associate Justice Stanley Reed	1/24/1949	1/20/1949	East Front	Chief Justice Fred Vinson
Richard M. Nixon (Eisenhower)	1/20/1953	East Front	Senator William Knowland	None	1/20/1953	East Front	Chief Justice Fred Vinson
Richard M. Nixon (Eisenhower)	1/20/1957	White House	Senator William Knowland	None	1/20/1957	White House	Chief Justice Earl Warren
	1/21/1957	East Front			1/21/1957	East Front	

Vice Presidential Inaugurations

Vice President	Date		Location	Oath Administered By	Date		Location	Oath Administered By
	Oath Taken	East Front			Inaugural Address	Presidential Inaugural		
Lyndon B. Johnson (Kennedy)	1/20/1961	East Front	Speaker Sam Rayburn	None	1/20/1961	East Front	Chief Justice Earl Warren	
Hubert H. Humphrey (Johnson)	1/20/1965	East Front	Speaker John McCormack	1/22/1965	1/20/1965	East Front	Chief Justice Earl Warren	
Spiro T. Agnew (Nixon)	1/20/1969	East Front	Senator Everett Dirksen	1/21/1969	1/20/1969	East Front	Chief Justice Earl Warren	
Spiro T. Agnew (Nixon)	1/20/1973	East Front	Chief Justice Warren Burger	None	1/20/1973	East Front	Chief Justice Warren Burger	
Gerald R. Ford (Nixon)	12/6/1973	House Chamber	Chief Justice Warren Burger	12/6/1973				
Nelson Rockefeller (Ford)	12/19/1974	Senate Chamber	Chief Justice Warren Burger	12/19/1974				
Walter Mondale (Carter)	1/20/1977	East Front	Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill	None	1/20/1977	East Front	Chief Justice Warren Burger	

Notes

1. Two valuable, though dated, studies of the Vice Presidential inaugurations are Henry Barrett Learned, "The Vice President's Oath of Office," *Nation*, CIV (March 1, 1917): 248-250; and Louis Clinton Hatch, *A History of the Vice Presidency of the United States* (New York, 1934), pp. 11-25.
2. "For the Nation," *Time* magazine suggested, "Ford's investiture meant more than simply having a Veep again. In light of Richard Nixon's traumatized presidency, Ford would become a distinctly thinkable successor. This in turn rendered the prospect of resignation or impeachment less frightening to many people." "The Veep Most Likely to Succeed?" *Time*, CIII (December 17, 1973): 11. During the congressional hearings and debates on the Ford nomination, which preceded the inauguration, the possibility that President Nixon would not serve out his term was repeatedly commented on by both Republicans and Democrats. U.S., Congress, Senate, *Congressional Record*, 93rd Cong., 1st sess., 1973, 119, pt. 29: 38212-38225; and House, *Congressional Record*, 93rd Cong., 1st sess., 1973, 119 pt. 30: 39807-39899. Senator John Tunney of California summarized the feelings of many when he said that the "confirmation of GERALD R. FORD to be Vice President is historic for its marks the first time that the Senate has acted on such a momentous nomination. It also is timely, for it comes at a crucial period when a President may have to forfeit the White House. Mr. FORD within the next year, may, indeed, be President. So today's action not only initiates the 25th amendment of our Constitution, but may in fact, ordain the 38th President of the United States." U.S. Congress, Senate, *Congressional Record*, 93rd Cong., 1st sess., 1973, v. 119, pt. 29: 38225. See also "Ford in the Wings," *Washington Star-News*, December 7, 1973, p. A-16; and "Nixon Ouster Talk Gets New Impetus," *Washington Post*, December 7, 1973, p. A-1.
3. Carroll Kilpatrick, "Ford Oath is Still to Be Decided," *Washington Post*, November 29, 1973, p. A-11; and Thomas J. Foley, "Ford Takes Oath as Vice President," *Los Angeles Times*, December 7, 1973, p. 1. Although it was not widely known at the time, there were precedents for swearing the Vice President in at the White House. On January 20, 1945, both President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Vice President Harry S. Truman took their oaths on the South Porch of the White House. John H. Crider, "Roosevelt Sworn in for Fourth Term," *New York Times*, January 21, 1945, pp. 1, 26. Ironically, twelve years later, President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Vice President Richard M. Nixon were also administered their oaths at the White House on Sunday, January 20, 1957. Both took the oath again at the East Front of the Capitol on Monday, January 21. Edward T. Folliard, "Ike, Nixon Take Oath in Private," *Washington Post and Times Herald*, January 21, 1957, pp. A1, A3; and W. H. Lawrence, "Eisenhower Takes Oath in Private; Nixon Also Sworn," *New York Times*, January 21, 1957, pp. 1, 16.
4. The three instances when the President and Vice President took their oath of office on the same day, at the same time, and from the same officer were President Thomas Jefferson and Vice President George Clinton, March 4, 1805; President Andrew Jackson and Vice President Martin Van Buren, March 4, 1833; and President Richard M. Nixon and Vice President Spiro Agnew, January 20, 1973. The lack of accurate knowledge about Vice Presidential inaugurations is typified by Richard L. Lyons, of the *Washington Post*, who described Ford's inauguration as "a unique ceremony, the first time in history that a Vice President—Ford is the 40th—had taken office at any time except when a President was sworn in." "Ford Sworn in as Vice President," *Washington Post*, December 7, 1973, p. A. 1. A similar statement is found in "Ford Approved as Nation's 40th Vice President," *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, XXXI (December 8, 1973): 3172.
5. U.S., *Constitution*, Article II, Section 1.
6. *Ibid.*, Article I, Section 3
7. 1 *Stat.* 23
8. Section 17 of the Judiciary Act of 1789 provided that "all the said courts of the United States . . . shall have the power to impose and administer all necessary oaths and affirmations." 1 *Stat.* 83. This provision was further elaborated upon in the Judiciary Act of February 13, 1801, which stated that "all courts of the United States, and each of the justices and judges thereof, shall be, and hereby are, authorized and empowered to administer all necessary oaths and affirmations . . . in all cases arising under the authority of the United States." 2 *Stat.* 98.
9. 12 *Stat.* 502.
10. Although a verbatim record of Johnson's repeating of the Vice Presidential oath has not survived, at least one newspaper of the day clearly indicates that Johnson was administered the longer (1862) oath. After Johnson concluded his inaugural address, "Vice President Hamlin administered to him the oath of office. Mr. Hamlin read the oath by sentences, and Mr. Johnson repeated it after him. The effort of the Vice President-elect to go through the form of repeating the sentences as read by Mr. Hamlin was painful in the extreme. He stumbled, stammered, repeated portions of it several times over." *New York Herald*, March 6, 1865, p. 5.
11. 15 *Stat.* 85; and 5 *U.S.C.* 3331 (1976).
12. Page Smith, *John Adams*, 2 vols. (Garden City, New York), II, 742-748.
13. U.S. Congress, Senate, *Journal*, 1st Cong., 1st sess., 21 April 1789, pp. 14-15.
14. U.S. Congress, Senate, *Journal*, 1st Cong., 1st sess., 3 June 1789, p. 31. "The House of Representatives," as Louis C. Hatch points out, "held a different view of its duty. On April 6, it directed the bringing in of a bill providing for an oath, and on April 8, at the request of the

- House, the Chief Justice of New York swore in the Speaker and the members of the House in the manner provided by the bill." Hatch, *A History of the Vice Presidency*, p. 12. The actual discussion in the House is found in U.S. Congress., House, *Journal*, 6 April 1789, p. 8, and 8 April 1789, p. 11.
15. An excellent discussion of why the Senate met behind closed doors for more than six years is found in Elizabeth G. McPherson, "The Southern States and the Reporting of Senate Debates 1789-1802," *Journal of Southern History*, XII (May 1946): 223-239.
 16. On April 30, 1790, the House of Representatives agreed to the appointment of a committee "to join with a committee of the Senate, to consider and report their opinion on the question when, according to the Constitution, the terms for which the President, Vice President, Senators, and Representatives have been respectively chosen, shall be deemed to have commenced." U.S. Congress, *Annals of Congress*, 1st Cong., 2nd sess., 1790, 2:1603. Three members of the Senate were selected on May 3, to consider the House resolution. *Ibid.*, 1: 1006. On May 18, the three Senators reported "that the terms for which the President, Vice President, Senate, and House of Representatives of the United States were respectively chosen, did, according to the Constitution, commence on the fourth of March, 1789." This report was agreed to by both Houses later the same day. *Ibid.*, 1: 1010, 1012. These sentiments were incorporated in the Presidential Succession Act of 1792, which was enacted on March 1, 1792. 1 *Stat.* 241. With the ratification of the Twentieth Amendment in 1933 the commencement of the terms of President, Vice President, and Members of Congress began at noon on the 20th day of January. 47 *Stat.* 2569. See also 62 *Stat.* 678. A scholarly analysis of the some one hundred and forty years of uncertainty as to when the terms of the President, Vice President and members of Congress commenced and concluded is found in Charles Warren, "Political Practice and the Constitution," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, LXXXIX (June 1941): 1005-1025.
 17. Just prior to his inauguration in 1793, Washington raised the question of whether it was necessary for him to take the oath of office for a second time, and requested Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of War Henry Knox, Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton and Attorney General Edmund Randolph to meet with him on February 28, 1793 to share their views on the matter. At that meeting Hamilton and Jefferson found themselves in rare accord, both suggesting that the swearing-in ceremony should be private and at the President's home. Knox and Randolph disagreed and argued for a public ceremony. Ultimately, the President opted for a simple ceremony in the Senate Chamber. George Washington to the Secretaries of the Treasury and War, February 27, 1793, John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington*, 39 vols. (Washington, 1931-44); 32: 361; Harold C. Syrett, ed., *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, 26 vols. (New York, 1961-00): 14: 168-169, 176; and Paul Leicester Ford, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, 10 vols., (New York, 1892-99), 1: 221-222.
 18. U.S. Congress, Senate, *Journal*, 3rd Cong., 1st sess, 2 December 1793, p. 1.
 19. Clinton's biographer, E. Wilder Spaulding, contends that Clinton took the oath for his second term in the Senate Chamber when the 11th Congress convened on May 22, 1809. Spaulding, *His Excellency George Clinton: Critic of the Constitution* (Port Washington, New York, 1938, 1964), p. 295. A search by Henry Barrett Learned for his 1917 *Nation* article, a more recent review of the records at the National Archives, a comprehensive examination of the published documents of the Senate, and an extensive reading of contemporary newspapers and manuscripts, however, failed to reveal any documentation to support Spaulding's contention. All we really know for sure is that Clinton spent from early February until the middle of May in New York State. Learned, "The Vice President's Oath," p. 248; and New York *American Citizen*, February 4, 1809, p. 2, February 16, 1809, p. 2, May 15, 1809, p. 2, May 17, 1809, p. 2. Amidst this uncertainty it is important to remember that the election of 1808, "presented for the edification of the voters the most unusual spectacle of George Clinton running as both vice-presidential nominee on the Republican ticket and as presidential candidate on his own ticket in New York State. In Virginia two of Jefferson's closest friends—James Madison and James Monroe—were offered to the voters as regular Republican candidates for the presidency. This strange state of affairs was the aftermath of the numerous factional quarrels which shook the Republican party during Jefferson's second term." As a result, Madison was deprived of part of the electoral vote in New York and Clinton was viewed with considerable resentment by many Republicans. Harry Ammon, "James Monroe and the Election of 1808 in Virginia," *William and Mary Quarterly*, XX (January 1963): 33, 54. For detailed accounts of the policies accompanying the election of 1808 see Noble E. Cunningham, *The Jeffersonian Republicans in Power: Party Operations, 1801-1809* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1963), pp. 115-124; Irving Brant, *James Madison*, 5 vols. (Indianapolis, 1941-61), 4: 425-436; and Brant, "Election of 1808," in Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *History of American Presidential Elections 1789-1968*, 5 vols. (New York, 1971), 1: 193-221. At the very least Clinton's appearance at the festivities in Washington on March 4 would have been awkward. He may well have intended for his absence to serve as a protest for having been denied the Presidential nomination by the Republican caucus, or perhaps even viewed the taking of the vice-presidential oath for the second time as unnecessary.
 20. John Marshall to John Quincy Adams, February 20, 1821; General Records of the Depart-

- ment of State, Miscellaneous Letters of the Department of State, 1789-1906 (M179, Roll 50), Record Group 59, National Archives. See also Charles Francis Adams, ed., *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, 12 vols. (Philadelphia, 1875), 5: 302, 317.
21. Adams, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, 5: 326.
 22. According to George H. Haynes, "few words are needed to dispose of any claim for a place for Atchison in the line of Presidents. Atchison's terms as Senator had expired with the ending of the thirteenth Congress, March 4. When the Senate was called to order by its Secretary on the morning of Monday, March 5, 1849, the very first motion passed was 'that the oath of office be administered by the honorable Thomas H. Benton to the honorable David R. Atchison, Senator elect from the State of Missouri; and that he be, and hereby is, chosen President of the Senate pro tempore.' In other words during the hours of Sunday afternoon and Monday morning prior to the passing of this vote, neither Atchison nor anyone else was president pro tempore of the Senate. This office was vacant." Haynes, "President of the United States for a Single Day," *American Historical Review*, XXX (January 1925): 308.
 23. William Rufus King's inauguration is discussed on pp. 14-16.
 24. 19 Stat. 227-229; and U.S. Congress, Electoral Commission, *Proceedings of the Electoral Commission and of the Two Houses of Congress in Joint Meeting Relative to the Counting of the Electoral Votes Cast December 6, 1876* (Washington, 1877), pp. 726-728.
 25. Charles Richards Williams, *Diary and Letters of Rutherford Birchard Hayes*, 5 vols. (Columbus, Ohio, 1924), 3: 426. See also Harry Barnard, *Rutherford B. Hayes and His America* (Indianapolis, 1954), pp. 401-402; Kenneth E. Davison, *The Presidency of Rutherford B. Hayes* (Westport, Conn., 1972), p. 46; and Charles Richards Williams *The Life of Rutherford Birchard Hayes*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1914), 2: 5. Hayes' signed Presidential oath is found in Oaths of Office of Miscellaneous Federal Employees, General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59, National Archives.
 26. U.S. Congress, Senate, *Journal*, 44th Cong., 2nd sess., 5 March 1877, p. 438.
 27. "President Takes the Oath: Sworn by Chief Justice White at the Capitol Without Ceremony," *New York Times*, March 5, 1917, pp. 1, 2; and "President Sworn in at noon Sunday," *Washington Evening Star*, March 5, 1917, p. 17.
 28. "Mr. and Mrs. Marshall Enjoy Rest; Vice President Feels Session's Strain," *Washington Post*, March 5, 1917, p. 2. Even Arthur S. Link fails to provide an explanation of why Marshall did not attend the Sunday ceremony at the Capitol. Link, *Wilson*, 5 vols. (Princeton, 1947-1965), 5: 361.
 29. Edward T. Folliard, "Ike, Nixon Take Oath in Private," *Washington Post and Times Herald*, January 21, 1957, pp. A1, A-3. This article also points out that acting on the direct orders of the President, "officials reversed earlier plans to permit live telecasts and radio broadcasts of the actual oath taking . . . from the East Room." Reporters and photographers were barred as well, but "at the request of the President and Vice President a photographer from the Navy Department recorded the historic moment." See also "80 See Private Oath Ceremony at White House," *Washington Evening Star*, January 21, 1957, p. A-2. The *Post* in a stinging editorial criticized President Eisenhower for denying the news media the right to witness and report directly the inauguration of his second term. In doing so, the *Post* argued, Eisenhower had "set a poor precedent which we hope none of his successors follow. The doors ought never again to be closed upon the acceptance of the highest honor and weightiest responsibility the people of this nation have the right to bestow." "History in Privacy," *Washington Post and Times Herald*, January 21, 1957. Conversely, *Post* reporter Edward T. Folliard provided a meaningful insight into what had happened on previous occasions when inauguration day had fallen on a Sunday. "2 Other Presidents Sworn in Privately," January 19, 1957, B-1.
 30. W.H. Lawrence, "Eisenhower Takes Oath in Private: Nixon Also Sworn." *New York Times*, January 21, 1957, pp. 1.
 31. Abraham Lincoln to Andrew Johnson, Telegram of January 14, 1865, Roy P. Basler, ed. *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 9 vols. (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1953-55), 8: 216-217.
 32. Andrew Johnson to Abraham Lincoln, January 17, 1865, Abraham Lincoln Papers, Series 1, reel 91, item no. 40086-7, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. In part, Johnson's reasoning was prompted by a "Memoranda of cases in which the President, or Vice President did not attend or qualify until after the commencement of his term of office," which was prepared for him by William Hickey, Chief Clerk, Office of the Secretary of the Senate on January 25, 1865. Hickey in his memoranda explained that John Adams had not taken the oath for his second term until December 2, 1793, George Clinton apparently had not taken an oath in 1809, Elbridge Gerry in 1813 had taken his oath at an unknown time in a manner contrary to that prescribed by law, and that it was not known when or before whom Daniel Tompkins in 1821, Martin Van Buren in 1833, and William R. King in 1853 had taken their oaths. Andrew Johnson Papers, Series 18, Reel 55, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. The essence of Hickey's findings also appear in Robert W. Winston, *Andrew Johnson: Plebian and Patriot* (New York, 1970), 262. Probably unknown to Andrew Johnson was the fact that Hickey was mistaken in several of his conclusions. Actually Elbridge Gerry's oath was administered by a duly authorized Federal judge, and Daniel Tompkins, Martin Van Buren and William R. King all were officially sworn into office. See footnotes 21,

- 45–53, and *Niles' Weekly Register* XLIV (March 9, 1833), p. 21.
33. Abraham Lincoln to Andrew Johnson, Telegram of January 24, 1865, Basler, *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, v. 8, 235; and John G. Nicolay and John Hay, eds., *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 10 vols. (New York, 1905), 10: 345–346.
 34. A cursory examination of the published records of Congress leaves the impression that Johnson's inaugural, like that of several other Vice Presidents, took place on a day other than that of the President's. U.S. Congress, Senate, *Journal*, 38th Cong., 2nd sess., 3 March 1865, p. 342; and U.S. Congress, *Congressional Globe*, 38th Cong., 2nd sess., 1865, 34, pt. 2: 1365. A more thorough scrutiny of those instances when the Vice Presidential inauguration was the last official function of a session of Congress, however, reveals that the date placed at the top of the page in *Congressional Globe*, *Congressional Record*, and the *Senate Journal* reflects the legislative date on which the session concluded rather than the actual calendar date. At least one of these instances influenced Henry Barrett Learned mistakenly to write that Vice President "Hannibal Hamlin's oath was administered by Vice-President John C. Breckinridge on Saturday March 2, 1861 at the very close of the second session of the Thirty-sixth Congress." Learned, "The Vice President's Oath of Office," p. 248. Contemporary newspaper accounts and Hamlin's biographer clearly indicate Hamlin was actually sworn in on March 4. *Daily National Intelligencer*, March 5, 1861, pp. 2, 3; *Washington Evening Star*, March 4, 1861, p. 3; and Charles Eugene Hamlin, *The Life and Times of Hannibal Hamlin* (Cambridge, 1899), 391.
 35. The exceptions to the custom of the Chief Justice administering the oath involved instances when a President died in office. In six out of eight instances when Vice Presidents succeeded to the Presidency upon the death of an incumbent, a person other than the Chief Justice administered the oath. John Tyler on April 6, 1841, and Millard Fillmore on July 10, 1850, took the Presidential oath from Chief Judge William Cranch of the United States Circuit Court of the District of Columbia. Andrew Johnson received the Presidential oath on April 15, 1865, from Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase. On September 20, 1881, Chester A. Arthur took the Presidential oath from Judge John R. Brady, Justice of the New York Supreme Court. Two days later, Arthur decided that the oath should be administered again by Chief Justice Morrison Remick Waite. On September 14, 1901, Theodore Roosevelt took the Presidential oath from Judge John R. Hazel, United States District Judge for the Western District of New York. Calvin Coolidge on August 3, 1923, took the Presidential oath from John C. Coolidge, a notary public, farmer, and father of the President. Harry S. Truman took the Presidential oath on April 12, 1945, from Chief Justice Harlan Fiske Stone. Lyndon B. Johnson on November 22, 1963, took the Presidential oath from Sarah T. Hughes, Federal Judge of the Northern District of Texas.
 36. U.S. Congress, Senate, *Journal of the Executive Proceedings*, 23rd sess. (8th Cong., 2nd sess.), 4 March 1805, p. 490.
 37. *Niles Weekly Register*, XLIV (March 9, 1883), 21.
 38. See footnotes 41–45 for the details of Gerry's and Tompkins' inaugurations.
 39. *Niles Weekly Register*, XXVIII (March 12, 1825): 30. Andrew Jackson was not the oldest member of the Senate at the time, "but seems to have accepted the designation without argument." Charles M. Wiltse, *John C. Calhoun*, 3 vols. (Indianapolis, 1944–1951), p. 432, note 30.
 40. U.S. Congress, *Congressional Globe*, 36th Cong., 2nd sess., 1861, 30, pt. 2: 1413; and Charles Eugene Hamlin, *The Life and Times of Hannibal Hamlin* (Cambridge, 1899), pp. 391–392.
 41. U.S. Congress, Senate, *Journal*, 3rd Cong., 1st sess., 2 December 1793, p. 3; and U.S. Congress, *Annals of the Congress*, 3rd Cong., 1st sess., 4: col. 9. Although Dumas Malone, John A. Carroll and Mary W. Ashworth each place Adams at Washington's second inaugural on March 4, 1793. Dumas Malone, *Jefferson and His Times*, 5 vols. (Boston, 1948–1974), 3:56; John Alexander Carroll and Mary Wells Ashworth, *George Washington*, 7 vols. (New York, 1948–1957), 7: 8. A close examination of the *Annals of Congress*, contemporary news accounts, and Adams' personal papers, however, reveals that Adams in fact had left Philadelphia at the end of February to be at the bedside of his sick wife, Abigail. On March 1, the *Annals* indicate that the "Vice President being absent, the Senate proceeded to the election of a President *pro tempore*, as the Constitution provides, and John Langdon was duly elected." Four days later, Langdon as "President of the Senate" sat at the right of President Washington during his inauguration. Page Smith, *John Adams*, 2 vols. (Garden City, New York, 1962), 2: 839; *Annals of Congress*, 2nd Cong., 2nd sess., p. 661; and *Philadelphia National Gazette*, March 6, 1793, p. 147.
 42. Malone, *Jefferson and His Times*, 3: 295.
 43. Elbridge Gerry to James Madison, February 20, 1813, James Madison Papers, Series 1, Reel 15, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.
 44. *Boston Patriot*, March 6, 1813, p. 3; and *Niles' Weekly Register* IV (March 20, 1813): 56.
 45. A copy of the certificate signed by U.S. District Judge John Davis on March 4, 1813 is found in Various Records and Commentaries Submitted to the Senate, Records of the U.S. Senate, Record Group 46, National Archives. See also U.S. Congress, *Annals of Congress*, 13th Cong., 1st sess., 26: 10.
 46. Daniel Tompkins was sworn into office by U.S. District Judge William P. Van Ness on Saturday March 3, 1821, and again on Monday March 5, 1821 after being informed that President Monroe intended to take his oath on the latter

- of the two days. Charles Francis Adams, ed., *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, 12 vols. (Philadelphia, 1875), 5: 326; *Daily National Intelligencer*, March 3, 1821, p. 3, March 6, 1821, p. 2, March 10, 1821, p. 3; *Niles' Weekly Register* VII (March 17, 1821), 36; and *Richmond Enquirer*, March 6, 1821, p. 3, March 13, 1821, p. 2. A copy of the certificate signed by Judge Van Ness is found in Oaths of Office of Miscellaneous Federal Appointees, General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59, National Archives.
47. Ray W. Irwin, *Daniel Tompkins: Governor of New York and Vice President of the United States* (New York, 1968), 264.
 48. *Niles' Weekly Register*, XLIV (March 9, 1883): 21.
 49. U.S. Congress, Senate, *Congressional Globe*, 32nd Cong., 2nd sess., 1852, 28: 89; Learned, "The Vice President's Oath of Office," p. 249; and "William R. King and the Vice Presidency," *Alabama Review* XVI (January 1963): 54.
 50. 10 *Stat.* 180.
 51. Newspaper accounts of the day provided conflicting information on the ceremony. A story which appeared in the New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, March 13, 1853, p. 1, stated that Vice President King had been administered the oath of office on March 3 by Vice Consul Thomas R. Rodney. The same day the *New York Herald*, March 13, 1853, p. 3, reported that the Vice President had declined to take the oath feeling it improbable he would ever assume the duties of the office. A similar account appeared in the *Daily National Intelligencer*, March 14, 1853, p. 3, the following day. Several days earlier the *Intelligencer*, April 6, 1853, p. 5, reported that because of the precarious state of King's health, "it is doubtful—if he should ever return to the United States from his present visit to the West Indies—whether he will be able to perform the duties of Vice President. These are limited to presiding in the Senate; and in his absence the President *pro tem* of that body, who is elected by the Senators, takes his place. Mr. Atchison of Missouri is at present President *pro tem*. In case of the death of the Vice President, Mr. Atchison would remain in the same position as at present, without assuming the title as the office would then be vacant; but in case of the death of both the President and Vice President, the President *pro tem* becomes President of the United States, until an election can be held. This is in accordance to the provision of the act of Congress of March 1, 1792." Ironically, King, while President *pro tem* of the Senate, had himself been a "de facto" Vice President following the death of President Zachary Taylor on July 10, 1850, until his resignation of December 20, 1852.
 52. *Philadelphia North American and United States Gazette*, April 5, 1853, p. 1.
 53. William L. Sharkey to William L. Marcy, March 26, 1853, Despatches From United States Consuls in Havana, Cuba, 1793–1906, General Records of the Department of State (T20, Roll 26), Record Group 59, National Archives.
 54. *Philadelphia North American and United States Gazette*, April 20, 1853, p. 2; and *New York Herald*, April 20, 1853, p. 1.
 55. A superb description of the Vice Presidential inaugural ceremony as it had evolved by 1932 is found in George Haynes, *The Senate of the United States: Its History and Practice*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1938), I: 205.
 56. The inaugural ceremonies of 1945 were particularly interesting as they were performed on the south portico of the White House before the "smallest inaugural crowd in years—estimated at approximately 10,000 including those outside the grounds." J.A. Fox, "Roosevelt Pledges Lasting Peace in Brief Inaugural Address at Simple White House Ceremony," *Washington Evening Star*, January 20, 1945, p. A-1. History has it that the 1945 departure from the traditional pomp and pageantry was due to the exigencies of war or to Franklin Roosevelt's failing health. Recent revelations suggest, however, that it was done more because of the stubbornness between two old rivals, Senator Harry F. Byrd, Sr. and President Roosevelt, who could not agree on how much Congress should appropriate to help defray the costs involved. Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr., in 1968, and again in 1972, told his Senate colleagues how a dispute between the two men resulted in "perhaps the most economical inauguration in the history of our nation." U.S. Congress, Senate, *Congressional Record*, 90th Cong., 2nd sess., 1968, 114, pt. 17: 21752-21753; and *Congressional Record*, 92nd Cong., 2nd sess., 1972, 118, pt. 14: 18003-18004. See also "1945 Inaugural: Two Stubborn Men: No Ceremony," *Congressional Quarterly*, XXX (May 27, 1972), 1193; and Elsie Carper, "1945 Inaugural: A Bargain," *Washington Post*, July 18, 1968, B-1. The 1945 ceremony was so low-keyed that the new Vice President, Harry Truman, was able to make an unnoticed early departure from the post-inaugural buffet luncheon, "hitchhike a ride to Capitol Hill and telephone his Mother" in Missouri. C.P. Trussell, "Truman Hastens to Call Mother," *New York Times*, January 21, 1945, p. 1.
 57. U.S. Congress, Senate, *Journal*, 1st Cong., 1st sess., 21 April 1789, p. 15.
 58. *Ibid.*, 5th Cong., 1st sess., 4 March 1797, p. 397.
 59. Everett S. Brown, "Jefferson's Manual of Parliamentary Practice," *Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review*, XLIX (February 20, 1943): 148. See also Malone, *Jefferson and His Time*, III, 452-458.
 60. U.S. Congress, Senate, *Journal*, 13th Cong., 1st sess., 4 March 1813, pp. 11-13.
 61. *Ibid.*, 26th Cong., 2nd sess., 4 March 1841, p. 251.
 62. For accounts of the public response at the time, see Lloyd Paul Stryker, *Andrew Johnson: A Study in Courage* (New York, 1929), pp. 166-168; Lately Thomas, *The First President Johnson: The Three Lives of the Seventeenth President of the United States of America* (New

- York, 1968), pp. 292–300; and Fay Warrington Brabson, *Andrew Johnson: A Life in Pursuit of the Right Course* (Durham, North Carolina, 1972) pp. 118–122.
63. Gideon Welles, *Diary of Gideon Welles: Secretary of the Navy Under Lincoln, and Johnson*, 3 vols. (Boston, 1909), 2: 252. Johnson's inaugural address is found in U.S. Congress, Senate, *Journal*, 38th Cong., 2nd sess., 4 March 1865, pp. 340–342.
 64. U.S. Congress, Senate, *Journal*, 56th Cong. spec. sess., 4 March 1901, p. 280.
 65. *Ibid.*, 62nd Cong., 3rd sess., 4 March 1913, p. 306.
 66. *Ibid.*, 69th Cong., 2nd sess., 4 March 1925, p. 1.
 67. *Ibid.*
 68. Bascom N. Timmons, *Portrait of an American: Charles G. Dawes* (New York, 1953), 245. For a somewhat differing view see Paul R. Leach, *That Man Dawes* (Chicago, 1953), 245–253. In 1897, *Nation* magazine had suggested that Vice President Garret A. Hobart in his inaugural address should sharply criticize the Senate for allowing filibusters, but Hobart's remarks fell far short of the "deep feeling of condemnation which pervaded the country." Quote is taken from David Magie, *Life of Garret Augustus Hobart: Twenty-Fourth Vice President of the United States* (New York, 1910), 130–137. Original article is "Mr. Hobart's Opportunity," *Nation*, LXIV (March 4, 1897): 157–158.
 69. Charles Gates Dawes, *Notes as Vice President: 1928–1929* (Boston, 1935), p. 56.
 70. U.S. Congress, Senate, *Journal*, 70th Cong., 2nd sess., 4 March 1929, p. 3.
 71. *Ibid.*, 71st Cong., 1st sess., 4 March 1929, p. 3. For detailed accounts of how the two speeches were received, see "Dawes and Curtis Disagree on Rules," *New York Times*, March 5, 1929, p. 4; Albert W. Fox, "Curtis Takes Over Vice Presidency at Rites in Senate: Replies to Dawes' Friendly Fling With Defense of Rules," *Washington Post*, March 5, 1929, p. 5; "Curtis in Taking Oath Pledges Aid to Expedite Work," *Washington Evening Star*, March 4, 1929, pp. 1, 4; and "Laughter Lightens Curtis's Introduction," *New York Times*, March 5, 1929, p. 4.
 72. "8,000 Cheer Curtis at Inaugural Ball," *Washington Post*, March 5, 1929, pp. 1, 4.
 73. "Ex-Speaker Grave as He Takes New Oath," *New York Times*, March 5, 1933, p. 4.
 74. "Garner Becomes Vice President at Impressive Rites," *Washington Evening Star*, March 4, 1933, p. A6. See also Bascom N. Timmons, *Garner of Texas: A Personal History* (New York, 1948), 173–176.
 75. "Garner is Sworn in After Some Delay: He Sets Precedent By Taking Oath on Same Platform With President," *New York Times*, January 21, 1937, p. 15.
 76. U.S. Congress, Senate, *Journal*, 75th Cong., 1st sess., 20 January 1937, p. 57; 81st Cong., 1st sess., 24 March 1949, p. 71; 89th Cong., 1st sess.; 91st Cong., 1st sess., 21 January 1969, p. 71; and *Congressional Record* 89th Cong., 1st sess., 1965, 111, pt. 1: 1007.