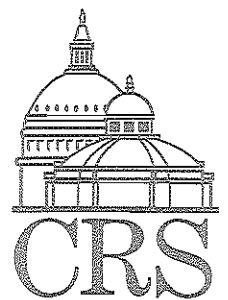


CRS Report for Congress

Federal Presidential Libraries

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FEDERAL PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES

SUMMARY

Through the National Archives and Records Administration, the Federal Government currently operates and maintains nine presidential libraries, and will soon assume responsibility for a tenth facility. Inaugurated with the Presidential Libraries Act of 1955, these entities are privately constructed on behalf of a former President of the United States and, upon completion, are deeded to the Federal Government. Deposited within these edifices are papers, records, memorabilia, and artifacts of the former President, his family, and, oftentimes, his political associates. These materials are made accessible to the public in accordance with prevailing law concerning custody, national security, personal privacy, and other similar restrictions. Federal presidential libraries have been established for Herbert Hoover and each succeeding Chief Executive except Richard Nixon. A Nixon library and museum was built and dedicated, but the facility is privately operated. The George Bush presidential library is under construction and plans call for it to be subsequently deeded to the Federal Government.

Since the enactment of the 1955 statute authorizing the creation of presidential libraries, at least two additional laws have further modified arrangements concerning these facilities. The Presidential Records Act of 1978 carefully defined "presidential records" and specified that all such materials created on or after January 20, 1981, were governed by its provisions. It effectively made presidential records Federal property which was to remain under the custody and control of the Archivist of the United States when each incumbent President left office. More recently, Congress enacted the Presidential Libraries Act of 1986, which set certain reporting requirements, architectural and design conditions, and fiscal limitations regarding presidential libraries, including requiring an operating endowment. However, portions of the endowment requirement pertaining to new presidential libraries or archival depositories were specifically made applicable "to any President who takes the oath of office as President for the first time on or after January 20, 1985." A George Bush presidential library will be the first such facility to be subject to all of these recent reform requirements.

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FEDERAL PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARIES

The Federal Government currently operates and maintains nine presidential libraries, and will soon assume responsibility for a tenth facility. The first such entity was established by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1939. The system of subsequent libraries was inaugurated with the Presidential Libraries Act of 1955. These facilities are privately constructed on behalf of a former President of the United States and, upon completion, are deeded to the Federal Government. Deposited within these edifices are papers, records, memorabilia, and artifacts of the former President, his family, and, oftentimes, his political associates. These materials are made accessible to the public in accordance with prevailing law concerning custody, national security, personal privacy, and other similar restrictions. In subsequent years, other statutes—the Presidential Records Act of 1978 and the Presidential Libraries Act of 1986—have further modified arrangements concerning these facilities.

HISTORY AND BACKGROUND

Although the government of the United States is based upon a written Constitution and laws, the management and preservation of the public records of the Nation was generally neglected during the first century and a half of the existence of the Republic.¹ Inattentiveness to the maintenance of official papers prevailed within both the infant bureaucracy and the White House. While the Secretary of State bore the responsibility for retaining copies of the most important government documents, lesser papers, without immediate administrative significance, disappeared in a clutter, disintegrated, became otherwise lost, or were destroyed by design.

Within this atmosphere, departing Presidents had little choice with regard to the disposition of their records: there was no national archive to receive such papers and, for reasons of etiquette, or politics, or both, there was reluctance to leave them behind. Thus, the early Chief Executives carried away their documents of office, entrusting them to their family, estate executors, and often to fate. After years and decades of the perils of private ownership, many collections of presidential records came to be established within the libraries of State and private universities, State historical societies, and the Library of Congress.² However, time levied a price on some caches of such documents before they came to rest in friendly institutions.

¹ See H. G. Jones. *The Records of A Nation*. New York, Atheneum, 1969, pp. 3-23.

² See the appendix to this report indicating institutions holding collections comprising 100 or more presidential papers.

The Library of Congress has possession of approximately 95 percent of President George Washington's papers, purchased from his heirs in 1834 and 1849 at a total cost of \$45,000. Some 23,600 Thomas Jefferson documents were purchased by the Library in 1848. They were not the full collection available at that time though. "Fully half of the original papers were returned to the estate after this transaction was completed, as of too 'personal' a nature for government acquisition. They were ultimately dispersed by the heirs to friends, relatives and collectors."³

In three separate purchases totaling \$65,000, the Library of Congress acquired 10,000 items from James Madison's presidency. Of the 4,200 documents from the James Monroe collection held by the Library, the bulk of them was acquired in 1849 for \$20,000. The Andrew Jackson collection at the Library consists of approximately 20,000 items, certain of which were donated in 1903, but most were purchased in 1911 and 1932 for a total of \$18,000. Jackson's legal and militia papers were destroyed, however, when the Hermitage, the family home, burned in 1834.

**Table 1. Library of Congress
Major Purchases of Presidential Papers⁴**

President	Purchased	Amount
Washington	1834, 1849	\$45,000
Jefferson	1848	\$20,000
Madison	1837, 1848, 1910	\$65,000
Monroe	1849	\$20,000
Jackson	1911, 1932	\$18,000
Tyler	1919	\$ 1,000
Polk	1903, 1910	\$13,500
A. Johnson	1904, 1930	\$ 7,500

In various ways, fire has been the chief destroyer of retired presidential documents. President Martin Van Buren carefully selected papers from his administration and is thought to have burned the rest, leaving less than 7,000 items. Fewer than 1,000 of William Henry Harrison's papers have survived, many of them being destroyed in 1858 when his home in North Bend, Ohio, was consumed by flames. While the Library of Congress has 800 items from the John Tyler presidency, purchased in 1919 for \$1,000, a large part of the original collection was destroyed in the burning of Richmond in 1865. Documents of

³ David Demarest Lloyd. *Presidential Papers and Presidential Libraries. Manuscripts*, v. 8, Fall, 1955, p. 10.

⁴ Drawn from *Ibid.*, pp. 9-15. Additional material supplied by the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress.

President Zachary Taylor not already scattered by descendants were also burned during the Civil War when the family plantation was put to the torch.

Peculiarities surround the papers of some Presidents. After leaving office, President Ulysses S. Grant reportedly returned certain of the letters he had received from political friends and associates to their writers. Most of Chester A. Arthur's papers "disappeared." The documents of Warren G. Harding's presidency vanished for a time and were thought to have been destroyed by his widow. Some were acquired by the Library of Congress, but a quantity of them then turned up in Marion, Ohio, where certain materials remain under seal, the most sensitive items to be released in 2014.

For over a century and a half, the papers of the President were regarded as his personal property to be taken with him when he left office. However, as the Federal establishment began to grow, questions arose as to the propriety and wisdom of this practice. By the turn of the century, historians had become alarmed that papers were accidentally destroyed, lost, and sometimes only selectively released for scrutiny. Archivists lamented omissions in the national governmental record which the situation created. Not only might entire files be carried from the White House, but presidential correspondence might be retrieved from departmental files. As it applied to government records, the concept of presidential papers knew no bounds. This aspect of the practice became particularly acute in the aftermath of the creation of the Executive Office of the President in 1939. Franklin D. Roosevelt established a panoply of emergency and wartime agencies within this domain, all of which served the President in immediate and direct capacities and all of which, therefore, could be considered producers of "presidential papers." The potential loss of the documentary materials of these entities, however, presented both a records management problem and an administrative continuity difficulty.⁵

THE FEDERAL PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY

Addressing this situation, Franklin Roosevelt sought to return presidential papers to the public realm through a new type of institution—the presidential library. When F.D.R. advanced this concept in 1938, two prototype libraries were already in existence. In 1914, the State of Ohio completed the Rutherford B. Hayes Memorial Library in Fremont, Ohio. Built in fulfillment of obligations to receive the former Chief Executive's papers and memorabilia, the library contains 67,425 items and 293 volumes of historical material.⁶ The memorial, which also houses certain local and regional historical papers apart from those

⁵ The bulk of the records of the temporary Executive Office agencies are, in fact, divided between the Franklin D. Roosevelt presidential library at Hyde Park, New York, and the National Archives and Records Administration in Washington, D. C.

⁶ David Demarest Lloyd. *Presidential Papers and Presidential Libraries*, p. 13.

of President Hayes, continues to be maintained jointly by the State of Ohio and the Rutherford B. Hayes-Lucy Webb Hayes Foundation.⁷

Roosevelt's immediate predecessor, Herbert Hoover, placed his presidential papers in the Hoover Library of War, Revolution, and Peace, located on the Stanford University campus. In 1919, Hoover had pledged \$50,000 to the university to establish an institution which would serve as a repository of largely original documents deriving from European propaganda and pamphleteering activities of World War I.⁸ Built at a cost of \$600,000 for the basic archival building, the resulting entity was later renamed the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace.⁹ Today, it is no longer attached to Stanford University, but maintains itself through donations and as a contract research organization. It continues to hold papers evolving from Hoover's public service since 1914. Certain of the presidential papers, however, were transferred to the Herbert Hoover presidential library at West Branch, Iowa, when that facility was completed and turned over to the Archivist of the United States in 1964.

Franklin Roosevelt built upon these models and developed the concept of a publicly maintained presidential library. The idea apparently germinated in the President's thinking in 1937. By December of 1938, he had organized an executive committee on the project and had recruited Waldo Gifford Leland, a distinguished historian, leader of the archival profession, and eminent executive secretary of the American Council of Learned Societies, to chair the panel.¹⁰ After an initial organizational meeting and gathering with the President on December 17, plans were made to organize a corporation to gather funds for the private construction of the library building.¹¹ The Carnegie Corporation granted the executive committee \$1,500 for its activities, and the first round of construction pledges totaled \$450,000.¹²

⁷ See Thomas A. Smith. Before Hyde Park: The Rutherford B. Hayes Library. *American Archivist*, v. 43, Fall, 1980, pp. 485-488.

⁸ Paul Dickson. *Think Tanks*. New York, Atheneum, 1971, p. 303.

⁹ David Demarest Lloyd. *Presidential Papers and Presidential Libraries*, p. 15.

¹⁰ See Waldo Gifford Leland. The Creation of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library: A Personal Narrative. *American Archivist*, v. 18, January, 1955, pp. 11-29. Also see Donald R. McCoy. The Beginnings of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library. *Prologue*, v. 7, Fall, 1975, pp. 137-150.

¹¹ Members of the executive committee chaired by Leland included Randolph G. Adams, Librarian of the William L. Clements Library of the University of Michigan; Charles E. Clark, recent dean of the Yale University Law School who had just been named to a Federal appeals court judgeship; Robert D. W. Connor, Archivist of the United States; Helen Taft Manning, dean of Bryn Mawr College; Samuel Eliot Morison, professor of history at Harvard University; and Stuart A. Rice, chairman of the Central Statistical Board.

¹² Waldo Gifford Leland. The Creation of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library: A Personal Narrative, pp. 15-16.

The declared purposes of the library construction corporation were to construct and equip a building or buildings on the grounds of the Roosevelt family home at Hyde Park, New York, or elsewhere, either for the corporation or for the United States. This facility was to house and preserve such historical materials as Franklin Roosevelt might give, bequeath, or transfer to the corporation or to the United States, as well as any other acceptable historical materials. The corporation was to provide for the custody and maintenance of such buildings and historical materials, making the latter available to students, scholars, historians, teachers, and others until ownership and control should be taken over by the United States. It had power to solicit, accept, borrow, invest, and expend money, and to transfer property to the United States, provided that adequate legislation was enacted for the acceptance of such property and for its permanent care and maintenance.¹³

Chartering legislation for the Roosevelt presidential library was enacted in 1939.¹⁴ The Archivist of the United States, acting on behalf of the Federal Government, accepted the completed library edifice on July 4, 1940. The museum portion of the facility was opened to the public approximately a year later; library materials were available for research use by the public in the spring of 1946.

THE POLICY STRUCTURE

The efforts of Franklin Roosevelt to create a presidential library were both ad hoc and specific. Nonetheless, Harry Truman was no less attentive to history and the preservation of his presidential records. In the aftermath of his 1948 election, Truman saw the 1950 creation of a Missouri corporation to establish a presidential library on his behalf, following the F.D.R. model.¹⁵ Furthermore, in an unpublished January 17, 1953, letter to the Administrator of General Services (who had succeeded the Archivist of the United States as the official recipient of publicly donated presidential records and archival facilities), Truman proposed to offer his White House papers for deposit in the national archival system pursuant to somewhat awkward authority of the Federal Records Act or under future legislation in the event that the proposed library was accepted by the Federal Government.¹⁶

While the Truman library corporation was endeavoring to raise funds for the construction of an archival edifice, Congress enacted the Presidential

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

¹⁴ 53 Stat. 1062.

¹⁵ Background information on the establishment of the Truman presidential library was provided by the National Archives and Records Administration. Also see David D. Lloyd. The Harry S. Truman Library. *American Archivist*, v. 18, April, 1955, pp. 107-110; Philip C. Brooks. The Harry S. Truman Library—Plans and Reality. *American Archivist*, v. 25, January, 1962, pp. 25-37.

¹⁶ See Section 507(e), 64 Stat. 583, 588.

Libraries Act of 1955. Truman's successor, Dwight D. Eisenhower, approved the legislation—an amendment to the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949—in August.¹⁷ This law provided the statutory basis for all subsequent Federal presidential libraries.

Under the terms of the new Presidential Libraries Act, a former President was understood to have complete control over his official records, even to the point of his defining what constituted "presidential papers." These materials could be taken by the Chief Executive when he departed office. The Presidential Libraries Act established arrangements whereby a former President could, after privately constructing a depository edifice, deed both the building and such papers as he wished to house within it to the Federal Government. In accepting this property—buildings, land, records, and papers, and perhaps artifacts—the government agreed to abide by the terms of the deed or contract of bequest, which often meant that temporal restrictions were set on the public availability of some presidential materials. It was also understood that security classification and other limited common law restrictions, such as personal privacy, would be honored as well.¹⁸

Pursuant to this authority, Federal presidential libraries were subsequently created for former Presidents Harry S. Truman, Herbert C. Hoover, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Lyndon B. Johnson, John F. Kennedy, Gerald R. Ford, and Jimmy Carter. However, new laws began to emerge, changing the arrangements for future presidential libraries.

First, as a consequence of the Watergate incident and related matters, the official papers and records of President Richard Nixon were placed under Federal custody by the Presidential Recordings and Materials Preservation Act of 1974.¹⁹ The statute requires that these materials remain in Washington, D. C., where they are maintained under the supervision of the Archivist of the United States. Thus, Nixon neither could take his presidential records and documents with him when he left office, nor could he place them in a presidential library outside of the Nation's capital.

This 1974 statute also created the temporary National Study Commission on Records and Documents of Federal Officials.²⁰ The task of this panel was "to study problems and questions with respect to the control, disposition, and preservation of records and documents produced by or on behalf of Federal officials, with a view toward the development of appropriate legislative recommendations and other recommendations regarding appropriate rules and procedures with respect to such control, disposition, and preservation."

¹⁷ 69 Stat. 695; 44 U.S.C. 2101, 2107-2108 (1976).

¹⁸ See William J. Stewart. Opening Closed Material in the Roosevelt Library. *Prologue*, v. 7, Winter, 1975, pp. 239-241.

¹⁹ 88 Stat. 1695.

²⁰ 88 Stat. 1698.

Consisting of 17 members, the commission was chaired by former Attorney General Herbert Brownell.²¹ Its final report was issued in March of 1977.²²

Responding partly to some of the commission's recommendations, legislation to establish the future public ownership of presidential records and procedures governing the preservation and public availability of such materials at the end of each Chief Executive's tenure was introduced in the House early in 1978. It was subsequently given congressional approval and was signed into law in November as the Presidential Records Act.²³ The statute carefully defined "presidential records," and specified that all such materials created on or after January 20, 1981, were subject to its provisions. The new law effectively made presidential records Federal property which was to remain under the custody and control of the Archivist of the United States when each incumbent President left the White House. Jimmy Carter was the last occupant of the Oval Office who could freely take away his records and papers.

At about this same time, there was a growing sentiment in Congress that would eventually result in another reform of Federal presidential library law. Concern about the increasing cost of providing benefits to the Nation's former Presidents was beginning to build, legislatively manifesting itself initially in March, 1980, in proposals to adjust the Federal largess bestowed upon former Presidents and their families.²⁴ Federal presidential libraries—particularly

²¹ In addition to Brownell, the other members of the panel included Lucius D. Battle, Senior Vice President of the Communications Satellite Corporation; Philip W. Buchen, former White House Counsel to President Ford; Ann Morgan Campbell, Executive Director of the Society of American Archivists; David O. Cooke, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Administration; Allen Ertel, Member of the House of Representatives; Frank B. Freidel, Jr., Harvard University Professor of History; Elizabeth Hamer Kegan, Assistant Librarian of Congress for American and Library Studies; Robert J. Lagomarsino, Member of the House of Representatives; William E. Leuchtenberg, Columbia University Professor of History; J. Edward Lumbard, Jr., Senior Judge of the U. S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit; Edward Mezvinsky, Member of the House of Representatives; Gaylord Nelson, United States Senator; James B. Rhoads, Archivist of the United States; John M. Thomas, Assistant Secretary of State for Administration; Michael M. Uhlmann, former Assistant Attorney General for Legislative Affairs; and Lowell P. Weicker, Jr., United States Senator.

²² U. S. National Study Commission on Records and Documents of Federal Officials. *Final Report of the National Study Commission on Records and Documents of Federal Officials*. Washington, March 31, 1977. This document also contains an alternate report of minority members of the commission. Also see Anna Kasten Nelson. *The Public Documents Commission: Politics and Presidential Records*. *Government Publications Review*, v. 9, September-October, 1982, pp. 443-451.

²³ 92 Stat. 2523; 44 U.S.C. 2201-2207 (1982).

²⁴ See U. S. Library of Congress. Congressional Research Service. *Federal Benefits to Former Presidents and Their Widows*. Report No. 85-173 GOV, by Stephanie Smith. Washington, August 19, 1985; U. S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Governmental Affairs. *Former Presidents Facilities and Services Reform Act of 1986*. S. Rept. 99-349, 99th Congress, 2d session. Washington, U. S. Govt. Print. Off., 1986, pp. 8-9.

their physical size and continued maintenance—were among the perquisites seen to be contributing to the burden of the taxpayers.²⁵

During the 99th Congress, the House and the Senate moved legislation addressing this single area of expense involving former Presidents. The Presidential Libraries Act of 1986 set certain reporting requirements, architectural and design conditions, and fiscal limitations regarding future presidential libraries, including requiring an operating endowment.²⁶ For example, prior to accepting any gift of land, a facility, or equipment to create a Federal presidential library or making any physical or material change in an existing one, the Archivist must submit a written report to Congress providing certain details, as specified in the statute, about the transaction. However, portions of the endowment requirement for new Federal presidential libraries were specifically made applicable "to any President who takes the oath of office as President *for the first time* on or after January 20, 1985."²⁷

The George Bush presidential library will be the first such facility to be subject to all of these recent reform requirements. In brief, as the President nears the completion of his tenure, a private development corporation may be chartered under State law to generate funding for the construction of an archival facility that will function as a presidential library. This edifice must meet architectural and design standards prescribed by the Archivist of the United States pursuant to the Presidential Libraries Act of 1986. The structure will probably be located at or near the former President's birthplace, family home, or alma mater. The former President will not, however, have official Oval Office records to present with the edifice at the time of deeding it over to the Federal Government. These materials, under the control of the Archivist, will be deposited at the facility after the government takes possession of it. Finally, the development corporation will also have to provide an adequate maintenance endowment with the archival edifice in order that the Archivist may make acceptance.

THE LIBRARY SYSTEM

Through the National Archives and Records Administration, the Federal Government currently operates and maintains eight presidential libraries, and will soon assume responsibility for a ninth such facility. Federal experience with the first four presidential libraries—Roosevelt, Truman, Hoover, and Eisenhower—established two patterns: the facility was located at what was considered to be the particular former President's hometown (birthplace or

²⁵ See U. S. Congress. House. Committee on Government Operations. *Presidential Libraries: Unexplored Funding Alternatives*. H. Rept. 97-732, 97th Congress, 2d session. Washington, U. S. Govt. Print. Off., 1982.

²⁶ 100 Stat. 495; 44 U.S.C. 2101, 2112 (1988)

²⁷ 100 Stat. 498 (emphasis added).

principal residence) and the library building(s), grounds, and holdings were deeded to the Federal Government.

Change in or exception to this practice occurred with the Lyndon Baines Johnson presidential library, which was located on the campus of the University of Texas at Austin. Because the University could not legally deed its land to the Federal Government, another provision of the Presidential Libraries Act was relied upon to effect Federal supervision of the facility. Rather than taking title to the presidential archival facility, the Archivist relied upon his authority to "make agreements, upon terms and conditions he considers proper, with a State, political subdivision, university, institution of higher learning, institute, or foundation to use as a Presidential archival depository land, buildings, and equipment of the State, subdivision, university, or other organization, to be made available by it without transfer of title to the United States, and maintain, operate, and protect the depository as a part of the national archives system."²⁸ Pursuant to this authority, an agreement or memorandum of understanding was executed regarding the Federal supervision of the Johnson presidential library. This innovation was repeated in the case of the Gerald R. Ford presidential library because its location on the Ann Arbor campus of the University of Michigan once again raised the land deed barrier. A separate Ford museum is located in the former President's hometown of Grand Rapids, Michigan, but it is not a Federal presidential library.

Both the John Fitzgerald Kennedy and Jimmy Carter presidential libraries, however, while deeded to the Federal Government, are located in major cities in close proximity to respective presidential hometowns. The planned Ronald Reagan presidential library appears to follow this model. Each of the presidential libraries is briefly profiled below.²⁹

The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library (Hyde Park, New York).

The oldest of the Federal presidential libraries, the Roosevelt facility was individually chartered by Congress in 1939. Shortly after this legislation was signed into law, the President and Mrs. Roosevelt deeded approximately 16 acres of their family estate to the Federal Government as a site for the archival edifice. The building design was F.D.R.'s own; the cornerstone was laid on November 19, 1939; and the completed structure was accepted by the Archivist of the United States on July 4, 1940. The museum portion of the library was opened to the public on June 30, 1941, and materials were made available for research by the public on May 1, 1946.

Wings were added to the original archival edifice in memory of Mrs. Roosevelt in 1972. The Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation, a private group chartered by Congress, contributed half of the

²⁸ See 44 U.S.C. 2112(a) (1982); 44 U.S.C. 2112(a)(1)(B)(i) (1988).

²⁹ Profile information was largely provided by the National Archives and Records Administration.

construction funds for the expansion.³⁰ Congress appropriated money for the other half of the cost.

The Harry S. Truman Library (Independence, Missouri).

A library construction corporation was chartered under the laws of Missouri on July 14, 1950. Just before he left office, President Truman, in a January 17, 1953, letter to the Administrator of General Services, indicated his intention to donate his presidential records to the National Archives. Subsequently, Congress enacted the Presidential Libraries Act of 1955, which opened the way for a joint gift of an archival edifice and presidential materials. The construction corporation collected funds from 1950 to 1957, and the library building was completed in September, 1957. The city of Independence donated 13.5 acres for a site, and related road improvements were made by the Missouri Highway Department. The construction corporation deeded the entire facility to the Federal Government on June 10, 1957. The Truman Library was dedicated and accepted on July 6, 1957.

The Herbert Hoover Library (West Branch, Iowa). In 1954, a foundation was incorporated in Iowa to preserve former President Hoover's birthplace, promote the principles for which he stood, and preserve certain of his memorabilia. It cooperated with the Hoover Birthplace Society, a local citizens group which had opened the Hoover home to the public and acquired land in the vicinity of the cottage. The two groups merged in the late 1950s and began efforts at financing the construction of a library-museum on the birthplace site. Development funds were appropriated at times by the Iowa legislature. The uncompleted facility was offered to the Federal Government on December 5, 1960. The library was subsequently dedicated on August 10, 1962, and was deeded to the United States exactly two years later.

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Library (Abilene, Kansas).

During the closing months of World War II, the Eisenhower Foundation was granted a non-profit corporation charter by the State of Kansas on July 23, 1945. While its original purpose was to honor war veterans, the foundation came to focus increasingly on publicly recognizing and memorializing the achievements of General Eisenhower. An important step in this regard occurred in 1946 when the Eisenhower brothers, after the death of their mother, deeded the family home in Abilene, Kansas, to the foundation to be operated and preserved for the benefit of the public. Assuming this responsibility, the foundation opened the home for public visitation in June of 1947. Next, General Eisenhower made the foundation the recipient of his military mementoes and awards. Soon, the foundation began constructing a museum for these memorabilia at the family home site. This facility was completed and dedicated on November 11, 1954. During Eisenhower's first presidential term, the foundation began

³⁰ See 77 Stat. 8.

planning to build a presidential library at the home site. The State of Kansas assisted the effort with acquisition and landscaping of a library site, supervising the design and construction of the archival edifice, and an appropriation of over \$2 million. The presidential library was dedicated and accepted by the Federal Government on May 1, 1962. Four years later, the foundation deeded both the museum and family home to the United States, creating the Eisenhower Center.

The John Fitzgerald Kennedy Library (Boston, Massachusetts). Eight months after his inauguration, President Kennedy, in a September 20, 1961, letter to the Archivist of the United States, indicated his initial interest in establishing his presidential library. Plans sufficiently progressed that, prior to his death, Kennedy had actually viewed and given preliminary approval to a possible site for an archival edifice. A development corporation for the facility was chartered in Massachusetts on December 5, 1963. President Kennedy's heirs formally donated his official papers and other artifacts to the United States by a deed of gift accepted by the Administrator of General Services on February 25, 1965. Subsequently, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts authorized the Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority to convey a certain portion of land to the United States for the site of the Kennedy library, and pledged to pay a reimbursement for this property. Federal law, approved August 27, 1966, authorized the Administrator of General Services to accept the offered 10-acre site in Cambridge, located near Harvard Yard.³¹ The transfer occurred with a deed of February 15, 1968. However, controversy developed concerning the environmental impact of the facility on Cambridge. Eventually, special legislation authorized the return of the land to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in 1976.³² That same year, the Commonwealth authorized the University of Massachusetts to convey 12.5 acres of its Boston campus property, located on Columbia Point, to the Federal Government for the Kennedy library site. Federal law adopted in 1977 authorized acceptance of this land.³³ Construction of the archival edifice was undertaken, and the completed facility was deeded to the United States. The library was formally dedicated and opened to the public on October 20, 1979.³⁴

³¹ See 80 Stat. 370.

³² See 90 Stat. 589.

³³ See 91 Stat. 174.

³⁴ See Dan H. Fenn. Launching the John F. Kennedy Library. *American Archivist*, v. 42, October, 1979, pp. 429-442; U. S. Congress. House. Committee on Government Operations. *John Fitzgerald Kennedy Presidential Library*. Hearing, 95th Congress, 1st session. April 28, 1977. Washington, U. S. Govt. Print. Off., 1977; U. S. Congress. House. Committee on Government Operations. *John Fitzgerald Kennedy Presidential Library*. H. Rept. 95-273, 95th Congress, 1st session. Washington, U. S. Govt. Print. Off., 1977.

The Lyndon Baines Johnson Library (Austin, Texas).

President Johnson, in a August 13, 1965, letter to the Administrator of General Services, offered his presidential and other papers as a gift to the United States. This offer was accepted by the Administrator on August 17. Subsequently, on September 6, 1965, legislation was approved authorizing the Administrator to enter into an agreement with the University of Texas to use as a presidential archival facility certain land, buildings, and equipment of the University to be made available by it without transfer of title to the Federal Government. The depository was to be maintained, operated, and protected as part of the national archival system.³⁵ The Administrator and the University of Texas entered into an agreement on October 8, 1965, pursuant to this authority. Because the University provided the 14-acre site for the library and constructed the edifice, no private foundation or corporation was formed to solicit funds for the depository. The building was dedicated on May 22, 1971—the first presidential library to be situated on a university campus. The University of Texas retained title to the building, but dedicated it to the United States in perpetuity.

The Richard M. Nixon Library (Yorba Linda, California).

The privately constructed and operated Nixon archival facility is *not a Federal presidential library*. Richard Nixon resigned the presidency on August 9, 1974, shortly after the House Committee on the Judiciary approved three articles of impeachment. He left the White House immediately and was automatically succeeded by Vice President Gerald Ford. A month later, on September 8, 1974, President Ford announced a full and unconditional pardon of Nixon. That same day, a few hours later, presidential counsel Philip Buchen disclosed an agreement between Nixon and the Administrator of General Services regarding the disposition of some 42 million documents and materials of the Nixon presidency. In the agreement, Nixon asserted that he retained "all legal and equitable title to the materials, including all literary property rights." Supporting this position, a September 6, 1974, legal opinion prepared by Attorney General William Saxbe took the position that such documents and materials were the private property of Nixon. The agreement provided for the transfer of the Nixon presidential records to a temporary Federal archival facility in California where they would be held for three years until a presidential library was completed for their deposit. Storage costs during this period were to be borne by the Federal Government. Access to the material, however, was to be solely and absolutely controlled by former President Nixon, who also retained broad discretionary power over what records and tape recordings might be donated to the United States, retained by him, or destroyed. Furthermore, even those tapes donated to the United States were, according to the agreement, to be destroyed at the time of Nixon's death or on September 1, 1984, depending upon whichever event occurred first.

³⁵ 79 Stat. 648.

This agreement was met with widespread congressional objection.³⁶ Overriding legislation was enacted in December of 1974.³⁷ The Presidential Recordings and Materials Preservation Act gave the Federal Government custody over the Nixon presidential records, documents, and tape recordings. These materials were to remain in Washington, D. C., for use in on-going court proceedings by the Federal Government. The Administrator of General Services was made responsible for managing the materials, including their preservation, security, and organization, and for preparing regulations regarding public access to them. These materials continue to remain in Federal custody in the Nation's capital.

Although former President Nixon did not have possession of or control over his presidential records, documents, and tapes, planning proceeded for a library in his honor. The formation of a foundation for this purpose had been announced by the Nixon White House on May 12, 1969.³⁸ Difficulties ensued, however, over a location for the library, and various sites were pursued—Whittier College, San Clemente, and Duke University, among other locales. In 1987, agreement was reached on the Nixon birthplace—Yorba Linda, California—for the archival facility.³⁹ Reportedly costing \$21 million, the Nixon library complex was dedicated on July 19, 1990.⁴⁰ The research collection includes Nixon's congressional and vice presidential records and a small collection of copies of his presidential papers.⁴¹

The Gerald R. Ford Library (Ann Arbor, Michigan). The University of Michigan had sought Gerald Ford's congressional and vice presidential papers before he succeeded to the presidency in August of 1974. A deed of gift for these records and his presidential

³⁶ See U. S. Congress. House. Committee on House Administration. *The "Public Documents Act."* Hearings, 93rd Congress, 2d session. September 30 and October 4, 1974. Washington, U. S. Govt. Print. Off., 1974; U. S. Congress. House. Committee on House Administration. *Presidential Recordings and Materials Preservation Act.* H. Rept. 93-1507, 93rd Congress, 2d session. Washington, U. S. Govt. Print. Off., 1974; U. S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Government Operations. *Preservation, Protection, and Public Access With Respect to Certain Tape Recordings and Other Materials.* S. Rept. 93-1181, 93rd Congress, 2d session. Washington, U. S. Govt. Print. Off., 1974.

³⁷ 88 Stat. 1695.

³⁸ See *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, v. 25, May 23, 1969, p. 828.

³⁹ Mariann Hansen. Nixon Presidential Library to Be Built in Yorba Linda. *Los Angeles Times*, November 7, 1987, pp. 1, 33.

⁴⁰ Leon Whiteson. Nixon Library Hits Close to Home. *Los Angeles Times*, July 19, 1990, pp. E1, E6; R. W. Apple, Jr. Winner and Loser, Nixon Comes Back. *New York Times*, July 20, 1990, pp. A1, A10; Ann Devroy. Nixon Library Dedicated as 3 GOP Presidents Praise "Architect of Peace." *Washington Post*, July 20, 1990, p. A5.

⁴¹ Attorneys for the former President continue to contest National Archives control of some materials in the hope of returning them to Nixon's possession.

materials was executed by Ford with the Federal Government on December 13, 1976. The University of Michigan subsequently provided the land for the Ford library; the building, constructed with privately donated funds, remains under University ownership, while its contents are the property of the Federal Government. The facility officially opened on April 27, 1981. Memorabilia and artifacts of the Ford presidency are housed separately in a Ford museum located in Grand Rapids, the former President's birthplace.

The Jimmy Carter Library (Atlanta, Georgia). In a press conference immediately after his 1980 electoral defeat, President Carter indicated his intentions to place his official papers and records in "a proper library or repository somewhere," and that these materials would "belong to the public eventually."⁴² That "somewhere" soon became Atlanta, Georgia. A location for a presidential library was announced in June of 1981, and the development corporation began negotiations with the Georgia Department of Transportation to purchase the site. A groundbreaking ceremony was held on October 2, 1984, and the completed facility was dedicated and opened to the public on October 1, 1986.⁴³ The Carter presidential papers became initially accessible to researchers and scholars on January 28, 1987.⁴⁴

The Ronald Reagan Library (Simi Valley, California). Plans for a Reagan presidential library were unveiled in January of 1987, with the site to be on the Stanford University campus.⁴⁵ A few months later, however, objection from the Stanford faculty prompted reconsideration of the location of the facility.⁴⁶ The new site, according to development corporation plans submitted by the Archivist

⁴² *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Jimmy Carter, 1980-81*. Vol. 3. Washington, U. S. D. Govt. Print. Off., 1982, p. 2689.

⁴³ See U. S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Governmental Affairs. *Carter Presidential Library Proposal*. Hearing, 98th Congress, 1st session. November 9, 1983. Washington, U. S. Govt. Print. Off., 1984; Donald B. Schewe. *Establishing a Presidential Library: The Jimmy Carter Experience*. *Prologue*, v. 21, Summer, 1989, pp. 125-133.

⁴⁴ *New York Times*. Scholars Begin to Delve Into Carter's Documents. *New York Times*, January 29, 1987, p. 37; Tom Redburn. Carter Papers Reveal Passion for Detail. *Los Angeles Times*, January 29, 1987, part 1, p. 4; United Press International. Carter Presidential Papers Opened. *Washington Post*, January 29, 1987, p. C13.

⁴⁵ Benjamin Forgery. Reagan Library Plan Unveiled. *Washington Post*, January 29, 1987, p. C3; *New York Times*. Model Shows Reagan Plan For a Library. *New York Times*, January 31, 1987, p. 7.

⁴⁶ Cheryl Sullivan. Stanford U. Faculty Wants Say In Plans. *Christian Science Monitor*, March 27, 1987, pp. 3, 4; William Trombley. Southland, Not Stanford, to Get Reagan Library. *Los Angeles Times*, April 24, 1987, part 1, pp. 1, 31; David Hoffman. Reagan Library Group Seeks New Site. *Washington Post*, April 24, 1987, p. A3; Robert Lindsey. Proposal for Reagan Library on the Campus at Stanford Is Dropped. *New York Times*, April 25, 1987, p. 10; Charlotte Saikowski. After Quitting Stanford, Reagan Library Seeks Site in L.A. Area. *Christian Science Monitor*, May 6, 1987, p. 5.

of the United States to Congress in May of 1988, is "an unimproved parcel of land containing approximately 100 acres in an unincorporated area of Ventura County, California, located between the cities of Simi Valley and Thousand Oaks."⁴⁷ A dedication and groundbreaking ceremony for the library was held on November 21, 1988.⁴⁸ The completed facility was opened to the public on November 4, 1991. Pursuant to the Presidential Records Act of 1978, the Reagan presidential papers and documentary materials have remained under the custody and control of the Archivist since the conclusion of President Reagan's tenure of office.

The George Bush Library (College Station, Texas). While at least four universities initially indicated interest in locating a presidential library for George Bush on their campuses, Texas A&M University at College Station ultimately was chosen as the site.⁴⁹ Groundbreaking occurred on November 30, 1994, and construction of the \$82 million complex, which will include a library, museum, and adjacent university facilities, is expected to be completed in 1997.⁵⁰ The Bush presidential library will be the first such entity subject to the endowment requirement of the Presidential Libraries Act of 1986.

COST CONSIDERATIONS

There has long been a concern in Congress about the cost of Federal presidential libraries.⁵¹ Recently, Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich

⁴⁷ Letter of May 5, 1988, from The Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation, signed by William French Smith, chairman of the Board of Trustees, to Hon. Don Wilson, Archivist of the United States, reproduced in National Archives and Records Administration. Letter report to the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate on a proposed archival depository for the presidential and other historical materials of the Reagan Administration. May 9, 1988. Washington, D. C.

⁴⁸ Lou Cannon. Reagan Dedicates His Presidential Library. *Washington Post*, November 22, 1988, p. A13.

⁴⁹ Kenneth F. Bunting. Texas Schools Make Pitches for Bush's Library. *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, April 4, 1989, section 1, pp. 11, 14; Jeff Franks. Booking Bush. *Chicago Tribune*, July 3, 1989, section 2, p. 1.

⁵⁰ Hugh Aynesworth. Bush Hails Oval Office Hopefuls in Groundbreaking for Library. *Washington Times*, December 1, 1994, p. A8.

⁵¹ Of related interest, debate has ensued from time to time within Congress and American society over the decentralized organization of the Federal presidential library system and the option of a single presidential library facility, operated by the National Archives and probably located in the Nation's capital, to house the records, papers, and materials of office of all future Presidents. See, for example, Houston G. Jones. Presidential Libraries: Is There a Case for a National Presidential Library? *American Archivist*, v. 38, July, 1975, pp. 325-328.

suggested the presidential libraries should be privately operated.⁵² Such archival facilities have not always been designed for economical maintenance, incur operating expenses for staff and other resources, and have been expanded with public funds. These issues were largely addressed by the Presidential Libraries Act of 1986. Still, the unchecked growth of these libraries and the prospect of their needing electronic information technology and supporting resources to service presidential records collections in the future remain open to debate.

Due to a caveat in the 1986 reform legislation, the Reagan presidential library seemingly is the last such facility deeded to the Federal Government without a required operating endowment.⁵³ "The Archivist," according to the statute, "shall not accept or take title to any land, facility, or equipment . . . or enter into any agreement to use any land, facility, or equipment . . . for the purpose of creating a Presidential archival depository, unless the Archivist determines that there is available, by gift or bequest for deposit . . . in an endowment with respect to such depository, an amount for the purpose of maintaining such land, facility, and equipment equal to" certain specified criteria.⁵⁴ A similar requirement was set regarding the expansion of existing Federal presidential library facilities. At the time this reform legislation was enacted, the following congressional accounting of the cost of Federal presidential libraries to U. S. taxpayers was produced.⁵⁵

Fiscal Year	Libraries	Total*	Libraries Percentage
1955	\$63,745	\$63,745	100
1956	\$64,853	\$64,853	100
1957	\$74,836	\$74,836	100
1958	\$142,536	\$142,536	100

⁵² Ruth Larson. Archivists Cool to Gingrich's Plan. *Washington Times*, January 4, 1995, p. A6.

⁵³ Regarding The Ronald Reagan Library, the Archivist has offered the following pertinent comments. "The architects have complied with the intent of the Presidential Libraries Act of 1986," he testified, "and met all the specifications that we asked for. It is a first rate building and satisfies the requirements of the intention of the law which I fully support. This gives the archivist some kind of control over the kind of structure that is going to be built."

U. S. Congress. House. Committee on Appropriations. *Treasury, Postal Service, and General Government Appropriations for Fiscal Year 1990*. Part 4. Hearings, 101st Congress, 1st session. Washington, U. S. Govt. Print. Off., 1989, p. 287.

⁵⁴ See 100 Stat. 497; 44 U.S.C. 2112(g)(3).

⁵⁵ Adapted from U. S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Governmental Affairs. *Former Presidents Facilities and Services Reform Act of 1986*, p. 8.

**TABLE 2. Cost of Presidential Libraries and Former Presidents
to U.S. Taxpayers, 1955-1987**

Fiscal Year	Libraries	Total*	Libraries Percentage
1959	\$168,057	\$328,057	51
1960	\$180,140	\$380,140	47
1961	\$219,223	\$469,223	47
1962	\$294,297	\$594,297	49
1963	\$325,520	\$635,520	51
1964	\$380,251	\$729,758	52
1965	\$559,485	\$970,275	58
1966	\$611,966	\$1,135,988	54
1967	\$613,745	\$1,195,378	51
1968	\$676,000		
Truman addition	\$312,000	\$1,629,298	61
1969	\$1,406,808		
Hoover addition	\$1,074,000	\$3,261,360	76
1970	\$1,980,855	\$3,043,472	65
1971	\$2,252,289		
Eisenhower addition	\$1,610,000	\$5,207,644	74
1972	\$2,513,559		
Roosevelt addition	\$882,000	\$5,088,679	67
1973	\$2,722,116	\$4,371,233	62
1974	\$2,863,457	\$3,903,246	73
1975	\$4,542,447	\$6,232,591	73
1976	\$6,409,380	\$9,698,435	66
1977	\$6,297,611	\$11,367,100	55
1978	\$7,230,486	\$14,153,676	51
1979	\$7,523,783		
Truman addition	\$2,667,000	\$18,149,365	56
1980	\$10,171,000	\$18,474,826	55
1981	\$12,295,000	\$22,754,958	54
1982	\$11,532,000	\$23,384,738	49
1983	\$12,972,000	\$24,942,419	52

**TABLE 2. Cost of Presidential Libraries and Former Presidents
to U.S. Taxpayers, 1955-1987**

Fiscal Year	Libraries	Total*	Libraries Percentage
1984	\$14,350,000	\$26,159,124	55
1985	\$14,636,000	\$27,203,329	54
1986(est.)	\$14,612,000		
Kennedy addition	\$5,200,000	\$30,299,497	65
1987 (est.)	\$16,202,000	\$27,279,965	59
* Includes costs of libraries, office allowance, and Secret Service protection.			

More recent cost data concerning presidential libraries, as provided by the National Archives and Records Administration, is provided in Tables 3-5.

**Table 3. National Archives and Records Administration
Program Costs for Presidential Libraries
By Fiscal Year (\$000's)**

Library	Hoover	Roosevelt	Truman	Eisenhower	Kennedy	Johnson	Ford	Carter	Reagan	Totals
1985	\$477	569	738	708	870	920	633	405	0	\$5,320
1986	\$515	563	700	684	779	913	665	513	0	\$5,332
1987	\$518	593	743	719	783	936	637	726	0	\$5,655
1988	\$548	616	761	731	895	973	649	627	0	\$5,800
1989	\$643	661	818	765	1,144	950	735	697	0	\$6,413
1990	\$698	701	868	807	1,082	1,050	854	738	0	\$6,798
1991	\$730	729	925	869	1,198	1,145	933	844	0	\$7,373
1992	\$727	750	922	904	1,221	1,138	916	820	928	\$8,326
1993	\$741	806	930	954	1,268	1,242	978	871	1,085	\$8,875
1994	\$722	820	944	1,007	1,239	1,266	1,028	930	1,105	\$9,061
1995 est.	\$737	788	897	1,007	1,052	1,183	1,027	954	1,107	\$8,752
1996 est.	\$698	722	849	953	996	1,119	973	904	1,048	\$8,262
Total	\$7,754	8,318	10,095	10,108	12,527	12,835	10,028	9,029	5,273	\$85,967

Source: National Archives and Records Administration.

**Table 4. National Archives and Records Administration
Operating Costs for Presidential Libraries
By Fiscal Year (\$000's)**

Library	Hoover	Roosevelt	Truman	Eisenhower	Kennedy	Johnson	Ford	Carter	Reagan	Totals
1985	\$376	593	805	1,044	1,000	1,436	934	0	0	\$6,188
1986	\$368	622	794	925	1,462	1,476	1,119	0	0	\$6,766
1987	\$217	522	1,063	871	1,403	1,415	931	0	0	\$6,422
1988	\$303	550	1,060	889	1,584	1,120	1,081	824	0	\$7,411
1989	\$300	489	728	1,292	1,187	1,260	947	936	0	\$7,139
1990	\$367	685	969	1,020	8,217	1,233	1,076	1,000	0	\$14,567
1991	\$5,287	645	757	879	1,151	1,150	1,048	1,055	0	\$11,972
1992	\$406	2,467	956	1,155	3,848	1,342	1,319	918	0	\$12,411
1993	\$447	1,070	911	1,002	1,602	1,108	1,145	886	1,755	\$9,926
1994	\$443	841	875	1,026	1,733	1,312	1,215	890	1,579	\$9,914
1995 est.	\$482	880	961	1,067	1,772	1,351	1,254	929	1,618	\$10,314
1996 est.	\$482	880	961	1,067	1,772	1,351	1,254	929	1,618	\$10,314
Total	\$9,478	\$10,244	10,840	12,237	26,731	15,554	13,323	8,367	6,570	\$113,344

NOTE: All figures exclude rent charges.

Source: National Archives and Records Administration.

**Table 5. National Archives and Records Administration
Total Costs for Presidential Libraries
By Fiscal Year (\$000's)**

Library	Hoover	Roosevelt	Truman	Eisenhower	Kennedy	Johnson	Ford	Carter	Reagan	Totals
1985	\$853	1,162	1,543	1,752	1,870	2,356	1,567	405	0	\$11,508
1986	\$883	1,185	1,494	1,609	2,241	2,389	1,784	513	0	\$12,098
1987	\$735	1,115	1,806	1,590	2,186	2,351	1,568	726	0	\$12,077
1988	\$851	1,166	1,821	1,620	2,479	2,093	1,730	1,451	0	\$13,211
1989	\$943	1,150	1,546	2,057	2,331	2,210	1,682	1,633	0	\$13,552
1990	\$1,065	1,386	1,837	1,827	9,299	2,283	1,930	1,738	0	\$21,365
1991	\$6,017	1,374	1,682	1,748	2,349	2,295	1,981	1,899	0	\$19,345
1992	\$1,133	3,217	1,878	2,059	5,069	2,480	2,235	1,738	928	\$20,737
1993	\$1,188	1,876	1,841	1,956	2,870	2,350	2,123	1,757	2,840	\$18,801
1994	\$1,165	1,661	1,819	2,033	2,972	2,578	2,243	1,820	2,684	\$18,975
1995 est.	\$1,219	1,668	1,858	2,074	2,824	2,534	2,281	1,883	2,725	\$19,066
1996 est.	\$1,180	\$1,602	1,810	2,020	2,768	2,470	2,227	1,883	2,666	\$18,576
Total	\$17,232	18,562	20,935	22,345	39,258	28,389	23,351	17,396	11,843	\$199,311

NOTE: All figures exclude rent charges.

Source: National Archives and Records Administration.



CONCLUSION

The Federal presidential library system has been in existence for almost four decades, if the 1955 program statute is used as a benchmark, longer if the 1939 establishment of the Roosevelt library is relied upon. An important property question involving the essential resources of this program—the ownership of presidential papers and records—was statutorily resolved in 1978, and growing concerns about the cost of the library system were addressed to the satisfaction of many in 1986 with Presidential Libraries Act amendments. At present, it appears that, for the immediate future, former Presidents will, within the operative legal framework for such institutions, continue to establish separate library facilities at a location of their choice in the United States. Sometime in the next century, at least for reasons of cost, alternatives to this general arrangement—such as the creation of a single archival facility for presidential papers in the Nation's capital—may be pursued. Greater use of electronic information technology in the White House, the Executive Office of the President, and the Federal departments and agencies may result in a consequential need for such technology in the next presidential libraries, raising another cost consideration for the years ahead.⁵⁶ Furthermore, presidential libraries may become electronically integrated into some larger Federal information system of the future.

⁵⁶ It is known, for example, that conversations in the Oval Office were tape recorded during the Nixon Administration and, during the Reagan regime, that there was inter-office computer communication—the PROF system—in the White House. For the Carter experience, see John Gosden and Jon Turner. *The President and Information Management*. In Harold C. Relyea, ed. *The Presidency and Information Policy. Proceedings of the Center for the Study of the Presidency*, v. 4, 1981, pp. 34-47. On the general subject of electronic records, see U. S. Congress. House. Committee on Government Operations. *Taking A Byte Out of History: The Archival Preservation of Federal Computer Records*. H. Rept. 101-978, 101st Congress, 2d session. Washington, U. S. Govt. Print. Off., 1990.



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APPENDIX

**Institutions Holding Collections
Comprising 100 or More Presidential Papers⁵⁷
(Excluding Federal Presidential Libraries)**

President	Institution
Washington	Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.) Henry E. Huntington Library (San Marino, Calif.) Connecticut State Library (Hartford, Conn.) Chicago Historical Society (Chicago, Ill.) Boston Public Library (Boston, Mass.) William L. Clements Library (Ann Arbor, Mich.) Minnesota Historical Society (St. Paul, Minn.) Long Island Historical Society (Brooklyn, N.Y.) New York Historical Society (New York, N.Y.) Pierpont Morgan Library (New York, N.Y.) Virginia Historical Society (Richmond, Va.) William and Mary College (Williamsburg, Va.)
J. Adams	Massachusetts Historical Society (Boston, Mass.)
Jefferson	Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.) Massachusetts Historical Society (Boston, Mass.) University of Virginia (Charlottesville, Va.) Colonial Williamsburg (Williamsburg, Va.) William and Mary College (Williamsburg, Va.) Virginia Historical Society (Richmond, Va.) Henry E. Huntington Library (San Marino, Calif.) Missouri Historical Society (St. Louis, Mo.) New York Historical Society (New York, N.Y.) Pierpont Morgan Library (New York, N.Y.)
Madison	Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.) University of Virginia (Charlottesville, Va.) New York Historical Society (New York, N.Y.) Henry E. Huntington Library (San Marino, Calif.) New York Public Library (New York, N.Y.)
Monroe	Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.) New York Public Library (New York, N.Y.) James Monroe Memorial Found. (Fredericksburg, Va.) William and Mary College (Williamsburg, Va.)

⁵⁷ Adapted from Arthur Bernon Tourtellot. *The Presidents on the Presidency*. Garden City, Doubleday and Company, 1964, pp. 471-485. Updating material provided by the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress and the National Archives and Records Administration.

University of Virginia (Charlottesville, Va.)

J. Q. Adams Massachusetts Historical Society (Boston, Mass.)
Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.)

Jackson Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.)
Tennessee State Library (Nashville, Tenn.)
Tennessee Historical Society (Nashville, Tenn.)
Chicago Historical Society (Chicago, Ill.)
New York Public Library (New York, N.Y.)

Van Buren Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.)
New York State Library (Albany, N.Y.)

W. H. Harrison Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.)

Tyler Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.)
University of Virginia (Richmond, Va.)
William and Mary College (Williamsburg, Va.)
Pierpont Morgan Library (New York, N.Y.)

Polk Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.)
Chicago Historical Society (Chicago, Ill.)

Taylor Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.)

Fillmore Buffalo Historical Society (Buffalo, N.Y.)

Pierce New Hampshire Historical Society (Concord, N.H.)

Buchanan Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.)
Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, Pa.)
Lancaster County Historical Society (Lancaster, Pa.)

Lincoln Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.)
Illinois State Historical Society (Springfield, Ill.)
Brown University Library (Providence, R.I.)
University of Chicago (Chicago, Ill.)
New York Public Library (New York, N.Y.)

A. Johnson Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.)
Rutherford B. Hayes Library (Fremont, Ohio)

Grant Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.)
Henry E. Huntington Library (San Marino, Calif.)
Rutherford B. Hayes Library (Fremont, Ohio)
Chicago Historical Society (Chicago, Ill.)
Illinois State Historical Society (Springfield, Ill.)

Hayes Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.)

	Rutherford B. Hayes Library (Fremont, Ohio) Western Reserve University (Cleveland, Ohio)
Garfield	Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.) Ohio Historical Society (Columbus, Ohio)
Arthur	Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.) New York Historical Society (New York, N.Y.)
Cleveland	Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.) Detroit Public Library (Detroit, Mich.)
B. Harrison	Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.)
McKinley	Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.) Western Reserve Historical Society (Cleveland, Ohio) Western Reserve University (Cleveland, Ohio)
T. Roosevelt	Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.) Harvard College Library (Cambridge, Mass.) Pierpont Morgan Library (New York, N.Y.) William L. Clements Library (Ann Arbor, Mich.)
Taft	Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.) Yale University (New Haven, Conn.) Princeton University (Princeton, N.J.) Western Reserve University (Cleveland, Ohio) Ohio Historical Society (Columbus, Ohio)
Wilson	Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.) Yale University (New Haven, Conn.) Harvard College Library (Cambridge, Mass.) Princeton University (Princeton, N.J.) Columbia University (New York, N.Y.) University of Virginia (Charlottesville, Va.)
Harding	Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.) Ohio Historical Society (Columbus, Ohio) Harding Memorial Association (Marion, Ohio)
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