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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 26, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR ARAM BAKSHIAN

FROM: MIKE McMANUS

The attached is a copy of a memo from Fred Fielding to me with his thoughts on the Statue of Liberty -- Ellis Island Foundation Inc. brochure. A copy of the brochure is also attached.

I would appreciate it if one of your speechwriters could review and revise the text of the brochure making it sound more like Ronald Reagan.

Thank you.

Attachment

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 21, 1983

MEMORANDUM FOR MICHAEL A. MCMANUS
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: FRED F. FIELDING
COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Statue of Liberty -- Ellis
Island Foundation, Inc.

While Counsel's Office has no legal objection to the draft brochure entitled "Keep the Torch Lit," I would offer the following comments:

1. With respect to the photograph on the inside cover, I think it is inadvisable to permit publication of a photograph of Mr. Iaccoca with the likeness of the President "superimposed" thereon;
2. The general text of the dialogue is less than "Presidential," does not "sound" like Ronald Reagan, and possibly never took place;
3. I think it inadvisable to mention "acid rain" as a cause for the deterioration of the Statue of Liberty given the politics of that emotionally charged issue;
4. You may wish to reconsider highlighting Coca-Cola and Stroh's Brewing if other corporations were equally involved in this project to date; and
5. I assume, of course, that the President has approved actively participating in this particular fundraising endeavor.

Generally, I would recommend that you consider providing the Foundation with an appropriate photograph of the President (with Mr. Iaccoca, if possible) as well as with a White House prepared letter of support for the Foundation and its activities. If you should have any questions on this matter, I would be pleased to discuss my comments with you at your convenience.

**KEEP THE
TORCH LIT**



"The torch of freedom is in danger of going out."

A conversation between President Reagan and Lee Iacocca.
Subject: Restoration of the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island—an alarming report on the deterioration of two landmarks in America's heritage.



On May 18, 1982, President Ronald Reagan announced the formation of the Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Centennial Commission and appointed Lee A. Iacocca chairman of the 20-member unit.

President Reagan: Well, Lee, has your commission come up with a plan for keeping the torch lit?

Lee Iacocca: Yes, we have, Mr. President. Because if something isn't done soon, that light is in real danger of going out for all time.

President Reagan: We can't let that happen. To me, that torch is America's most powerful symbol of the hope and freedom this country has always held for the world.

Lee Iacocca: I know that. But the hand that holds that torch is in worse shape than any other part of the Statue of Liberty's exterior.

President Reagan: What caused it?

Lee Iacocca: Time, weather, acid rain.

President Reagan: Is that what damaged the Statue in general? When we set up your Commission, I was told there were basic structural problems.

Lee Iacocca: Oh, there are. And they're even more serious. You know, the statue Bertholdi designed—the hand-hammered copper sheets that form the exterior—the whole thing is hung on an iron framework, an armature.

President Reagan: Copper and iron. Sounds to me like we've got a chemical interaction problem.

Lee Iacocca: Exactly. And the copper has been eating away at the iron for nearly a hundred years.

President Reagan: Weren't they insulated from each other?

Lee Iacocca: Sure. You know, Gustave Eiffel engineered the armature and he didn't fool around. But over the years, the asphalt insulation has worn off and now—well, as much as half of some of the iron bars is corroded away.

President Reagan: How many of these bars are there?

Lee Iacocca: About 2,000. They support the whole Statue. They weigh about 35,000 pounds.

President Reagan: And they'll have to be replaced, one at a time.

Lee Iacocca: Not all, but quite a few. So that's one problem.

President Reagan: A pretty serious one. Tell me, Lee, is the Statue still safe?

Lee Iacocca: It is. And whenever there's even a slight risk they close it down until it's fixed. But the deterioration is alarming. We can't let the neglect continue.

President Reagan: I know. That's why we established the Commission. Now tell me about Ellis Island.

Lee Iacocca: Mr. President, it's a wreck. My folks wept with joy the first time they saw the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island. They'd cry in grief if they saw them now. I mean, bits and pieces have been partially preserved but overall it's pretty bad. The Great Hall is crumbling and the buildings are really ghosts.

President Reagan: What are the plans here, Lee?

Lee Iacocca: You've seen some of them. We want to make Ellis Island a living monument to the ethnic diversity of this country of immigrants.

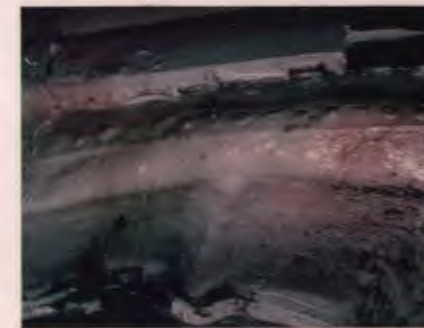
President Reagan: Every citizen of the United States should be able to see his roots represented there.



Standing on the edge of the New World, the Statue of Liberty is America's most forceful image of freedom and hope.



Ellis Island, where the ancestors of more than forty per cent of all Americans first stepped on American soil.



The ravages of almost a century of weather, pollution and time have left gaping holes in the Statue's copper skin.



The Great Hall on Ellis Island is a hollow ruin; passageways are overgrown with vegetation, rooms vandalized, walls crumbling in decay.

Lee Iacocca: Many of them can. The forty years that Ellis Island was in operation were the years of greatest immigration to the United States.

President Reagan: I know. In those years, three-quarters of our immigrants climbed those steps. More than seventeen million of them.

Lee Iacocca: Yes, and two-thirds of them got on a ferry boat to the Jersey train terminals and headed south or west. They went to work in the coal mines and on the railroads. They became our industrial workers and our farmers.

President Reagan: And they built this country.

Lee Iacocca: That's right. You know, over forty percent of Americans can trace their ancestry to the people who came through Ellis Island.

President Reagan: Those people deserve a memorial.

Lee Iacocca: Yes. But there's a price tag. We've got to raise 230 million dollars, Mr. President. And all of it is going to come from the people.

President Reagan: Well, that's consistent with the origins of the Statue. The French people paid for it themselves. And

remember that thousands of American school children contributed to its construction and to the pedestal. We need Joseph Pulitzer to run a newspaper campaign like he did back in 1885.

Lee Iacocca: We may be going him one better, Mr. President. The Advertising Council has taken on the Centennial Commission as a major project. That means we'll be getting free advertising space donated by the print media and free time on radio and TV for our commercials.

President Reagan: You know the American people will support you.

Lee Iacocca: We sure hope so. But we need big corporations, too. We've already got some of them signing on for major sponsorship of the restoration. Companies like Coca-Cola and Stroh's Brewing are getting behind the project. Our Commission wants all companies, big and small, to come on board. After all, without the political and economic freedom symbolized by Lady Liberty and the raw manpower that flowed into the U.S. through Ellis Island, these companies wouldn't even exist today.

President Reagan: Neither would the U.S., Lee. Not as we know it, anyway.

Lee Iacocca: I know. I was out in the harbor the other day and I looked at the Statue and read the Emma Lazarus poem on the base and thought to myself, "I'm not tired or poor now but my folks sure were then." We all owe a lot to that Lady.

President Reagan: Now, about the Centennial: Aside from raising the money for restoration—and I know plenty of companies and plenty of individuals are going to come through—there's a lot planned to celebrate the hundredth anniversaries.

Lee Iacocca: It's going to be terrific. We've got a special July Fourth observance coming up next year in honor of the French people who gave the Statue. Then in the summer of '85 there's going to be a summer-long International Festival. Then in the summer of '86, a Fifty States Festival honoring each state's ethnic heritage. Plus a display of tall ships that's going to outdo OpSail '76. Then in '92 we'll be opening the permanent museum and ethnic memorial on Ellis Island.

President Reagan: It sounds like everyone's going to hear about what's happening out there in the harbor!

Lee Iacocca: That's the point. We've already launched our appeal for donations to business leaders and the public and the response has been tremendous.

President Reagan: But we still have a long way to go.

Lee Iacocca: I know. We need everybody's help if we're going to keep that torch lit.

President Reagan: America can't let it go out.



The Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation, Inc.

Send your donation to: The Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation, Inc., P.O. Box 1986, New York, N.Y. 10178. For further information about the Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Centennial, write on your letterhead to: The Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation, Inc., 101 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10178. Or call 1-(800)123-4567, toll free and we'll send you complete information about corporate sponsorship of the restoration project.



CENTENNIAL
FOR
LIBERTY
1886-1986



THE AMERICAN TRADITION

We are a nation of immigrants.
Arrival, effort, achievement and renewal
form the line which ties us
through the generations to
a new beginning in America.
For so many millions of us,
that new beginning occurred
under Liberty's gaze
and in the corridors of Ellis Island.
That beginning has important implications
for the future.

Together, Liberty and Ellis Island
represent two different orders of force which,
combined, have produced the world's
most powerful and productive nation.
That is why the Statue of Liberty and
Ellis Island are two complementary parts
of a single monument to our way of life.

WE MUST RESTORE OUR SYMBOLS OF FREEDOM & HOPE

The Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island are more than metal and mortar. Much more. They represent the spirit of freedom and hope that inspired our immigrant forebears and attracted new citizens from around the world.

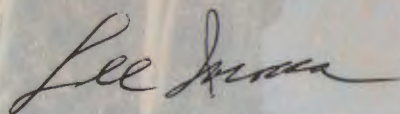
The Statue of Liberty is the best known symbol of freedom in the world. It stands at the doorway of a nation born in the fight for liberty. It stands at the doorway of a nation that has fought against tyranny. It stands at the doorway of a nation that has provided a safe haven of freedom for hundreds of millions of people.

Ellis Island is the best-known symbol of hope in America because it was the doorway for millions of our ancestors — my father and mother among them. Ellis Island is where people full of hope stopped being foreigners and started being Americans. For nearly half of all of us Americans, Ellis Island is an important part of our heritage.

Today these symbols of our sacred heritage are in danger. They have been wracked by age, vandalism, corrosion and neglect.

It's time we restored and rebuilt these monuments to our greatness. We owe it to past generations and to the generations which will follow us. It's a matter of honor and pride for each of us who enjoy the blessings of liberty today!

Time is short. The costs are enormous. Join with us in this effort. There may be no more rewarding job in our lifetime. By our success, we will show that the American dream is still alive.



Lee A. Iacocca

FREEDOM & HOPE SYMBOLS OF RESTORE OUR WE MISS!

The Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island are
more than just symbols. They represent the spirit of freedom
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Island is an important part of our heritage.
Today, these symbols of our sacred
heritage are in danger. They have been
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Let's take care of them and rebuild these
monuments to our greatness. *We owe it*
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the blessings of liberty today.

There is a cost. The costs are enormous.
Let us win in this effort. There may
be no more rewarding job in our lifetime
by our success we will know that the
American dream is still alive.



Lee A. Iacocca





My first impressions of the new world will always remain etched in my memory, particularly that hazy October morning (in 1907) when I first saw Ellis Island. . . Passengers all about us were crowding against the rail. Jabbered conversations, sharp cries, laughs and cheers—a steadily rising din filled the air. Mothers and fathers lifted up the babies so that they too could see, off to the left, the Statue of Liberty. This symbol of America—this enormous expression of what we had all been taught was the inner meaning of this new country we were coming to—inspired awe in the hopeful immigrants. Many older persons among us, burdened with a thousand memories of what they were leaving behind, had been openly weeping ever since we entered the narrower waters on our final approach toward the unknown. Now somehow steadied, I suppose, by the concreteness of the symbol of America's freedom, they dried their tears.

—Edward Corsi, *In the Shadow of Liberty*



For people entering New York harbor through the Verrazano Narrows, Liberty appears to stride across the water in greeting, never quite turning her gaze from newcomers. This was the view of Liberty as she was seen by over seventeen million immigrants at the end of their journey from the Old World to the New. Attention fixed on the Statue, they may not have noticed the low silhouette of Ellis Island merging into the New Jersey mainland beyond. But one would need to have been one of those seventeen million to sense the importance they soon attached to the buildings in which officials decided whether new arrivals could enter America. For all those newcomers, Liberty and Ellis Island were fused into a single impression of a memorable day.

FREEDOM'S SYMBOLS BETWEEN PAST & FUTURE

In 1954, work was begun to create a museum at the base of the Statue to commemorate the contribution of immigrants in America.

In 1965, the United States government formally recognized the essential unity of the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island. The immigrant station on Ellis Island was added to the Statue of Liberty National Monument, creating a single public memorial to the process by which more than 100 million Americans living today can trace their American roots.

Tragically, both the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island are now in danger of irreversible decay.

They are the victims of wind, rain, pollution, salt water and vandalism. The Statue may have to be closed to visitors before its centennial in 1986. The public is presently excluded from much of Ellis Island because the buildings are unsafe.

The story of these dramatic symbols reveals the meaning of the Statue of Liberty National Monument. An understanding of this story compels us to act now to restore Liberty and Ellis Island and to preserve them for future generations.

Today, more than two million visitors annually crowd onto Liberty Island. The brief visit is a pilgrimage to a potent and symbolic scene. Liberty has taken on a variety of meanings in the collective imagination of mankind. She is America's welcoming sign. She is a symbol of equality, progress and opportunity. She is an expression of the struggle for the ideals of constitutional democracy. Ultimately, she stands for America itself—its promise, prosperity and freedom.



Who and what created the Statue of Liberty?

First, the faith of a few people who believed in the ideal of a constitutional government, equality before the law and individual opportunity. Second, an artist of grand vision who had the fortitude to sustain his project through almost 20 years of trial. Third, rapidly developing technology which allowed the construction of a colossus on unprecedented scale. Fourth, dedicated organizers who mobilized public resources to support

LIBERTY & FREEDOM'S DREAM

and finance an international effort. Ideals and beliefs shaped by circumstances lie behind every great human achievement. The Statue of Liberty embodies the very ideal of democracy and the beliefs that government should be controlled by law, individuals should be free

to use their talents and property without arbitrary interference, and no person should be denied human dignity.

From 1776 to the present, Americans have been dedicated to a democracy and freedom. The phrase "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" captured the public mind and pushed inexorably into every aspect of American life. On the other hand, in the succession of governments which ruled France from 1791 to 1875, advocates of a democratic constitution were often an outcast minority.



Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi (1834-1904). The artist who created the Statue of Liberty dedicated his life to the project for 15 years.

America as a unique model of moderate constitutional government gave them comfort and provided them with a powerful argument.

Three notable leaders, each in his own way, gave meaning to French attachment to the American experiment in freedom. The Marquis de Lafayette earned American gratitude by fighting in our revolution. At home in France he gained fame for his struggle for moderation during and after the French Revolution. Alexis de Tocqueville was also fascinated by America. In the early 1830's, Tocqueville toured the United States to gather information for his magnificent study of our society, *Democracy in America*.



Marquis de Lafayette (1757-1834). A heroic figure in both the American and French Revolutions. He is an enduring symbol of the "genuine flow of sympathy" between the two nations.

Edouard de Laboulaye, in his turn, succeeded Tocqueville as the mind and conscience of this French movement. He was an expert on American constitutional law, a distinguished professor and popular lecturer, a moving force behind the creation of the Third Republic and, most important for this story, the father of the Statue of Liberty.

The early 1860's were desperate years for the French. Liberal reform was impossible under the repressive government of Napoleon III. The force of American example was dramatically reduced as the United States descended into the chaos of Civil War.



Edouard de Laboulaye (1811-1883). A distinguished student of American constitutional law, architect of the Third Republic which lasted from 1875 to 1940. He conceived the idea of an enduring symbol of American and French constitutional democracy.

While the French Establishment supported the Confederacy out of concern about disruption of the cotton industry, they were nonetheless pleased by this proof that the popular government of America as a model republic had failed. By 1865 though, the Union had been saved, thereby demonstrating that a republic could defend its integrity. Laboulaye held a dinner party in that year at which he advocated reaffirmation of the "indestructible basis" of Franco-American friendship. Assured that the American government would survive to celebrate the centennial of its revolution, he proposed that a monument should "be built in America as a memorial to their independence." He added that he thought "it very natural if it were built by united efforts, if it were a common work of both nations."



The artist who transformed the idea of a joint effort into reality was only 31 years old when he sat at Laboulaye's table in 1865 listening to the professor's sentiments on an American memorial. Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi was already a successful sculptor who had received many commissions for public monuments. Bartholdi was excited by the grand concept, but the repressive political climate in France prevented action. In that same year, Lincoln was assassinated. This was hardly the moment to begin to construct a colossal symbol of freedom.

While Bartholdi busied himself with other commissions, Prussia's Chancellor Bismarck was occupied in pushing France into war. France's armies were crushed

New York Harbor as it appeared when Bartholdi arrived in America in 1871.

"I formed some conceptions of a plan of a monument, but I can say that at the view of the harbor of New York the definite plan was clear to my eyes. The picture that is presented to the view when one arrives at New York is marvelous....It is, indeed, the New World, which appears in its majestic expanse, with the ardor of its glowing life."

—Frédéric Bartholdi.

FRENCH FREEDOM & THE VISION OF LIBERTY

and Emperor Napoleon III abdicated. For Bartholdi, who served as an officer in the Franco-Prussian War, the conflict's

outcome was doubly depressing. His native town of Colmar, along with the rest of Alsace, was annexed to the new German Empire, and France without much to celebrate could not provide commissions for a monument builder. But the French Republic was being born and a work of trans-Atlantic cooperation was suddenly possible.

At that moment Laboulaye again approached his young sculptor friend, and urged him to go to America to see if he could "find a happy idea, a plan that will excite public enthusiasm." Bartholdi arrived in the New World in 1871. He was excited by the vitality, bustle and exuberance of post-Civil War America. By every measure, the nation was growing. Land was coming under cultivation as railroads reached out in every direction across the country.



Eugene Delacroix's Liberty Leading the People celebrated the revolution of 1830. Long suppressed by anti-republicans, the painting suggests the determination which Bartholdi fused into his Liberty.

Mines were opening to develop recently discovered mineral deposits. Factories were under construction to produce a dazzling array of recently invented products. Towns were becoming cities, and cities were growing out and up. Schools were being built and universities revitalized. Everywhere, people were on the move. Immigrants flooded into the ports, and into the hinterland beyond. Farm children moved to the cities, or pressed on to the frontier. Plans for profit and progress were the common topics of conversation. A nation which was booming with growth inspired Bartholdi to design a work of art to equal the vastness of American enterprise and dreams.

The monument had to be huge. He had worked on proposals for huge monuments such as a lighted tower for the harbor at Marseilles, and a giant statue bearing a torch to guide ships into the northern entrance to the Suez Canal. But only in America did he realize his dream for a figure of overwhelming size, 151 feet high, weighing 450,000 pounds, 35 feet thick at the waist, with an index finger 8 feet long.

As an artist fascinated by the gigantic, Bartholdi was naturally interested in the Colossus of Rhodes, reputed to have towered a 100 feet over the ancient Aegean Island harbor.

Bartholdi's colossus was sculpted in the neo-classical tradition which dominated the school of French public art in which he was trained. Liberty is a woman because she is a Greek goddess. She is serious and dignified because she is also a matron of Rome, the forerunner of all modern republics. Her crown's seven spikes, however, suggest a more modern concept of seven continents and seven seas. The broken chains at her feet are ancient symbols of liberation.

But the intensity of Bartholdi's Liberty transcends classical moderation and balance. The Statue is as fiercely dedicated to freedom as the central figure in Delacroix's *Liberty Leading the People*.



The Colossus of Rhodes. *The statue did not, in fact, stand astride the harbor entrance, but the idea of colossus as a lighthouse may have influenced Bartholdi.*



While Bartholdi drew upon the past to design Liberty, he used contemporary technology to fabricate it. Visitors to his workshop were frequently baffled. Here was a foot, there a hand, and beyond a string of toes nearly waist high. But behind the appearance of confusion was an orderly plan which co-ordinated the efforts of hundreds of blacksmiths, carpenters and plasterers.

Bartholdi began with a plaster model just over four feet high. This was enlarged to a model of $\frac{1}{4}$ of the ultimate size of the monument Bartholdi envisioned.

HOW LIBERTY WAS CONSTRUCTED

Courtesy of Newsweek



From this model, using a highly complex process of precise measurements, four plaster sections were completed that together would form the final dimensions of Liberty. These sections were transformed into lattice-like molds against which copper sheets, $\frac{3}{32}$ of an inch thin were hammered into shape.

Visitors may have found the scene disconcerting, but Liberty's construction was carefully orchestrated, despite the appearance of confusion.



Alexandre Gustave Eiffel, who designed the Eiffel Tower, also devised the clever internal framework which still supports the statue today.

A young and upcoming engineering genius, Alexandre Gustave Eiffel, provided the design to link the 300 copper sections together. He engineered the rigid iron supports which buttressed the copper skin. These supports, in turn, were attached to iron straps which were linked to a central pylon nearly 97 feet tall and to a second beam which supports the arm. Over 450,000 rivets were driven to tie the statue together. Through close collaboration, the artist and the brilliant engineer of railroad bridges created a floating curtain in the form of a classical statue, a forerunner of the construction technology used in building modern skyscrapers.

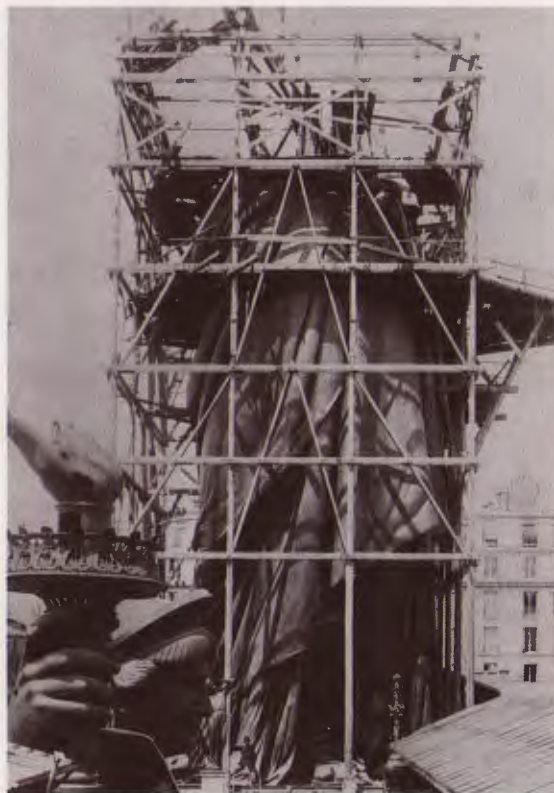
Liberty was the work not only of an artist, an engineer and skilled craftsmen, it was also the work of the French people who contributed the equivalent of \$400,000 for its completion.

Courtesy of NewswEEK



Liberty rose around a central pylon which gave support to the floating curtain.

Fund raising in France was stalled at first by the economic effects of the Franco-Prussian War, and by political uncertainty. In 1875, the initial step was taken by Laboulaye with the formation of the *Union Franco-Américaine*. Its fund raising efforts were greeted by a warm response. Large donations came in from 181 municipalities and from many wealthy contributors. Then interest waned. Those who had visited Bartholdi's workshop were put off by the apparent lack of orderly progress.



Following Eiffel's design, thin copper sheets which form Liberty's skin were attached to the central pylon using supports and straps.

But the liberals of the *Union* who had just forged a republic in France were resourceful enough to overcome public scepticism. Many special events and benefits were held. Liberty's head was displayed at the Paris Universal Exhibition in 1878. The Paris Opera presented Charles Gounod's "Liberty Cantata," composed especially for the campaign. However, in the end, it was a simple lottery for the ordinary French people that raised the money a franc at a time to complete the work.

On July 4, 1884 France presented the statue to the United States ambassador, only a few months after Victor Dargaud finished this impressionistic painting and Bartholdi's workmen had removed the scaffolding



Courtesy of The New York Historical Society, New York City



Joseph Pulitzer (1847-1911). A resourceful promoter of sensational journalism, he was responsible for the "people's campaign" to finish Liberty's pedestal. Today, the Hungarian born publisher is best remembered for the distinguished journalism awards given in his name.

The pedestal on which Liberty stands was designed by the distinguished American architect Richard M. Hunt.

To outward appearance, the statue stands on a masonry base. But beneath the facade, Liberty's foundation is 11,680 cubic yards of concrete, the largest cement mass ever poured up to that time.

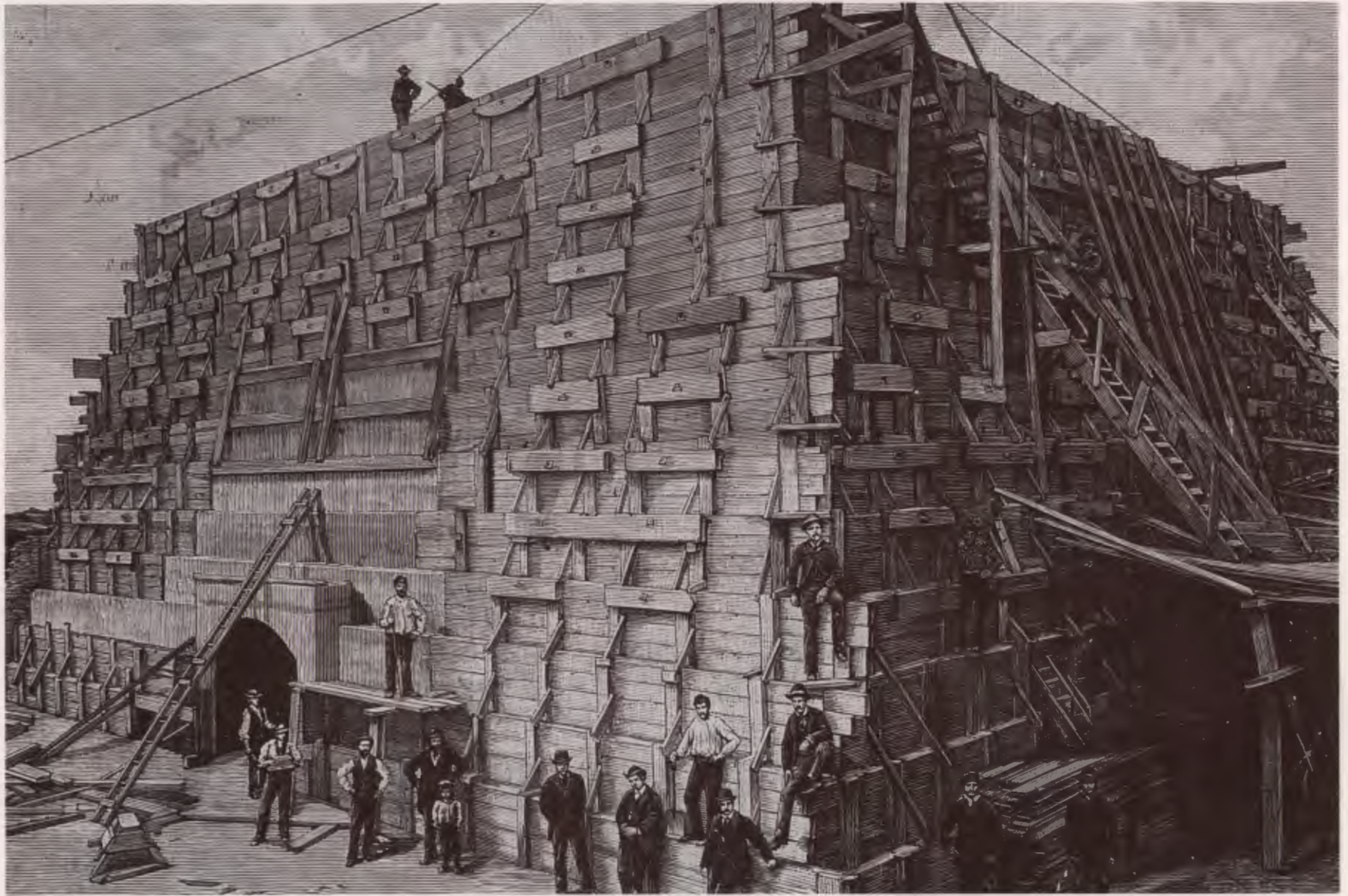
The base and pedestal required over \$250,000 to build. Thousands of Americans contributed gifts large and small to the effort.

America's effort lagged behind. The American Committee was formed in 1877 under the leadership of William M. Evarts, soon to be United States Secretary of State. In its first eight years, through March of 1885, the committee had gathered \$180,000, mainly in business and individual contributions of over \$100 each. But with Liberty crated and ready for shipment from France, almost as much again was needed to complete the pedestal.

As in France, the American crusade was completed with an outpouring of contributions from ordinary people. The final drive was organized by the Hungarian born publisher Joseph Pulitzer. Since purchasing the *New York World*



American School children contributed thousands of dollars in pennies, nickels, and dimes.



in 1883 Pulitzer had supported the appeal for contributions to the pedestal fund. In 1885, he began to campaign in earnest. The *World* envisioned the French gift as a shining statue which "will stand as a mountain-like symbol of Liberty before the eyes of every man who comes hence from the oppressed countries beyond the ocean... it signalizes the fullest achievement of human freedom, and it will stand forever to tell that story." In addition, the *World* promised to publish the name of each contributor.

The lists grew longer as the money flowed in. But even by June 15, when the *Isère* arrived in New York Harbor bearing the disassembled Liberty, completion of the pedestal was not assured. By August 1885, however, Pulitzer could announce that he had raised \$100,000 from school children, and ordinary working people.

On June 15, 1885, the French vessel Isère arrived in New York while work on the base continued.



Scene during the building of the base drawn by
W. S. Taylor, 1895.



On June 15, 1885, the French vessel *Isère* entered New York Harbor with the Statue of Liberty in its hold, packed in 214 separate crates.

AMERICA WELCOMES LIBERTY

A French statue was delivered to America, but Americans—old and new—created the aura of meaning which transformed a monument into a symbol. New Yorkers watched the statue rise for fifteen months.

Then, on October 28, 1886, the moment came to unveil and dedicate the Statue.

Hundreds of dignitaries and official guests crowded onto Bedloe's Island, the site for Liberty which Bartholdi had chosen on his first visit to America. Ships and boats jammed the harbor.

Thousands of onlookers, many of whom had contributed to Pulitzer's campaign, thronged to the shoreline to view the spectacle.

Bartholdi, who had waited almost twenty years for this moment, was so excited that he cut short the oratory by accidentally triggering the device which dropped the tricolor from Liberty's face, thereby signalling a deafening roar from the harbor's batteries.

But before the speeches were drowned out by the cannonade, the official spokesmen summarized the commitments which had brought the project to completion.

John Greenleaf Whittier,
 in a poem long since forgotten,
 rhapsodized on the theme
 of rational government, imploring Liberty
 to "Shine far, shine free, a guiding light
 To Reason's ways and Virtue's aim."
 Other orators extolled
 Lafayette, Washington and the blood
 of two nations commingled
 on the revolutionary battlefield,
 an indestructible bond between
 France and the United States.
 The vision of the United States as a model
 for other nations to imitate was
 sketched by President Grover Cleveland.
 He stated that because
 America is uniquely blessed
 by both freedom and order,
 Americans have a special duty to defend
 and advance democratic principles.
 He pledged "we will not forget
 that Liberty has here made her home;
 nor shall her chosen altar be neglected."

Some who viewed the ceremonies
 from afar accepted Liberty as a beacon
 of the international cause
 for a democratically elected republic.
 But for most people,
 Americans particularly,
 Liberty became the nation's
 gracious salute to newcomers.



Edward Moran's depiction of Liberty's dedication. Bands crashed out the "Marseillaise" and "The Star Spangled Banner" as cannons boomed from shore and ship.



Reflecting the sincere and enthusiastic goodwill which attended the dedication ceremony the City of New York presented Bartholdi with this magnificent document in appreciation of his "great work of art," a "munificent gift" from the people and government of France, and confers upon Bartholdi the "Freedom of the City."

Courtesy of Newsweek



Commemorative medal struck to celebrate Bartholdi and the unveiling of his work on October 28, 1886.



Emma Lazarus (1849–1887). A well known but unheralded poet in her day, she consented only reluctantly to write "The New Colossus" "on order" for the World. Her poem is now nearly as famous as the work of art which it celebrates.

While America was soon to enlighten the world, it was already serving as haven for millions who had fled oppression and hunger. Emma Lazarus saw the powerful meaning in Liberty when she penned a poem in 1883 for the World's first publicity campaign. Forgotten in 1886, the closing lines of the poem were later enshrined at the base of the Statue. Bartholdi's monument, which he formally titled "Liberty Enlightening the World" became our "Mother of Exiles."

The New Colossus.

Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,
With conquering limbs astride from land to land,
Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand
A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name
Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-hand
Glow world-wide welcome, her mild eyes
Command
The air-bridged harbor that twin-cities frame.

"Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she
With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

Emma Lazarus.

November 2nd 1883.



Drawings of the front elevation of the Great Hall.

ELLIS ISLAND DOOR TO THE HOME OF FREEDOM

Ellis Island is important because immigration is central to the American experience. Franklin Roosevelt touched on an historical truth when he addressed the Daughters of the American Revolution as "my fellow immigrants." Except for native American Indians, all Americans living today either came to this country themselves, or their ancestors came during what most of us would consider modern times.



The number of immigrants to this relatively unpopulated country before the early nineteenth century was small in comparison to the numbers which came after. At the time of the American Revolution, the thirteen colonies contained approximately two million inhabitants. During one year alone, 1907, more than one million immigrants arrived through Ellis Island, equal to half the population of 1776.

Ellis Island, which lies a few hundred yards north of Liberty (earlier called Bedloe's) Island, best symbolizes our young nation's immigrant saga. From 1892 to 1954, seventeen million people, nearly four-fifths of all new entrants during this period, passed through the Federal Immigration Station on the island. Roughly half of all Americans today can trace their American roots to family members whose first step on American soil was taken there.

To understand why all Americans today owe a debt to the immigrant experience symbolized by Ellis Island, we must appreciate the way in which America shaped immigrants and was shaped by them. Who came to the United States? Why did they come? What did they find? What did they do? And, we must sense why Ellis Island was a "golden door" for millions of men, women and children.



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Immigrants arrived by ship...

Most pre-revolutionary settlers came from England, Scotland, Ireland, Germany and France. Immigrants to the American Republic in its formative years continued to come from these nations, and from Scandinavia and China. Millions more were brought to America as slaves from Africa. As our borders expanded, we gained French and Spanish "immigrants in place." Toward the end of the nineteenth century, immigrants poured in from Italy, the eastern Mediterranean, central Europe and Russia.

The founding of a Federal Immigration Station on Ellis Island was the result of growing concern to regulate immigration. Until the 1880s, immigration was essentially unrestricted, and what control there was rested in the hands of the states. In 1883, Congress established minimum standards for entry and in 1889, the Supreme Court ruled that state laws on the subject were unconstitutional.

and were ferried to Ellis Island...

By default, the Federal Government began to regulate immigration. The task was delegated to the Immigration and Naturalization Service, created in 1891.

The State of New York had received newcomers through Castle Garden. But by 1890, conditions there had become filthy and overcrowded. The Federal Government, responding to complaints, moved to construct a new station. Several officials proposed that the facility should be constructed on Liberty Island. Pulitzer's *World*, which had vigorously denounced conditions at Castle Garden, opposed this idea and suggested that the station should be settled on Ellis Island.

The Immigration Station opened on January 1, 1892. Twenty-five hundred persons passed through that first day. During peak periods of immigration, as many as five thousand each day would be examined, questioned, fed and sent on their way to new homes. Through the years, the Island grew as dramatically as the nation.

where up to 5,000 a day were processed.

Its land area expanded to support new buildings, land-fill being provided from the ballast of the very ships which brought the immigrants. The original wooden buildings burned in 1897. Eventually, 33 separate brick buildings rose to replace them. All the space was needed because immigration was at flood tide. In the five year period of 1910-14, five million newcomers arrived in the United States, more than in the 30 years preceding the Civil War.



"Once I thought to write a history of the immigrants in America. Then I discovered that the immigrants were American history."
—Oscar Handlin



Ellis Island became the Plymouth Rock of full-grown American democracy. The Mayflowers that landed here sailed from every port in Europe: Bremen, Antwerp, Rotterdam, Le Havre, Liverpool, Copenhagen, Constantinople, Piraeus, Fiumé. The seventeen million who were channeled to this tiny island, only to spread again across the continent, experienced a significant unifying event. They all took their first steps in becoming Americans on this tiny island.





◀ First step in the New World.

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The Great Hall on Ellis Island during the early 1900s.

The immigrants who passed through the doors of Ellis Island were those who paid the lowest fares for their journeys from the Old World. As people, they were as diverse as the nations from which they arrived. Infants and octogenarians, entire families, and single men and women came. Yet they were, on average, younger than the general population. A greater proportion of men than women made the journey. The very rich and powerful usually did not need to leave their homelands, and the desperately impoverished did not have the energy to do so. Perhaps the safest generalization which can be made about nineteenth and twentieth century immigrants is that they were common people who had made an uncommon decision.

Each individual journeyed to the United States for a personal mix of reasons. The most fundamental and widely shared motive was the need for bread and work.

A SINGLE PEOPLE DRAWN FROM ALL NATIONS

In many parts of the world, there was too much boundless life and too little space. Chronic underemployment and hunger turned to homeless starvation when new agricultural techniques forced marginal farmers off the land, crop diseases like potato rust caused widespread famine and economic depressions. While new technology in Europe was an employer of the poor and unskilled, America offered greater opportunities. New industries demanded skilled and unskilled labor in the rapidly growing cities. There were livelihoods to be earned in starting small businesses.

Immigrants also came to America to escape persecution. In Colonial times, Puritans, Quakers and Huguenots had fled for this reason. In the nineteenth century, Germans fled from autocratic rulers and Russian Jews from Czarist pogroms. In America, the struggle for free speech and religious freedom had been won to a degree unique in history.

Many of the immigrants were motivated by a deep desire to escape rigid social structures in which each person inherited a "station" in life. There were differences in wealth and influence in America, but every person and family could rise as high as talent, drive, sacrifice and luck permitted. Besides, no one could fall below the level of human dignity. As one new arrival observed, "In the United States, the President is Mr., and I am Mr. too."



Turn-of-the-century immigrants often worked at low paying backbreaking jobs. This was a time when America was undergoing industrialization. Many of our major corporations today were created in this era: International Harvester, Coca-Cola, Standard Oil, U.S. Steel.



Italians and Russian Jews labored in the sweatshops of the lower East Side of Manhattan.



The immigrants brought new customs to America, started businesses, pioneered in many enterprises, and served their families and communities.



Irish, German and Swedish immigrants helped lay rails west across the new country.

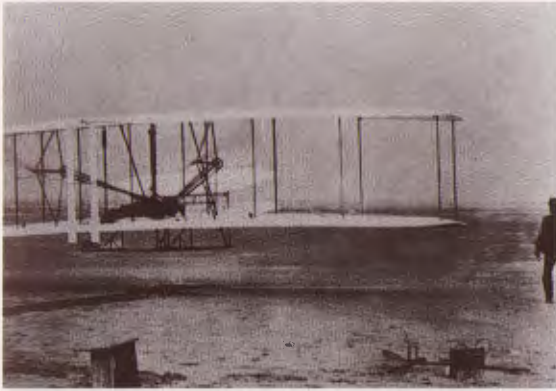
Newcomers following the Civil War did not find gold paved streets. Reformers found plenty of problems to correct as the nation underwent rebirth through the process of industrialization. But during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, opportunity for all remained more than a myth. It was fundamental social reality. We all know the stories.

A hatmaker's son from Minsk becomes a university president.
A poor tenant farmer's son from Kerry becomes a prominent attorney.
A factory hand from Palermo patents a new process and himself becomes an industrialist.
Not all success stories were spectacular, of course, and not all success could be measured in money and prestige.

ACHIEVEMENTS WHICH RE-MADE AMERICA

Again and again, however, individuals rose from factory floor to front office, left a crowded tenement for a home of their own, worshipped in peace, watched their children graduate from school, and served their communities. These were achievements that were made in America.

Equally important, immigrant achievements re-made America. During the first half of the twentieth century, we became at the same time the world's most powerful nation and the only country in history to harmoniously combine the energies of people from everywhere on the globe.



Immigration "reminded every American, old and new, that change is the essence of life, and that American society is a process, not a conclusion."

—John F. Kennedy



It is inconceivable to imagine the United States without the genius, culture, artistry and thought which the "new immigrants" brought to these shores. In the last fifty years, immigrants or their children have become our leaders in business, education, medicine, charity, art and entertainment. We profit from enterprises begun in this century by immigrants. We listen to music, read books and watch plays and movies created by newcomers. Our food, language and even our humor have been shaped by those who have come here in the last one hundred years.

Most profoundly, the very texture of our society has become a single mosaic of many cultures, a country which Walt Whitman rightly described as "not merely a nation, but a teeming of nations."



After 1914, the Great War and the postwar quota restrictions on immigration drastically reduced the flood to a well-monitored trickle. Fear of competition in the labor market helped form a powerful political force in support of restriction. Used up by decades of service, no longer needed for mass processing, Ellis Island was abandoned in 1954 and declared surplus government property. In 1965 Ellis Island became an integral part of the Statue of Liberty National Monument.

TODAY ELLIS ISLAND IS A VIRTUAL RUIN

The Ellis Island ferry aground in its slip around 1970.





Since 1954, vandals have stripped away plumbing, chandeliers, woodwork, tile and irreplaceable artifacts. The seawalls of this man-made island are crumbling into the harbor. The docks have collapsed. Roofs have caved in, allowing water to cause terrible structural damage. The grounds and pathways have become hopelessly overgrown with vegetation. This former scene of American hope has become a modern day spectacle of American decay.





THE STATUE OF LIBERTY IN DESPERATE NEED OF REPAIR

Examination of the Statue's copper skin reveals thousands of holes.

But the problem is more than skin deep. Almost a century of fatigue and corrosion have seriously weakened the iron framework around which the Statue is built.

Some parts of this framework have changed shape after almost a century of continuous stress.

The asbestos pads which were formed originally to prevent contact between the flat iron armatures and the copper skin crumbled away decades ago.



The result has been electrolysis between the iron and the copper which has corroded the iron armatures. As much as half the original thickness of many of these armatures has corroded in this way.

Climatic ravages of salt air, acid rain, and pollution have caused further metal loss. The very core of this monument, the best loved and best known symbol of our heritage of freedom and opportunity, is riddled with rust and corrosion.

The most troubled sections of the Statue are the torch and the arm. These have been closed to visitors since 1916. Removal of the torch and the surrounding structure is likely to be necessary if restoration is to be achieved.

Unless extensive repairs are made soon, the Statue of Liberty will be closed in 1986, the time of its centennial anniversary—the very moment when it should be celebrated.





On May 18, 1982 at The White House, President Ronald Reagan announced the formation of the Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Centennial Commission and its appointment of Lee A. Iacocca as its chairman. The Commission, comprised entirely of private citizens, is charged with restoring the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island and raising funds to accomplish this work as well as planning centennial celebrations for these important symbols of our heritage.

Working through the Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation, Inc., a non-profit organization responsible for executing the Commission's recommendations, the goals are to:

- Completely restore the Statue of Liberty in time for the centennial of its dedication in 1986.

RESTORE OUR SYMBOLS OF HERITAGE BEFORE IT'S TOO LATE

- Prevent further decay of the historic buildings on Ellis Island and to plan for its development as a national, living experience, in tribute to the ethnic and national origins of all Americans from the founding of our country until present times.
- Plan memorable centennial celebrations between 1984 and 1986 for the Statue of Liberty (and in 1992 for the Centennial of Ellis Island).

To accomplish these goals will require \$230 million. There will be no government funding for this effort. All of this must come from the private sector—from corporations, from private philanthropic sources and, importantly, from the grass roots of America.

The name of the campaign to achieve these goals is The Liberty Centennial Campaign.

All contributions to this campaign are tax-deductible.



Restoration & Preservation – \$167 Million

Based upon studies commissioned and undertaken by the National Park Service and Department of the Interior in 1981 and 1982, an estimated \$167 million is needed to completely restore the Statue of Liberty and to preserve the key buildings and rebuild the seawall on Ellis Island.

Endowment for Ongoing Maintenance – \$20 Million

To ensure the continuing maintenance of the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island, a capital endowment fund of \$20 million is targeted. This will allow the Foundation to provide ongoing programs of support and maintenance for the Liberty National Monument after 1986.

WHY \$230 MILLION IS NEEDED

Administration and Campaign Costs – \$15 Million

Less than 7% of the total funding goal will be used to provide for administration, fund raising and other direct costs involved in achieving the tasks of the Commission and Foundation.

Education & Celebrations –\$28 Million

Like the American Bicentennial which commemorated the founding of America as a free and independent democracy, the Liberty Centennial is an opportunity of profound significance for us to join together in celebrating and rededicating ourselves to the values of freedom and opportunity which have become role models for the Free World.

Unlike the Bicentennial celebrations and educational programs, which were substantially funded by government, the Liberty Centennial celebrations and educational activities must be funded by the private sector. A total of \$28 million has been set aside for these purposes.



From now until the centennial of the dedication of the Statue of Liberty on October 28, 1986, a campaign of activities and unequalled media events will reach out to gain the support and involvement of everyone throughout America, from companies, institutions and individuals.

Grass Roots Support

Since the Liberty Centennial Campaign has both a personal and patriotic meaning to each and every individual American, the Campaign will appeal to all people throughout America to be involved and to contribute. This will be undertaken through a combination of mass direct mail and a national advertising campaign sponsored by the Advertising Council.

THE LIBERTY CENTENNIAL CAMPAIGN WILL REACH OUT TO ALL AMERICANS

Additionally there will be a special campaign coordinating schools and youth organizations throughout the country.

Corporate Charitable Contributions

Companies who are unable or do not wish to be Sponsors or Official Suppliers will be encouraged to support the Liberty Centennial Campaign by way of charitable contributions.

Other Major Charitable Contributions

Institutions, foundations, and selected individuals will be encouraged to support the Campaign by way of major philanthropic gifts.



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Corporate Sponsorship and Supplier Program

■ A limited number of distinguished companies will participate in the Liberty Centennial Campaign as Sponsors. Each Sponsor will have category exclusivity. The first few companies who make an early commitment to full sponsorship will be designated Founding Sponsors.

- Companies who make their sponsorship commitment thereafter will be designated Official Sponsors.
- Companies who wish to participate in the Campaign on the basis of category exclusivity but who are unable to participate as Sponsors and who provide substantial goods or services as well as a monetary commitment will be designated Official Suppliers.

Liberty Centennial Commemoratives

Through very selective licensing, a range of high quality collectible memorabilia and other appropriate products will be created to commemorate the Liberty Centennial. Income will be generated in support of the Campaign by way of a significant percentage or royalty on sales payable to the Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation, Inc.

FOUNDING
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For further information regarding participation in the Corporate Sponsorship and Supplier program, national celebrations/major events, and Liberty Centennial commemoratives, please contact **Richard Rousek**, Chairman or **David Hooper**, Executive Vice President, **Westport Marketing Group, Inc.**, 50 Riverside Avenue, Westport, CT 06880, telephone (203) 222-0000.



NATIONAL CELEBRATIONS & MAJOR EVENTS

Beginning early in 1984 and continuing through 1986, there will be a spectacular program of events and celebrations to commemorate the hundredth birthday of the Statue of Liberty. This program is being undertaken with the close involvement of top creative and production talent in the fields of television, entertainment and special events.



Major key events proposed for this program include:

- An entertainment gala to announce the Liberty Centennial Campaign in early 1984.
- Nationally televised ceremony and events on July 4, 1984 when the President will commemorate the centennial of the gift of the Statue by the people of France, and launch the grass roots campaign.
- In Spring 1985, international star entertainers will, in a special gala event, officially launch a summer long international festival of cultural and entertainment events.

- From May through September 1985, all countries of the world are invited to join in an international Salute to Liberty, which includes each country having its own special day at the Statue of Liberty.
- At the beginning of 1986, top entertainers of America will join together in a unique gala event themed to all 50 states. This will launch the finale of the campaign, the centennial year of the creation and dedication of the Statue of Liberty in America.
- Throughout Summer 1986, there will be 100 days of celebrations and events by all 50 states.





■ On July 4, 1986, the Statue of Liberty's restoration will be celebrated as focal point of Liberty Centennial Week, involving the greatest ever assembly of Tall Ships in New York harbor, special July 4 parades throughout America, "all American" entertainments and the world's largest fireworks display.

■ October 28, 1986, the actual centennial of the unveiling and dedication of the Statue of Liberty will be celebrated by a rededication ceremony on Liberty Island followed by special entertainments and tributes.



Additionally, throughout the entire period 1984-1986, television events planned include an ongoing series of Liberty Centennial Moments, TV movies, dramas documentaries, feature programs and athletic events, all themed to various aspects of Liberty and our heritage as a nation of immigrants.



The proposed future of Ellis Island is as a national living museum in tribute to the ethnic and national origins of all Americans. Working closely with distinguished architects, historians and specialists in the private sector, it is aimed to complete this work in time for the Centennial of Ellis Island in 1992.

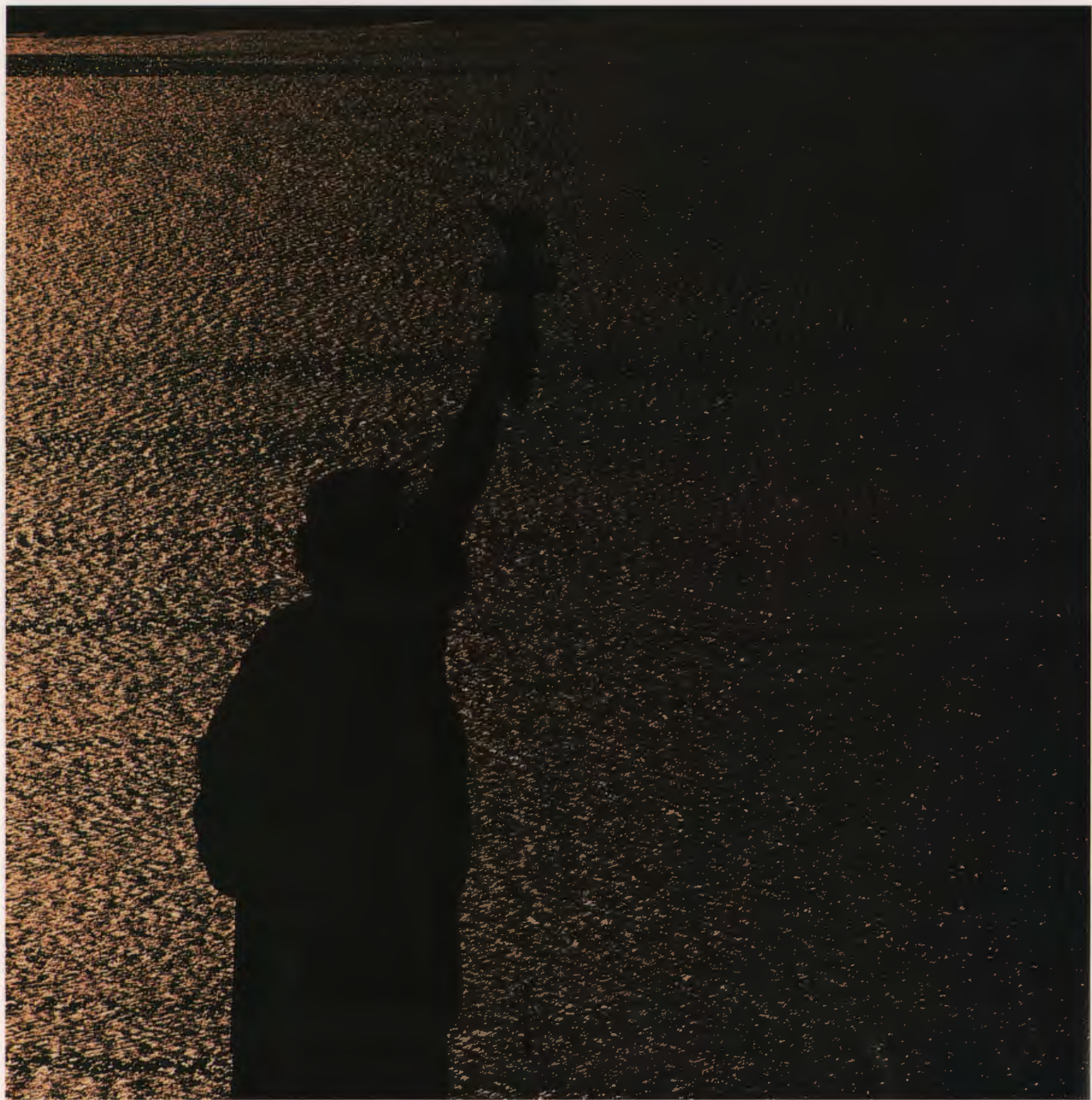
From 1992 onward, it is hoped that visitors will (like the eighty percent of immigrants to these shores between 1892 and 1954) enter the newly restored Great Hall, walk upstairs past official guides dressed as turn-of-the-century immigration officials, and proceed into an inspiring encounter with our diverse heritage. On the rest of the island, proposals are in hand to allow visitors to relive the sights and sounds of the immigrant experience from the sev-

A PERMANENT, LIVING AMERICAN HERITAGE EXPERIENCE

enteenth century to the twentieth. Current recommendations call for a modern auditorium, where artists from all over the world will offer concerts and performances representing the best of the many cultures which have influenced American life. Dozens of exhibitions will present a living sensory experience of the skills, crafts, cultures

The Great Hall on Ellis Island to be fully restored by 1992.

and memories of the old world which our forebears brought to America. Visitors might see a recreation of a village street in central Europe or a Chinese camp in the American West. They will have the opportunity to taste the food of many nations, to see how Czechs crafted their crystal, how Germans brewed beer, how Armenians wove their strong long-pile rugs. They will see the faces and hear the voices of the old world and the new. Young and old alike should carry away from this Ellis Island experience a new sense of identity and a renewed commitment to America as a nation born of many peoples.




POSTSCRIPT

Today, the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island remain central to America's self-image. Liberty has no peer as a symbol of the American dream. Ellis Island is a timeless reminder of the human courage and energy that turn dreams into reality. These are powerful presences out of our common past, impossible to forget, but all too easily taken for granted.

The Liberty Centennial Campaign is a reminder to us that what we have and value should never be taken for granted. It is also a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to renew our faith in our country and pride of our own individual family heritages.

The reward for this accomplishment will outlive us. We will have made a major step towards ensuring that the generations which follow us have the same opportunity of sharing in the pride of freedom and cultural diversity which is the unique characteristic of being American.



Grateful Acknowledgments
The Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island
Centennial Commission and the
Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation
gratefully acknowledge the contribution
of the following, who have donated
their services and/or fees
in the production of this brochure:

L. P. Thebault Company
Parsippany, New Jersey
Printing

International Productions
Madison, Connecticut
Color Separations

Louis Kelley Associates
Stamford, Connecticut
Design

Peter B. Kaplan
New York, New York
Contemporary Photography
of the Statue of Liberty
and Ellis Island

Pastore DePamphilis Rampone
New York, New York
Typography and Typesetting

World Typeface Center
New York, New York
Typeface - WTC Goudy

Joseph Mauro
Westport Marketing Group, Inc.
Consultant/Creative Direction



Inquiries and all contributions
should be addressed to:
**The Statue of Liberty-
Ellis Island Foundation, Inc.**
101 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10178
(212) 883-1986

