IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

In General Congress assembled.

WHEN in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with others, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature’s God entitle them; a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.

That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.

That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such Principles, and organizing its Powers in such Form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress, assembled, do declare and publish to all the world, that they have separated from Great Britain.

For our task, to make an end, to make a new beginning, to create a new country, to found a new nation, to establish an order of things, to make the world anew.

We are United, we are powerful, we are invincible.

And if we are United, we shall prevail.

Signed by Orders in the Name of the Congress.

John Hancock, President.

Charles Thompson, Secretary.

An early broadside U.S. Declaration of Independence, Salem, Massachusetts, 1776.
**Robert F. Wagner Papers**
The personal and official papers of Robert F. Wagner, long-term United States senator from New York, are an important resource for scholars in many fields. They constitute without question one of the best sources available for the legislative history of the New Deal. Though Wagner is best known for his work in labor legislation, the collection has important segments documenting the senator's involvement with civil rights legislation, immigration (especially from Nazi Germany), and the recognition of a Jewish state in Palestine. Correspondents include Franklin D. Roosevelt and almost every important federal and New York state official of the period.

*Gift of Robert F. Wagner, Jr.*
1912-1949 = 588.00 linear feet

**Leon H. Keyserling Papers**
The collection includes that portion of Keyserling's papers which relate to his long tenure as legislative aide to Senator Robert F. Wagner. Besides correspondence from Wagner, it contains numerous drafts of bills written by Keyserling, such as the Housing Act of 1937 and the Wagner National Labor Relations Act (present in eight separate drafts), files of campaign speeches, and related material.

*Gift of Mrs. Leon H. Keyserling*
1933-1946 = 4.50 linear feet

**Earle B. Mayfield Papers**
Though Senator Mayfield's personal papers span his entire lifetime, they focus most strongly on his term (1923-1929) in the United States Senate. A quantity of materials, however, relate to his service as a Texas state senator and, more importantly, as a Texas railroad commissioner. Mayfield was elected to the U. S. Senate and confirmed despite malicious accusations that he had received campaign funds from the Ku Klux Klan.

*Gift of Edith S. and John S. Mayfield*
1890-1964 = 49.50 linear feet

**Brien McMahon Papers**
The private papers of Senator Brien McMahon, comprising correspondence, manuscripts, printed articles, clippings, and photographs, offer insight into McMahon's rise to eminence in the Justice Department and in the Connecticut and national Democratic parties in the 1930s. His senatorial campaigns of 1944 and 1950 are also documented, as is his attempt to capture the Democratic presidential nomination in 1952. Correspondents include Homer S. Cummings, J. Edgar Hoover, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and a host of
other government officials and members of Congress.

*Gift of Patricia M. Fox*

ca. 1930-1953 = 17.00 linear feet

**Harry L. Hopkins Papers**

The personal archives of Franklin D. Roosevelt’s most trusted advisor include appointment books and diaries, drafts of Hopkins’ speeches and memoranda, and extensive correspondence with his family and friends. Correspondents include the Winston Churchill family, Felix Frankfurter, Averell Harriman, George C. Marshall, President and Mrs. Roosevelt, and Carl Sandburg, as well as presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower, Lyndon B. Johnson, and Harry S. Truman, as well as Bernard Baruch, Max Beaverbrook, Anthony Eden, Harold L. Ikes, Joseph Kennedy, Robert E. Sherwood, and Rexford G. Tugwell. The papers document virtually all facets of Hopkins’ career, from his role as chief architect of the New Deal to Roosevelt’s Secretary of Commerce. There is also important material regarding his World War II work as head of Lend-Lease and as a major American policy maker, especially in Roosevelt’s negotiations with Churchill and Stalin. The original gift is supplemented by an important group of early family correspondence, chiefly relating to Ethel Gross Hopkins, the *gift of June Hopkins*. The papers of Robert Hopkins also contain considerable material about his father, Harry L. Hopkins, concentrating on their World War II experiences, including a large number of Robert Hopkins’ famous photographs of Yalta and related conferences and material about his subsequent career in the CIA, *bequest of Mr. Hopkins*.

*Gift of Robert Hopkins*

c. 1890-1961 = 34.00 linear feet

**Lloyd W. Bowers Papers / John W. Davis Papers**

The extensive correspondence files of United States solicitors general Lloyd W. Bowers (for 1909-1910) and John W. Davis (for 1913-1918) concern, for the most part, nominations and applications for various federal government positions.

*Gift of Mrs. William J. Hughes*

1909-1918 = 6.00 linear feet

**Emily Smith Warner Collection**

The Warner Collection contains the very few surviving personal papers of former New York governor and unsuccessful Democratic presidential candidate Al Smith. Assembled by the governor’s daughter, by whom it was presented, the collection includes a rich assemblage of family scrapbooks and other materials documenting Governor Smith’s long career in local, state, and national politics.

*Gift of Emily Smith Warner*

1913-1940 = 11.50 linear feet
**Robert Low Bacon Papers**

The Bacon Papers provide a detailed look at the New Deal’s “loyal opposition,” documenting Bacon’s career as a Republican member of the House of Representatives from 1923 until his death in 1938. Bacon represented an affluent New York State district and made a reputation as a consistent and determined opponent of the policies of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The Bacon Papers are supplemented by those of his wife, Virginia Murray Bacon (described under American History).

*Gift of the estate of Mrs. Robert Low Bacon*

ca. 1915-1938 = 91.50 linear feet

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**Eugene McCarthy Campaign Collections**

A number of collections which bear on the 1968 campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination as well as on Senator McCarthy’s previous and subsequent political career:

- papers of journalist William Stout, who wrote extensively on the 1968 campaign, *gift of Mr. Stout*;

- papers of historian J. Herman Schauinger, primarily concerning his research in early American Catholic history, but also touching on McCarthy’s entry into national politics in 1948 and his subsequent campaigns through 1968, *gift of Margaret Schauinger*;

- papers of Robert N. Butler concerning the 1968 campaign, *gift of Dr. Butler*;

- papers of Leslie W. Higbie concerning the 1968 campaign, *gift of Mr. Higbie*;

- papers of Mrs. Francis S. Key concerning the 1968 campaign and the McCarthy Historical Project Archive, *gift of Mrs. Key*;

- papers of David Hoeh, an active participant in the New Hampshire primary campaign in 1967 and 1968, who has since written about the campaign, *gift of Mr. Hoeh*; and

- records of Senator McCarthy’s further attempts at the presidency in 1972 and 1976, *gift of Senator McCarthy*.

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**Archives of the Fair Campaign Practices Committee**

Records of the Fair Campaign Practices Committee include papers, correspondence, and related files alleging instances and documenting charges of dirty dealing in state and national elections. Coverage of the 1960 presidential election is especially detailed, as is that for the 1964 New York senatorial race between Robert F. Kennedy and the Republican incumbent, Kenneth Keating. Also included are the Committee’s internal records documenting its origin, composition, governance, and fundraising activities.

*Gift of the Committee*

1954-1976 = 70.50 linear feet

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**Archives of the Center for the Public Financing of Elections**


*Gift of the Center*

1973-1976 = 19.50 linear feet
William H. Natcher Papers
The collection forms a substantial fragment of the papers of this longtime member of the U. S. House of Representatives, where he represented Kentucky's second district. The papers consist largely of letters received from White House political officers, influential constituents and supporters.
ca. 1970-1985 = 2.50 linear feet

William J. Walsh Collection
Composed of papers, correspondence, and an extensive clipping file relating to practical aspects of political campaigning on all levels, the collection has a special emphasis on New York State. It was assembled over a period of nearly 50 years by William J. Walsh, former campaign adviser to New York Mayor Fiorello J. LaGuardia and founder of the Citizenship Research Project.
Gift of Mrs. William J. Walsh
1930-1980 = 96.00 linear feet

Dorothy Dow Butturff Papers
The papers comprise two distinct correspondence series. The first consists of letters received by Mrs. Butturff from Eleanor Roosevelt, James Roosevelt, Malvina Thompson, and others. The second is a series of letters written to her family by Mrs. Butturff while she was serving as Eleanor Roosevelt's White House social secretary, 1933-1945. This latter group was published in book form as Eleanor Roosevelt, An Eager Spirit: The Letters of Dorothy Dow 1933-1945. The collection also includes a series of photographs of the Roosevelts, the John F. Kennedy family, the Lyndon Johnson family, and others.
Gift of Mrs. Butturff and of Barbara Butturff Delaney
1933-1985 = 1.00 linear foot

Editorial Cartoon Collection
Politicians and the political process are a frequent topic for the editorial cartoonist. The library's collection, totaling more than 5,000 original cartoons dating from the late nineteenth century to the present, frequently offers corroborative evidence in hotly debated questions of American politics. (For a full discussion of these collections see The University Art Collection chapter.)

MacNeil Collection
Formed by Washington D.C. journalist and novelist Neil MacNeil, the collection originally contained approximately 6,000 monographs, serials, pamphlets, and government documents relating to the history of the United States Congress, its rules and proceedings, and the men who have served—and occasionally fought—in it. The collection, especially strong in early pamphlet material and in its complete runs of congressional directories and records of debates, is divided between the main stacks and the rare books section.

Barnes Collection
The Barnes Collection contains the photographic morgue file of the Barnes Company, which specialized in the production of albums reproducing the faces and giving capsule biographies of members of Congress during the latter part of the nineteenth century. The collection includes 501 imperial carte de visite photographs, principally of members of Congress from 1872 to 1876, many of the photographs being embellished by added signatures trimmed from letters or other documents.
ca. 1870-1876 = 501 items
**Other Political Science Holdings**

The foundation of the library’s varied collections in the field of political science is a nucleus of first or early editions of classic writings by such authors as Bodin, Godwin, Hobbes, Locke, and Mill. These are supplemented by a strong collection of American state and federal statutes of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. A number of manuscript collections beside those described above contain material of potential value to the political scientist, perhaps most notably:

- “Manifold Writer” letter copy book of congressman, diplomat, and acting governor of Maine Edward Kavanagh, containing primarily letters of personal import, 1832-1837, with some related materials;

- collection of transcripts and audio cassette tapes for the interviews conducted by Colin Campbell, formerly Professor of Public Policy at Georgetown University, regarding his research on the implementation of cabinet government in the Carter and Reagan administrations and the interaction of central agencies in the nations of the United Kingdom, Switzerland, and Canada, *gift of Dr. Campbell*;

- papers of Richard Crawford, a nineteenth-century mayor of Georgetown, D.C. (described under *American History*);

- correspondence and other papers of Thomas Dolan, including a long series of letters from former Postmaster General James A. Farley. Dolan was for many years an active and influential fixture in Democratic Party politics in Chicago. *Gift of Mr. Dolan*; and

- miscellaneous documents and papers of Matt S. Szymczak, from 1936 to 1961 a member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.