Wayne L. Morse
LATE A SENATOR FROM OREGON

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES
AND TRIBUTES

IN THE CONGRESS OF
THE UNITED STATES

HON. WAYNE L. MORSE
1900-1974
Memorial Addresses

AND

Other Tributes

IN THE

Congress of the United States

ON THE

LIFE AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF

Wayne L. Morse

Ninety-third Congress
Second Session

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
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Senate Resolution No. 365

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,


Resolved, That the legislative proceedings in the United States Congress relating to the death of the former Senator from Oregon, Mr. Morse, be printed as a Senate document.

Biography

WAYNE LYMAN MORSE was born near Madison, Dane County, Wis., October 20, 1900; attended the public schools; University of Wisconsin at Madison, Ph.B., 1923, and M.A., 1924; from the law department of the University of Minnesota at Minneapolis, LL.B., 1928, and from Columbia University, New York, N.Y., J.D., 1932; completed a 4-year advanced military training course at the University of Wisconsin at Madison, 1919–23, and held a reserve commission as 2d lieutenant, Field Artillery, U.S. Army, 1923–29; taught argumentation at the Universities of Wisconsin and Minnesota; assistant professor of law at the University of Oregon at Eugene in 1929, associate professor in 1930, and dean and professor of law 1931–44; member of the Oregon Crime Commission; administrative director, United States Attorney General's survey of Release Procedures, 1936–39; Pacific Coast arbitrator for the U.S. Department of Labor (maritime industry) 1938–42, and also served in other capacities for the Labor Department; chairman of the President's Railway Emergency Board in 1941; alternate public member of the National Defense Mediation Board in 1941; public member of the National War Labor Board 1942–44; farmer; elected as a Republican to the U.S. Senate in 1944 for the term commencing January 3, 1945; reelected in 1950 for the term ending January 3, 1957; elected as a Democrat in 1956 for the term ending January 3, 1963; reelected again in 1962 for the term ending January 3, 1969; unsuccessful candidate for reelection in 1968; lecturer; labor arbitrator; distinguished visiting scholar, State University of New York, 1969–70; remained active in labor arbitration, lecturing, and antiwar efforts; in 1972, won the Democratic senatorial nomination but was unsuccessful in the November election; in 1973, returned to the lecture circuit; in 1974, won the Democratic senatorial nomination and was actively engaged in campaigning when he died July 22, 1974, in Portland, Oreg.; interment in Rest Haven Memorial Park, Eugene, Oreg.
MEMORIAL SERVICES

FOR

WAYNE L. MORSE
Proceedings in the Senate

MONDAY, July 22, 1974.

PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Edward L. R. Elson, D.D., offered the following prayer:

Eternal Father, in whom we live and move and have our being, from whom we come and to whom we go at last, in this quiet moment we remember with thanksgiving Thy servant WAYNE MORSE. We thank Thee for the magnitude of his service to the Nation and especially his labors in this body.

We thank Thee for the integrity of his manhood, the uniqueness of his witness, and the power of his speech. We remember with gratitude his virile intellect, his moral earnestness, his tenacious convictions, his forensic skills, his fidelity to high ideals, his loyalties transcending faction and party, and his faithfulness as a servant of the common good. May his unique mantle be worn worthily in all generations.

Teach us once more that underneath life and death are the everlasting arms of the Eternal Shepherd who with goodness and mercy will follow us all the days of this life until we dwell in the house of the Lord forever.

Through Him who is the Resurrection and the Life. Amen.

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, I rise with great sadness to announce to the Senate the death of former Senator WAYNE MORSE of Oregon who passed away this morning at 8:10 at Portland, Oreg.

WAYNE MORSE was a politician from a very unique mold, and an enigma to many people. When convinced of a position on an issue he was not swayed by political considerations or pressures. His interest was substance. His commitment to issues produced a unique style which was known as the Morse style.
MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

To those of us who for nearly a decade had tried to change U.S. policies in Indochina, Senator Morse's early prophecies and his warnings were of such magnitude and of such statesmanlike character that we all owe a debt of gratitude to him.

I would like to express my personal sympathy and that of my family to Mrs. Morse and to the family of Senator Wayne Morse on his passing.

He served for 24 years in this body, from 1944 to 1968, and I know that many who are here today served with him.

I will give my own eulogy concerning Senator Morse at a later time, but I did want to share this very sad news with my colleagues and his many friends here at this time.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I wish to join the distinguished senior Senator from Oregon (Mr. Hatfield) in expressing my sense of personal loss in this man who contributed so much to his State, to the Nation and, in many ways, to the world.

He was a man of fierce independence, I know no one with whom I have served in this body who was more independent than Wayne Morse.

He was fearless. As the distinguished Senator from Oregon (Mr. Hatfield) said there was a Morse style, but there was also a Morse formula.

I am delighted to note the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. Proxmire) on the floor, who has carried on the initiative shown by the late Senator from Oregon, Wayne Morse, in looking over items to look for escape clauses and to carry on in the tradition of Wayne Morse, as he has also, in my opinion—and I am speaking of the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. Proxmire)—in the tradition of Paul Douglas, as well.

So it is with deep regret and sadness that I learned this morning of the passing of a man who left his mark on this Chamber. I wish at this time, on behalf of my wife and my daughter, to extend to Mrs. Morse—Midge as she was known to many of us—and the members of her family our deepest condolences in this hour of sorrow.

May his soul rest in peace.
Mr. PROXMIRe. Mr. President, I join the distinguished majority leader and the distinguished Senator from Oregon (Mr. Hatfield) in paying tribute to a really great Senator.

Senator Morse was a man of remarkable intelligence. I can recall when he spoke 24 consecutive hours on the floor of the Senate.

I talked to people who were here during almost all of that time, the staff of the Senate, and they said it was the most amazing intellectual performance they had ever seen. He spoke for 24 hours. He was unprepared when he started. The speech was in complete sequence, no repetition, beautifully organized, all relevant and pertinent, and it was an indication of the remarkable ability that this unusual man had.

He was a man of absolute rock-like integrity. He was a man who came out of my State. He was born in the State of Wisconsin, and I think few people realized the great influence that the La Follette tradition in Wisconsin had on Wayne Morse.

He grew up in the township in which old Bob La Follette grew up. He was very much aware of that throughout his life, and he had the same love of the people, the same deep populism, the same dedication to the public interest that old Bob La Follette had.

I think most of us knew Wayne Morse as one of the most remarkable critics who served in the Senate, certainly in the last quarter century. He had a biting kind of criticism, enormously effective, very persuasive, but he was also a very constructive man. When he became chairman of the Subcommittee on Education of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, he became Mr. Education, and he was successful in getting through a series of profoundly effective education bills that did a great deal for this country.

One of the most remarkable improvements in our country in the last 15 to 20 years has been in education, and I think Wayne Morse is very largely responsible for that improvement.

I might also say, Mr. President, that one of the most heart breaking tragedies I have endured in my life was when our little child died after living for 1 day. We named that child after Wayne Morse. Wayne Morse was, in my view, such a remarkable and unusual man that we felt our child should bear his name through life. It was a very
short life, but he was honored by the fact that he bore the name of this great man and great Senator.

Mr. President, one of the really happier and more heartening marriages I have seen was the wedding of Wayne Morse and Midge Morse. They were both devoted to each other. Mrs. Morse often sat in the Senate gallery and watched her husband.

I often teased Wayne about the fact that when he married Midge he used great ingenuity. They were classmates in Madison High School, and Midge was valedictorian. She was as bright as he was, and he recognized that throughout his life. It was a very happy marriage of two wonderful people, who had three most attractive and fine daughters.

Mr. Hatfield. Mr. President, I appreciate that further remark about the life of Senator Morse by the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. Proxmire).

I would agree that Mrs. Morse was an effective campaigner, as was the Senator. She did not make the headlines as far as public knowledge was concerned, but she was very effective in working with him behind the scenes, and shoulder to shoulder—well, I should not say shoulder to shoulder, as she was a little lady in stature—in every campaign, and she is a very highly admired and respected lady.

Mr. Fong. Mr. President, I, too, rise to express my sympathy to Mrs. Morse and to express my regret at the passing of a great American.

I served with Senator Wayne Morse here in the Senate for approximately 9 to 10 years, and during that time I learned to respect and admire him. He was a hard fighter. He was a man of tremendous dynamism. He spoke on almost every subject, and, when he did, he spoke with deep intelligence and with unusual clarity. The Senator’s passing is the passing of a great American. Senator Morse was very interested in the breeding of cattle. I believe the English type of cattle known as the Devon. If he liked you, he would name one of his fine cattle after you. For example, one of his cattle was named Yarborough, and others were named after other Americans.
WAYNE L. MORSE

He was very, very sympathetic to the needs of farmers, and he was a great champion of education. I know our Nation will miss him.

He demonstrated his dynamism anew following his defeat 6 years ago by the junior Senator from Oregon. This year, at the age of 73, he was campaigning very vigorously for election to the Senate again, and it was during this very strenuous campaign that he became ill; and now he has passed away.

The State of Oregon, indeed the Nation, as a whole, has lost a very colorful figure from the political arena.

Mrs. Fong and I wish to extend to Mrs. Morse our deepest condolences.

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, I thank the Senator from Hawaii for his very thoughtful remarks concerning Senator Morse.

Senator Morse had a biography written about him by one of our fine journalists, A. Robert Smith. When Mr. Smith was attempting to find an appropriate title for that biography of Senator Morse he came up with the title, "Tiger of the Senate."

That title followed Senator Morse throughout his life. Even to this day, the day of his death, he was known as the Tiger of the Senate to the citizens of Oregon and to his many friends around this country.

I am very grateful for the comments made, and I will make sure they are communicated to Mrs. Morse and the family.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, it is with a great sense of sorrow that I learned of the death today of Senator Wayne Morse. Wayne Morse was a statesman, an imaginative legislator, and a man of strong convictions and deeply held principles.

It is in keeping with his lifelong record of service to the American people, that, at his death, he was again seeking to serve through his candidacy for election to the Senate.

I was honored to be Wayne Morse’s successor as chairman of the Subcommittee on Education of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. In that capacity, I have had the opportunity to review Senator Morse’s accomplishments during his years as chairman of the subcommittee, and I have marveled at the vision and the
foresight he displayed in guiding Federal Government policy in education. Many generations of Americans will be the beneficiaries of his legislative leadership in education.

Similarly, in foreign policy, Wayne Morse contributed immensely to public understanding of the role of the United States in the world through his perceptive and prescient analysis of how our foreign policies could and should serve our true national interests.

Senator Wayne Morse, through his intellect and his vigorous advocacy, contributed immensely to the well-being of the American people. He will be sorely missed.

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, it was with genuine sadness that I learned of the death of our cherished former colleague and friend, Wayne Morse. I join Senator Hatfield in our tributes today. We will miss this devoted public servant whose accomplishments and valued contributions to our country spanned over four decades.

Mr. President, Wayne Morse was a man of integrity and his actions—whether or not in agreement with his constituency—were based on strongly held convictions and what he believed to be in the best interest of all the people of this country. He was forthright and vigorous always in the expression of his beliefs.

My association with this giant of the Northwest covered many issues and interests of mutual concern. I treasure most highly, however, the memory of our work together on education legislation. Wayne Morse was a believer in youth and he translated this confidence into affirmative legislative programs to provide educational opportunity for the young people of our Nation. His chairmanship of the Senate Subcommittee on Education, on which I served under his wise leadership, deserves the highest recognition in the history of education. The youth of our Nation are today recipients of this far-sighted man's earnest endeavors.

He was a law graduate of the University of Minnesota and from Columbia University; a law school dean; member of the Oregon Crime Commission; administrative director, U.S. Attorney General's survey of release procedures; and Pacific coast arbitrator for the U.S. Department of Labor.

He was also chairman of the President's Railway Emergency Board in 1941 and alternate public member of the National Defense Media-
tion Board in 1941 and a public member of the National War Labor Board, 1942–44.

It was in 1944 that he was first elected to the U.S. Senate and he was reelected on three occasions.

**WAYNE MORSE** achieved a distinguished record of public service and was an outspoken advocate of humanitarian programs for citizens throughout our Nation.

Mrs. Randolph and I cherished our family friendship with Mildred and **WAYNE**.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, our country has lost a great citizen and one of its finest sons. His idealism, his evangelism, and his intense patriotism for our country putting its best foot forward will be remembered by all Americans. And the way in which he called the blunder of the Vietnam war will give him an important place in our history. All Americans, regardless of party, will mourn his loss.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I join my colleagues today in mourning the passing of former Senator **WAYNE L. MORSE**. The news of his death early this morning came as a shock because **WAYNE** had remained until the end—vigorousg, dynamic, and more energetic than many men half his age.

**WAYNE MORSE** accomplished enough in his life to satisfy the lifetime ambitions of two men. He completed a distinguished career in the law before ever seeking election to the Senate. He was professor of law and dean of the Law School at the University of Oregon from 1931 to 1944, and during that period also served in a number of important capacities for the U.S. Department of Labor.

First elected to the Senate as a Republican in 1944, **WAYNE** was reelected in 1950. He displayed his fierce independence and determination to uphold the principles he personally believed in when he broke with the Republican Party in 1952 and became an Independent. He was reelected, this time as a Democrat, in 1956 and was elected to his fourth and final term in 1962.

Mr. President, it was my great privilege to work closely with **WAYNE MORSE** on the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare for close to a decade. **WAYNE** was a member of the committee during his entire Senate service and was an expert on labor law, as well as one of our most energetic, interested, and hardest working
MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

members. He distinguished himself as chairman of the Subcommittee on Education for 6 years, during which he helped forge the Federal commitment to our schools, colleges, and universities, and earned the title of "Mr. Education."

After leaving the Senate in 1969, Wayne continued to be extremely active at a time of life when most of us would be more than content to retire and relax. He served as a labor arbitrator, a lecturer, and a visiting scholar. It was a mark of the man that at the time he took ill and was hospitalized last Wednesday, he was in the midst of a vigorous campaign for election to the Senate.

Mr. President, Wayne Morse will undoubtedly be remembered by history as one of two Members of this body to vote against the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. It is a strange irony that the other—former Senator Ernest Gruening—died less than 4 weeks ago. Those of us who worked here in the Senate with Wayne Morse knew that his vote on the Gulf of Tonkin resolution was entirely in keeping with his unblunted determination to do what he believed was right, regardless of the consequences.

I want to express my heavy sense of loss at the passing of this great American, and convey my most heartfelt condolences to his widow and children.

Mr. Kennedy. Mr. President, with the death of Wayne Morse, the Nation has lost one of the giants of its recent history.

Time and again, I recall Senator Morse taking the floor as the conscience of the Senate, dealing with issue after issue of vital importance to the people of Oregon and all the citizens of America.

On Vietnam, he was a prophet before his time, one of the first to see the horror of the war and America's senseless role.

In the area of labor laws, he was renowned for his unparalleled knowledge and expertise, and for his dedication to the rights of every working man and woman.

On education, he was the pioneer of a generation of progressive programs of Federal aid, the guiding force behind legislation that has become a landmark of the Nation's concern for the quality of its schools and colleges and for the education of its children.

On every other issue, at home and overseas, Wayne Morse was daily proof in the Halls of Congress that an individual can make a
difference, that a single voice of integrity, insight, understanding, and compassion can change America and alter the flow of history.

Perhaps most of all, to those who were honored to serve here with him, we shall recall his speeches on the Senate floor, the addresses that became the hallmark of the Senate at the close of daily business. In his brilliant, eloquent, and forceful manner, he ranged across the whole realm of foreign and domestic policy. He was at his best on these occasions, teaching the Senate wisdom.

With his death, the Nation has lost one of its most energetic and enlightened voices, and the country is the poorer.

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, yesterday, during the debate on the Agriculture Appropriations bill, we learned of the death of one of the most esteemed former colleagues, WAYNE MORSE of Oregon.

I had the distinct pleasure of serving in this body with Senator Morse for several years, and although we disagreed on some matters of foreign policy, neither he nor I ever lost our warm affection, respect, and regard for each other.

WAYNE MORSE was truly one of a kind, a man whose life was devoted to the public good and who expressed his views on that public trust forcefully, intelligently, and with great honor. He served a distinguished 24 years in the Senate, and was characteristically, with vigor and undimmed effort trying for yet another term at the age of 73 when his final illness struck him. And, as reported after his death, his courage showed again when he refused to be kept alive by a machine. Instead, he and his courageous wife chose to fight his final battle with only his own strong mind and heart.

Mr. President, David S. Broder of the Washington Post wrote a fine tribute to WAYNE MORSE in this morning's edition, and I ask unanimous consent that the obituary of this distinguished and honorable American be printed in the Record.

[From the Washington Post, July 23, 1974]

FORMER SENATOR WAYNE MORSE DIES IN PORTLAND HOSPITAL AT 73

(By David S. Broder)

Former Sen. WAYNE L. MORSE of Oregon, a maverick who switched parties twice and fought with five Presidents, died yesterday in a Portland hospital at the age of 73.
MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

Morse, whose characteristic independence of judgment made him one of only two senators to oppose the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin resolution that launched America into the Vietnam war, succumbed to kidney and heart failure following a urinary tract infection that hospitalized him last Wednesday.

Until then, he had been campaigning for another term in the Senate against Sen. Bob Packwood (R-Oreg.), who defeated Morse in 1968 after a 24-year tenure as a Republican, Independent and Democratic Senator.

A new senatorial candidate is to be chosen by the Democratic state central committee.

Morse is survived by his widow, Mildred, three daughters—Nancy Campbell, Judith Mary Eaton and Amy Ann Bilich—six grandchildren, two brothers and a sister. Funeral arrangements are pending.

In his 30 years in public life, Morse, whose intellectual brilliance was acknowledged by even his most bitter critics, at various times served, supported and scorned every President of both parties from Franklin D. Roosevelt through Lyndon B. Johnson.

His feuds were proverbial, and over the years came to include almost every colleague in the Oregon congressional delegation and many of the newsmen who covered him.

Yet among those same legislators and journalists, he was respected as a gifted lawmaker, with a genuine mastery of the fields of foreign policy, education and labor legislation he made his own.

At the same time that President Johnson was in almost daily verbal combat with Morse over the Vietnam war, he chose the Oregonian to floor-manage his landmark aid-to-education bill, and when it was passed, Johnson said, “No one else could have done it.”

Long before it became fashionable for other politicians, Morse espoused the view that he would not bend his personal philosophy to the needs of party regularity. He bolted the Republican Party in 1952 in disgust with the Eisenhower-Nixon campaign, served for two years as an Independent, then joined the Democrats, only to fight John F. Kennedy for the nomination of his new party, and to take the early lead against the Vietnam policies of President Johnson.

Describing his own philosophy as one of “constitutional liberalism,” Morse said in a 1953 article that he believed his course of personal independence was “the best way I can challenge the political expediency of both parties.”

It was his fiercely cultivated and bristling independence—as well as his prescience on Vietnam—that senators noted in their eulogies yesterday.

Sen. Mark O. Hatfield (R-Oreg.), a man Morse jumped party lines to endorse in 1966 and against whom he ran in 1972, called Morse “a politician from a unique mold and an enigma to many people. When convinced of a position on an issue, he was not swayed....”

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WAYNE L. MORSE

Sen. Packwood said, "WAYNE MORSE was a man of integrity and courage. He was never afraid to fight for his convictions." Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) called him "a man of fierce independence."

WAYNE LYMAN MORSE was born on a farm outside Madison, Wis., on Oct. 20, 1900, and as a boy came under the spell of the great Wisconsin Independents, the La Follettes. He attended the University of Wisconsin, studied law at the University of Minnesota and Columbia University, and moved west in 1929 to join the University of Oregon Law School faculty. Less than two years later, at 30, he became the youngest law school dean in the nation.

His debut in national life came in 1941, when Roosevelt chose Morse, already a skilled labor arbitrator, as chairman of an emergency board created to head off a nationwide railroad strike.

A marathon 36-hour final bargaining session after six weeks of hearings produced a compromise settlement on Dec. 6, 1941—the eve of Pearl Harbor.

Roosevelt then named him a public member of the War Labor Board, where he served for two years until he resigned with a characteristically sharp attack on Roosevelt and Secretary of Interior Harold L. Ickes over the settlement of a coal dispute. A letter to Ickes, complaining about him and Under Secretary Abe Fortas, showed even then Morse's mastery of the acerbic style for which he became famous:

"Dear Mr. Secretary. Thank you very much for your letter of June 11, 1943. It is in keeping with and supports my low esteem of you. The attempt of you and Mr. Fortas to try to convict me, without justification, of deceiving the President in order to divert attention from your gross mishandling of the coal case should be beneath you as a Cabinet officer . . . I deeply resented the 'off-the-record' statements which you made at your press conference at the time you announced your scuttling truce with [John L.] Lewis . . . ."

"I am perfectly aware of the fact that for one in my subordinate position to express his complete lack of respect for and confidence in men in such high positions as you and Mr. Fortas is not in accordance with government protocol, but I could not have done less and kept faith with my self-respect, Morse concluded.

In 1944, he was back in Oregon to win his first term in the Senate, as a Republican. He came back to Washington from the campaign by car, towing his two champion saddle horses, the forerunners of a string of horses and cattle he kept at his farms in Maryland and Oregon.

In his first six months in the Senate, he made more speeches than all the other freshmen combined. The Senate reporters nicknamed him "the Five O'Clock Shadow," in grudging tribute to his habit of taking the Senate floor each day when all other business was finished to deliver himself of some views.

In his first term, he conducted a 10-hour filibuster on behalf of President Truman's veto of the Taft-Hartley labor act—a record he more than doubled in another speech in 1953 lasting 22 hours and 26 minutes.
MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

But despite his support of the Democratic President on that highly partisan issue, Morse was no ally of Truman’s. He accused Truman of “showboating” on another labor issue and denounced him from the platform in 1946 as the “head of one of the most corrupt political machines in this country.”

But after his reelection in 1950, Morse joined seven other Senate Republicans in decrying Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy’s tactics in investigating alleged Communists in the Truman administration, and became a major Republican advocate of Truman’s civil rights program.

In 1951 Morse suffered a broken jaw when kicked by a horse he was showing at a Virginia fair. Years later, the incident was revived in the course of a memorable fight he had with Clare Boothe Luce.

Morse led a Senate battle against her confirmation as ambassador to Brazil in 1959, and when she prevailed, by a lopsided 79-to-11 margin, the playwright could not refrain from saying that her difficulties all occurred because “some years back... WAYNE MORSE was kicked in the head by horse.”

Morse indignantly returned to the Senate floor to denounce “this slanderer,” and three days later Mrs. Luce withdrew from the post.

Morse’s transformation from maverick Republican to maverick Democrat began in 1951, when he announced early for Dwight D. Eisenhower, but warned that “if my political party offers me a President and a platform in 1952 of only isolationist candidates, I will take a long walk... I have no intention of placing party above country.”

Eisenhower was, of course, nominated, but on Oct. 18, 1952, Morse announced he would vote for Adlai Stevenson, because “never have I been so completely disillusioned about any man as I am about Eisenhower.”

A week later, he resigned from the Republican Party, and when he returned to the Senate in January, 1953, he brought along a folding chair, saying, “Since I haven’t been given any seat in the new Senate, I decided to bring my own.”

The Republicans quickly stripped Morse of his seniority on the Armed Services and Labor Committees and he was made a junior member of Public Works and the District of Columbia Committees.

His independence, vigor and combativeness quickly made Morse a leading figure in District affairs, and he emerged as one of the strongest congressional advocates of home rule for the nation’s capital.

He applied his strong concern for civil rights and civil liberties to Washington’s problems, vowing to do his utmost to eliminate racial segregation and deliver self-government to the people of the city.

Only days after his reelection in 1956, Sen. Morse—by then one of the hardest working of Washington’s “city councilmen” in the Senate—announced that he wanted to stay on the District Committee because it provided him a special opportunity for public service.

Even in his later years in the Senate, when he became absorbed in the
Vietnam war opposition, he continued to devote long hours to hearings and speeches on District legislation.

As chairman of the Senate District subcommittee on health, education and welfare matters, the senator constantly—and often bluntly—reminded colleagues on both sides of the Capitol of his firm belief that the bulk of Washington's problems were traceable to the absence of self-government.

But Morse's battle on behalf of home rule for Washington did not keep him from criticizing the leadership at the District Building when he felt improvements could be effected there.

In the field of education he pressed for many improvements in the public school system and was the Senate sponsor of legislation establishing Federal City College and the Washington Technical Institute.

In 1954, Morse campaigned hard for the election of Richard L. Neuberger (another man with whom he was later to carry on a personal feud) as Oregon's first Democratic Senator of modern times.

He joined the Democratic Party himself in 1955 and for the next decade was the center of a series of battles over environmental, natural resources, education and labor issues, including the tideland oil fight, the Hells Canyon Dam case, the Landrum-Griffin labor reform bill and a series of struggles over federal aid to education.

In 1956, he won what was perhaps his sweetest personal victory when he ran for re-election as a Democrat and trounced Eisenhower's Secretary of Interior, Douglas McKay, who had returned to Oregon in an effort to purge the renegade Morse.

But four years later, in 1960, Oregon Democrats rejected Morse in favor of John F. Kennedy in their presidential primary.

In 1964, Morse cast the vote of which he said he was most proud when he joined the late Ernest Gruening of Alaska as the only opponents of the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, the measure that President Johnson took as congressional sanction for American intervention in Vietnam.

For the next eight years, in office and out, Morse traveled the country, tirelessly arguing against the war.

In his 1962 biography of Morse, called "The Tiger in the Senate," Portland Oregonian correspondent A. Robert Smith (who himself was periodically barred by an irate Morse from entering the senator's office) recalled that Morse had once told a Detroit reporter, "I sometimes wonder if I'm going at this a little too hard."

"But then," the senator continued, "I think of all the men and women who wish there were just one politician in Washington who would speak his mind and cast his vote honestly and freely with only his conscience to guide him."

"Maybe it's a bit brash to assume that I'm that man," Morse said, "but believe me, I'm trying to be."

(Note.—This obituary was prepared with the research assistance of Elizabeth Donovan and Robert L. Asher.)
Mr. ABOUREZK. Mr. President, on July 22, 1974, death took away one of the most outspoken, incorruptible and brilliant Senators this Nation ever had. WAYNE MORSE was a man whose sense of outrage was activated by the irresponsibility, greed, and corruption he encountered while serving the citizens of Oregon.

WAYNE MORSE was a blunt man. WAYNE MORSE was a man of utmost integrity. It was WAYNE MORSE who once said that every day that he walked onto the floor of the Senate, he acted as if it was his last day. WAYNE MORSE did not believe in image making, nor did he care if he offended political friends. He acted out his deep sense of what he called “constitutional liberalism.” WAYNE MORSE did not cast his votes in the Senate while looking to the next election. He voted on principle.

While he often said that many of his colleagues agreed with him in the cloakroom and told him that he was right, they meekly admitted that “because of other reasons” they had to vote against him. WAYNE MORSE would smile at this behavior, not because it was so funny, but because it was sad.

Perhaps if WAYNE MORSE had been in the White House in 1968, the country would have the kind of moral leadership it is so sorely lacking today. And if WAYNE MORSE had been in the White House in 1968, serving the public interest would have been the clarion call rather than the victim of Presidential action.

I join my colleagues in the Congress and my fellow citizens across the Nation in mourning the death of Senator WAYNE MORSE, a man who carried the banner of American constitutional democracy when it made both friend and foe alike terribly uncomfortable.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have two articles, one from the Washington Post and the other from the New York Times printed in the Record.

[From the New York Times, July 23, 1974]

WAYNE MORSE DIES: A SENATOR 24 YEARS

(By Alden Whitman)

Former Senator WAYNE MORSE of Oregon, a strong early critic of the Vietnam war and a long-time congressional liberal, died yesterday of kidney failure in Good Samaritan Hospital, Portland, Oreg. He was 73 years old.
Mr. Morse had entered the hospital last Wednesday in the midst of an arduous campaign in which his chances to regain the Senate seat he lost in 1968 were considered good. He had won the Democratic nomination in a primary two months ago and was opposing Senator Robert W. Packwood, the Republican incumbent.

A Populist in the tradition of George W. Norris, Robert M. La Follette and William Jennings Bryan, WAYNE LYMAN MORSE spoke up for many transiently unpopular causes. He opposed American military involvement in Vietnam; he fought for trade unionism and for civil rights.

As a champion of the common people, he was often raspy and blunt, but he regarded himself as a man who refused to compromise his principles or mute his voice. Many of his critics, though, saw him as an opportunist and a threat to the Establishment.

At various times in his 24 turbulent years in the Senate, Mr. Morse was a Republican, an Independent and a Democrat. Neither party was wholly pleased with him, nor was he ever compatible with a party label. He was impartially scornful of both Democratic and Republican Presidents, upbraiding them with his rich talent for invective.

He described an address to Congress by President Harry S. Truman as "one of the cheapest exhibitions of ham acting I have ever seen"; he denounced President Dwight D. Eisenhower as a "hypocrite"; he accused President Lyndon B. Johnson of being "drunk with power." Nor did Mr. Morse spare his fellow Senators, once calling one of his corpulent colleagues "a tub of rancid ignorance."

CRUSTY CRITIC OF WAR

Mr. Morse entered the Senate in 1945 as a liberal Republican and left it in 1968 as a liberal Democrat. His last term was notable for his crusty criticism of President Johnson and the Vietnam war, which started with a succinct "nay" that recorded his opposition to the Gulf of Tonkin resolution of Aug. 7, 1964. Only one other Senator, the late Ernest Gruening of Alaska, voted against the measure, which President Johnson used as a functional declaration of war in Southeast Asia. Mr. Morse's intransigent opposition to the war was a factor in his defeat in 1968.

From 1964 until he left office, he voted against every measure, including appropriations, that had the effect of keeping American troops in Vietnam. He also carried his campaign against the war through the country in speeches, and he supported Senator Eugene J. McCarthy when the Minnesota Democrat sought the Presidency on an antiwar platform in 1968.

Once aroused, Mr. Morse could be a fiery, though prolix, speaker. His long-windedness did not sting nearly so much as his epithets; but he considered his outspokenness a virtue.

"It is true that I use language that people can understand," he remarked a couple of years ago. "And if I think a course of action is outlawry, I say so."
"If I say that the United States is the greatest threat to world peace, I say so simply because it is true. If the truth is intemperate, then I will continue to be intemperate."

Mr. Morse was so often in the minority and so frequently cutting in his remarks that he was known as "The Lone Ranger" or "The Tiger of the Senate." These views of him were softened yesterday as Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana, the Democrat leader spoke of him as a "man of fierce independence" and Senator Mark O. Hatfield, Republican of Oregon, said that his "early prophecies and warnings about Vietnam were such that we all owe him a great debt."

Mr. Morse, who was a lean, trim man with a clipped mustache, sharp nose and bushy black eyebrows, was an extraordinarily hard-working Senator. He was accounted knowledgeable in labor and education matters, in conservation and in the farm problem. He was himself a breeder, raiser and trader of Devon cattle and a horseman who won many competitions.

Mr. Morse's Populism had its roots in Wisconsin, the home state of the La Follettes, where he was born, a farmer's son, on Oct. 20, 1900. From his father, a livestock man, he learned a fear of debt and of hard times, when the cattle had to be fed on cornstalks and straw mixed with molasses. His father, Mr. Morse recalled, strongly counseled him on the evil of becoming beholden to others.

TAUGHT LAW AT COLUMBIA

The young man was educated at the University of Wisconsin and took law degrees from both the University of Minnesota and Columbia. He taught briefly at Columbia and the University of Oregon and then, in 1931, became dean of the Law School at Oregon. Because of his position he was often called upon to arbitrate labor disputes on the West Coast, establishing a reputation for settling controversies with dispatch and fairness.

His record commended him to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who named him a public member of the War Labor Board in 1942. He left in something of a storm in 1944, asserting that the board was too considerate of John L. Lewis, then head of the United Mine Workers.

In that year he was elected to the Senate as a Republican, but no sooner had he taken his seat in 1945 than he was jousting with party conservatives. One of his betes-noires was Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, who was for Mr. Morse "a symbol of reaction and defeatism." Among other things, the Oregonian vociferously objected to the Taft-Hartley bill as hamstringing trade unions. He voted against the bill, which became law in 1948 over President Truman's veto. (For most of his political life Mr. Morse enjoyed strong labor support. It diminished in 1968, when Vietnam was a crucial issue.)

In the Republican jockeying in 1952, Mr. Morse swung to General Eisenhower in order to block Senator Taft's aspirations for the nomination. But he chilled toward the general when he designated Senator Richard M. Nixon of California as his running mate, and in the campaign he spoke for Adlai E. Stevenson, the Democratic candidate.
When the Senate convened in January, 1953, Mr. Morse announced that he had shucked the Republican Party and was now an Independent. With a pixie sense of humor he went into the Senate chamber with a folding chair and asked where he should sit. He was eventually assigned to the Republican side of the aisle, but was stripped of his committee posts.

Three years later, after having harried the Republicans over the Korea war settlement and cold-war brinkmanship, as well as over domestic matters, Mr. Morse became a Democrat and was handily reelected to the Senate in 1956. He still, however, thrived on adversaries, including Democrats who failed to measure up to his principles.

And he did not neglect Republicans, notably Clare Boothe Luce, whose confirmation as Ambassador to Brazil he fought unsuccessfully in 1959. Mr. Morse pronounced her unfit, and she retorted that her “difficulties go back some years and began when [Mr.] Morse was kicked in the head by a horse.” She was alluding to an episode in 1951 when a horse broke the Senator’s jaw with a kick. Mr. Morse won his contest with Mrs. Luce, however, for she resigned the Brazil post without serving.

In the early nineteen-fifties, Mr. Morse was a strong supporter of civil rights legislation, and he continued to espouse liberal voting and other rights for blacks. He also supported increases in price-support payments to farmers and other agricultural legislation. Additionally, Federal support for education had his warm backing.

Mr. Morse irritated some of his fellow Senators by the length of his speeches. An hour for him was a mere warm-up—in one session his speeches covered 400 pages of The Congressional Record. Once, in 1953, he talked for 22 hours and 26 minutes against an offshore bill that gave title to coast states. At the time his remarks were described as the longest continuous oration in the Senate’s history.

His defeat by Mr. Packwood in 1968 was close, the margin being little more than 3,000 votes. Mr. Morse essayed a comeback in 1971, but Mr. Hatfield was an easy winner. This year, despite his age, he was said to have a good chance of returning to the Senate for his last hurrah.

Mr. Morse was campaigning until last Wednesday, when he was stricken with an infection of the urinary tract. He had responded to antibiotic therapy until Sunday, when his condition worsened and he slipped into a coma.

Surviving are his widow, the former Mildred Downie; three daughters, Nancy Campbell, Judith Eaton and Amy Bilich; two brothers, a sister and six grandchildren.

FORMER SENATOR WAYNE MORSE DIES IN PORTLAND HOSPITAL AT 73

(By David S. Broder)

Former Sen. Wayne L. Morse of Oregon, a maverick who switched parties twice and fought with five Presidents, died yesterday in a Portland hospital at the age of 73.
MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

Morse, whose characteristic independence of judgment made him one of only two senators to oppose the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin resolution that launched America into the Vietnam war, succumbed to kidney and heart failure following a urinary tract infection that hospitalized him last Wednesday.

Until then, he had been campaigning for another term in the Senate against Sen. Bob Packwood (R-Oreg.), who defeated Morse in 1968 after a 24-year tenure as a Republican, Independent and Democratic Senator.

A new senatorial candidate is to be chosen by the Democratic state central committee.

Morse is survived by his widow, Mildred, three daughters—Nancy Campbell, Judith Mary Eaton and Amy Ann Bilich—six grandchildren, two brothers and a sister. Funeral arrangements are pending.

In his 30 years in public life, Morse, whose intellectual brilliance was acknowledged by even his most bitter critics, at various times served, supported and scored every President of both parties from Franklin D. Roosevelt through Lyndon B. Johnson.

His feuds were proverbial, and over the years came to include almost every colleague in the Oregon congressional delegation and many of the news men who covered him.

Yet among those same legislators and journalists, he was respected as a gifted lawmaker, with a genuine mastery of the fields for foreign policy, education and labor legislation he made his own.

At the same time that President Johnson was in almost daily verbal combat with Morse over the Vietnam war, he chose the Oregonian to floor-manage his landmark aid-to-education bill, and when it was passed, Johnson said, "No one else could have done it."

Long before it became fashionable for other politicians, Morse espoused the view that he would not bend his personal philosophy to the needs of party regularity. He bolted the Republican Party in 1952 in disgust with the Eisenhower-Nixon campaign, served for two years as an Independent, then joined the Democrats, only to fight John F. Kennedy for the nomination of his new party, and to take the early lead against the Vietnam policies of President Johnson.

Describing his own philosophy as one of "constitutional liberalism," Morse said in a 1953 article that he believed his course of personal independence was "the best way I can challenge the political expediency of both parties."

It was his fiercely cultivated and bristling independence—as well as his prescience on Vietnam—that senators noted in their eulogies yesterday.

Sen. Mark O. Hatfield (R-Oreg.), a man Morse jumped party lines to endorse in 1966 and against whom he ran in 1972, called Morse "a politician from a unique mold and an enigma to many people. When convinced of a position on an issue, he was not swayed . . ."

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"Dear Mr. Secretary. Thank you very much for your letter of June 12, 1943. It is in keeping with and supports my low esteem of you. The attempt of you and Mr. Fortas to try to convict me, without justification, of deceiving the President in order to divert attention from your gross mishandling of the coal case should be beneath you as a Cabinet officer . . . I deeply resented the 'off-the-record' statements which you made at your press conference at the time you announced your scuttling truce with [John L.] Lewis . . ."

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But despite his support of the Democratic President on that highly partisan issue, Morse was no ally of Truman's. He accused Truman of "showboating" on another labor issue and denounced him from the platform in 1946 as the "head of one of the most corrupt political machines in this country."

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MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

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“But then,” the senator continued, “I think of all the men and women who wish there were just one politician in Washington who would speak his mind and cast his vote honestly and freely with only his conscience to guide him.”

“Maybe it’s a bit brash to assume that I’m that man,” Morse said, “but believe me, I’m trying to be.”

(Note.—This obituary was prepared with the research assistance of Elizabeth Donovan and Robert L. Asher.)

Mr. HART. Mr. President, eulogies in which attempts are made to assess the life of a man or woman have a way of becoming more flowery than accurate, more guesswork than research. Perhaps that is unavoidable as we seek to anticipate the judgment of history.

Of Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon, who died yesterday, it will be noted that he fought hard for the people of Washington, D.C., that he was perhaps the Senate’s most knowledgeable Member in
the area of education, that he correctly warned the Nation of the folly of making war in Vietnam.

It will also be noted that of equal importance to the many causes for which he chose to fight were the skills, energy, and independence of mind he brought to those efforts.

History is already proving Senator Morse correct on Vietnam, and I, for one, will leave other judgments of his career to history.

However, I would like to make one contemporary observation which perhaps is obvious, but one which future generations should consider in assessing Senator Morse.

In the words of the poet Dylan Thomas, Senator Morse did not go gentle into that last good night. He continued to fight for what his conscience led him to believe was right, through victory and defeat, rejecting quiet retirement as a viable option.

For the present then, let it be said that his voice of reason and perception will be missed in a society which must have thoughtful and vigorous dissent if it is to remain free and strong. I suspect that of all the tributes contemporaries will pay Senator Morse, he would value that comment above all others.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, amid all the political pressures of present-day Washington, many of us in the Senate turned our attention from time to time to the Far West where a former colleague of ours was in the thick of a fight to return to these Halls where he served for 24 years.

That figure was Wayne Morse—seemingly with all the fire—as he campaigned only a week ago with those oratorical powers with which he made this Chamber echo—while his contribution to the Nation's history filled countless pages of the Congressional Record.

Now that voice is silenced. Wayne Morse has passed from us. He belongs to the ages.

The Senator from Rhode Island did not always agree with the Senator from Oregon—but the Senator from Rhode Island never lost respect for the character and convictions and the deep humanity of Wayne Morse.

I value the editorial epitaph from the New York Times of Tuesday, July 23, entitled "The Senate's Loss." And I prize these lines:
WAYNE L. MORSE

Senator WAYNE MORSE of Oregon was too much the maverick . . . too much the gadfly . . . to be a hero of the Senate establishment—too much the independent to be predictable even in his proved liberalism. He was a superb public servant—not in spite of these attributes but because of them.

The death of WAYNE MORSE is, indeed, the Senate's loss. For we remember the deep humanity and sympathetic nature beneath and beyond the persistence of the debtor—the soul of kindness and thoughtfulness.

We have known him to postpone a principal address on this floor that he might first speak words of appreciation and comfort to a Senate staff member who chanced to be hospitalized at that moment.

And if it were a colleague temporarily affected, WAYNE MORSE would be the first with his visit and his sympathy.

A student of the law, a teacher of the law, a maker of the law, the three score years and ten of his life WAYNE MORSE dedicated to service and to his fellow men.

He was a great American.

And the sympathy of all America goes to his loved ones—the wife and children of his heart and home.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that three obituaries, published in the Washington Star, the Washington Post, and the New York Times of today, having to do with our late colleague, WAYNE MORSE, Oregon's great dissenter, be incorporated at an appropriate point in the Record. I thank the distinguished Senator.

[From the New York Times, July 23, 1974]

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upbraiding them with his rich talent for invective.

He described an address to Congress by President Harry S. Truman as
"one of the cheapest exhibitions of ham acting I have ever seen"; he
denounced President Dwight D. Eisenhower as a "hypocrite"; he accused
President Lyndon B. Johnson of being "drunk with power." Nor did
Mr. Morse spare his fellow Senators once calling one of his corpulent col-
leagues a "tub of ignorance."

**CRUSTY CRITIC OF WAR**

Mr. Morse entered the Senate in 1945 as a liberal Republican and left
it in 1968 as a liberal Democrat. His last term was notable for his crusty
criticism of President Johnson and the Vietnam war, which started with a
succinct "nay" that recorded his opposition to the Gulf of Tonkin resolu-
tion of Aug. 7, 1964. Only one other Senator, the late Ernest Gruening of
Alaska, voted against the measure, which President Johnson used as a func-
tional declaration of war in Southeast Asia. Mr. Morse's intransigent
opposition to the war was a factor in his defeat in 1968.

From 1964 until he left office, he voted against every measure, including
appropriations, that had the effect of keeping American troops in Vietnam.
He also carried his campaign against the war through the country in speeches,
and he supported Senator Eugene J. McCarthy when the Minnesota
Democrat sought the Presidency on an antiwar platform in 1968.

Once aroused, Mr. Morse could be a fiery, though prolix, speaker. His
long-windedness did not sting nearly so much as his epithets; but he con-
sidered his outspokenness a virtue.

"It is true that I use language that people can understand," he remarked
a couple of years ago. "And if I think a course of action is outlawry, I say
so.

"If I say that the United States is the greatest threat to world peace,
I say so simply because it is true. If the truth is intemperate, then I will
continue to be intemperate"

Mr. Morse was so often in the minority and so frequently cutting in his
remarks that he was known as "The Lone Ranger" or "The Tiger of the
Senate." These views of him were softened yesterday as Senator Mike Mans-
field of Montana, the Democratic leader, spoke of him as a "man of fierce
independence" and Senator Mark O. Hatfield, Republican of Oregon, said
that his "early prophecies and warnings about Vietnam were such that we all owe him a great debt."

Mr. Morse, who was a lean, trim man with a clipped mustache, sharp nose and bushy black eyebrows, was an extraordinary hard-working Senator. He was accounted knowledgeable in labor and education matters, in conservation and in the farm problem. He was himself a breeder, raiser and trader of Devon cattle and a horseman who won many competitions.

Mr. Morse's Populism had its roots in Wisconsin, the home state of the La Follettes, where he was born, a farmer's son, on Oct. 20, 1900. From his father, a livestock man, he learned a fear of debt and of hard times, when the cattle had to be fed on cornstalks and straw mixed with molasses. His father, Mr. Morse recalled, strongly counseled him on the evil of becoming beholden to others.

TAUGHT LAW AT COLUMBIA

The young man was educated at the University of Wisconsin and took law degrees from both the University of Minnesota and Columbia. He taught briefly at Columbia and the University of Oregon and then in 1931, became dean of the Law School at Oregon. Because of his position he was often called upon to arbitrate labor disputes on the West Coast, establishing a reputation for settling controversies with dispatch and fairness.

His record commended him to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who named him a public member of the War Labor Board in 1942. He left in something of a storm in 1944, asserting that the board was too considerate of John L. Lewis, then head of the United Mine Workers.

In that year he was elected to the Senate as a Republican, but no sooner had he taken his seat in 1945 than he was jousting with party conservatives.

One of his betes-noires was Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, who was for Mr. Morse "a symbol of reaction and defeatism." Among other things, the Oregonian vociferously objected to the Taft-Hartley bill as hamstringing trade unions. He voted against the bill, which became law in 1948 over President Truman's veto. (For most of his political life Mr. Morse enjoyed strong labor support. It diminished in 1968, when Vietnam was a crucial issue.)

In the Republican jockeying in 1952, Mr. Morse swung to General Eisenhower in order to block Senator Taft's aspirations for the nomination. But he chilled toward the general when he designated Senator Richard M. Nixon of California as his running mate, and in the campaign he spoke for Adlai E. Stevenson, the Democratic candidate.

When the Senate convened in January, 1953, Mr. Morse announced that he had shucked the Republican Party and was now an Independent. With a pixie sense of humor he went into the Senate chamber with a folding chair and asked where he should sit. He was eventually assigned to the Republican side of the aisle, but was stripped of his committee posts.

Three years later, after having harried the Republicans over the Korean war settlement and cold-war brinkmanship, as well as over domestic matters, Mr. Morse became a Democrat and was handily reelected to the Senate.
in 1956. He still, however, thrived on adversaries, including Democrats who failed to measure up to his principles.

And he did not neglect Republicans, notably Claire Boothe Luce, whose confirmation as Ambassador to Brazil he fought unsuccessfully in 1959. Mr. Morse pronounced her unfit, and she retorted that her “difficulties go back some years and began when [Mr.] Morse was kicked in the head by a horse.” She was alluding to an episode in 1951 when a horse broke the Senator’s jaw with a kick. Mr. Morse won his contest with Mrs. Luce, however, for she resigned the Brazil post without serving.

In the early nineteen-fifties, Mr. Morse was a strong supporter of civil rights legislation, and he continued to espouse liberal voting and other rights for blacks. He also supported increases in price-support payments to farmers and other agricultural legislation. Additionally, Federal support for education had his warm backing.

Mr. Morse irritated some of his fellow Senators by the length of his speeches. An hour for him was a mere warm-up—in one session his speeches covered 400 pages of The Congressional Record. Once, in 1953, he talked for 22 hours and 26 minutes against an offshore bill that gave title to coastal states. At the time his remarks were described as the longest continuous oration in the Senate’s history.

His defeat by Mr. Packwood in 1968 was close, the margin being a little more than 3,000 votes. Mr. Morse essayed a comeback in 1971, but Mr. Hatfield was an easy winner. This year, despite his age, he was said to have had a good chance of returning to the Senate for his last hurrah.

Mr. Morse was campaigning until last Wednesday, when he was stricken with an infection of the urinary tract. He had responded to antibiotic therapy until Sunday, when his condition worsened and he slipped into a coma.

Surviving are his widow, the former Mildred Downie; three daughters, Nancy Campbell, Judith Eaton and Amy Bilich; two brothers, a sister and six grandchildren.

[From the Washington Post, July 23, 1974]

FORMER SENATOR WAYNE MORSE DIES IN PORTLAND HOSPITAL AT 73

(By David S. Broder)

Former Senator Wayne L. Morse of Oregon, a maverick who switched parties twice and fought with five Presidents, died yesterday in a Portland hospital at the age of 73.

Morse, whose characteristic independence of judgment made him one of only two senators to oppose the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin resolution that launched America into the Vietnam war, succumbed to kidney and heart failure following a urinary tract infection that hospitalized him last Wednesday.

Until then, he had been campaigning for another term in the Senate
against Sen. Bob Packwood (R-Oreg.), who defeated Morse in 1958 after a 24-year tenure as a Republican, Independent, and Democratic senator.

A new senatorial candidate is to be chosen by the Democratic state central committee.

Morse is survived by his widow, Mildred, three daughters—Nancy Campbell, Judith Mary Eaton and Amy Ann Bilich—six grandchildren, two brothers and a sister. Funeral arrangements are pending.

In his 30 years in public life, Morse, whose intellectual brilliance was acknowledged by even his most bitter critics, at various times served, supported and scorned every President of both parties from Franklin D. Roosevelt through Lyndon B. Johnson.

His feuds were proverbial, and over the years came to include almost every colleague in the Oregon congressional delegation and many of the newsmen who covered him.

Yet among those same legislators and journalists, he was respected as a gifted lawmaker, with a genuine mastery of the fields of foreign policy, education and labor legislation he made his own.

At the same time that President Johnson was in almost daily verbal combat with Morse over the Vietnam war, he chose the Oregonian to floor-manage his landmark aid-to-education bill, and when it was passed Johnson said, "No one else could have done it."

Long before it became fashionable for other politicians, Morse espoused the view that he would not bend his personal philosophy to the needs of party regularity. He bolted the Republican Party in 1952 in disgust with the Eisenhower-Nixon campaign, served for two years as an Independent, then joined the Democrats, only to fight John F. Kennedy for the nomination of his new party, and to take the early lead against the Vietnam policies of President Johnson.

Describing his own philosophy as one of "constitutional liberalism," Morse said in a 1953 article that he believed his course of personal independence was "the best way I can challenge the political expediency of both parties."

It was his fiercely cultivated and bristling independence—as well as his prescience on Vietnam—that Senators noted in their eulogies yesterday.

Sen. Mark O. Hatfield (R-Oreg.), a man Morse jumped party lines to endorse in 1965 and against whom he ran in 1972, called Morse "a politician from a unique mold and an enigma to many people. When convinced of a position on an issue, he was not swayed . . . ."

Sen. Packwood said "Wayne Morse was a man of integrity and courage. He was never afraid to fight for his convictions." Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) called him "a man of fierce independence."

Wayne Lyman Morse was born on a farm outside Madison, Wis., on Oct. 20, 1900, and as a boy came under the spell of the great Wisconsin Independents, the La Follettes. He attended the University of Wisconsin, studied law at the University of Minnesota and Columbia University, and moved west
MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

in 1929 to join the University of Oregon Law School faculty. Less than two years later, at 30, he became the youngest law school dean in the nation.

His debut in national life came in 1941, when Roosevelt chose Morse, already a skilled labor arbitrator, as chairman of an emergency board created to head off a nationwide railroad strike.

A marathon 38-hour final bargaining session after six weeks of hearings produced a compromise settlement on Dec. 6, 1941—the eve of Pearl Harbor. Roosevelt then named him a public member of the War Labor Board, where he served for two years until he resigned with a characteristically sharp attack on Roosevelt and Secretary of Interior Harold L. Ickes over the settlement of a coal dispute. A letter to Ickes, complaining about him and Under Secretary Abe Fortas, showed even then Morse's mastery of the acerbic style for which he became famous:

"Dear Mr. Secretary. Thank you very much for your letter of June 11, 1943. It is in keeping with and supports my low esteem of you. The attempt of you and Mr. Fortas to try to convict me, without justification, of deceiving the President in order to divert attention from your gross mishandling of the coal case should be beneath you as a Cabinet officer . . . I deeply resented the 'off-the-record' statements which you made at your press conference at the time you announced your scuttling truce with [John L.] Lewis . . ."

"I am perfectly aware of the fact that for one in my subordinate position to express his complete lack of respect for and confidence in men in such high positions as you and Mr. Fortas is not in accordance with government protocol, but I could not have done less and kept faith with my self-respect," Morse concluded.

In 1944, he was back in Oregon to win his first term in the Senate, as a Republican. He came back to Washington from the campaign by car, towing his two champion saddle horses, the forerunners of a string of horses and cattle he kept at his farms in Maryland and Oregon.

In his first six months in the Senate, he made more speeches than all the other freshmen combined. The Senate reporters nicknamed him "the Five O'Clock Shadow," in grudging tribute to his habit of taking the Senate floor each day when all other business was finished to deliver himself of some views.

In his first term, he conducted a 10-hour filibuster on behalf of President Truman's veto of the Taft-Hartley labor act—a record he more than doubled in another speech in 1953 lasting 22 hours and 26 minutes.

But despite his support of the Democratic President on that highly partisan issue, Morse was no ally of Truman's. He accused Truman of "showboating" on another labor issue and denounced him from the platform in 1946 as the "head of one of the most corrupt political machines in this country."

But after his reelection in 1950, Morse joined seven other Senate Republicans in decrying Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy's tactics in investigating alleged Communists in the Truman administration, and became a major Republican advocate of Truman's civil rights program.
In 1951 Morse suffered a broken jaw when kicked by a horse he was showing at a Virginia fair. Years later, the incident was revived in the course of a memorable fight he had with Clare Boothe Luce.

Morse led a Senate battle against her confirmation as ambassador to Brazil in 1959, and when she prevailed, by a lopsided 79-to-11 margin, the playwright could not refrain from saying that her difficulties all occurred because "some years back... Wayne Morse was kicked in the head by a horse."

Morse indignantly returned to the Senate floor to denounce "this slanderer," and three days later Mrs. Luce withdrew from the post.

Morse's transformation from maverick Republican to maverick Democrat began in 1951, when he announced early for Dwight D. Eisenhower, but warned that "if my political party offers me a President and a platform in 1952 of only isolationist candidates, I will take a long walk... I have no intention of placing party above country."

Eisenhower was, of course, nominated but on Oct. 18, 1952, Morse announced he would vote for Adlai Stevenson, because "never have I been so completely disillusioned about any man as I am about Eisenhower."

A week later, he resigned from the Republican Party, and when he returned to the Senate in January, 1953, he brought along a folding chair, saying, "Since I haven't been given any seat in the new Senate, I decided to bring my own."

The Republicans quickly stripped Morse of his seniority on the Armed Services and Labor Committees and he was made a junior member of Public Works and the District of Columbia Committees.

His independence, vigor and combativeness quickly made Morse a leading figure in District affairs, and he emerged as one of the strongest congressional advocates of home rule for the nation's capital.

He applied his strong concern for civil rights and civil liberties to Washington's problems, vowing to do his utmost to eliminate racial segregation and deliver self-government to the people of the city.

Only days after his reelection in 1956, Sen. Morse—by then one of the hardest-working of Washington's "city councilmen" in the Senate—announced that he wanted to stay on the District Committee because it provided him a special opportunity for public service.

Even in his later years in the Senate, when he became absorbed in the Vietnam war opposition, he continued to devote long hours to hearings and speeches on District legislation.

As chairman of the Senate District subcommittee on health, education and welfare matters, the senator constantly—and often bluntly—reminded colleagues on both sides of the Capitol of his firm belief that the bulk of Washington's problems were traceable to the absence of self-government.

But Morse's battle on behalf of home rule for Washington did not keep him from criticizing the leadership at the District Building when he felt improvements could be effected there.
MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

In the field of education, he pressed for many improvements in the public school system and was the Senate sponsor of legislation establishing Federal City College and the Washington Technical Institute.

In 1954, Morse campaigned hard for the election of Richard L. Neuberger (another man with whom he was later to carry on a personal feud) as Oregon's first Democratic Senator of modern times.

He joined the Democratic Party himself in 1955 and for the next decade was the center of a series of battles over environmental, natural resources, education and labor issues, including the tideland oil fight, the Hells Canyon Dam case, the Landrum-Griffin labor reform bill and a series of struggles over federal aid to education.

In 1956, he won what was perhaps his sweetest personal victory when he ran for re-election as a Democrat and trounced Eisenhower's Secretary of Interior, Douglas McKay, who had returned to Oregon in an effort to purge the renegade Morse.

But four years later, in 1960, Oregon Democrats rejected Morse in favor of John F. Kennedy in their presidential primary.

In 1964, Morse cast the vote of which he said he was most proud when he joined the late Ernest Gruening of Alaska as the only opponents of the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, the measure that President Johnson took as congressional sanction for American intervention in Vietnam.

For the next eight years, in office and out, Morse traveled the country, tirelessly arguing against the war.

In his 1962 biography of Morse, called "The Tiger in the Senate," Portland Oregonian correspondent A. Robert Smith (who himself was periodically barred by an irate Morse from entering the senator's office) recalled that Morse had once told a Detroit reporter, "I sometimes wonder if I'm going at this a little too hard."

"But then," the Senator continued, "I think of all the men and women who wish there were just one politician in Washington who would speak his mind and cast his vote honestly and freely with only his conscience to guide him."

"Maybe it's a bit brash to assume that I'm that man," Morse said, "but believe me, I'm trying to be."

[From the Washington Star-News]

WAYNE MORSE DIES AT 73; OREGON'S GREAT DISSENTER

(By Richard Slusser)

Former Sen. Wayne L. Morse, 73, as unpredictable as he was incorruptible during his 24 years in the Senate as a liberal Republican, Independent and then as a Democrat from Oregon, died yesterday of kidney failure in a Portland hospital.

Morse had been campaigning in Oregon for the Senate seat he lost to Robert W. Packwood in 1968. After winning the Democratic primary two months ago he was given a good chance to defeat Packwood.
WAYNE L. MORSE

He entered the hospital five days before his death and was being treated for a urinary tract infection. He was responding to antibiotics until Sunday when the kidney failure put him on the critical list.

A man of uncommon courage in opposing policies of his party or his country when he felt the policy was wrong—which he often regarded as wrong in an immoral sense—Morse is particularly remembered for his joining with the late Sen. Ernest Gruening, D-Alaska, in casting the only two votes in Congress opposing the Gulf of Tonkin resolution which allowed the Johnson administration to widen the war in Vietnam.

Morse's intemperate remarks received many interpretations; he could surprise presidents with his tirades, and they realized, in the words of Lyndon B. Johnson, that he was a “man who has never been afraid to say what he thinks.”

In one of his most publicized outbursts of opposition, Morse fought the nomination of Claire Boothe Luce for ambassador to Brazil. Although she eventually was confirmed—but resigned before ever serving in the post, Mrs. Luce said that her troubles with Morse ran back to the time when he was kicked in the head by a horse.

Morse, who was kicked by a horse in 1951 and suffered a broken jaw, retorted that her remark was “part of an old pattern of mental instability on her part.”

Morse long battled for home rule for the District and during his years on the Senate District Committee took a particular interest in the city's affairs, especially in education.

He was assigned to the District Committee as a penalty assignment after bolting the Republican Party and becoming an Independent. Although he was one of the early senators backing Dwight D. Eisenhower for their party's presidential nomination—partly because he felt that nomination of the late Sen. Robert A. Taft of Ohio would be a backward step for the party—Morse refused to support Eisenhower after the convention. His beliefs as a Republican, he said, “no longer prevail in a Republican Party dominated by reactionaries running a captive general for president.”

For punishment, Republicans stripped him of two important Senate committee posts—Labor and Armed Services—and placed him on the District Committee, where he was to become the loudest advocate of home rule, a cause in which he would not compromise to watered-down versions.

However, he did gain for the District a public college by compromising with House members who wanted a vocational institution. And in the final bill that compromise resulted in the city having both—Federal City College and Washington Technical Institute.

He next got land grant status and federal endowment for Federal City College and an assignment for the college to run a federally financed extension service in the community.

Morse also was successful in fighting for higher teacher salaries here as well as an elected school board and was a watchdog over the police and the District's licenses and inspections department.

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Often he would rise early and drive from his apartment in the District to his Poolesville, Md., farm and feed his prize livestock. He also liked to go to the farm after an exhausting day in the Senate for relaxation.

Morse was a descendant of John Morse, who came to America from England in 1639 and later was a founder of New Haven, Conn. Born on a farm near Madison Wis., he was a product of that part of the country which has given the nation a number of outstanding populists like the Progressive, Robert M. La Follette, and Democrat William Jennings Bryan and Republican George W. Morris.

Morse attended the University of Wisconsin where he majored in labor economics but also won a medal in debating. He also was the coach of the university’s debating team and an instructor in argumentation.

He continued studying and teaching at Wisconsin until receiving his law degree in 1928, when he went to Columbia University on a teaching fellowship. At Columbia he was the fourth person to receive a doctor of jurisprudence degree.

He began his long association with Oregon in 1929 when he went there as an assistant professor of law at the University of Oregon. Within two years he was a full professor and dean of the law school; at the age of 31 he was the youngest dean of a standard law school in the country.

He helped raise the law school’s standing so much that in 1932 he was appointed dean and director of law for Oregon’s higher education system.

In the late 1930s he was a special assistant to the U.S. attorney general, supervising a staff of about 2,000 employees in a study of criminal law administration in the United States.

With his training in labor economics and law Morse became a labor arbitrator, first in Oregon and from 1938 to 1942 as the Labor Department’s Pacific Coast arbitrator of disputes between shipowners and the International Longshoremen’s and Warehousemen’s Union.

Morse became one of the country’s leading arbitrators and was prominent on mediation boards settling a number of important disputes. When the National War Labor Board was created in 1942 he was named to the board as the public member.

He resigned from the board in 1944 because he felt John L. Lewis and his United Mine Workers received too many concessions. As public member of the board Morse vigorously opposed any settlement of a labor dispute which in his judgment compromised the standing of the board.

He soon returned to Oregon and entered the Republican senatorial race and, surprising many, defeated Sen. Rufus C. Holman in the primary. Morse said Holman was a “dangerous isolationist” and Holman countered that Morse, with his organized labor support, was a “New Deal carpetbagger.”

During his first term he supported the United Nations Charter, the Bretton Woods monetary agreement bill, aid to Greece, Turkey and to Europe, the North Atlantic Security Pact and federal aid to education. He opposed a $100 million loan to Spain and the Taft-Hartley labor bill.
Although he voted for an anti-filibuster ruling of Vice President Alban W. Barkley in 1949, Morse set an all-time record of 22 hours and 26 minutes of continuous speaking in the Senate in 1953 in his opposition to the tidelands bill. "I stopped when I did because I finished all I wanted to say," he explained.

Morse was known for his verbosity and could speak for great periods of time without manuscripts. "When I was teaching school," he said, "I learned that one of the best tools I had was repetition. And I found that I had to adjust the amount of repetition to the capacity of the class to learn. "You may have noticed I sometimes seem to repeat myself a great deal in my speeches to my Senate colleagues."

Morse's slogan when he first ran for the Senate was "principle above politics," a slogan that he maintained basically the same during his last campaign:

"I shall work and fight for the restoration of integrity in our government."

Morse believed that Americans had lost their faith in Congress as well as in the executive branch's leadership. He lost faith in the executive branch himself, particularly in President's Johnson's policy in Southeast Asia.

In 1966 Morse said he personally would lead a fight against Johnson's renomination in 1968 unless Johnson took a sharp turn in foreign policy. "The U.S. should stop playing its unilateral role around the world," he said. "We can't police the world."

He had campaigned for Johnson in 1964 in 14 states and was surprised by Johnson's war policy. "I didn't have the slightest idea he would out-Goldwater Goldwater."

Morse blamed "nobody but Johnson for our predicament in Vietnam." "He's power-mad," he said, "He wants to be all things to all men, and he can't and he's worried."

Opposed to U.S. involvement in the Vietnam war as being immoral and against international law, Morse remarked after the American Bar Association’s house of delegates passed a resolution declaring the U.S. position in Vietnam legal:

"Apparently what the ABA needs is a freshman refresher course in international law."

His opposition to the war was credited with helping Packwood defeat him in 1968. He later ran against Sen. Mark Hatfield, R-Oreg., and was defeated.

Yesterday when Hatfield announced Morse's death to the Senate he said that the late Senator's "early prophecies and warnings about Vietnam were such that we all owe him a great debt."

After his last term ended in the Senate Morse was the guest of honor in a Wayne Morse appreciation night here. After many tributes were paid him Morse spoke of his future away from the Senate: "I still dedicate myself to those causes so long as I live . . . When taps sound, I will die with my boots on; I will never know the meaning of retirement."

He leaves his wife, the former Mildred Downie, and three daughters, Mrs.
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Nancy Campbell, Mrs. Judith Eaton and Mrs. Amy Bilich, two brothers, a sister and six grandchildren.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, on yesterday I was necessarily absent from the Senate when a number of Senators expressed their feelings in terms of a memorial about WAYNE MORSE.

Mr. President, he was one of the most gifted men I have ever known, one of the most dedicated and patriotic. He literally expended his life in the public service, especially because of the effort he threw into his opposition to the Vietnam war, in which he really had a sense of prescience as well as a sense of national dedication.

I worked with WAYNE MORSE also in a particular matter which he felt cost him his seat here, and that was an effort to deal with the national paralysis resulting from strikes, or the threat of it in given transportation strikes. He knew the cost in political terms, and was ready to pay it. In his case, he actually did pay it, in his own estimation.

Mr. President, I rise, in friendship and in sorrow and in tribute to his memory and to his family, to express my admiration and my affection for my colleague in arms here, who served as the chairman of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, of which I was the ranking member, and for whom I had the deepest regard and the highest admiration.

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, funeral arrangements have been made for former Oregon Senator WAYNE MORSE, and I want to bring them to the attention of my colleagues and the many friends of the late Senator, in case some of the Senators and his other friends are able to attend the services.

A public memorial service will be held at the State Capitol in Salem, Oreg., at 10 a.m. Friday morning, July 26. Later Friday, another public service is scheduled in Eugene at 3 p.m., at the First Congregational Church.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, I want to join my colleagues of the Senate in expressing sorrow at the death of former Senator WAYNE MORSE with whom many of us served. It was my pleasure to know WAYNE MORSE and to serve with him in the Senate and on the Foreign Relations Committee. One thought I have always had regarding him is that he was in every sense of the
word his own man. He was a man of integrity and of deep sincerity. It meant little to him whether his views were shared by others. He found himself often in a small minority but he knew what a brilliant mind and a pure heart told him was the right course for him to take.

I remember him first as a Republican, then as an Independent, and later as a Democrat. It was not party or politics that gave him direction but it was that inner feeling as to what his stand should be.

Both Mrs. Sparkman and I extend our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Morse, a wonderful lady and a wonderful companion throughout the years to Senator Morse.

Mr. President, the Washington Post carried a very fine editorial in this morning's issue regarding Senator Morse. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record as a part of my remarks.

Wayne Lyman Morse

It is characteristic of the career of former Sen. Wayne Morse of Oregon, who died on Monday, that he should have been in the midst of a political battle right up to the end of his life. At the age of 73, he was doing what he had done through a half century of public service—he was waging vigorous combat. His most celebrated target was the war in Southeast Asia and he was the earliest and most outspoken opponent of that policy in the Senate, taking pride in the fact that he voted against every measure in support of that war that came before the Senate. On several occasions he was joined in that crusade by his friend from Alaska, Sen. Ernest H. Gruening, who died just a few weeks ago. After six terms in the Senate as a Republican, an Independent, and a Democrat, Sen. Morse was defeated in 1968 by a 3,000-vote margin.

He was in the midst of his second attempt at a comeback when his kidneys and heart failed him. Descriptive adjectives such as “maverick” and “combative” were easy to apply to Wayne Morse. But the man did not lend himself that easily to labels. Born on a farm near Madison, Wis., Mr. Morse attended the University of Wisconsin for his undergraduate training, received a law degree from the University of Minnesota and went on to Columbia University for a doctorate in law. He made a major study of the grand jury system and it attracted the attention of officials of the University of Oregon. He was brought there as a professor and soon was made the dean, bypassing several older men to become the youngest law school dean in the Nation at the age of 30.

His first national attention, typically, came as the result of a fight with the National War Labor Board, to which he had been appointed by President Roosevelt. Mr. Morse resigned from the board after two years, in the midst
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of a loud policy disagreement. His loss to that body can be measured by the fact that he wrote more than half the board's opinions in the two years in which he served.

Although he had been a lifelong Republican, in 1952 he broke with his party and its leader, Dwight Eisenhower, and ran as an Independent. He lost his committee assignments and languished in a no-man's land until he finally became a Democrat. One of his first contributions to his new-found party was to assist Richard Neuberger in becoming the first Democrat elected to the Senate from Oregon in 40 years. But soon, he and Neuberger were at war with each other in one of the Senate's most celebrated feuds.

He was cut from a mold that seems to fit few of our contemporary political leaders. It didn't bother him which way the wind was blowing. He would more likely go out and try to change its direction, unafraid to be the first to take a stand that might not be popular. He was prepared to disagree with his party or his President if he thought either to be wrong. He knew some of his positions would cost him votes, but he cared more about what he thought was right. Many a man who loses his office at 67 could be expected to retire to his farm. WAYNE MORSE was different. He loved the feel of movement and action, combat and discourse, and he set a standard of integrity and independence that will be difficult to match.

Mr. HOLLINGS. Mr. President, it was with much sadness that I learned of the passing of our good friend and former colleague, WAYNE L. MORSE, of Oregon. News of his death came as a shock to all of us who were following his typically energetic campaign to regain a seat in the U.S. Senate.

When I remember WAYNE MORSE, I recall a man who said what he thought and did what he said. He pulled no punches. And he was capable of a mighty wrath. I believe we have lost much of our capacity for righteous indignation. And I think our inability to get really stirred up—to get mad—is a loss for the country. When Government fails to perform—and those in high office become more devoted to individual advancement than to public service—and when all around us we see the public interest being subordinated to the special interests—we ought to get mad. WAYNE MORSE got angry about such things, and he did something about them. His was not a petty anger. It was an indignation that grew out of his unflinching dedication to right. He was, of course, a controversial man, and his out-spokenness led him into many frays. But through it all, he remained true to his principles and true to himself.

WAYNE MORSE's name will be writ large when the legislative history of the 1940's, 1950's, and 1960's is written. In education, in agri-
Wayne L. Morse

culture, in labor, in efforts to avoid the pitfalls of Southeast Asia, and in countless other areas, Wayne Morse was active, and the reform measures of the past quarter century more often than not bear his imprint.

Mr. President, I served for only a brief time alongside Wayne Morse in this Chamber, but I often saw him in subsequent years. I valued his counsel and I will always treasure his friendship. He was a fine public servant. And he was a good man. I join my colleagues in extending deepest condolences to his family.

Mr. Kennedy. Mr. President, Hal Gross worked for Senator Wayne Morse in Oregon and then came to Washington in 1968 to serve under Senator Morse's chairmanship on the staff of the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education. He continued working for the subcommittee under my chairmanship and that of my brother Robert, and he has recently been consultant to my administrative practice and procedure subcommittee.

Mr. Gross has shared with me his moving thoughts on the death of Senator Morse, and I would like to share them with my colleagues:

Eulogy of Senator Wayne Morse

Wordsworth, speaking of another, described Wayne Morse:

"The monumental pomp of age
   Was with this goodly personage;
   A stature undepressed in size,
   Unbent, which rather seemed to rise
   In Victory o'er the weight
   Of seventy years, to lofter height."

Wayne Morse died, as he would have chosen, fighting with all his great strength to restore moral leadership to his nation, and rule of law to the world.

Behind him he leaves the only immortality he sought: his great influence on the lives of us who knew him, and to whom he taught so much.

For he was many things: devoted husband, father, grandfather; statesman, moral leader, constitutional lawyer, teacher. But, of these, he was a teacher first, and he often saw fellow Senators as students—who were neither apt nor anxious to learn. Repetition, he often said, is a teacher's best ally.

His teacher's role was best exemplified by the case that history will remember best—his opposition from its inception to the unconstitutional and immoral participation of this nation in the Vietnam war. While others at first
found it necessary or convenient to compromise or vacillate, or simply to remain silent, WAYNE MORSE, with Ernest Gruening, alone resisted.

His loyalty questioned by self-styled patriots, Senator Morse remembered and repeated Carl Schurz' words, with the lines others had forgotten:

“Our country, right or wrong:
When right, to be kept right;
When wrong, to be put right.”

Happily, he lived to see not “peace with honor”, for there is neither peace nor honor in Vietnam, but at least our disengagement from the war; and he lived to see the nation persuaded of the view that he and Senator Gruening had once maintained alone. Appropriately, his last trip to Washington from Oregon was to eulogize his late, long-time friend and colleague, Ernest Gruening, whose death preceded his own by just three weeks.

WAYNE MORSE lived his life from beginning to end as a demonstration of those high principles in which he so strongly believed: the unflinching courage of his convictions, uncompromising integrity, determined devotion to duty. The nation will long feel his loss, for who is there to replace him?

His death comes at an historic moment when the Members of Congress, who were his students so often, will be tested to show whether those lessons that WAYNE MORSE taught, by word and by deed—courage, integrity, duty, and a devotion to the Constitution—have been learned. His memory will best be served if Congress can pass that test.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, WAYNE LYMAN MORSE was a man of the people and for the people.

He worked tirelessly for them.
He believed in their goodness and decency.
He shared their hopes and fears.
Yes, he fought their battles. He raised his voice so often on their behalf.

Senator WAYNE MORSE walked that extra mile for his people—the people of his beloved Oregon, the American people.

On Friday, we will lay to rest my dear friend and colleague of so many years and so many struggles—the champion of progressive causes, gifted lawmaker, legal scholar, respected arbitrator, brilliant teacher, harsh critic, dissenter, lover of rural life, champion of human rights, and devoted husband and father. WAYNE MORSE was certainly all these things. And he was more.

Those of us who were close to him understood the drive, the stamina, the moral and intellectual strength of this good man.

WAYNE MORSE had his roots in the rural heartland of our Nation. He was nurtured on turn-of-the-century populism. Early
he knew the meaning of hard times. Though his education took him a long way from his father's Wisconsin farm, he never forgot his rural heritage. He never forgot what men like Bob La Follette, George Norris, and William Jennings Bryan meant to so many millions of Americans. Throughout his long career of public service, he personified the independence, the courage, the might of these men.

To his everlasting credit, he took midwestern populism and transplanted it in the great Northwest where he and it flourished so well.

Yes, when remembering WAYNE MORSE, we must speak of his staunch independence.

His trademark was his shameless sense of being beholden to no one political party, to no single group or interest, to no single political figure.

To be sure, WAYNE was combative because he was unwilling to yield on his convictions. He was unwilling to compromise on principle. In the political world where all too often lack of conviction gives way to political expediency, WAYNE MORSE fiercely stood his ground. His friends knew this. His enemies knew it well.

WAYNE MORSE's achievements are both of spirit and of substance.

To his life's work, he brought tireless energy and relentless pursuit of his goals. WAYNE MORSE never gave up.

He never gave up his struggle against policies and people he believed to be wrong or injurious to the strength of the Republic.

He never gave up his commitment for civil rights and economic justice for all Americans whether the battles were waged in Oregon or in the Halls of Congress.

He never gave up in his efforts to protect the rights of labor and the needs of the working people.

He never gave up the quest for quality education for the children of America.

He never gave up his belief that America could not be the world's policeman and that our involvement in Vietnam was morally wrong. Yet, he consistently supported our efforts to aid the weak and the needy in the post-war world.

But most important of all, he never abandoned his desire to serve
In the fall of 1971 he expounded on his spirit of determination. He said:

I have always said, I said before I was defeated, that I would never retire, that I was going to continue with my boots on. That happens to be my blood chemistry. I think it is very important that we recognize that you can't, shouldn't in the interest of the public, say that somebody should not continue to serve the people of his state and country simply because he's reached the age that some people retire.

And he was taken from us as he campaigned, as he participated in the process so vital to our democracy.

This Nation of ours was in such desperate need of WAYNE MORSE. We needed him at a time when so few people seem to have faith in the political process. He could have helped restore that faith because the people believed WAYNE MORSE.

We needed him at a time of moral decay and wrongdoing in the highest office of the land. WAYNE MORSE would not have been afraid to condemn those who have betrayed the public trust.

Yes, we needed WAYNE for his sense of wisdom and purpose, for his integrity, for his courage. We needed that old tiger back in the Senate.

I mourn the loss of a good friend. His dear wife Mildred and his children have lost a husband and father. America has lost a man who dared to fight for what he believed was right.

American life and American politics at midcentury were made better by WAYNE MORSE's ceaseless endeavors on our behalf. His contribution to our lives was only a small measure of what he still intended to give.

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, earlier this week, this country lost one of its outstanding citizens, WAYNE LYMAN MORSE.

WAYNE MORSE was born in 1900 on a farm near Madison, Wis. His love of the farm never left him. For 25 years, he maintained a farm in Maryland, where the late President Lyndon Johnson went to buy a prize Devon bull and the late Drew Pearson went to swap hay, calves, and political stories.

In 1949, WAYNE MORSE was elected to the Senate as a Republican from the State of Oregon. He had already proved himself to be out-
spoken as a member of the War Labor Board 7 years earlier. Although a Republican, he remained true to his conscience and his beliefs by supporting the late Adlai E. Stevenson in the 1952 presidential race.

For more than 2 years, Wayne Morse was a man without a party—an Independent. During that period, Collier's magazine referred to him as the "Loneliest Man in Washington." He was removed from his old committee assignments and received only minor assignments in return. Two years later, he joined the ranks of the Democratic Party.

To those who knew him well, Wayne Morse was full of humor and joviality. Most of all, he harbored a refusal to compromise on any issue which he considered to be a matter of principle. In a legislative body which exists of the necessity for compromise, tenacity is not looked upon as a virtue, but it was that tenacity—that devotion to his own conscience—which caused Wayne Morse to speak out against the war in Vietnam.

In 1954, when the Eisenhower administration announced its policy of containment of Southeast Asia, Wayne Morse said that the United States was "in great danger of being catapulted into the Indochinese war." In 1964, when the Senate was considering the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, Morse characterized the United States as the "provocateur" and said:

We have been making covert war in Southeast Asia for some time, instead of seeking to keep the peace.

Just as he had been outspoken on other matters of conscience, Wayne Morse remained consistently outspoken in his opposition to American military involvement in Southeast Asia. Every time that involvement escalated, he escalated his verbal assault.

Wayne Morse left the Senate after 1968, but he never lost his love for it. He failed in one attempt to return in 1972, but was embroiled in another campaign at the time of his death.

Wayne Morse was a colleague and a friend, and I best remember him as he was described in A. Robert Smith's 1962 biography—"The Tiger." Wayne Morse was a tiger and we will all miss his outspoken voice and his fidelity to conscience.

Mr. Mansfield. Mr. President, for the information of the Senate—and I am glad the distinguished senior Senator from Oregon is
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here—it is my understanding that memorial services for our former colleague, the late Senator Wayne Morse will be held in the Washington Cathedral at 10:50 a.m. on Tuesday morning next.

For the information of the Senate, the Senate will not begin consideration of its legislative business, although there may be special orders ahead of that, until the hour of 12 o'clock, so that the late Senator Morse's colleagues in this body who desire to attend the services will be fully protected.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, the sad news of the death of our long-time friend and colleague, former Senator Wayne Morse, came as a special shock to me. The Senator from Oregon was a man of deep and abiding principles. A tireless and fearless legislator in the best tradition of the U.S. Senate. His energy knew no bounds. His vigorous pursuit of public service right up to the end set an example for all of us. His physical and intellectual stamina would do credit to a man half his age.

My association with Wayne Morse spanned some 14 years of his active service here in the Senate. We served together on the District of Columbia Committee where Senator Morse championed the cause of home rule for the Nation's Capital time and again and long before it finally came to pass in the present Congress. He led the successful fight for an elected school board for the District of Columbia and was the prime mover of the legislation that established Washington's higher education system, the Federal City College, and the Washington Technical Institute. That Senator Morse found the time and the energy to champion and advance the rights and interests of the people of this Capital City for so many years while at the same time addressing the great national and international issues that beset the Nation during his service here demonstrated his deep concern for the rights and welfare of our people—particularly our disadvantaged people. The Nation's Capital lost one of its greatest advocates when Wayne Morse left the Senate.

On the broader stage of world and national affairs, Wayne Morse leaves an immensely impressive legacy. History will specially note his lonely and courageous stand in opposition to the Gulf of Tonkin resolution along with our other late colleague, former Senator Ernest Gruening of Alaska. That vote reflected Senator Morse's prophetic vision of the deep tragedy that our Nation's involvement in Southeast
WAYNE L. MORSE

Asia ultimately brought to our people. He voted his conscience against the tide of the times. His vote and voice on that issue were characteristic of his determination to do what he believed to be right, regardless of the consequences.

Senator Morse is also properly renowned for his great knowledge and expertise in the area of labor law. His record as an outstanding statesman of the labor movement is well and widely known. He served as chairman of the President's Railway Emergency Board in 1941, as an alternate public member of the National Defense Mediation Board in 1941, and as a public member of the National War Labor Board from 1942-44. He was dedicated to the rule of fairness in labor matters and to the protection of the rights of every working man and woman.

WAYNE MORSE's long-time chairmanship of the Senate Subcommittee on Education and his achievements in that capacity alone have carved out a special place for him in history. Much of the enduring education legislation on the books today—a great deal of the progress we have made in education over the last three decades—bears his imprint and remains as a memorial to his vision on behalf of the young people of America.

The list of Senator Morse's achievements is remarkably long and impressive. He was, however, first and foremost a man of great wisdom and principle. An aggressive and able defender of what he believed to be right. A great debater and orator in the finest tradition of the Senate. He was in a very real sense the "Conscience of the Senate" in his time. He brought to this body an independence of spirit and dedication to truth and justice that benefited us all.

Mr. President, now WAYNE MORSE the man, an outstanding Senator, a great American is gone. But his record—the history he made here—is firmly established for all to see, remember, and to emulate. It is a bright and challenging chapter in the history of this body.

I have lost a good and close friend and colleague. He will be sorely missed. Mrs. Bible and I extend our heartfelt condolences to Senator Morse's widow, Midge, and all the members of her family in this time of sorrow.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, for the information of the Senate, the memorial services for our late, departed colleague,
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WAYNE L. MORSE, of Oregon, will be held at the Washington Cathedral at 10:30 tomorrow morning.

Buses will be provided at the corner of First and C Streets NE., between the two Senate office buildings, for those of our colleagues who wish to attend the memorial service.

No legislative business will be undertaken until about 12 o'clock. Votes, if there are any, will be postponed for a reasonable period, to allow our colleagues to return from that service.

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, I was deeply saddened by the death of WAYNE MORSE. I had the honor to serve with him in the Senate for 10 years and came to know him as both a dedicated public servant and an individual of rare wit, candor, and perception.

He was a man who defied easy description, although he earned many sobriquets over the years.

He began his public service in the Democratic administration of Franklin Roosevelt. In his 24 years in the Senate, he was, by turns, a Republican, an Independent, and a Democrat. It was not that he despised political parties. He preferred his own counsel to any party line, and his independence became legendary.

He was called the Lone Ranger for his independence, and for a fearless willingness to espouse unpopular causes when he believed in their rightness.

Others called him Mr. Education because he shaped a national education policy which will affect the lives of generations to come.

He was also known as the Tiger of the Senate, after a biography by that title, because of an acid tongue which could and often would cripple arguments opposing his. Those who bore his assaults probably had other names for him as well.

And he was wryly called the Five O'Clock Shadow for the regularity with which he took the Senate floor at the close of the business day to speak on a staggering range of issues, large and small.

In fact, his enthusiasm for oratory was unbounded. He once spoke here for more than 22 hours, a feat of physical as well as intellectual strength.

But even together, the nicknames do not describe the man.

Tutored in the populist traditions of Bob La Follette, he always asked what was good for the people, and when he felt he had the answer, no special interest could sway him from his chosen course.

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He was also a brilliant labor mediator, an expert in labor law, a leader in the cause of education, an ardent advocate of civil rights. He is known by a younger generation primarily for his prescient opposition to the Vietnam war and his lonely and costly vote against the Gulf of Tonkin resolution.

Those who knew him here also remember his puckish wit, his affection for people, and his boundless energy. It is one measure of the man that he was ardently seeking to regain his Senate seat when he died at age 73.

Fittingly, WAYNE MORSE provided us with the best short description of his life and philosophy. He said a couple of years ago:

If the truth is intemperate, then I will continue to be intemperate.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial on Senator MORSE's death appearing in the New York Times of July 23, 1974, be printed in the Record.

[From the New York Times, July 23, 1974]

THE SENATE'S LOSS

Senator WAYNE MORSE of Oregon was too much the maverick to be a reliable party man, too much the gadfly to be a hero of the Senate Establishment, too much the independent to be predictable even in his proven liberalism. He was a superb public servant—not in spite of those attributes but because of them.

Originally a Republican of the Western progressive breed known in an earlier day as the "sons of the wild jackass," WAYNE MORSE broke with his party when General Eisenhower, whom he had warmly supported, made peace with the conservative Senator Robert A. Taft. He sat in the Senate for a time as an Independent by name as well as by nature and a few years later won reelection as a Democrat. He did not disparage the party system as such; he just gave principle a higher priority than party or, for that matter, than the views of his constituents.

Believing with Edmund Burke that a representative's first loyalty is to his own judgment, he took counsel with himself and had the courage to act on it. He could be wrongheaded at times—but most of the time he seemed magnificently right—especially, in the light of history, when he and another great Independent Liberal, Senator Ernest Gruening of Alaska, who died only a few weeks ago, stood alone against the Gulf of Tonkin resolution.

Right or wrong, WAYNE LYMANN MORSE went his own way, cavalierly crossing party lines to vote his conscience. At his death he was in the thick of a fight to make a last comeback to the United States Senate. The Senate lost.
Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, the death of WAYNE MORSE has touched me especially. It seems such a short time ago I was in Portland, Oreg., urging my Democratic friends to nominate WAYNE MORSE to the Senate. Now that I have attained an age when my respected and beloved colleagues and former colleagues are in Tennyson’s phrase “returning home,” I expect to read about the death of someone almost daily. But WAYNE MORSE’s death was most poignant. When I was with him in Portland he was bubbling with plans for the future; enthusiastic about the possibilities of his return to the Senate and as vigorous as a teenager. And now he is gone.

In the whole time I have been in Congress, WAYNE MORSE was a mentor and guide. When I first came to the House of Representatives there were very few of us from the Northwest who were concerned about conservation and proper management of our forest and water resources. In the House of Representatives the late Gracie Pfost from Idaho, former Congressman Don Magnuson of Washington, and I were concerned about the giveaway at Hells Canyon; the preservation of our national parks and national forests and the wise use of our rivers and streams. We were all involved in the Hells Canyon controversy but, as new and inexperienced legislators, we looked to WAYNE MORSE for leadership.

For me that started a habit of more than two decades when I went to WAYNE MORSE for help, for advice, for counsel, for guidance. When he was chairman of the Education Subcommittee of the Labor and Public Welfare Committee, I was asked to participate in the hearings and deliberation of his subcommittee not really because of my contribution but because of his awareness of my sustained interest in education. In labor relations he was the master. His background in labor law, his skill in negotiations, his ability to strike through the rhetoric of both the representatives of labor and management worked for better and more stable labor legislation. I still vividly recall the conference committee on the Landrum-Griffin bill when his knowledge, his firmness and his patience helped work out of the conference a bill that was substantially superior to the one that passed the House or even the more moderate Senate bill.

Which recalls another aspect of the MORSE personality. He was known as the Tiger of the Senate because he refused to compromise principle. But as a conferee, as a legislator, as a committee member,
he was at his best. During the give and take at the conference table, the interplay of debate and discussion on the Senate floor, he was superb. His negotiating ability resulted in the passage of a great deal of legislation that was deemed impossible to achieve.

All over America today are thousands of boys and girls enjoying the benefits of better quality education. Thousands of working men and women have better working conditions and higher wages because the State of Oregon sent a skilled and knowledgeable labor lawyer to the Senate. He never lost his concern for the workers, the farmers, the small businessmen and the young people.

Senator Morse was a pioneer in advocating legislation for the benefit of the sick and needy. He and the late Senator Lister Hill fought side by side for medicare and veterans hospitals and the Hill-Burton Act for private hospitals.

As a Senator from the scenic State of Oregon, it would seem that it would be only natural that he would struggle to keep lakes and streams clear, and forests tended and harvested under sustained yields and the seashores clean for the benefit of fishermen and the enjoyment of the public. And he did. But it has not always been that way for Oregon Congressmen. Nevertheless, Senator Morse was a dedicated conservationist. Not only for the Oregon forests and the Oregon dunes but to save the Redwoods and work for parks in Texas, California, and Massachusetts.

Called a tiger because of his tenacity for principle, a gadfly because he sought to spur the Senate into action for a good cause, he was a man of superior intelligence, high principles, and unchallenged integrity.

As the Democratic nominee to return to the Senate, he would have brought to a Congress torn by the anguish of Watergate, a vast breadth of knowledge and experience and an unusual gift of foresight and leadership untouched by the scandals and surrounding repercussions of Watergate.

His accomplishments will last longer than his memory. But those of us who knew him and worked with him will continue to fondly recall his brilliance, his skill as a Senator and especially his warmth and sincerity as a friend.

Mr. BROOKE. Mr. President, it is a critical period in our Nation's history. Our people must be willing to exercise exceptional
resolve to insure that our fundamental principles of freedom remain inviolate. Unfortunately, at a time when the country needs leadership more than ever, death has not taken a holiday. For the third time this month, we have lost an outstanding national leader.

The death of Senator Wayne Morse is a tremendous loss. His leadership was of a special kind. He was the personification of integrity. He demonstrated consistently a steadfast commitment to the truth and to what he believed to be just and right.

Wayne Morse served in the U.S. Senate with remarkable distinction for 24 years. He was respected as a gifted lawmaker, with a genuine mastery of foreign policy, education, and labor legislation. His devotion to civil rights and civil liberties was unsurpassed.

But most of all Wayne Morse will be remembered for his uncompromising dedication for his many causes. Having once established a position on an issue, he would fight tenaciously to persuade others of its correctness, no matter how insurmountable the opposition appeared to be. The most outstanding example of this was Senator Morse's stand on the Vietnam war. Along with Senator Ernest Gruening, Senator Morse cast one of the two votes opposing the Gulf of Tonkin resolution.

And party labels did not intimidate Wayne Morse. In words that I hope will forever echo across this land, he once stated:

I have no intention of placing party above country.

Senator Wayne Morse had a unique dignity. He was a man of force, intelligence, mission, and courage. Such men are rare—in any era. The Senate will long remember the Senator from Oregon. And the country will sorely miss his exemplary leadership.

Mr. Bayh. Mr. President, it was with great sadness that I learned of the death of former Senator Wayne Morse on Monday, July 22. The country has lost a truly great American, the world has lost a man of distinction, and those of us in the U.S. Senate have lost a friend and a colleague who brought honor to this body.

For all of his 73 years, Wayne Morse fought for his principles. His life was an amplification of the phrase rugged individualism. As a legislator, he was truly nonpartisan, and defended and supported his values no matter what the party line dictated. We all know that he was a member of both major political parties during his service.
in the Senate. However, no matter what party he was affiliated with the people of Oregon and the entire country knew that Wayne Morse was his own man. Nobody, whether a President, Member of Congress or fellow citizen could tell Wayne Morse how to cast his vote.

His lonely fight against the use of U.S. forces in Vietnam is but one example of an issue where he was not afraid to take and to hold a position and viewpoint that was unpopular but which he felt deep in his heart was right.

While his position on Vietnam has received the most attention in recent years, other areas and issues bear the imprint of this remarkable statesman. Perhaps one of his greatest legacies is to the District of Columbia. Wayne Morse took intense, personal interest in the affairs of the District, particularly in the areas of education and home rule. Among his accomplishments in the area of education, was the creation of two institutions of higher education in the Nation's Capital—Federal City College and the Washington Technical Institute. However, his most vocal fight was for effective home rule for the District of Columbia. Ironically this goal was not achieved while he was a Member of the Senate. But he paved the way for Congress to enact the necessary legislation this year and he lived to see home rule finally come to Washington.

None of us ever know how history will judge our actions. But I feel confident that the unique contributions of Wayne Morse will bring him recognition for a long time to come. Americans can point to him with pride as a man who served his State and country in the best and most honest way he knew—willing to make the tough decisions, to stand out front and alone on an issue and to be open, candid, and honest with his constituents. His independence, integrity, and nonpartisan nature made him reminiscent of the great pillars of the Senate in the 19th century.

Wayne Morse forced us to carefully consider all our policies. Democracy in the United States thrives on open debate and constant vigilance to protect and to preserve our guaranteed freedoms. Wayne Morse made sure that his country continued to move forward and refused to close his eyes when he felt the principles upon which this country is built were threatened or being diluted. Wayne Morse forced all of us to carefully consider and reconsider the directions
we were headed and whether or not we agreed with him—he made us think and question.

WAYNE MORSE, the great dissenter who deeply believed in the slogan of his first senatorial campaign—"principle above politics"—will be missed by the entire country. But his legacy of honesty, trust, and integrity will remain for decades to come.

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the State of Oregon, the West, and the Nation have lost a man of stature and influence in the death of former U.S. Senator WAYNE LYMAN MORSE.

The distinguished former Senator had served in the Senate from 1944 to 1968, for a tenure of 24 years. During this tenure, Mr. Morse earned a reputation for being an unusually hard-working Senator. He thought of himself as a champion of the common people, and regarded himself as a man who refused to compromise his principles or mute his voice. As evidence of this last trait, in 1953 he talked for 22 hours and 26 minutes against an offshore bill that gave title to coastal States.

Mr. Morse was respected as a gifted lawmaker and was accounted knowledgeable in labor and education matters, in conservation, and in the farm problem. Both those who agreed and disagreed with him will acknowledge that WAYNE MORSE did not shirk his responsibility to make a decision. We must leave it to history to judge the decisions he made.

Mr. President, I wish to extend my sympathy to his gracious and charming wife, Mildred, in whose companionship he had a strong partner to stand with him in stress as well as in victory. Also to his three daughters goes my heartfelt sympathy, and to his two brothers and his sisters. Their loss is great, but the loss of our Nation is equally heavy.

Mr. PACKWOOD. Mr. President, in less than a month this Nation has lost three men of high caliber and great conscience. One, a great jurist and the other two, remarkable legislators. Similarities can be drawn between all three—Earl Warren, Ernest Gruening, and WAYNE MORSE—for if any belief linked their souls, it was an adamant faith in our country's Constitution. That most, if not all, of our pressing problems could be traced to a disturbing disregard for principles contained in that great document.
It was this message that was the great labor of Wayne Morse's life, and truly it was this effort that should rule our memory of his career. The touchstone of Wayne Morse's 24 years in the U.S. Senate, and throughout his splendid service as labor arbitrator and dean of the University of Oregon Law School, was the U.S. Constitution. Wayne Morse took instruction from no one except the Founding Fathers. It was this abiding faith which gave life to his own philosophy of constitutional liberalism.

No President from Roosevelt to Johnson, neither political party nor partisan persuasion, could sway Wayne Morse from his complete devotion to principle. Any attempt would always bring the wrath of the Senator from Oregon to full bear. "Principle above politics" was his cry in every campaign. And to Wayne Morse his principles always stood for truth.

Despite the 17th century warning of John Milton, that "truth never comes into the world but like a bastard, to the ignominy of him that brought her forth," Senator Morse would speak without hesitation and at times would blister this body with his rhetorical rhapsodies. He would rant:

If I say that the United States is the greatest threat to world peace, I say so simply because it is true. If the truth is intemperate, then I will continue to be intemperate.

Exposition of the truth, then, for Wayne Morse was never an ignominious task, for often he pointed vociferously to the facts and was not hoodwinked by imitation. There is no greater illustration of Senator Morse's vision than his now legendary opposition to the Tonkin Gulf resolution. Joined only by the late Senator from Alaska, the "indomitable Morse and Gruening," as Arthur Schlesinger called them, cast their conscience in an otherwise unanimous sea of votes blinded to their vision.

Eventually the tide was reversed, and time did offer vindication. But before this plodding reversal finally occurred, Wayne Morse was subject to vituperation, and it takes a man of undaunted courage, convinced of his cause, to weather such a storm. Largely, though, it was a case of an immovable object meeting an only temporary force, for when Senator Morse was not the force behind controversial winds, he always mustered a more than countervailing fury.

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The force and fury of WAYNE MORSE knew no bounds. With cantankerous outrage fueling an already raspy voice, he would deplore a stance taken by a President one day, only to enthusiastically support an education program, favored by the White House, almost in the same breath. Always the measure for support was the principle behind the argument and not past disagreement. At times the Morse verbal blade struck with such speed that cuts were perhaps deeper than intended but it was a sword thrust only by conviction and lacked the twists and turns of spite.

Few men were as controversial during their life as WAYNE MORSE. Men who search out the truth do not often travel en masse, since the controversy which often swirls around the discovery of truth breeds hard contests which only the strongest may survive. Ashamedly, truth is consequently avoided, and yet while those who do have the courage to search and proclaim are often alone they are never lonely; for a man of strong and true principle is the greatest friend a people can have. Thus, as Shakespeare wrote, WAYNE MORSE lived:

This above all: to thine own self be true,
And it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man.

And so too, our memory shall never be false if we always recall that it was WAYNE MORSE's unswerving principles which shall forever be the great heir to fame and a lesson for our time.

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, WAYNE MORSE will be probably best remembered for his early and farsighted opposition to the Vietnam war. During one of the darkest periods in our history he let the world know that the conscience of America was not dead.

But I also will remember WAYNE MORSE as a man who believed in making people free; free from the bonds of prejudice, ignorance, and social disadvantage; from any tyranny that holds men and women back from becoming all that their natural abilities will allow. As a self-proclaimed believer in "constitutional liberalism," he saw progressive government as an instrument of liberation.

He was one of the ablest labor negotiators this country has ever seen. And he never broke faith with the rights of working people seeking to improve their lot through democratic action.
WAYNE L. MORSE

Senator Morse was a fighter for better education. He knew that the truth will set us free. And he knew that there can never be equality of opportunity as long as boys and girls in different communities are burdened with unequal education. The first comprehensive Federal aid to education package—the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965—will be one of his lasting monuments.

Wayne Morse belongs to a proud tradition of western lawmakers who instinctively move to the side of the underdog. I remember the water rights battles over the California water plan in the 1950's and 1960's. There were few in such high office to plead the case for the family farmer and small landowners. But Wayne Morse was there, with all the fire and eloquence of his 19th-century Populist forebears, just as he had been during the tidelands oil dispute and the Hells Canyon controversy.

He was there in the cause of small businessmen, too. For 14 years on the Select Committee on Small Business he made sure business people of modest means got a fair shake from their government in procurement policies and the sale of Federal lands.

He recognized poor health as a barrier to full human development and worked tirelessly for medicare and veterans hospitals and the Hill-Burton Act for private hospitals.

When he became an Independent in the early 1950's, Senator Morse lost his major committee assignments and was given the District of Columbia Committee; what was then considered a less prestigious assignment. He attacked his work on this committee as fiercely as he had on the major committees. He quickly seized the opportunity to champion a whole city of underdogs. He fought to eliminate racial segregation and to deliver home rule to the city. He sponsored the legislation creating Federal City College and Washington Technical Institute.

His philosophy of public service was simple and abiding. Those who knew him well say there was no private, behind-the-scenes Wayne Morse. Everything was on the record. He believed that people inevitably will come to the right conclusion if only given all the facts. When the people err, he reasoned, it is because they have not had the benefit of the full truth. To Wayne Morse, the U.S. Senate was a crucible of ideas where the truth is hammered out in debate and delivered to the people.
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Many of my colleagues remember Senator Morse for his bristling independence and tenacity, often on the lonely side of principle on a given issue. Fewer know of the private anguish that led up to some of those decisions. But once his mind was set—and he knew he was right—nothing could stop him nor slow him, regardless of the consequences to his own career.

He was one of the most sterling legislators this body has ever known. He was dedicated to serving his constituents, his country and his conscience. And he knew just where loyalty to one left off and duty to the next began.

Wayne Morse fought for the full development of the individual. He struggled to remove the bonds which hold some back, and he pushed the absolute limits of his own native abilities. He used every gift he had—his intellect, his rhetorical skills and strength of personality—to pursue excellence and his sole standard of total commitment. It is characteristic that, at the end, he refused to accept a half life, tied to a kidney machine. He preferred to accept death as he faced life—without compromise.

The loss of Wayne Morse comes within weeks of the deaths of Earl Warren and Ernest Gruening. The loss of these genuine American heroes sadly depletes our national stock.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, within the space of but a few weeks, the Nation has been robbed of two voices of courage and conscience: Voices that echoed through the Halls in years past calling upon America to stand fast to her constitutional heritage.

I speak, of course, of our late colleagues, Wayne Morse and Ernest Gruening.

Both are now gone. But both leave behind a legacy that will live as long as the Republic. These men were giants.

Mr. President, in the most recent issue of the newsletter of the National Committee for an Effective Congress, there appears a tribute to Senators Gruening and Morse.

I think it appropriate that this tribute be shared by my colleagues, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Record.

GRUENING AND MORSE: A LEGACY OF CONSCIENCE AND COURAGE

On August 8th, ten years ago, Ernest Gruening and Wayne Morse stood together, the only Senators to vote against the Gulf of Tonkin resolution.
Both insisted that the resolution was unconstitutional, because it was "a predated declaration of war power" reserved to Congress.

Gruening had been supported by NCEC in each of his Senate elections, but in 1968 he was defeated in a primary upset. He had nurtured and led the Alaskan territory into the Union through 14 years of tireless lobbying. "Go north, young man," was his motto. His life, so well described by his autobiography, "Many Battles," covered four-score and seven years of intrepid crusading. Physician, editor, author, administrator, and Senator, he was constantly focused on the human condition. Eskimos, Indians, Puerto Rican Nationalists, anti-Franco Spaniards, all reached for him as their champion.

Amazingly, his incisive mind never tired. Only his body failed to keep pace, and on June 26 he died. But almost to the end he was involved, battling for conservation, for population control, for an effective Congress. A few weeks before his death he phoned NCEC's Washington office to say he would be sending his regular contribution and wanted to discuss the Committee's campaign choices in the coming election. He believed that the congressional outcome this year would set the presidential stage for 1976.

Like his friend Wayne Morse, it has been said of him that all too often he was right too soon. The greatest tribute to Ernest Gruening is that history is confirming his judgments and his warnings.

A novelist once wrote that every Frenchman has two home towns, his own and Paris. In that sense, every American had his own Senators—and Wayne Morse. He was a national senator, transcending party, the Senate's inner club, and all so-called pragmatists. That is why the NCEC supported him, worked with him, argued with him, loved him.

He did not live in the "changeless center," as his colleagues found out when he compelled them to act on civil rights, on education, on facing up to their responsibilities. He made them move by relentlessly driving himself. He was the tiger of the Senate. He was known as "the five o'clock shadow" because each day he would unfailingly take the floor late in the afternoon, delaying adjournment for hours, to denounce the latest attempt to give away federal land or to castigate an agency for flouting congressional intent. The President of the United States felt his stinging rebukes for cutting the corners of the Constitution on Vietnam.

He held with Edmund Burke that a representative's first loyalty must be to his own judgment, so he took counsel with his conscience and had the courage to act on it. There was no alloy in his moral metal. As a Republican, he worked to draft Eisenhower in 1952 but left the GOP over the platform and the choice of the running mate, Richard Nixon. Years ago, a dismayed Dixie Senator discovered Morse eating with a Negro friend in the senator's private dining room, and said, "At least, Wayne, you practice what you preach."

Morse's instinct for the jugular was infallible, as five Presidents, Clare Boothe Luce, and a host of pompous politicians found out. He was cantankerous, but also he was a superb parliamentarian and legislator, producing a body of fundamental law for education, labor, and civil rights.
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How does one compress all that this one man did, worked for, and tried to do for an effective Congress in a few lines? He seemed to have the attribute that is lacking in today's politics, something that is missing in today's Senate. What was it that made him so uniquely creative and effective? Was it the fire in the belly, the sharpness of the tongue, the quickness of the mind, the willingness of the heart? How does one say that is missing from today's Senate in a couple of words?

WAYNE MORSE.

Mr. HATFIELD, Mr. President, when our former colleague, Senator WAYNE MORSE, died on July 22, it was my responsibility to announce this to the Senate. At the time, I said I planned a more extensive eulogy at a later date. I have delayed making these remarks until today so a complete transcript could be prepared from the memorial service to Senator MORSE here in Washington. Now that it has been completed, I wanted to share some comments with my colleagues this morning about this remarkable gentleman.

WAYNE MORSE and I worked in concert on a number of matters, we were political foes on many other occasions. Throughout my years of public service, beginning as a young State legislator in 1950, Senator MORSE was always a political force in our State. As has been said by some editorialists, our State will not see another WAYNE MORSE again. A strong voice has been stilled. He remained a fighter until the day he died.

Throughout the full and rich life of Senator MORSE, he felt a commitment to the truth. His early life was highlighted by brilliant scholarship and inspirational teaching. His middle career was one of mediating differences between management and labor. In yet another career within the Senate of the United States, WAYNE MORSE called forth all of these skillful characteristics and meshed them by alternating the roles of the scholar and the teacher. He demonstrated an oratorical prowess seldom equaled in the history of this body. Using these skills, he helped shape much of the education and libertarian legislation that was passed during his years in the Senate.

But we would do his memory an injustice if we did not recognize the dogged determination of a fighter for principle who would take on the mightiest of the world at the drop of a scruple and who would chase the money changers from the temple, the marketplace, or the White House with a fury of fierce ferocity.
Often called a prophet without honor, we honor him now because he was proven right in so many instances. That is not to say he was never wrong. But even in those instances the fire and brimstone were brought forth with a style that evoked fear and trembling—a Morse-quake, if you will—and he delighted in watching his colleagues, friends and foes, as the Morse barrage of facts, legal precedents, and constitutional quotes poured forth. Also, he never shrank from an issue when it appeared the skies were falling. He stood toe to toe with the best debators this body ever has seen.

Mr. President, I would like to share with my colleagues some thoughts on the life of Wayne Morse I gave at a memorial service in Salem, on July 26, 1974, in memory of Senator Morse.


All these come to mind with the memory of Wayne Morse.

We, of course, had been political adversaries, but not one of willful choice or desire; rather, out of inevitable political circumstances.

But also, we were often colleagues in causes, striving together with mutual convictions that naturally wrought bonds of respect; bonds which transcend those more ephemeral differences.

At times like this, we remember what is most lasting about the imprint of a life; we remember what will endure beyond those 73 years given by God to Wayne Morse; we remember what is transcendent of mere politics, and reaches forward to our common destiny and future.

Wayne Morse cherished his convictions.

He clung to them, fought for them, and yielded to them.

One cannot say this about many men today.

Politics can breed a callousness to truth, and an enslavement to expediency and compromise. One is enticed into the worship of popular opinion, and loses his sense of conscience, of inner integrity, of accountability to conviction.

But not so with Wayne Morse.

Certainly he fought as hard or harder as any in political combat, for he was a relentless pursuer of his causes. But there was a difference. It was not just his political survival which thrust him into his battles. Rather, in larger ways it was the unquenchable strength of what he believed.
Wayne Morse never thought the point of politics, or of life, was "to get along, you go along." He was freer than most from that perpetual concern with popularity. It was more important for Wayne Morse to stand for his convictions, and struggle for truth.

Wayne Morse loved the law.

He always remained a tutor of the Constitution to all who would listen.

And it was that love which produced such bristling indignation whenever he felt others were jeopardizing the sanctity of constitutional law. Would that such a jealous love were shared by all given the responsibility of political power.

All these qualities equipped Wayne Morse for the most valued contribution he made to our country: His unceasing drive to bring the Nation from war to peace.

That is how Americans will remember him best. For he warned America; he pleaded with her; he tried to alarm her; he wanted to tell America how she was endangering her deepest ideals, and spilling innocent blood.

You could say that he spoke then like a prophet, heralding the truth to ears that rarely were open.

But he remained undaunted. Steadfast. Unyielding. Indefatigable. The Gulf of Tonkin vote was the natural outgrowth of his character and commitment. Inexorably, the truth he proclaimed was embraced by more and more others, as the Nation began to listen.

Wayne Morse always kept on fighting for peace, and for his inner beliefs, and for the Constitution.

Words by Dag Hammarskjold bring Wayne Morse back to our minds:

He broke fresh ground—because, and only because, he had the courage to go ahead without asking whether others were following or even understood. He had no need for the divided responsibility in which others seek to be safe from ridicule, because he had been granted a faith which required no confirmation.

His zeal was infectious, both nurtured and shared by his wife and family, who marched with him on his crusades, and were all bound together with unflinching devotion.

He refused to let even age defeat him. Wayne Morse would no more yield to it than to any other foe. So he died fully alive, still in
political combat, with his incisive mind and penetrating voice still advocating his cause, still preaching constitutional sermons, about the law he knew and loved so fervently, and still telling us what he felt in his mind and heart.

Tennyson's words best capture for me the life of WAYNE LYMAN MORSE:

To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield.

Mr. President, at that same Salem service, tributes were given by Oregon Gov. Tom McCall and Oregon State President Jayson Boe. Mr. Boe, incidentally, was the primary opponent this past spring challenging Senator MORSE for the Democratic Senate nomination.

I ask unanimous consent that these two eulogies appear at this point in the Record.

REMARKS BY Gov. Tom McCall

My relationship with WAYNE MORSE—often friendly but sometimes tenuous—has roots nearly 40 years old.

The first contact I can remember was in the mid-1930’s after I had won a write-in campaign for president of the senior class at the University of Oregon. Law School Dean WAYNE MORSE—then head of the faculty-student Executive Committee—ruled that since there was no space on the ballot for write-ins, my election was a nullity.

I think it was the only bad decision he ever made. It was the only contrary thing he ever did to me; there was so much he did for me.

As a political writer, government servant, and progressive Republican, I was privileged to have some unusual insights into Senator MORSE’S reaction to key situations, and so I feel a kinship approaching that of a family member.

We have laughed, argued, nodded agreement, and given each other advice, some taken and some not.

I saw him strident, audacious, challenging, and penitent. To those progressive Republicans he left behind to suffer the scorn of more conventional Republicans when he left the party, he was contrite. And he told me he was grateful that they had stood up for him and with him for a more realistic political party.

At the Republican National Convention in 1952—which I attended as a news reporter—I was sitting next to him with the Oregon delegation when the name of Richard Nixon was put forth as the vice presidential nominee. He clutched my knee in his distress and asked: “Why him? Why not a progressive Republican like Leverett Saltonstall?”

It was a myth that he wanted the nomination himself. But he wanted it for a progressive—particularly one who would be even-handed toward labor.
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But as he saw it, his party had fallen into the clutches of the conservatives, and there was no longer any room for him among the Republican faithful.

His decision came not out of spite. It was simply an intellectual conclusion, another victory for his conscience.

When A. Robert Smith's book "The Tiger in the Senate" came out in 1962, I was the first newsman to get this reaction. He loathed the book. He told me: "There never was a monster as bad as the one portrayed by that book."

He could make high drama in a sentence or two. Often he ran beyond that because he had such an inquisitive, acquisitive mind and understood things so well that he was always prepared, and wanted to tell the story in depth. He wanted us to know everything he did so that we would understand the issues as well as he. He didn't talk to be talking; he was applying his considerable oral skills to winning an appreciation and an understanding of his point of view.

What some people only think, WAYNE MORSE would often say. He could be inexplicably harsh in his assessment of those he believed were ignoring their conscience, or had none. But it was pointless to be angry with him. We came to find we'd rather have him that way than in the cozy clubhouse of the politics-as-usual association.

In the two years that my career as Governor and his as Senator overlapped, I turned to him many times for help, and got it. He had an office finely tuned to service to the citizens of Oregon, and he became the scourge of the bureaucrats.

One of the last times I saw him was more than a year ago when we crossed paths in Portland. He said: "You know what I've been doing today? I was in Columbia County campaigning for your school tax plan."

I asked him once if he knew the political risks of getting into that campaign, and of course he did. But he said he believed it offered justice to the kids and equity to the taxpayers, and he couldn't stand mute to that opportunity.

Except for his union with his beloved "Midge" and their family, and his leadership of his cattle club, WAYNE MORSE loosened the ties or beat his way out of about every organization he got into. His appeal was to our reason as individuals.

The closest he came in recent years to gathering an identifiable flock was the attachment of millions of young people to his banners.

Was it the opposition to the Vietnam war? Most young people knew very little more about him than that. But I detect that it was not only his opposition to the war, but a feeling flowing from it that here was an honest man, that when he spoke you knew there was no hidden motive.

The young and many of their elders view most politicians with immense cynicism—a cynicism fostered outrageously by political leaders who defend Watergate with the canard that "everybody does it."

So the young have the notion that almost everybody is on the take from the
oil companies, and ITT, and the milk trust, and that everybody with any influence at all can dodge taxes, and steam open other people's mail.

But they do not believe it of WAYNE MORSE, and oh, what his past has taught us! His life reminds us that there are other lands of the free and the brave, and that patriotism isn't an exclusively American property. He told us that personal and national principles cannot be changed to accommodate your bank account, or your political party, or your friends or even your enemies. In his uncompromising way, he encouraged us to stiffen our backs against compromise of principle.

In the name of presidential privilege, national honor, military power, or economic interest, we see gross violations of the letter and spirit of the United States Constitution. And WAYNE MORSE—more like an author of the Constitution than a politician—reveled in running against the tide that has created a uniquely American system of government by men.

In these days we tend to honor men and women in public life for the buildings they constructed, the highways they built, the laws they passed, the institutions they endowed, or the power they obtained to manipulate the lives of others.

It is rare that we have the opportunity to honor someone whose great achievement was to have and to hold devotion to conscience, and integrity of the most immense proportions. But that is why we honor this rare man, WAYNE MORSE.

The United States Constitution guarantees the right of the people "to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

Our most eloquent petitioner lies dead. Let us now take up his burden as our memorial to his name.

EULOGY FOR SENATOR WAYNE L. MORSE

(By Jason Boe, President, Oregon State Senate)

Inscribed in the marble of the rotunda of our state capital are those words:

"In the souls of its citizens will be found the likeness of the state which if they be unjust and tyrannical then will it reflect their vices, but if they be lovers of righteousness, confident in their liberties, so will it be clean in justice—bold in freedom."

These words, which touched Mrs. Morse so tenderly yesterday, serve well to describe the life, work and the philosophy of Senator WAYNE MORSE.

We assemble here today to honor the memory of Senator Morse, who was stricken on July 17th and passed away on July 22, 1974.

A national symbol of courage is dead.

WAYNE MORSE's leadership in causes he believed to be just transcended party lines. It arose above narrow political ideologies. In his long career in the Senate that he loved, he was extraordinarily effective for the people
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Grossman said on July 4 this year, Morse had run a three-legged race with a young girl at a holiday fete.

"It was symbolic that he should end his life running and tied to the younger generation," Grossman said.

Merton Bernstein, a law professor at Ohio State College of Law and a one-time Morse aide during the Senate years, described his old boss as a "warm, vital person... a man of great compassion and tolerance—we worked not for him, but with him."

The principal eulogizer was U.S. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, a long-time Morse friend.

Douglas said he last visited with Morse at the recent funeral of ex-Sen. Ernest Gruening, D-Alaska, who was only one of two U.S. senators—the other was Morse—to vote against the Gulf of Tonkin resolution in 1964.

"In the past few weeks," Douglas said, "we've seen the death of three outstanding public servants—Earl Warren, Ernest Gruening, and Wayne Morse. Each of these men respected public office as a trusteeship."

Douglas called Morse "a giant" of constitutional principles and "as good a constitutional lawyer as ever sat in the United States Senate."

The justice said Morse's vote against the Gulf of Tonkin resolution—the passage of which triggered American escalation in Vietnam—was his proudest vote.

"In his view," Douglas said, "a presidential war was the most dangerous of all."

Douglas called Morse "outspoken and blunt, but he was not filled with rancor and bitterness—he was a man of integrity, fearlessness, and daring will."

Douglas said government today "seems to act as though corporations have a bill of rights. It's more like a government of corporations, by corporations, and for corporations. But Wayne Morse followed steadfastly the tradition of Abraham Lincoln and fought for a government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

From the church filled with high-ranking political figures and average citizens, Wayne Morse was taken to his final resting place.

An era had ended. The Tiger was still.

Mr. HATFIELD. Mr. President, I also participated in a memorial service here in Washington at the National Cathedral paying tribute to Wayne Morse. It was a most moving occasion, and many of Senator Morse's friends from this area gathered to pay him final tribute. As I indicated, I waited to offer this eulogy until a transcript could be prepared of the service. Even the songs seemed perfect to comment on his rich life. I ask unanimous consent that the full text of this service appear at this point in the Record.

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WAYNE L. MORSE

MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR SENATOR WAYNE LYMAN MORSE OF OREGON, 1900-1974, TUESDAY, JULY 30TH AT 10:30, WASHINGTON CATHEDRAL

ORGAN PRELUDE

Music of Johann Sebastian Bach
Sonatina from the Cantata "God's Time Is Best"
Sinfonia from Cantata "I Stand with one foot in the Grave"
Choral Preludes: "When we are in greatest need"
"Deck thyself, O my Soul"

PROCESSION OF THE PARTICIPANTS

(In silence.)

OPENING SENTENCES AND PRAYER

(All standing.)
Canon Jeffrey Cave.
Lord, make us instruments of your peace;
Where there is hatred, let us sow love;
Where there is injury, pardon;
Where there is discord, union;
Where there is doubt, faith;
Where there is despair, hope;
Where there is darkness, light;
Where there is sadness, joy;
Grant that we may not so much seek to be consoled, as to console;
To be understood, as to understand;
To be loved, as to love;
For it is in giving that we receive,
It is in pardoning, that we are pardoned,
And it is in dying that we are born to eternal life.

Oh, God of righteousness, we thank you for the faith we inherit. It gives us the vision of a world where children of God are not ground down in oppression, but lifted up in freedom.

We thank you for the gift of your love. It demands that the human person must not be bound in misery, but liberated in joy.

We thank you for the abundance of the earth. It makes possible a society of persons, not equal in poverty, but diverse in wealth.

We thank you for the pricking of conscience. It makes us lay the foundations for such world, not tomorrow, but today.

And, we thank you for WAYNE MORSE, a faithful and good man. Amen.

Senator Mark Hatfield. Let us remain standing and join together in responsive reading taken from Psalm 119:
R. Thy word is a lantern unto my feet, and a light unto my paths.
C. I have sworn, and am steadfastly purposed, to keep Thy righteous judgments.
R. I am troubled above measure; quicken me, O Lord, according to Thy word.
C. Let the free-will offerings of my mouth please Thee, O Lord; and teach me Thy judgments.
R. My soul is always in my hand; yet do I not forget Thy law.
C. The ungodly have laid a snare for me; but yet I swerved not from Thy commandments.
R. Thy testimonies have I claimed as mine heritage forever; and why? they are the very joy of my heart.
C. I have applied my heart to fulfill Thy status always, even unto the end.

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE MARK HATFIELD

All these come to mind with the memory of WAYNE MORSE.
At times like this, we remember what is most lasting about the imprint of a life; we remember what will endure beyond those 73 years given by God to WAYNE MORSE; we remember what is transcendent of mere politics, and reaches forward to our common destiny and future.
WAYNE MORSE was a man of the earth.
With his ranch and cattle, he always maintained his roots with the soil.
He treasured Oregon's forests and ranges, battling to preserve their bounty and beauty.
At the bedrock of his career was his commitment to Oregon's land and people. WAYNE MORSE cherished his convictions. He clung to them, fought for them, and yielded to them.
Certainly he fought as hard or harder as any in political combat, for he was a relentless pursuer of his causes. But there was a difference. It was not just his political survival which thrust him into his battles. Rather, in a larger way, it was the unquenchable strength of what he believed.
WAYNE MORSE never thought the point of politics, or for life, was "to get along, you go along." He was freer than most from that perpetual concern with popularity. It was more important for WAYNE MORSE to stand for his convictions, and to struggle for truth.
WAYNE MORSE loved the law. He always remained a tutor of the Constitution to all who would listen.
And it was that love which produced such bristling indignation whenever he felt others were jeopardizing the sanctity of constitutional law. Would that such a jealous love were shared by all given the responsibility of political power.
All these qualities equipped WAYNE MORSE for the most valued contribution he made to our country: his unceasing drive to bring the nation from war to peace.
That is how Americans will remember him best. For he warned America; he pleaded with her; he tried to alarm her; he wanted to tell America how she was endangering her deepest ideals, and spilling innocent blood.
WAYNE L. MORSE

You could say that he spoke then like a prophet, heralding the truth to ears that rarely were open.

Inexorably, the truth he proclaimed was embraced by more and more others, as the nation began to listen. His zeal was infectious, both nurtured and shared by Mrs. Morse and family.

He refused to even let age defeat him. WAYNE MORSE would no more yield to it than to any other foe. So he died fully alive, still in political combat, with his incisive mind and penetrating voice advocating his cause, still preaching constitutional sermons about the law he knew and loved so fervently, and still telling us what he felt in his mind and heart.

It is Tennyson’s words which to me would capture the life of WAYNE LYMAN MORSE.

“To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield.”

HYMN 471—“ROCK OF AGES,” (TOPLADY)

(All joining.)

Rock of Ages, cleft for me
Let me hide myself in Thee
Let the water and the blood
From Thy side, a healing flood
Be in sin the double cure
Cleanse me from its guilt and power.

Should my tears forever flow,
Should my zeal no languor know,
All for sin could not atone:
Thou must save, and Thou alone;
In my hand no price I bring
Simply to Thy cross I cling.

While I draw this fleeting breath
When mine eyelids close in death
When I rise to worlds unknown
And behold Thee on Thy throne
Rock of Ages, cleft for me,
Let me hide myself in Thee. Amen.

Mr. Pepper. Cannon Cave, members of the family of Senator MORSE, and friends: A reading from the 39th Chapter of the Book of Ecclesiasticus:

“He who devotes himself to the study of the law of the Most High will seek out the wisdom of all the ancients, and will be concerned with prophecies; he will preserve the discourse of notable men and penetrate the subleties of parables; he will seek out the hidden meanings of Proverbs and be at home with the obscurities of parables.

He will serve among great men and appear before rulers; he will travel through the lands of foreign nations, for he tests the good and evil among men.

He will set his heart to rise early to seek the Lord who made him, and

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will make supplication before the Most High; he will open his mouth in prayer and make supplication for his sins.

If the great Lord is willing, he will be filled with the spirit of understanding; he will pour forth words of wisdom and give thanks to the Lord in prayer.

He will direct his counsel and his knowledge aright, and meditate on his secrets.

He will reveal instruction in his teaching, and will glory in the law of the Lord's covenant.

Many will praise his understanding, and it will never be blotted out; his memory will not disappear, and his name will live through all generations.

Nations will declare his wisdom, and the congregation will proclaim his praise.

If he lives long, he will leave a name greater than a thousand.

If he goes to rest, it is enough for him.

Address by the Honorable Claude Denson Pepper

On the first day of this month, many of us who have gathered here today in this noble edifice, assembled to pay our honor and respect to the late Senator Ernest Greuning.

Among those who came all the way across the continent from his home state of Oregon to join in that appreciation was him whose name we honor today—Senator Wayne Morse.

I shall never forget how we stood and talked together in the robing room, of his great past, of our service together in the Senate, of his hopes for the future, should he be endowed with the opportunity to resume that great career previously cut short. And, now, too soon it is his name, and his memory which we honor today.

Senator Wayne Morse was a rare man! Rare in so many respects: Rare in keen intelligence, rare in the dynamism of his spirit, rare in his peculiar capacity to be dedicated to a purpose, rare in his courage, rare in his persistence in pursuit of a dream that he entertained.

Wayne Morse, as a Senator, ranged all over the realm of public issues like a knight of the round table jousting with every defender of wrong he could reach, raising his fearful lance in support of every worthy cause that came within the scope of his restless energy.

And, what a record he made! In two respects, I should like to mention that record: One having to do with his participation in the formulation and in the development of the policy of our country in respect to Latin America:

In nineteen hundred and fifty-five, he became Chairman of the Subcommittee on Latin American Affairs of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

In 1958, he began a study of the relations of our country with our neighbors to the South, and out of that study came the principles of what was later the noble declaration of the Alliance for Progress. A great member of that subcommittee was Senator John F. Kennedy.
Wayne L. Morse

When Castro was coming to power in Cuba, it was the voice of Wayne Morse, raised in warning against our country embracing one of his character and the disposition that he was beginning to display. Thereafter, visiting with the President, with the Secretary of State—representing the President, he had a large part in the relations between our country and Latin America, always striving to make the hemisphere stronger, and to make closer the attachments of friendship between our country and theirs.

And, then in the field of education, Wayne Morse had signal distinction. During the time he was Chairman of the Education Subcommittee of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, more legislation affecting education in this country, giving federal assistance to the program of education in our nation was enacted, than ever before in the nation’s history, and Wayne Morse was the one who led the passage of that legislation in the United States Senate.

His colleagues have borne eloquent testimony to the contribution that he made in this field. I quote from the remarks of Senator Abe Ribicoff, former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare in the administration of President Kennedy:

“When the name ‘Morse’ appears on an educational bill, the present generation of children and children yet unborn will be assured that the bill stands for one man who in my opinion more than any other single individual in the whole history of our nation, has helped further the cause of education in the United States.”

And Senator Javits:

“The work of the Senior Senator from Oregon in bringing this bill to the floor with the unanimous support of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare is of such an extraordinary quality that I feel that that alone, whatever else ensues, deserves the highest encomium of which I am capable, but also the entire world of education.”

And majority leader, Senator Mansfield, said:

“The title, ‘Mr. Education’, is a title well-earned by Senator Morse. I thank him from the bottom of my heart, and I congratulate him for his tremendous understanding, knowledge and ability on all matters, but especially on questions involving education.”

Every aspect of education: Elementary and secondary. Higher education. Assistance to students needing financial aid in obtaining an education, all this great panorama of education passed under the careful guidance and great leadership of Wayne Morse.

Perhaps, one of the qualities of Wayne Morse that all will remember best is his steadfastness of purpose. Indeed, once he committed himself to a course, he was unshakeable in that position.

It might be said, as was said in an ode from Horace, “were the vault of Heaven to break and fall upon him, its ruins might smite him, undismayed.”

He was actuated by the motivation of concern for people, and pursuit of what he thought was his just duty. And he was moved by what might be the words of Babcock, who said,
MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

“We have hard work to do, loads to lift; Shun not the struggle; Face it. It is God’s gift.”

We may truly say, as was said by Shakespeare,
“He was borne himself beyond the measure of his own times, doing in the figure of a lamb that feats of a lion.”

And we can say, May God long preserve the memory and the spirit of WAYNE MORSE; for, as his friend said to Hamlet, “We know we shall not see his like again.”

A REMINISCENCE BY BISHOP SMALLWOOD WILLIAMS

Canon Cave, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, and members of the family:

In my considered judgment, the late Senator WAYNE MORSE was one of the greatest Senators to have sat in the United States Senate.

He was not only interested in the citizens of the State of Oregon, who sent him to the U.S. Senate for twenty-four years, but his profound humanitarianism gave him a great consideration for the poor, the disenfranchised, the dis-inherited, and the underprivileged everywhere.

The hungry children of our nation’s capitol loved him for his great concern which led him through legislative action to secure a lunch and milk program for public school children, liberal welfare, public assistance, and family aid legislation.

He was an intrepid, determined fighter for civil rights, civil liberties, and integration for all citizens of the United States of America.

He was a fierce fighter against all forms of discrimination and second class citizenship in our nation. His powerful voice, and the wise counsel, and impressive presence, and liberalism in the Fifties helped to make possible the civil rights legislation for the Sixties.

Senator Morse was a very friendly person. He would invite me to have breakfast with him, in the U.S. Senate dining room, back in the Fifties, before the days of integration. The Senate dining room at that time was a lily-white situation. The usual only visible blacks were waiters and servants.

The presence of a black guest would always attract undue attention. The Senator, while conversing and eating unhurriedly, would look up and notice some of his distinguished colleagues from various parts of the country who did not share his views on racial integration. He would politely rise, as the Southern Senator from Louisiana passed, and he would warmly address his colleague and say:

“Senator, I want you to meet my good friend, Bishop Smallwood Williams.”

The Senator would blush red, and shake my hand, acknowledge the introduction, and later the Senator from Georgia would pass. He would repeat the introduction with similar results; so finally, one of the Southern Senators gave Senator Morse what I considered at that time a left-handed compliment. The Senator with the different racial philosophy from Senator Morse said:
WAYNE L. MORSE

"I differ with his racial views. However, one thing I would say about WAYNE MORSE—he practices what he preaches."

And may I profoundly add, not only did he practice what he preached, but we honor him today because he preached what he practiced.

For his strenuous effort and others like him; America is the bastion of the free world. And it is a better place to live, a more pragmatic example of human freedom and dignity, which our Declaration of Independence and Constitution proclaims.

Senator WAYNE MORSE leaves this nation a great legacy of liberalism and determinism, which his contemporaries cannot ignore, and history should not omit.

In spite of the political turbulence of our times, this nation is better because a man named WAYNE MORSE lived and worked here tirelessly, throughout life, for the causes in which he believed.

May God bless his memory, family, and friends. Amen.

ADDRESS BY GEORGE MEANY

I came to know WAYNE MORSE early in his years of public service on the War Labor Board, during World War Two. That Board was a solid example of the ability of free men to govern themselves, uncoerced, in the service of their country in the time of searching trial. As a public member, the character, wisdom and diligence of WAYNE MORSE helped to make it possible for labor and management to measure up to that test. Yet, he never demanded or expected that either would yield, for a moment, their duty to advance most vigorously the rights and interests of those they were there to represent.

Our respect for WAYNE MORSE grew with familiarity over the years, as he involved himself deeply in the processes of collective bargaining, as one of the nation's leading arbitrators and mediators of labor-management disputes. His fairness, integrity and dedication to free and voluntary paths to industrial peace were above question by either side of the many controversies he helped to solve.

His contribution to human rights in industrial life, as well as political life, will endure far beyond his time.

That respect and regard continued to grow in the course of his political career, and it survived frequent differences on issues and approaches to issues. A powerful advocate and a formidable adversary, he was one whom we always wanted to have on our side. His force always exceeded his solitary vote in the Senate, for he was willing to step forward from the pack, to lead and to fight, and he fought from conviction, not from any awe of persons or institutions.

He was a friend of labor, not because he was beholden to labor, but because his largeness of heart and mind made him a champion of the plain people, the advocate of the little man surrounded by forces and aspirations beyond his reach.
He played the game on the top of the table, without guile or petty artifice. But, he brought to that great game of politics and legislation, a spirit of steel and a will of iron. He knew full well that when the battle of the common man is to be fought, any weakness of will or slackness of mind must succumb before the interest and odds against it.

He gave as much of himself to the people of the District of Columbia, who lacked the political voice or power to reward him in any way for his fidelity, as he gave the nation, when larger issues called him forth.

Wayne Morse perceived and understood the vital link between education and human progress. That great series of acts of Congress, which vastly enlarged the federal role in support of the expansion of educational opportunity during the years of Lyndon Johnson’s Presidency bear the strong marks of his concern.

How often since he left the Senate, and issues and causes languished for lack of a courageous and stalwart champion, have we said among ourselves, “If we only had a Wayne Morse to lead this fight for us on the Hill?” But the only Wayne Morse was Wayne Morse himself!

We had hoped that in the fall we would be able to help return Wayne Morse in full voice to the Senate where he belonged, and where he is needed; but it was not to be. Now, we shall not see his like again. The Senate, the nation and the people have lost a great champion of justice, and we are all the poorer for that irreplaceable loss.

Address by Joseph L. Rauh, Jr.

Canon Cave, friends, family of Wayne Morse:

I think I speak this morning not for myself, but for all those in the civil rights movement who worked with Wayne Morse: For those of us who had the privilege of working closely with him; for Clarence Mitchell, Roy Wilkens; but, really, above all, for the millions of people whose rights exist today because of Wayne Morse, and who probably do not even know his name:

Justice Brandeis once wrote, “If we would guide by the light of reason, we must let our minds be bold.”

More than any other public leader of our lifetime, Wayne Morse lived by this Brandeis injunction. There is no time within memory when he failed to let his mind be bold. Over and over again in the thirty years of our friendship and collaboration, it was Wayne Morse who raised the banners toward new goals of equality and civil freedom.

Once the goals were set, no force on earth could move him from his appointed course.

It was Wayne Morse in the late Forties and Fifties, who outlined the constitutional bases, for the broad civil rights laws of the Sixties. Only too often in that period he knocked unsuccessfully at the Senate clubhouse door with its ever-present sign, “No Civil Rights legislation wanted.”

It was Wayne Morse who helped keep the civil rights goals alive in
Nineteen Fifty-Seven, by voting against the watered down civil rights bill of that year, and eloquently reaffirming the true needs of minority Americans. And, I suppose I may say, like so many others would say, I was one of those who advised him to vote for the bill.

It was WAYNE MORSE who helped stop the 1958 Congressional onslaught on the civil liberties decisions of the Warren Supreme Court. Indeed, my favorite mind’s-eye picture of WAYNE is at four a.m. on an August Sunday morning in 1958, with books piled high on his desk, and a “they shall not pass” look on his face. The drive for the last of the anti-court bills lapsed in the face of that threatened end of the session filibuster.

It was WAYNE MORSE who kept the goal of true Home Rule for the District of Columbia alive in the Fifties and Sixties, while others berated him for not accepting unworkable substitutes. Every Washingtonian should thank God for WAYNE MORSE, as they cast their first Home Rule vote this fall.

Often, WAYNE MORSE stood alone. Where others sought refuge in the crowd, he had the courage to take the stand, undaunted by the absence of colleagues or other supporters. For those who knew him, Tonkin Gulf was not a surprise, but an inevitability.

As so many have said this morning before me, we shall not see the likes of this fierce warrior for justice soon again. Almost alone among public figures, his courage never once left him faltering or hesitant. Wrong he may, on occasion, no doubt, have been. But lacking in boldness he never was.

At a time when too many would hide in the changeless center, WAYNE MORSE is our reminder, forever, that one man with unlimited courage can move mountains of apathy and despair.

We shall miss him more and more.

HYMN 519—"EBENEZER" (All joining.)

Once to ev'ry man and nation
Comes the moment to decide,
In the strife of truth with falsehood,
For the good or evil side;
Some great cause, God's new Messiah,
Off'ring each the bloom or blight,
And the choice goes by forever
Twixt the darkness and that light.

Then to side with truth is noble,
When we share her wretched crust,
Ere her cause bring fame and profit
And 'tis prosp'rous to be just;
Then it is the brave man chooses,
While the coward stands aside,
Till the multitude make virtue
Of the faith they had denied.

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By the light of burning martyrs
Jesus' bleeding feet I track,
Toiling up new Calveries ever
With the cross that turns not back;
New occasions teach new duties,
Time makes ancient good uncouth;
They must upward still and onward
Who would keep abreast of truth.

Though the cause of evil prosper
Yet 'tis truth alone is strong;
Though her portion be the scaffold,
And upon the throne be wrong.
Yet that scaffold sways the future,
And, behind the dim unknown,
Standeth God within the shadow
Keeping watch above his own.

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE JAMES WILLIAM FULBRIGHT

Canon Cave and friends:
To WAYNE MORSE our country is deeply indebted.

The circumstances presently confronting our nation serve to emphasize the importance to the preservation of our democratic system of government of men with the personal integrity, the dedication, and the courage of WAYNE MORSE.

Although he enjoyed personal friendships as others do, he always gave one the impression that the welfare of all the people he represented so ably was his primary concern and he was relentless in his pursuit of that objective.

He was willing, as few men are, to be aggressive and abrasive to his colleagues, or to Presidents, when he believed the peoples' interest required it. Few men have equaled his devotion to the Senate and to the country!

Some Senators distinguished themselves as great advocates; others, as far-sighted critics of national policy. WAYNE MORSE was both:

A remarkably knowledgeable and skillful legislative manager, especially in the fields of labor and education, and an equally distinguished critic of mistaken policies, especially in our foreign relations.

As a legislator, he was brilliant and indefatigable. As one who usually agreed with WAYNE MORSE in debate, but occasionally did not, I can state, unequivocally, that I greatly preferred having him on my side. He was in the classic sense of the term a great debator, a gifted practitioner of an art form now in decline. While Senators increasingly have taken to the media, and to the techniques of public relations, WAYNE MORSE retained an old-fashioned faith in government by discussion, and the place for that discussion, in his view, was the Senate floor. It was pre-eminently his forum, where he brought to bear his extraordinary gifts of knowledge, logic, and tenacity.
WAYNE L. MORSE

WAYNE Morse and I served together on the Foreign Relations Committee for fourteen years, from 1955 until 1969. There, especially, I appreciated his remarkable energy and foresight. Whereas, many Senators made it a practice to appear only occasionally in the committee, to make a point or advance a particular cause, Senator Morse was there most of the time, listening, questioning, probing, and, in so doing, educating—educating his colleagues, and educating the American people.

Above all, in foreign relations, he was farsighted. He was ahead of most of us in appreciating the defects of our bi-lateral foreign aid programs. He was one of the architects of the Alliance for Progress, and, under his chairmanship, the Foreign Relations Committee on Inter-American Affairs was uniquely creative and influential.

To his enduring fame and credit, Senator Morse perceived the tragic folly of the Vietnam war before virtually anyone else. His vote against the Tonkin resolution in 1964, one of only two in the Senate, along with his then unheeded efforts to apprise the Senate of the facts of that episode, stand as a landmark of courage and prescience in the Senate.

We have heard a great deal in recent years about the need to strengthen the Senate by means of new rules of procedure and reorganized committees. For my part, I can think of a much more effective means of strengthening and rejuvenating the Senate: Elect more Senators like Wayne Morse of Oregon.

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG

There was a man—He was a zealot! He rallied against injustice, immorality and abuse of power.

He had the courage to be alone and apart, in defense of principles. Just like the tree planted by the water, where principles were involved, he could not be moved.

He alienated and challenged the establishment on occasion. He even chided his most intimate friends for lapses from what he regarded to be the true faith.

Critics were prone to say that he was too self-righteous, that he wore a hair-shirt, that he was intolerant of human failings, and that his deep-felt convictions were too strongly expressed, too single-mindedly held, and too passionately argued.

Yet, his heart was filled with love, notwithstanding that he often felt that he had to speak in words of condemnation.

He was a maverick, a mugwump. The man I have described is Jeremiah, Ezekial, Isaiah, or Micah, prophets in Israel.

Is it not remarkable how many of the qualities of the Hebrew prophets Senator Wayne Morse possessed? I would not presume to characterize Wayne Morse as a prophet in the biblical sense. The prophets of the Old Testament were divinely inspired.

Yet, it cannot be gainsaid that Senator Morse, like the prophets of old, was a zealot—for integrity, morality, justice, the rule of law, peace, and steadfast adherence to basic principles.
There is an old Jewish tradition, tracing back to the prophet Isaiah, that in every age there are 36 just men, which in Hebrew is called—they’re called the "Lamitvov". According to this tradition, if just one of them were lacking, the suffering of man would multiply.

Lamitvov, the legend says, are the hearts of the world multiplied; and into them, as into one receptacle, pour all of our grievances against injustice and inequity. The teaching of this legend is that one man is indispensable, and WAYNE MORSE was!

For WAYNE MORSE's career and good works proves the essential truth of this legend: Absent WAYNE MORSE and his great contributions to the cause of the poor, the oppressed, the wage-earner and those discriminated against, the suffering of mankind would, indeed, have multiplied!

The Lamitvov tradition is a legend. But, to paraphrase the poet, more things are wrought by legends than men dream of.

If WAYNE MORSE dissented from public policies contrary to the public interest, as he frequently did, if he championed social and economic justice, as he frequently did, if he fought for the elimination of illiteracy, of prejudice and racial bigotry, as he did, if he loved peace—hated war—abjured violence and discord at home and abroad, as he did, Senator MORSE was giving expression to the highest patriotism, best defined by Adlai Stevenson in these words:

"What do we mean by patriotism in the context of our times?

A patriotism that puts country ahead of self;
A patriotism which is the steady dedication of a lifetime.
These are words that are easy to utter,
But this is a mighty assignment.
For it is often easier to fight for principles,
Than to live up to them."

"When an American says he loves his country

He means not only that he loves the New England hills,
The prairies glistening in the sun,
The wide and rising plains,
The great mountains and ranges and virgin forests of the far west,
He means that he loves an inner air,
An inner light in which freedom lives
And in which a man can draw a breath of self-respect."

I don’t know whether Adlai Stevenson was conscious of this, but he was paraphrasing the words of the first Chief Justice of the United States, John Jay, who spoke of the "Free Air of American Life."

If I were to have a capsule of WAYNE MORSE, I would say he took one gain from the founding fathers. His slogan was theirs: "Do not tread on me and our liberties." That to me is the essence of WAYNE MORSE.

Like another great American, he conceived that those who won our independence believed liberty to be the secret of happiness, and courage to be the secret of liberty.
They believed, as he did, that the greatest menace of freedom is an inert people; that public discussion is a political duty; that this should be a fundamental principle of all American government.

They recognized the risk to which all human institutions are subject; But they knew, as he did, that order cannot be secured merely through fear of punishment for its infraction; that it is hazardous to discourage thought, hope and imagination; and that fear breeds repression, that repression breeds hate, that that menaces stable government; that the path of safety lies in the opportunity to discuss freely supposed grievances and proposed remedies, and that the fitting remedy for evil counsels is good ones. These convictions held by the founding fathers—and WAYNE MORSE, perhaps represent a lesson to us, and a teaching for our present travails.

In mourning WAYNE MORSE's passing, we, his friends and distinguished colleagues who are gathered here today salute this indomitable combat soldier for liberty, freedom, justice, and peace.

To these great ends he dedicated his life and, in so doing, left an enduring profile in courage.

PRAYERS

For the departed and those who mourn for Oregon, for our country—the Lord's prayer.

Canon Cave: As the service draws to a close, shall we stand for the prayers:

"Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, in whose hands are the living and the dead, we give Thee thanks for all Thy servants who have spent their lives in the service of our country, especially Thy servant, WAYNE. Grant to him Thy mercy, and the light of Thy presence, and give to us such a lively sense of Thy righteous will that the work Thou hast begun in him may be perfected through us." Amen.

Let us pray for Oregon:

"O, God, author of all majesty, how bright is Thy glory, upon the land of Oregon! Blessed be the trees upon their hills, the valleys in their verdure, and the dry places waiting their turn of fertility. Praised be to Thee for the precious gift of rain, drawn in to Heaven from the sea, caught again upon the snowy peaks, returning fruitfully down the strong rivers, giving life to Thy people in their orchards and city places. May their lives likewise be lifted to Thee and blessed, and sent again to do Thy service upon earth; so may the land be renewed, and the souls of Thy servants, through Jesus Christ, our Lord." Amen.

Let us pray for our country:

"Almighty God, who has given us this good land for our heritage; we humbly beseech Thee that we may always prove ourselves a people mindful of Thy favor and glad to do Thy will. Bless this land with honorable industry, sound learning, and pure manners. Save us from violence, discord, and confusion; from pride and arrogance, and from every evil way. Defend our liberties, and fashion into one united people the multitudes brought hither out of many kindreds and tongues. Fill with the spirit of wisdom those to whom we entrust
MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

the authority of government, that there may be justice and peace at home, and that, through obedience to Thy law, we may show forth Thy praise among the nations of the earth. In the time of prosperity, fill our hearts with thankfulness; and in the day of trouble, suffer not our trust in Thee to fail; all of which we ask through Jesus Christ, our Lord.” Amen.

All pray: “Our Father, who are in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name, Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done, On earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil, for Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever and ever.” Amen.

BENEDICTION BY CANON CAVE

“The peace of God which passeth all understanding. Keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, And of His Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, and the blessing of God almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be amongst you and remain with you always.” Amen.

POSTLUDE

Choral Prelude “We Believe in One God”—Johann Sebastian Bach.

MR. HATFIELD. In addition, Mr. President, I call to the attention of my colleagues a project begun by State Senator Edward Fadeley, a long-time friend of Senator Morse. He is collecting memories and anecdotes of Senator Morse from people across the country, and compiling them into a book for distribution to young people as another tribute to Wayne Morse. Any of you, or any of the readers of the Congressional Record, should feel free to send your comments to Mr. Fadeley. I ask unanimous consent that two letters describing this work appear at this point in the Record.

OREGON STATE SENATE,

Hon. Mark O. Hatfield,
U.S. Senator From Oregon, Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C.

Dear Senator Hatfield: Enclosed is a letter to the editor which explains the purpose of this letter. Could you have an appropriately edited version of this letter entered in the Congressional Record?

Whether it is possible or useful, I would appreciate it if you would personally respond to the letter with a memory of Wayne. I do not plan to charge for the booklet, but will pay the cost myself. Of course, as a contributor, you would receive a copy.

It is my hope that this booklet might come into the hands of some young person who would be stimulated to enter government activities and service by Wayne’s example.

Sincerely,

Edward N. Fadeley.
DEAR EDITOR: WAYNE L. MORSE was actively involved in over a quarter century of Oregon political and social history. Many, many Oregonians had interesting contacts with him. Now is the time to preserve our memories of WAYNE.

Please publish this letter as a request to your readers to share with others high points of their experiences with Senator MORSE. I am asking that Oregonians write letters describing their interesting experiences with Senator MORSE and send the letter to me. In return I will mail each contributor a copy of all the letters which I receive, edited in booklet form as a keepsake or memento.

As a state political party chairman during 1966-68 and a Lane County Legislator for thirteen years I had many contacts with WAYNE. My own recollections of things important, entertaining and characteristic of WAYNE will be added to the booklet which those of your readers who mail me their own contributions will receive.

It would be wrong to limit the letters of recollection to those of political pros or to the political arena only. The booklet will be most fitting if it includes remembrances of human interest, or humorous events or of help sought and received. His love of horses, livestock and county and state fairs should also produce recollections worth sharing and preserving.

Please mail your letters of recollections of WAYNE MORSE to me at 801 East Park Street, Eugene, Oregon, 97401.

Sincerely,

EDWARD N. FADELEY,
State Senator.

Mr. HATFIELD. Also, Mr. President, I have been asked what the many friends of Senator MORSE could do to honor his memory. I am pleased to pass on the fact that the University of Oregon has established a Wayne Morse Chair of Law and Public Affairs. Contributions to endow this chair are welcome, and can be sent to this chair, in care of the University of Oregon Development Fund, Carl Fisher, director, Box 3346, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oreg. 97403.

In conclusion, Mr. President, I contacted Oregon journalists and asked that they send me copies of any editorials or commentaries they addressed to the memory of WAYNE MORSE. I ask unanimous consent that this material appear at this point in the Congressional Record.
MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

[From The Corvallis (Oreg.) Gazette-Times, July 23, 1974]

DEATH RETIRES MORSE

Death came to WAYNE MORSE suddenly, in the middle of a hard-fought political campaign. It was timing he might have chosen for himself.

Like no other, MORSE leaves his imprint on Oregon's political history. He brought the La Follette progressive heritage with him in 1929 from Wisconsin as a young law professor at the University of Oregon, bred in his bones and peculiarly attuned to Oregon voter sentiments.

MORSE was a fighter, a scrapper, the maverick and "Tiger in the Senate." He was tough with a jungle instinct in politics. His own personal integrity was scrupulous.

His fiery oratory, his distinctive gravelly voice raised in a litany of uncompromising blacks and whites, served opposition best. But from the beginning it was a two-edged sword. Sharp disagreement with Interior Secretary Harold Ickes over a War Labor Board coal wage decision was instrumental in the rejection of MORSE for a federal judgeship in 1943.

By then, established as U of O law school dean, MORSE switched tacks and ran for the Senate.

He broke with Republicans over President Eisenhower, spent a stretch in comparative limbo as an Independent and then moved across the aisle as a Democrat. Through it all, for nearly a quarter of a century, Oregon voters remained loyal; the dynamism of MORSE's spell-binding speechmaking could not be resisted.

It was dissent, too, that cast MORSE as hero for the youth of this area. His was one of the only two votes cast against the Gulf of Tonkin resolution that plunged the U.S. disastrously into Vietnam. Later-day idols came along but MORSE had a special niche, one of the exceedingly rare veteran politicians who turned-off youth turned to, trusted and revered.

After his defeat for re-election by Bob Packwood in 1968, it was they and other liberals who spurred his entry into the unsuccessful race against Sen. Mark Hatfield in 1972. He was back again this year, victor in the primary, pushing for another six years on the Potomac. The bloody bruises he left along his comeback trail fractured the Democratic party but his base among a segment was solid.

Brilliant, courageous, vital. Committed to a government of laws and, particularly after his appointment by Eisenhower as United Nations delegate in 1960, to a world government of laws.

A man of bitter feuds and strong passions for the causes in which he believed, he cherished his independence. He prided himself on voting his convictions and many Oregonians took somewhat perverse satisfaction in his firebrand tactics and forthright acknowledgement that he would vote as he thought best, not how he thought voters wanted him to. Yet few were better at servicing the multitude of constituent requests that arrived at a Senator's office. They constituted a reservoir of good will and political support.

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WAYNE L. MORSE

The U.S. constitution was the Rosette Stone against which he weighed all actions. He ruled on constitutionality with the ferocity of a founding father. His verbosity was legendary, his speeches soaring to climax after climax, but even his record-breaking Senate filibusters were filled with substance. He had a vast accumulation of wide-ranging knowledge.

Although his monument must be built primarily of driving dissent rather than innovative programs of his own, in his final Senate years Morse became a leader in education legislation. He also was a tireless and highly effective negotiator in labor disputes.

Wayne Morse had as many foes as friends but all are saddened by the death of this complex, dedicated and controversial public servant.

[From the Cottage Grove (Oreg.) Sentinel, July 25, 1974]

THE TIGER

The death of former Senator Wayne Morse on Monday ended the career of one of the most dynamic and controversial politicians in Oregon's history.

Mr. Morse, who had been a member of the United States Senate for 24 years before Bob Packwood beat him in 1968, blazed a trail in the history books of tomorrow with his outspoken method of operation in what has been called the political jungle—Washington, D.C.

We were often critical of stands taken by Mr. Morse, but as with any individual, we would defend his right to speak his piece. We were concerned when he decided to make this one last try to return to the Senate which he dearly loved. Many people told us he was strong enough to make the long hard campaign, but when he visited us in May prior to the primary election we wondered if the arduous campaign was not beginning to take its toll.

Whether the campaigning really caused the former Senator's death, only the good Lord knows that. However, Mr. Morse went down fighting in the battlefield he knew best and that is the political arena. We suspect he would have wanted it that way.

Whether you were an admirer of him or not, Wayne Morse made and left his mark on Oregon. He fought hard for what he thought was good for his state and nation and that is what he was doing at the time of his death because he felt his services were needed again back in Washington. That is all that can be asked of any man—dedication to his work and the political arena had certainly been Wayne Morse's work area for many, many years.

[From the Eastern Oregon Review, July 25, 1974]

WAYNE MORSE: POLITICAL ARTIST

(By Gary Eisler)

There was the venerable gray head, arrayed among all those young political comers who hoped to impress Oregon's Publisher's Association. One newsman
elbowed another and made a joking reference to the length of speech we could expect from him. But the tone of voice expressed nothing but respect for speaker WAYNE MORSE.

If I'd ever thought the man could be senile, the thought vanished as he answered questions. He first made a general sketch of what he would say. Then came broad, general brush strokes of background, colored by his experience. The composition could have fallen apart into unrelated, meaningless disharmony. But then MORSE laid in the final details and the whole thing came together, came to life. Every level and layer of his answer was necessary for me to understand the picture he painted.

"Yes" or "No" satisfies the question but not the questioner. He began his answers quietly enough. The ideas came lightly, easily. He flowed through several historic precedents that he personally had lived through. But soon the tempo increased and the points were stronger as he assessed the moral issues. At last he reached the climax, in which the frightening implications of what he was saying rumbled like tympany drums, in which the challenge to us to respond and do our part clashed like cymbals, until the rightness and truth of the man and what he was saying glowed inside.

That wasn't the first time I'd experienced MORSE. We sat side by side at a pre-primary luncheon here. A hopeful young contender for the Oregon Legislature like myself couldn't have had a better partner for the event. MORSE listened to my ideas before I spoke, helped me develop them, encouraged me with them. After he finished speaking himself he threw the spotlight onto my positions, lent his grandeur and authority to me.

He answered the main question before anyone could ask it: "Am I too old for the job? No!" MORSE showed us that his age group represented millions of people who deserved representation. He explained that age meant experience for him, the kind of experience America needs in the next six years. He told us he still had his connections in Washington and that he could sit in on any committee he wanted to and participate, so he wouldn't be a "freshman" senator. And finally, he proved that he had control of his faculties and that age limitations were arbitrary and meaningless. Before I knew it, he had convinced me that his age was the best thing he had going for him.

WAYNE MORSE, now dead. I'm thankful I got to know WAYNE MORSE, the political artist.

[From the Brownsville (Oreg.) Times, July 25, 1974]

A LIVING LEGEND . . .

Legends usually develop years—even decades or longer—"after the fact"; but "Oregon's Senator," WAYNE MORSE, was a "Living Legend" long before he passed away, Monday.

There were no "gray areas" for "The Senator" . . . something was either "right", or . . . "wrong". As has been said (and written) time and again since he "passed the border" Monday morning:
Wayne L. Morse

People either loved and/or unreservedly admired him; or . . . they literally, (with few exceptions) hated or detested him.

During the 4 decades we have been connected with the news scene, we have met no person who could come close to his brilliance, perceptiveness, and eloquence (this latter, despite his gravelly voice).

It has been said—we believe truly—that there was no foe too formidable to daunt him; nor was there any person, community, or cause too small not to merit his attention.

Many have charged, through the years, that "Morse deserted the Republican Party". But no one who closely followed the 1950 Oregon Primary election can deny that this was the start, on the part of the "Grand" Old Party to push him out.

As a measure of the man, we remember that it was Senator Morse who was responsible for getting the Holley Dam project back on the active list, after an effort had been made to quietly bury the project. When he left the senate in January, 1969, the project was "still active" . . . Has anyone heard anything about it recently?

While others were "playing to the big, adult gatherings, Senator Morse took time out, during his busy 1972 Primary campaign to visit Central Linn's 5th-Graders (from all 3 schools) at the Halsey school. He was talking to "future voters" who—he obviously knew—could never vote for him. He discussed such matters as water pollution . . . and stayed to answer questions posed by the youngsters, despite a jam-packed schedule.

It is significant that—though the "Tiger of the Senate" clawed virtually every President during the 24 years he was a U.S. Senator . . . these same men turned to him to solve the really knotty labor problems. He always responded . . . giving the problem full attention.

When this area needed some flood-control revetment and channel work, 10 or 12 years ago; and the Corps of Engineers was dragging its feet . . . "The Senator" came here and devoted a full day looking over the situation—action soon followed.

We could go on-and-on along this line of thought; but—with millions of words (so it seems, anyway) having already been eulogized in his memory—what more is there to say?

Yes, we could go on, commiserating, too, about the integrity (a quality which is in short supply, in public life today) and the attitude of Oregon's "Senator for All Time" with the challenge he hurled at us (and many others, undoubtedly) during his prime years:

"I will do what I believe to be right. If the people of Oregon do not agree with me, it is their duty to elect someone else to take my place. Even if I were certain that a given stand would result in my defeat in the next election . . . if I believe I am right, I would stick with it."

That was almost prophetic . . . because we heard such a statement from the lips of Senator Morse (the first time) before Vietnam was an issue.

Senator Morse's last speech in Central Linn—at the LinnCo Democratic Picnic in Pioneer Park just 2 years ago—was also virtually prophetic. ("Water-
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gate” was not yet even a whisper.) His keynote address included the follow-
ing (as quoted in the Aug. 3, 1972 edition of “The Times”):

“This is a critical, vital election . . . Nixon is the issue . . . We cannot
have another 4 years (of Nixon) without losing one procedural right after
another. We are losing constitutional checks-and-balances right down to the
local level.”

As reported by the “covering media” this spring . . .

Yes, the “Tiger of the Senate”—Oregon’s All-Time Senator—is gone; but
his influence continues . . . effectively.

[From the Oregon Daily Emerald, July 23, 1974]

THE TIGER WOULD STILL BE ROARING

A man with strength, courage and an unchallenged sense of moral righteous-
ness died Monday.

WAYNE MORSE was for years known as “the tiger” of the United States
Senate. Some said it with affection, admiration, and respect. Others said it only
with respect. They all said it. As a former Democratic Senator from Illinois
said when MORSE arrived in Washington, he “mounted his horse and rode
off in all directions.”

In the early 1950s MORSE saw the dangers of a power-hungry executive
branch of government. He saw the now-too-clear faults of Richard Nixon while
Nixon was still a member of the Senate and fought bitterly against Eisen-
hower’s choice of him as a running mate. In 1952, disgusted with Eisenhower,
WAYNE MORSE left the GOP. After a short time as an Independent MORSE
joined the Democratic party in 1955.

In the 1960’s WAYNE MORSE vehemently opposed the Vietnam war, know-
ing fully that a conservative state such as Oregon might not look kindly upon
his stand. He was one of two senators to vote against the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin
resolution. Because of this and other unpopular stands, in 1968 WAYNE
MORSE lost his seat in the Senate.

But instead of modifying his position to appease those in power, instead of
retiring to sulk over his defeat, instead of losing faith in the American form
of government, WAYNE MORSE quickened his pace of writing and speaking.
His message was clear—we’ve got a good system of government here, let’s not
throw it away to an over-zealous, powerseeking executive. Let’s get Congress
out of the corner and to the center of the ring, where it can do some good.

As the years passed, Oregonians began to see just how right WAYNE MORSE
had been. The Vietnam war was a terrible and tragic mistake. The executive
branch of government possessed dangerous power and was not acting in this
country’s best interests.

Last March WAYNE MORSE decided once again to do something about the
plight of this country. He once again wanted to represent the people.

In his endorsement interview with us in May, WAYNE MORSE talked about
the next six years as being critical to the future of this country. Either we
WAYNE L. MORSE

put Congress back on its feet and have this nation's representatives running this nation, or we slip into a fascist-elitist form of government, he said.

Following his primary election victory, one of WAYNE MORSE's campaign workers said that all the long hours already put in and all the long hours ahead would be worthwhile if only to see the looks on the faces of U.S. senators when the chamber's doors opened and "the tiger" came back to the Senate.

WAYNE MORSE isn't going back. And impeachment is still a big IF, and the economy isn't improving and our government is saturated with unrepresentative, owned, and owing politicians.

But were WAYNE MORSE alive today, he'd be fighting to improve the problems of this country, not sitting in a corner stewing over them. He'd be taking an active role in government, not simply denouncing it and coping out. He'd be preaching optimism, not pessimism.

We should follow his lead.

[From the Oregon Labor Press, July 26, 1974]

WAYNE MORSE: SO OFTEN RIGHT, A MAN FOR AGES

"I had rather be right than be President," said Henry Clay, one of the historic giants of the U.S. Senate, in 1839.

Another giant of that great deliberative body, WAYNE LYMAN MORSE, never became President either, although he aspired to it in 1960. But he had the satisfaction of knowing that he was so often right on the great issues of his time.

Now, WAYNE MORSE, sometimes referred to as "the conscience of the Senate," belongs to the ages—like Clay, Webster, La Follette, Borah, Norris, Vandenberg, and other lions of the United States Senate.

One of the issues on which his was a lonely, minority voice of rightness was his opposition to U.S. involvement in Vietnam. It sparked a divisiveness among Oregon Democrats that ultimately resulted in his narrow defeat in 1968. This year, the wounds healed, the party united, MORSE at 73 was stumping for a comeback against the upstart who unseated him.

Death denied him that opportunity. It sounded its roll call for him on the morning of July 22 in a Portland hospital. A kidney, then his heart failed. His hospitalization last week came as a shock. Only a few weeks ago, vibrant, vigorous, ramrod straight, he thundered denunciations against the scandalous excesses of the Nixon Administration as he told the state AFL-CIO convention that the nation needs a vetoproof Congress.

MORSE had served in the Senate 24 years. He was first elected as a Republican in 1944. Disenchantment with the party of Eisenhower and Nixon in 1952 caused him to become an Independent; in 1955 he became a Democrat.

His trademarks were his bushy eyebrows, raspy voice, integrity, irascibility, cantankerousness, a mind of dazzling brilliance, an enormous ego, a credo of "principle above politics," the boundless energy to filibuster for nearly 24 hours, rugged devotion to old-fashioned principles, and the guts to stand up and fight for his beliefs.

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The title of a book about him summed it up: "The Tiger in the Senate."
Morse talked a lot—he could take 45 minutes to answer a 30-second question. But what he said made sense. Lesser minds often required the wisdom afforded by hindsight to recognize his rightness.

In his 24 years as a senator, organized labor's scorecard showed him with 81 "right" votes, only 5 "wrong" votes on issues of concern to wage-earners as union members, citizens, taxpayers, parents, consumers.

Some of the "wrong" votes evoked the wrath of unions, but when he came up for re-election in 1968, when he challenged Mark Hatfield in 1972, and this year, he received the unanimous endorsement of the state AFL-CIO conventions.

A national labor publication said of Morse in 1968: "If ever a senator belonged to the whole country it is Oregon's Wayne Morse, whose work for labor and education has nationwide impact."

Another national labor paper said of him: "Wayne Morse has truly proved himself a giant in the Senate. He is a man of the utmost integrity, both personal and political. He wears no man's yoke. He takes no man's orders. He follows his own conscience."

Although Morse was the most vocal opponent of President Lyndon Johnson's Vietnam policies, Johnson once said of him: "No senator has done more for the average citizen than has the senator from Oregon. He has fought the money-lenders. He has fought high interest rates. He has fought for the people in his state who produce and who earn their living by the sweat of their brows."

His legislative concerns and achievements were broadgauged. His imprint was stamped on legislation concerning civil rights, senior citizens, timber and water conservation, education, public health, veteran's benefits, crime prevention, pollution control, fair taxation, transportation, public works, foreign policy.

Morse became recognized as such an authority on constitutional law that President Johnson often called him "my constitutional lawyer."

The senator once referred to himself as a "lawyer, farmer, and educator."

Born in Wisconsin Oct. 20, 1900, he was educated at Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Columbia Universities; became dean of the University of Oregon Law School at age 30, a job he held until elected to the Senate.

In the 1930s and '40s he carved out a reputation as a consummately skilled, effective arbitrator of labor-management disputes. President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed him chairman of the President's Railway Emergency Board in 1941, later named him to the National War Labor Board. While in the Senate, Presidents called on his talents to settle major labor-management disputes.

One of the early pieces of legislation sponsored by Morse led to creation of the Federal Mediation Service to provide professional mediation, when needed, at the bargaining table.

He was a firm believer in collective bargaining.
WAYNE L. MORSE

"American living standards are the highest in the world largely because working people have gained a fairer share of the wealth their work creates. Collective bargaining is the way that was accomplished."

MORSE was as much an Oregon landmark as Mt. Hood. He had greatness, majesty, was awe-inspiring. Now, Mt. Hood remains, but Senator WAYNE Morse is gone.

[From KXL Radio, July 23, 1974]

NOTES AND COMMENTS
(By John Salisbury)

WAYNE MORSE was two men. He was the often irascible Tiger of the Senate—a rough and ready campaigner who could be depended upon to slice his opposition to bits. He was a maverick who could begin his political career as a Republican, switch to Independent, and finally to Democrat and continue to win elections because he convinced people he was his own man. He was a man who received plenty of the brickbats of his chosen profession, but he was a man who could dish them out in kind.

WAYNE MORSE was a fighter—and if some people were not really sure where he stood, MORSE himself had no doubt. He stood for what he believed in—and while he may have believed in changing his mind and his party affiliation, he always called the shots as he currently saw them. He was a brilliant constitutional lawyer and teacher, and this was his field of battle in the Senate. That was one man. The other was a gentle man—and a gentleman. And those who knew WAYNE MORSE well—who were his friends—knew that very human side of him, too.

Sometimes his friends and co-workers were highly critical of him. In recent years, some called him a spoiler because he campaigned where his party felt younger men should be given the chance. But they loved and respected him for his statesmanship, too. Perhaps never in his career was WAYNE MORSE more revered or more effective among his young and old partisans as at the last Democratic National Convention to which he was self-effacing, yet when called upon to give counsel he gave it readily and warmly.

None of the old tiger was about him at that time, and I got to know him then about as well as I ever did. And I enjoyed him more than I ever had. He was really a hero to the Oregon delegation and there were those who said, not unkindly, that the old tiger's claws had been clipped—by the tiger himself. But not quite. He was challenging a man whose candidacy he had once supported—Sen. Mark Hatfield. He lost that one in '72, and returned home as people speculated about other campaigns Morse might yet elect to enter. There was to be one more—the last campaign against the man who had defeated him in 1968, Sen. Bob Packwood. The Tiger's claws were by no means clipped.

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At 73 years of age, the seemingly ageless Morse was fighting to regain the seat Packwood had taken from him and there were those who cried, perhaps with reason, vendetta. Was it really vendetta—or was it a deep concern for the nation living in the shadow of Watergate—or was it a love affair with the Senate itself which prompted the Tiger into his last battle? Perhaps those closest to him could answer that question. As for me, my recollections of Wayne Morse are pleasant ones. I did not agree with his viewpoint, but I liked and respected him.

Morse of Oregon—a man unique in politics, a fierce yet gentle man. Ruthless yet compassionate—honest, forthright, decent. And a prophet not without honor—even in Oregon. He is a quarter century of our most turbulent history.

[From the Rainier Review, Aug., '974]

REVIEW AND COMMENT

(By Albert R. McCall)

It was with a feeling of personal sadness and not merely one of public loss that we heard of the death of Oregon Senator Wayne Morse.

Mr. Morse was an individual of scintillating intellect. As a college instructor, as an attorney, and as a member of the august United States Senate he ranked as exceptional.

Senator Morse was respected and admired as well for his espousal of causes in which he believed. He was a lover of peace, and opposed the Vietnam war when it was not popular to do so.

But this columnist, still recalling the noted characteristics of Senator Morse, likes to think most of his kindness and courtesy to a then younger reporter-newspaperman. And that gentility and kindness to the end, we hear, marked his reception of visitors at the senatorial offices in Washington, D.C.

Mr. Morse, the aggressive politician, the sometimes hardnosed statesman—but always the kind and courteous gentleman underneath. That is how we remember him with appreciation along with our sadness.

[From the Roseburg (Oreg.) News-Review, July 26, 1974]

THE ROAR IS STILLED

(By Dick Kerruish)

During the 24 years that Wayne Morse served as a U.S. Senator, it was sometimes difficult to find Oregonians who admitted to agreeing with or supporting him.

Yet Morse, who died Monday at age 73, kept getting re-elected.

It was part of the Morse mystique. He proved in the Democratic Primary Election that some of that mystique still remained when he defeated the much younger State Sen. Jason Boe, Reedsport, in a comeback attempt. He
WAYNE L. MORSE could not step down from political life, even after two consecutive defeats by incumbent senators Mark Hatfield and Bob Packwood. It was not his nature to quit.

The “Tiger of the Senate” will go down as one of the most controversial figures in Oregon’s political history. A party switcher (he served in the Senate alternately as a Republican, an Independent, and finally as a Democrat), he was either hated or loved. In many ways, he suited the role of senator perfectly. He looked like one; he possessed great oratorical eloquence; he was a tough, articulate, campaigner. But few men during their political lifetimes have experienced the extremes of criticism and praise that were heaped on Morse.

Despite his famed cantankerousness, Oregon voters returned him to the Senate four times.

It’s probably right to state that Morse gave his life in a determination to win back a Senate seat and return to the national limelight, which he loved. In truth, Morse envisioned himself as more of a national personality. Many criticized his concept of the Senate office. He seemed forever preoccupied with the big hassle—cutting down presidents, opposing the Vietnam war, going against the mainstream—while political observers question whether he ever did much of note for Oregon.

His critics will concede, however, that he never lacked the courage to declare his position on issues despite determined opposition. And he refused to budge from that position, even in the face of hopeless opposition.

But even while his accomplishments are questioned, he never-the-less demonstrated genuine, deep concern for individual Oregonians who sought his help while he was in office. Few members of Congress have been more diligent in providing aid for or communication with constituents. Requests to his office for information or assistance received immediate attention and if there were any way at all to remedy a constituent’s problem, the senator would do it—or try to.

A maverick, yes. But there was something unique and spellbinding about this irascible politico. With all his contentiousness, he won the admiration of Oregonians. Perhaps he appealed to the basic stubborn independence that has traditionally characterized the people of the state of Oregon.

Say what you will about the Tiger—his roar will be missed.

[From the Daily Astorian, Astoria, Oreg., July 24, 1974]

WAYNE LYMAN MORSE

He said, “We’re going to win this. We’ll see you in the fall. We’ll have a lot to talk about then.”

WAYNE MORSE was on the campaign trail. There was fire in his eye. He was enjoying every minute of it.

He expected to beat Jason Boe in the Democratic primary. He did and by a much wider margin than anyone but he expected. The experts who said that
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Oregonians wouldn't send a 73-year-old man back to the United States Senate were having second thoughts.

He is gone now and we'll never know how this race against Bob Packwood in the general election would have gone, how it would have turned out. But we can be sure that this most unusual man would have put on a campaign to remember.

He had been in the Senate 24 years when young Bob Packwood beat him six years ago. He said the voters would regret what they'd done. He said they would be asking for the opportunity to say that they were sorry, that they'd been mistaken. He must have decided almost immediately after that humiliating loss to Packwood that the voters would be given that opportunity.

He was back on the campaign trail in 1972 against the advice of his closest friends. They told him that he couldn't beat Mark Hatfield. He disregarded that advice. He brushed aside the evidence that many Democrats had not forgotten nor forgiven him for supporting Hatfield six years earlier against Bob Duncan and that they had been waiting to get even.

He couldn't be expected to believe that. The voters had forgiven him over and over again for errors and indiscretions that another politician could not have survived.

He was the Republican Party's candidate in his first election to the Senate. He turned against the party and its presidential candidate, Dwight Eisenhower, in 1952, after coming out of a national convention in which he put all his energy into getting the nomination for Eisenhower in a bitter battle against Bob Taft.

Some insiders said he deserted because the Republicans chose Dick Nixon as their vice presidential candidate, a nomination he had been encouraged to think he could have. Whether or not it was solely that or more than that, WAYNE MORSE heaped abuse on Dwight Eisenhower throughout that campaign.

Soon after that he registered as an Independent. It became obvious that wouldn't last. Two young Democrats, Howard Morgan and Monroe Sweetland, wooed and won him for their party. Many Republicans said that's where he should have been all along. He did seem to feel more at home with the Democrats. But it wasn't long before he was disagreeing and fighting with them. He turned on his colleague, Dick Neuberger. That separation was deep and bitter to the day of Neuberger's death.

He heaped abuse and ridicule upon Democrats as readily as upon Republicans. He was harshly critical of Harry Truman who had frequently spoken of his admiration for the senator from Oregon.

He was intolerant of anyone who disagreed with him, of anyone who was critical of his position on a public issue. He impugned their motives. Friendships with editors who strayed from consistently praising and admiring him were destroyed by his allegations that they had sold out to special interests. In his view he was the only authentic liberal in the Senate. Others who were generally thought to be liberals he described as phonies.

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During his years in the Senate he attacked almost all of his colleagues. There was a notable exception. He never spoke critically of Sen. George Aiken. Perhaps the esteem others had for the senator from Vermont was too formidable to confront. But that was a rare exception. He stuck the knife into scores who could not subscribe to the proposition that Wayne Morse always was right.

In view of all of this, how did he manage to stay in the Senate for 24 years? There isn’t a short, simple answer to that. It was a combination of several things. He was a masterful orator. An editor who had fallen out with him said that he wouldn’t go to hear him speak “because he’ll make me believe that white is black.” He had an able staff led by the very able Bill Berg who meticulously handled his homework. No request from a constituent was too inconsequential or ridiculous to go unanswered. Many voters considered his courage his greatest asset. He used that to the fullest advantage, and he had the facts to back it up. His compassion for senior citizens was genuine. Organized labor would go to hell for him. Labor leaders rounded up votes for him and generously financed his campaigns.

There was all of that going for him and until Bob Packwood came along six years ago it was more than enough. But a lot of it held on after that and there was enough of it to win the Democratic senatorial nomination for him in May of this year against odds that seemed to many insurmountable. To many, sending a 73-year old man to the Senate for what he said would be only one term seemed absurd. But to many others it seemed a golden opportunity to send to Washington a man who would really shake up those no-good so and sos. One said, “Can’t you see their faces when he walks in! Boy, I’d give a lot to see that!”

We will never know whether enough voters would have seen it that way to send Wayne Morse back to Washington. But we wouldn’t have wagered that they would not, for this man was not an ordinary politician. Not in any way. Oregon has never had another politician like him and it is improbable that Oregon ever will. He broke all the written and unwritten rules and not only got away with it, but was praised by many for doing it.

Was he a great senator? He never was chairman of a major committee. His name was not on any important legislation as its author. But his courageous defense of unpopular thoughts and causes led people far from Oregon to say that he was “everybody’s senator.” Historians will prepare the balance sheet. They will not miss the point that we and many others were sure that we hadn’t and never would see another person quite like him.

[From the Coos Bay (Oreg.) World, July 22, 1974]

THE “TIGER” IS DEAD

Wayne Morse is dead today, but his mark remains indelibly printed on the pages of U.S. history.

He was called the “tiger of the U.S. Senate,” where he served from the state of Oregon for 24 years. The “tiger” was a mixture of idealist and
pragmatist; he raised his voice where no others would and that voice is still ringing in the ears of many Americans. Morse was a firm believer in the constitutional process of government and spoke out strongly against what he deemed an illegal and unconstitutional war in Vietnam. More recently, he was adamant over what he termed a "most serious threat to the perpetuation of our system of constitutional self-government by the people of the United States." In this he referred to "the trend toward more and more government by executive supremacy and secrecy."

He never minced his words. For all his expertise, for all his dealings with some of the greatest political leaders of our times, Morse was what could be called a "straight shooter."

He was a liberal, without any threads attached. When he first ran for the Senate he advocated the 18-year-old vote, and urged other election reforms over the years.

Morse was opposed to excessive military spending at the expense of domestic programs, most importantly perhaps in his eyes the educational programs of the nation. He supported limited presence of American soldiers on foreign soil. He also supported abolishing the draft "in peacetime or in undeclared wars."

His positions and his actions were many, too much so for this space today. But they are, as is the man, well known to millions of Americans, not just Oregonians. Morse will be remembered as one of the last men in history, perhaps, who at the age of 73 was still an energetic idealist with a strong belief in his country and its laws.

[From the Bend (Oreg.) Bulletin, July 22, 1974]

WAYNE L. MORSE, 1900–1974

Wayne Morse died this morning, victim of an infection which put him in the hospital only a few days ago. He was approaching his 74th birthday, but only a few days ago was the envy of many in his age group. He appeared ageless as he hit the comeback trail a few months ago.

He was not, of course. Time had slowed him down. His keen mind lapsed into occasional forgetfulness. He no longer looked fresh after a few hours of sleep following an 18-hour campaign day.

Morse's death ends a part of Oregon political history, a part which lasted more than 40 years. He didn't serve in office that long; he was engaged in partisan and education politics that long.

Morse was one of the state's best-known figures during that period. Few Oregonians didn't have a strong opinion about him. He was revered by some and reviled by others. Oregonians became Morse admirers or Morse haters.

He served four terms in the U.S. Senate before he lost out six years ago in an attempt to win a fifth term. By Senatorial standards they were generally unproductive terms. Morse's name is not attached to much legislation, and to no major policies. His most enduring memory was a change in the formula by which federal lands were sold to local units of government.
But that didn’t stop him from becoming one of the most widely-known members of the Senate. Morse had been a teacher of debating and argument. He knew the English language extremely well. He had a gift for polished invective.

He used all those gifts, and used them well. He often used them on fellow members of the Senate, and on every President of the United States from Franklin D. Roosevelt to Richard M. Nixon. His tactics did not endear him to either Senators or Presidents.

But those same gifts made him a darling to the American Zionist movement, which repaid his efforts in the movement’s behalf by large campaign contributions. They made him a darling to the liberal movement, always delighted with a speaker who would attack anyone.

The old tiger had slowed down in recent years. He was on the campaign road once more, almost like the days of old, when he was struck down. But it was not altogether like days of old. The campaign was largely the same, but Morse was older. He moved more slowly. His voice was not as strong. His memory played tricks on him. He told one group recently he was delighted to be, once again, seeking to be the “Senator from Wisconsin” (his birthplace).

Now he’s gone. His detractors are not sorry to see him go. His admirers will miss him. And for many of us, some of the flavor is gone from Oregon politics. Morse’s campaigns, and those of his opponents, were not always high level. But they were always interesting.

[From the Vancouver (Wash.) Columbian, July 23, 1974]

The Toughest Tiger

One of the tragedies of politics is that a candidate who has once found favor with the voters has a tough time accepting defeat. Wayne Morse had about three times as much of that never-give-up spirit as the average politician.

So it was not without significance, and some pathos, that the former Oregon senator died Monday while trying to regain his old seat in Congress. Even though narrowly defeated for reelection by Robert Packwood in 1968 and easily beaten in 1972 when he tried to take Sen. Mark Hatfield’s seat, he tried to come back again this year. He won the Democratic primary this year against a state senator whose name was not well known. Packwood supporters were reported to have regarded Morse as an easier candidate to beat than a new face. That new face now will be selected by the Oregon Democratic state central committee.

This year’s Senate race was completely within character for Wayne Morse. He seemed not to care what others thought of him or his actions. He could defy a political party, as he did when he left the Republicans in 1952. He could ignore the Senate seniority system, as he did as an Independent for four years. He could stand alone against the Senate, as he and Sen. Ernest
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the NAACP Washington Bureau, said "The Black people of Washington, D.C. pray that the people of Oregon will return 'our' Senator to the Senate."

WAYNE MORSE was a sponsor of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964—the War on Poverty—which brought Headstart, the Foster Grandparents Program, manpower training, and many other essential programs to the poor of the nation. In 1958, he became the first man in the United States to introduce a medicare bill. He served on the special subcommittee that produced the Older Americans Act of 1965.

WAYNE MORSE's leadership produced dramatic changes in the field of education legislation. Morse became chairman of the Senate Education Subcommittee in 1961 and under his leadership the United States Senate passed more education legislation, in quantity and quality, than in the entire history of the nation. After years of indecision, the United States Congress finally endorsed the theory that the federal government has a moral obligation to the education of America's children.

The major education legislation passed under Senator Morse's guidance includes the important Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which provides special funds for the education of children of low-income families. Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Abraham Ribicoff said in 1965, "When the name Morse appears on an education bill, the present generation of children and children yet unborn will be assured that the bill stands for the one man who, in my opinion more than any other single individual in the history of the nation, has helped further the cause of education in the United States."

Senator Morse was widely acknowledged as a foreign policy statesman and his early and lonely opposition to the Vietnam war was praised throughout the world. His position as a labor law expert was unchallenged. His reputation was established as a constitutional expert, as a conservationist, as one of the Senate's leading liberals, and as a source of strength and inspiration in the passage of social legislation. His courage and willingness to fight long and hard, and often alone, and to oppose evil wherever he found it is well known.

But the Senator from Oregon will also be remembered for his concern for the individual. No problem was too small and no person too insignificant for his personal attention. Amid his speeches on the floor of the Senate, his masterful debates, his hours of research and study, WAYNE MORSE made time to attend to the personal problems of his constituents. The late Social Security checks, the denied welfare grants, the cases of discrimination on the docks and in the Post Office of Portland, were to him of major importance.

The world will long remember this great Senator, who was never afraid to stand alone on a matter of principle; who spent his career in the pursuit of individual liberty. He could have taken an easier path and avoided the wrath and the scorn of those who opposed him, but he lived his motto, "Principles Above Politics". His life will remain an inspiration and a challenge to those who also would serve.

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The Tiger Leaves the Jungle

The Tiger in the Senate, WAYNE LYMAN MORSE, 73, an Oregon legend and a political mover and shaker, died as his last battle was just getting under way.

MORSE had many bitter enemies and many devoted friends, and probably even more who loved him and detested him at the same time. Such a paradox is one of the measures of the man.

His superlative qualities were legion. He had a steeltrap mind, independence so strong that sometimes it seemed to be independence for its own sake, and a deep respect for the U.S. Constitution and its guarantees of liberty. He was absolutely fearless.

His less attractive qualities likewise were legion. He was a poor loser and a bad enemy, with a streak of petty vindictiveness that ill-became a man of his stature. The list of former friends who considered they had been stabbed in the back by WAYNE MORSE was a long one. He was verbose; one word would not suffice when a few thousand would do. Consistency—except a devotion to what WAYNE MORSE wanted and believed—was not one of his virtues.

And then there were the mixtures, paradoxical again. He could be compassionate and kind, or he could be viciously cruel (as when in 1958 he virtually elected Mark Hatfield to the Governorship by bringing up a youthful traffic mishap of Hatfield's that everyone else had forgotten, thus creating a revulsion that redounded to the discredit of Hatfield's hapless opponent, Bob Holmes).

He made his mark in the Senate by attention to great national concerns, but at the same time he was one of the most devoted, and effective, members of the Oregon delegation in getting things done for Oregon.

He quarreled with all the Presidents in office during his long service in the Senate, yet often was among their stoutest allies in the passage of crucial legislation in his areas of specialty. But none of those Presidents—Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson—escaped the scarifying lash of his tongue.

He was one of the most successful labor arbitrators of his time, but was never able to bring his conciliatory genius to bear in the legislative jungle of the Senate. He was too abrasive, too prickly-proud, to form lasting political alliances, as his Republican, Independent, and Democratic affiliations indicated.

Whatever one thought of WAYNE MORSE, one could not ignore him. He was always there, a monumental fact of Oregon political life, a force majeure to be reckoned with, even after he had been defeated and left the Senate in which he served for nearly a quarter of a century.

Love him or hate him—or, as with the undersigned, a curious mixture of both—he will be missed, and his like will not soon again be seen in Oregon, or in the U.S. Senate where the Tiger once stalked.—E.A.
MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

[From the Salem (Oreg.) Times, July 25, 1974]

SALEM TIMES EDITORIAL

WAYNE MORSE was a unique person, a one-of-a-kind. First, he was an honest man, rare indeed in politics these days. Second, he led rather than followed, also unusual for those in public office.

MORSE always spoke his mind and he didn't mince words. On occasion some of the citizenry did not seem ready to hear what he had to say. He was an object of scorn when he first opposed the Vietnam war. Years later most Americans came to the conclusion MORSE had been right on the war issue all along and they listened as he attacked the insensitivity of big government and warned of the menace of the military-industrial complex. In most of his speeches in recent months, MORSE argued American leaders were ignoring our Constitutional guarantees and that our nation was in danger of becoming a police state. His arguments, as usual, are convincing.

Oregon, the nation, and the world will miss WAYNE MORSE, who never wavered where principle was concerned. One hopes a new leader with his concerns and similar integrity emerges in this country, but the wait may be long, very long.

[From the Eugene (Oreg.) Register-Guard, July 23, 1974]

END OF THE TIGER'S CAMPAIGN TRAIL

It was altogether appropriate that WAYNE MORSE should die in the middle of a campaign—with his boots on. The tough old Tiger never gave up, determined to vindicate himself and return to the Senate seat he lost by a whisker in 1968.

Now there was a man, this MORSE. Oregon had never seen the likes of him before and may never again. No other political figure so dominated a generation—not McNary, not anybody. From the time he was first approached to run for Congress until the day he died, he exerted such an influence on Oregon politics that no question could be resolved without taking MORSE into account.

He was many men. He was brilliant and eloquent. He was sometimes irascible. He was vain and completely sure of himself. But his principal stamp was his fierce independence. He wore no man's collar—not even the voters'. One of his favorite quotations was from Edmund Burke's 1774 speech to the Electors of Bristol:

"Your representative owes you not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays instead of serving you if he sacrifices it to your opinion."

"If you want to send a senator to Washington," he used to tell his audience, "send MORSE of Oregon. If you want to send a Western Union boy to do your bidding, then find a Western Union boy and send him. Don't send MORSE."

This independence got him into all sorts of trouble—not that he minded. He was one of those figures who commanded a fierce loyalty or a fierce dislike.

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WAYNE L. MORSE

Few could be neutral about him. He demanded absolute loyalty from his subordinates and from his friends. If he didn't get it, they became former subordinates or friends. He expected them to turn as he turned and at exactly the time he turned. He wanted his monuments to be in foreign policy and that may be. But it is just as likely that he will be remembered more favorably for his role in labor and education. He was unquestionably a statesman, serving the whole nation. Yet, he never forgot that he came from Oregon. If a constituent wrote the senator about a problem, he got an answer fast, usually by return mail.

He had two things going for him. First, he was twice as smart as most of the people around him. His memory was almost beyond belief. He could reach back 30 years and remember exactly what he said to Taft or what Vandenberg said to him. The other advantage he had over most mortals is that he worked twice as hard as they did, and thrived on it. At an age when most men would have retired on a generous pension, he preferred the battle. His campaign schedule last spring looked like a man-killer and maybe it was, literally.

Republicans expressed a distaste for him because he “quit” their party. They did not concede that they really kicked him out in a series of insults and slurs against the only Republican senator who was welcome in a union hall to campaign for Dewey and Warren in 1948. He was a loyal Republican for as long as he could stand it and for as long as the Republicans could stand him.

Although he was a formidable figure in the U.S. Senate, in the United Nations or on the campaign trail, he could also be a delightfully warm human being. Sitting under a tree on his College Crest farm, he was everybody's good neighbor. Talking about his cattle or his horses, he was a different man, a man in love with nature. He knew how to relax and could be an easy companion.

They called him the “Tiger of the Senate,” and a tiger he was—smart, strong, skillful, determined, bent upon survival and command, fearless and his own boss. Oregon and the nation are not likely to see his kind for a long time. Maybe never.

[From the Klamath Falls (Oreg.) Herald and News, July 24, 1974]

WAYNE MORSE: HE CALLED HIS OWN SHOTS

WAYNE MORSE was always his own man. He could be overbearing, and frequently was. He lectured presidents just as he lectured his students when he was at the University of Oregon Law School.

He started as a Republican, turned Independent (a change which probably characterized his attitude and philosophy best) and then became a Democrat. Even when a member of the two regular parties in the Senate, however, he didn’t automatically hew to the party line.
MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

His most memorable battle with the establishment of his party—and just one of many—was his refusal to support the Gulf of Tonkin resolution in 1964 which led to the deep involvement of the United States in Vietnam. He was joined in that refusal by the late Ernest Gruening, then Senator from Alaska. Morse continued his vehement criticism of the United States Southeast Asia policy and was joined by a continually growing number of disenchanted congressmen.

His nickname “Tiger of the Senate,” followed naturally. His commitment to a course of action was total. He rarely wavered. It’s ironic that Morse also won fame as a skillful arbitrator of labor problems, because compromise wasn’t the Morse style in the Senate.

After 24 years in the Senate, Morse lost to Bob Packwood in the general election after Morse's narrow win over Bob Duncan in the Democratic primary gave clear indication Morse was in serious trouble at home.

Morse, an old warhorse who had gone to many battles in Congress and didn't hesitate long to attack a colleague or a president if he felt they warranted it, tried to regain a senate seat in 1972 when he ran against Sen. Mark Hatfield. He lost it and it appeared that, at 72, his long and often controversial political career was over.

Morse, however, thought otherwise. He surprised many by filing for the Democratic nomination for the Senate. Not the least of the surprise was Jason Boe, president of the State Senate, who had been the early favorite for the nomination. Morse beat Boe, setting up a return match with Packwood this November.

The “Tiger” was a person about whom there were few uncommitted people. His personality, forcefulness and sometimes haughty manner usually forced people immediately into a pro- or anti-Morse stance. There was little middle ground.

Morse was never reluctant to borrow from his Congressional experience in his campaigns. The first names of high government officials were liberally sprinkled in his interviews.

“And I told Lyndon . . .” he would say in his characteristic rasp, softly pounding his fist on a handy desk. One question was usually sufficient to get Morse going for the length of an interview as he poured out a torrent of legislative history along with legal and Constitutional background on an issue. If the questioner wanted to ask a second question, he usually had to bluntly cut into Morse’s discourse on the first. Morse understood. He was enough of a politician to do that.

Morse lived by a set of high ideals and his abrasive pursuant of those made enemies. Morse earned some of that enmity, but it’s unlikely it bothered him much.

We were not among Morse’s fans, and we’re not going to lavish praise on him now.

Regardless of what we thought of his personality and our appraisal of what he accomplished for Oregon during his tenure however, we have to say this: Wayne Morse charted his own course. He left his mark on Oregon. Very few will be able to say the same when their time comes.
WAYNE L. MORSE

[From the Review, July 24, 1974]

THE PASSING OF GREATNESS

There was a certain something about the man WAYNE MORSE. He commanded your attention when he spoke because there was so much of America's history behind his words. The man who had been on Capitol Hill representing his Oregon people for so long was as much a part of that history as any great statesman. Maybe more. We are sorry he was unable to achieve his last goal—to regain his seat in the Senate against odds of age and infirmity.

He spoke of the Kennedys, Johnson, Nixon, and Eisenhower as if they were old acquaintances and told you in no uncertain terms what he thought about them all. His early place in the legislative battle against a war that eventually became unpopular is historic and indicative of the outspoken manner with which he dealt with any subject. He struck you as a tough customer to take on in any political debate and yet could approach a citizen off the street with an easy manner that let you know he was working for you.

MORSE was not too great to stop in here to tell us what he was thinking in his try for a Senate seat and yet was great enough to have been a driving force behind stopping a multi-billion dollar war. The paradox is as unusual as he was.

There is no uncertainty about it. Oregon and the nation lost a great man when it lost WAYNE MORSE.

[From the Albany (Oreg.) Democrat-Herald, July 23, 1974]

INTELLECT RULED POLITICS FOR SENATOR WAYNE L. MORSE

It is hard to analyze what WAYNE L. MORSE might have meant to the three generations of Oregonians and Americans his public life touched at one time or another. Hence it is difficult to say what his death on Monday takes away from all of us. It wasn't exactly the future because, at age 73 WAYNE MORSE's futures were used up, for the most part. Perhaps used well, but used up, nevertheless.

Nor was it the past, exactly. For, despite the occasional sneering remark that could be heard where WAYNE MORSE went campaigning on his last two attempts to gain public office—in 1972 and this year—he did not live in the past any more than any man of his age and accomplishment.

There will be several thousand words written this week by people trying to sort out all that WAYNE MORSE meant to everybody else. They will be piled atop the thousands of words already written—examining that same question in different circumstances—and will replace the words that were written, then wadded up and thrown out, which is how editorialists and critics hide their most obvious mistakes.

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It is not that Wayne Morse, academician and senator, was the kind of dominant figure who makes eulogies and such pale in comparison to a recitation of his accomplishments. It is just that Morse has been a fact of life in Oregon for so long that nobody was really sure he would be anything other than that. So the words that he will get this week are likely to be either too shrill in justification or too maudlin in remembrance.

His vitriolic attacks on many of the public figures of our time will be part of the Morse legend that will be related this week. He once called Lyndon B. Johnson power mad. He once, in 1966, supported Republican Mark Hatfield over fellow Democrat Robert Duncan in the senatorial race. He fought with Clare Boothe Luce, who responded with an indelicate remark about the time Morse was kicked in the head by a horse.

He switched parties, from Republican to Independent to Democrat. And he was never very loyal to any of them. “Good” Republicans pulled their hair out when Morse quit that party. (They said much later that they were never so glad to lose anybody.) Democrats pulled their hair when he jumped the traces against Duncan, then pulled some more when Morse kept right on running—and winning the Democratic primaries—after his 1968 defeat by Republican Sen. Robert Packwood.

It is likely that aspiring Oregon politicians of the future will invoke the name of Wayne Morse with the same reverence now reserved by Democrats for Franklin D. Roosevelt and by Republicans for Dwight D. Eisenhower. And they can be pretty much assured, that if Morse were their opponent, he would be having none of it. He would prefer instead to latch into the intellectual laziness that is so much a part of present-day politics and demand to know where and why they stood on the issues that Wayne Morse thought were important.

For all of his anger, independence, and stubbornness, Morse was a man ruled by his intellect. His attacks weren’t against a faceless bureaucracy or an ephemeral “theme,” but against a president who lied, or a presidency that was, in a demonstrable pattern, exceeding the bounds of the Constitution—no matter what was said by the old “new dealers” of the Johnson administration or the “new federalists” of the Nixon administration. If he was wrong, he came by his errors honestly. If he was right, he was often right long before anybody else realized it.

[From The Oregonian, July 23, 1974]

Wayne L. Morse

The death of Wayne Lyman Morse at the age of 73 ended a tempestuous political career of a brilliant, eloquent practitioner of dissent. The former Oregon Law School dean who served in the United States Senate for 24 years seemed to be more often in the minority than not. His skill in debate, his filibusters, his party jumping and the sharpness of his accusatory tongue made his name known nationally and worldwide. His friends were loyal. His enemies were legion.
WAYNE L. MORSE

Sen. Morse created for himself a unique role in politics and government as a spokesman for Oregon, a state with a tradition of populist uprisings and independence of voters and politicians. Morse out did other Oregon mavericks and managed in his Senate terms to impale Democratic and Republican presidents impartially. At various times he denounced Harry Truman, Dwight Eisenhower, Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon. However, he greatly admired Franklin D. Roosevelt under whom he served on the War Labor Board during World War II.

Sen. Morse, a liberal who defeated conservative Sen. Rufus Holman in the 1944 Republican primary with the help of many prominent Republicans who opposed Holman's record of isolationism and general futility, was an early supporter of Dwight Eisenhower for the Republican presidential nomination in 1952. But immediately after Eisenhower's nomination at the Chicago convention, Morse began attacking the nominee. He declared his independence of party and supported Adlai Stevenson. Some political observers were certain that he had hoped to get the vice presidential nomination which went to Sen. Richard M. Nixon.

Sen. Morse's conversion to the Democratic Party lost him hard-core Republican support, but among these were those who had contended that Morse was in the wrong party, anyway. His victories as a Democrat gave him a stronger base, but this was shattered in the bitter 1968 Democratic primary in which he defeated Congressman Bob Duncan, with Vietnam a central issue, but so divided the party that he lost his seat to Republican Bob Packwood.

Some of Sen. Morse's best friends urged him not to challenge Sen. Mark Hatfield, whom he had endorsed in Hatfield's earlier race against Duncan, in the 1970 senatorial contest, which Hatfield won easily. But Morse would make no concession to age or declining popularity among the voters. Seeking to regain his old seat this year, Morse won the nomination again but lost his last fight at Good Samaritan Hospital Monday.

Sen. Morse probably will be remembered longest for his adamant opposition to American intervention in Vietnam and his denunciations of Presidents Johnson and Nixon for not ending that intervention without waiting for a negotiated settlement. His only Senate supporter in voting against the Tonkin Gulf resolution, which gave President Johnson authority to commit American forces to battle in Vietnam, was Sen. Ernest Gruening of Alaska, who died last month at the age of 87.

A book about Sen. Morse, an unauthorized biography written by A. Robert Smith, Washington, D.C., newspaperman, was published in 1962 under the title, "The Tiger in the Senate." Sen. Morse tried to stop its publication, although it fairly recounts his record to that time of unorthodox politics, his "force and fury," his accomplishments and his failings. Smith wrote that it was not his purpose "to anticipate history's judgment of Wayne Morse." This newspaper, which supported him in his earlier campaigns as the liberal voice of Republicans, came to sharp disagreements with some of his later
positions. In one thing all should agree: Sen. Morse was an unusual man whose faith in his own judgment was never shaken by events. The complete biography of Wayne Morse remains to be written.

[From the (Portland) Oregon Journal, July 28, 1974]

THE TIGER CLOSES THE BOOK

The death of Wayne Morse ends a political career the likes of which probably will not be seen again in Oregon, or elsewhere.

This man, who gained the title “Tiger in the Senate,” frequently spoke of himself in the third person; and probably this was most appropriate, for he had only one guiding star—Wayne Morse.

For 24 years he was unbeatable as a candidate for the Senate, and in that period it was only when he attempted to step out of this role and become a “favorite son” candidate in the presidential primary of 1960 that he suffered defeat on his home ground.

In the Senate, he was not influential in the sense that, for example, the late Lyndon Johnson was, but few relished the thought of becoming his enemy. And, his incessant pounding, as on the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, sometimes started a swing in public opinion which could be more powerful than any Senate cloakroom cabal.

Morse knew the rules of the political game and could be a loyal party worker. With some notable exceptions, for example his refusal to support Democrat Robert Duncan against Republican Mark Hatfield, he supported the party ticket; but always in the final analysis, there was only one party line for Morse and that was the Morse line.

From the day he arrived on the University of Oregon campus to teach in the law school those who became associated with him recognized that here was a brilliant mind and a driving ambition.

The combination of these gained him the deanship of the law school, the Republican nomination for the Senate and membership in that body as a Republican, then as an Independent and finally as a Democrat until his defeat in 1968 by a young political unknown (outside Oregon), Robert Packwood.

Along the way he acquired a host of enemies and a host of friends, for Wayne Morse was one of those men who seem to inspire either hatred or worship.

In his career, he gained nationwide recognition as a labor mediator, as the author of a host of important education measures and as the gadfly of the Senate.

Wayne Morse had only one career—to follow his star and that star hung over the halls of government in Washington, D.C.

He would not accept defeat and when the end came at age 73, he was using the last reserves of a remarkable store of energy to follow that star. Undoubtedly that is the way Wayne Morse wanted it.
A Needed Voice of Indignation Is Stilled

In the stunning shock of Wayne Morse's death, memories come flooding back of the three decades during which he was a dominant figure in Oregon's and the nation's politics. The picture which stands clear and apart from all the argumentation and acrimony is of a great man of conviction, of undaunted determination to serve his state and his nation.

At a time when such qualities are desperately needed, the loss of a person of Morse's stature is all the more cause for bereavement.

It was his reputation as an impartial U.S. Labor Dept. arbiter, in which capacity he served while dean of the University of Oregon Law School, which drew attention to him and propelled him into the race for the U.S. Senate on the Republican ticket 30 years ago this year.

He very likely was the only member of the body to serve as a Republican, an Independent and a Democrat. This told the story of his career, as he saw himself guiding a straight course through the seas of politics while the tides of partisanship shifted one direction and another. He charted his course by the star of "constitutional liberalism."

While his difficulties in working with colleagues, party leaders and U.S. presidents were legion, his dedication to principle often found him far ahead of the thinking of his time. The most notable example was his dedicated opposition to the Vietnam war. He was one of only two senators who voted against the Gulf of Tonkin resolution.

His "maverick" alienation from traditional political ties and allegiances kept him from membership in the Senate's "club". His filibusters and refusal to accept political protocol irritated his associates. In mid-term, it always seemed as though Sen. Morse had so thoroughly alienated the political power structure that he could not be re-elected. He loved this role of the underdog and played it to the hilt.

But in election after election, Oregon voters rallied to his exhortations against political pragmatists. He cut through his campaigns with a two-edged sword, condemning the political "ins" while capitalizing on his Senate seniority.

In typical fashion, he never accepted his loss to young Robert Packwood six years ago, only waiting for opportunities to regain his Senate seat.

He died with his political boots on, having won his party's nomination for the U.S. Senate, striding on toward the November campaign.

While The Stateman did not endorse his political loner-ism, we recognize his sincerity and dedication to purpose and the tremendous impact he made on the American political scene.

At a time when the national leadership needs to be charged anew with meeting its obligations and ideals, we have lost a man who knew how to attack that mission with the fervor and righteous indignation it deserves.
MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

[From the Hood River (Oreg.) News, July 25, 1974]

IMPRINT ON HISTORY

Sen. WAYNE MORSE will never have the one final term in office he wanted so much and was working hard to attain. Death resulting from kidney failure following an infection took Morse this week.

At the time he started his campaign in the primary, he said he wanted to serve during a time he said would be most critical for the United States. Viewing the public disillusionment with the moral tone of the political scene, Sen. Morse felt the integrity he had built into a substantial reputation might again play an important role in the Senate.

Features and news accounts of Morse's life and death will try to focus on a single outstanding feature of his career. Many of them will point to his stand against Vietnam, when he and Sen. Gruening of Alaska were the only two to vote against the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. It was with great pride that Morse could later say his colleagues admitted "Wayne, you were right." But it was to his chagrin that many told him at the time of the voting they knew he was right, but they were voting the other way.

This single issue was far from the only major accomplishment of Morse. More than anything, it was a symbol of how he would not move from principle when he felt he was right. As a U.S. Senator he was instrumental in helping turn the nation toward federal aid to education, and federal entry into financial aid in many fields. This earned him the opposition of many who resisted the welfare state trend.

The senator was intensely proud of the role he played in resolving labor management troubles during his later years. He was equally proud of his record in handling requests and business of individual constituents.

When Wayne Morse was in Hood River during the primary campaign, he said if he were elected, he would work just as hard on a request from someone who had opposed him as he would for those who backed him. "I'll represent all the people," he insisted.

No one could doubt that he meant it, because his opponents and proponents alike agreed on the senator's integrity.

He was called a "maverick," at times, but certainly he would deny the label. He contended that all a colleague with a bill had to do to get his support was to show him it was right. He had a deep feeling for the Constitution, and this brought him into conflict with almost every administration during his Senate career.

There is little doubt that Morse will take a place in Oregon and national history books alongside others such as McNary.

Rep. Al Ullman capsuled this thought in his eulogy. "Wayne Morse made a great imprint on the United States Senate, on this country and on our history," he said. "That imprint will endure and will serve as a living memorial to a great man."
WAYNE L. MORSE

[From the Ontario (Oreg.) Daily Argus Observer, July 23, 1974]

A TIGER DIES

WAYNE MORSE's death leaves a void in Oregon's political scene which will not soon be filled. He was a dynamic person who might take a firm stand on an issue—but presented another side, would change positions with no apparent loss of stature.

The ex-senator certainly let the nation know that Oregon was a part of the United States! During his 24 years in the Senate, he earned his title "The Tiger in the Senate."

During his recent visit to Ontario, MORSE showed a vigor and physical toughness few much younger men could match. But perhaps the campaign was too strenuous for the older heart and body—and he was unable to fight off this last illness.

It will be awhile before Oregon finds another "Tiger" to send to Washington. Some will welcome the quiet but there are those who say, "at least we knew what was going on when MORSE was there."

Sen. Mark Hatfield said, in reporting the death of Ex-Sen. MORSE to fellow Senators, "Sen. MORSE was a politician from a unique mold—an enigma to many people."

Sen. Morse will perhaps be best remembered here for going to bat for eastern Oregon ranchers during the battle over rangelands. From his efforts came the highly successful "Vale Project" with its tremendous range rehabilitation program.

Even in his retirement, he was busy commenting on national and international events, never forgetting Oregon was home.

WAYNE MORSE will be missed.

[From KOOS Radio]

WAYNE LYMAN MORSE

Mister Integrity, WAYNE LYMAN MORSE, the Tiger of the United States Senate is dead. Mister Integrity, WAYNE LYMAN MORSE, the Tiger of the United States Senate lives. WAYNE MORSE lives in the hearts and minds of million of Americans. WAYNE MORSE lives in the hearts and minds of millions of people in all countries of the world.

WAYNE MORSE—to know him was to love him—or hate him—no middle ground. He had none of our common vices. I likened him to a poet chewing tobacco when writing poems. He really gave a damn. WAYNE was a perfectionist, lifetime student of all subjects. A perpetual educator. His constant love, other than his wife Mildred and his three daughters, the love he honored... the love he sought to protect and the love he sought to defend... was the Constitution of the United States.

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Yes, WAYNE MORSE . . . the student, the educator, the arbitrator, the negotiator, the farmer, the perfector of the law, the peacemaker, the scourge of the perpetrators of injustice . . . yes, WAYNE MORSE beat with the persistence of an unpaid madam at the door of Justice. It is a sad time for the people of our nation . . . our world. And when the ghost of WAYNE MORSE returns to your mind and your heart, don’t stare. Welcome his shade. Goodnight, Sweet Prince.

REMINISCENCES ABOUT THE MAN FROM OREGON: IT’S DOUBTFUL THERE’LL EVER BE ANOTHER MORSE

(By Robert B. Frazier)

Monday, hours after WAYNE MORSE died, I sat down and recounted some of the thoughts that were going through my head. And now, now, dammit, I’m not through. There was too much to tell.

Unfortunately, I wasn’t at that big party up the McKenzie. But Governor Earl Snell was and so were a bunch of rich lumbermen right after the war. So was Bill Tugman, former editor of this newspaper. Bill was a great story teller who never let a good story grow worse.

That night up the McKenzie, somebody pulled out a deck of cards and organized a poker game. WAYNE MORSE, quite new in the Senate, volunteered to sit in. He paid $100 for a stack of poker chips. The lumbermen expressed concern about the way the new senator was squandering his modest wages.

MORSE lost the whole bundle in record time. The lumbermen begged the senator not to send good money after bad, but the senator insisted and bought another stack of chips. He won modestly. Then the lumbermen began bluffing him. The senator showed that he could be bluffed.

As MORSE’s stack disappeared, Tugman decided to go to bed. “Don’t worry about the boy senator,” he growled at a lumberman. “Before morning he’ll own your goddamn sawmill.”

When Tugman woke up in the morning, the game was just ending. MORSE had everything on the table. Tugman didn’t know how much it was, but guessed it was several thousand dollars. The senator thanked his hosts, jumped in his car and drove to Salem for a speech and to Portland for another. He was back in Eugene that night.

Before he went to the Senate, MORSE was president of the Eugene Rotary Club, a matter of Rotary pride at the time. But after he jumped the traces and refused to support Eisenhower and Nixon, Rotarians preferred to forget that he was still one of theirs. It was not for several years that he was to be invited back to speak to his old friends, the friends who had once pounded him on the back and called him WAYNE.

About 1954, when he was still banished from Rotary programs, I was with him in the Eugene Hotel lobby. He met a big lumberman and invited him to lunch. “I’m speaking to the Chamber of Commerce,” he said, “It’s going to be a great speech. You ought to come hear it.”

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"Hear it, hell," the lumberman told him. "Last time I heard you, goddamn it, Wayne, you convinced me and I stayed convinced for three whole days. Now I know better, I'm going to stay away."

Once Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois, a close friend of the senator and man ideologically tuned to him, and Morse appeared together at the University of Oregon. At a press conference, Senator Douglas confessed, "I like Wayne, but I can't understand his being a Republican. He ought to be a Democrat. But at least he's my kind of Republican."

Morse replied, "I like Paul, too, but I can't understand how anybody that smart can be a Democrat. He'll be a Republican before I ever change parties."

Morse was wrong that time.

The senator was never a close personal friend and most of what I saw of him was in public. Either that or he knew I was a newspaperman, a member of a race of people he neither liked nor trusted. Thus I was never privy to his private feelings. But at least once I sensed his anguish.

It was at the Portland Rose Festival in June of 1953. Less than a month earlier, I had been kicked out of the senator's office. My mission in Portland was to cover the senator's "Homecoming," his first visit to the state since he had refused to support the Republican ticket the previous fall. The other dignitary in Portland that day was Douglas McKay, former governor and then Eisenhower's new secretary of the Interior.

Morse regarded McKay as a boob. McKay was a hero to Oregon Republicans, who knew that he was only the second Oregon man to serve in the Cabinet. Republicans were still angry at Morse for his apostacy. Democrats did not yet accept him.

It was McKay that day who got the applause, Morse who got the silence and the jeers. That must have hurt, but Morse never showed it, at least not publicly.

He could be rough. In 1955, it was rumored that Governor Paul Patterson, a beloved public servant, was ready to take him on in 1956. "I hope he doesn't" the senator told me. "He's not a well man. A campaign against me would kill him. He wouldn't dare run against me." Patterson did decide to run, but had not begun his campaign when he succumbed to a heart attack in January of 1956. Morse's eventual opponent that year was Douglas McKay. Morse won with 396,849 votes, out of 732,254 cast. I wonder if, the morning after election, he did not remember the Rose Festival of three years before.

Sometimes, I think, Morse rather enjoyed the press. He used the press as a whipping boy, just as much as Spiro Agnew ever did. Many a time I sat in a crowd and heard him denounce "that yellow rag" the Register-Guard.

Early in his Senate career, he'd flood the press with more information than anybody wanted. Morse was coming home. That announcement was followed by a series of press releases. Morse was in Illinois, pulling a horse trailer. Now he had reached Wyoming. Idaho by Wednesday. Reporters did everything but interview the nag.
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authorized biography of the senator, “The Tiger in the Senate,” thus giving Morse a nickname that he wore proudly the rest of his life.

WASHINGTON.—Among the many efforts to analyze the Senate champion maverick of the mid-Twentieth Century, none was quite so much to the point as one offered by Wayne Morse himself:

“I sometimes wonder if I’m going at this a little too hard. But then I think of all the men and women who wish there were just one politician in Washington who would speak his mind and cast his vote honestly and freely with only his conscience to guide him. Maybe it’s a bit brash to assume that I’m that man, but believe me, I’m trying to be.”

To tens of thousands of citizens from coast to coast, Senator Morse was surely that man. Everytime he stood up in the Senate and verbalized his and their outrage over what he perceived to be wrong in high places of government and business, foreign, and domestic, Morse’s office was deluged with fan mail.

What Morse revealed in that statement was his own sense of purpose. Though frequently denounced by other politicians, by editorial writers and by some citizens who sharply disagreed with him, the manifestation of support he received from the common folk gave him a sense of fulfillment.

In this sense, as the advocate of lost causes, the spokesman for the underdog, the fighter against great odds. Everyman’s senator, Wayne Morse was a notable success.

His means and his ends were not always that noble, of course, and his personal flaws were sometimes more noticeable than his virtues: As the journalist who probably wrote more about Wayne Morse than any other writer, it seems to me only just to confess that while he belonged to us too much space was devoted to his shortcomings, not enough to his longcomings.

But now that he belongs to history, we must pay him his due. He was long on courage, long on vision, long in determination to fight to uphold the Bill of Rights in an era when personal freedom came under constant assault.

He was also brilliant, but there are lots of brilliant pussyfooters in Washington. Morse was different.

Any one of those virtues would be enough to command acclaim for the average public man today—but Wayne Morse was far above average. Indeed, there was nothing average about him.

Having dubbed him “The Tiger in the Senate” in a biography published in 1962, I think in retrospect—looking back upon his whole career—that another symbol might be more appropriate. A tiger in debate he was, but he was much more.

In an era of growing corruption in public and private life, Wayne Morse was more like an Old Testament prophet, a political Jeremiah, condemning kings and commoners alike in their sinful ways, a harsh voice bringing discomfort to the wicked.

He was denounced for not being a healer or a peacemaker—but that was not his mission.
WAYNE L. MORSE

He was stripped of his office for not being all things to all men, for not soothing the masses, and for opposing a national war much too soon—but he did what he had to do, true to his own sense of purpose.

WAYNE MORSE didn’t want to be a voice crying in the wilderness, although often he was. He, like most public men, wanted power and used what power he acquired with considerable skill. He would rather have been a president than a prophet—but that, too, was not the role destiny had marked for him.

At the Republican national convention in 1952 WAYNE MORSE, then a liberal Republican, was unstinting in his praise of Eisenhower over Taft for the presidential nomination—until Ike, having won it, agreed to take Richard Nixon as his running mate. In his hotel room afterward MORSE was a picture of despair.

Professional skeptics that we are, we reporters who covered these events ascribed his sudden coolness to personal disappointment that the ticket wasn’t Eisenhower-MORSE. His subsequent endorsement of Adlai Stevenson and resignation from the GOP showed how very deep his disappointment had been.

Maybe there was more to it than that, Perhaps WAYNE MORSE, who knew something about Senator Nixon, visualized what this decision would mean to the Republican party and to the nation in due course, and he wanted none of it.

Perhaps not, and yet he had a genius for perceiving the dark underside of politics and a career-long compulsion for turning it up for all to see.

It was this vision which caused him to be the first in the Senate to oppose America’s taking on the war in Vietnam in the name of defending freedom. America was defending a corrupt military regime, cried MORSE to the immense discomfort of almost everyone in Washington at the time.

In the process, of course, he gained converts—and undoubtedly a place in history for being one of the two senators to vote against the Gulf of Tonkin resolution authorizing U.S. forces to enter combat in Vietnam.

His last public appearance in Washington, incidentally, was three weeks ago at the National Cathedral to eulogize the only senator who stood with him, the late Ernest Gruening of Alaska, who died a month ago.

Whether MORSE’s courageous opposition to the Vietnam war was his greatest achievement will be for historians or a later biographer to suggest. He had a model in the unpopular role Sen. Robert La Follette played as a critic of American entry into World War I.

Yet he may have played a more important role in his nearly 30 years on the national political stage, namely as a symbol of honesty in politics.

Douglas McKay, the former Oregon governor who resigned from the Eisenhower cabinet to run against MORSE in 1956, complained that MORSE, the hairshirt of Washington, “gave Oregon a black eye.” That was in the days when MORSE took on the president of General Motors, Charlie Wilson, who as the nominee for secretary of Defense, cracked, “What’s good for the country is good for General Motors, and vice versa.” And when MORSE filibustered against the administration-backed tidelands oil bill.
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To McKay's conservative friends and Republican stalwarts, Morse personified the worst thing imaginable—a renegade, a Republican turncoat. But when Morse overwhelmed McKay at the polls that November, it was apparent that a majority of the voters preferred his brand of independence, his gutsy honesty.

If democracy depends on public faith in the political system and men holding office, corruption in public office becomes a form of subversion, eroding the foundation of the nation. Washington's corruption today is at the floodtide.

Perhaps the greatest contribution any public man or woman can make is to justify our faith in the honesty of those we elect. For tens of thousands of Americans, Wayne Morse more than any other figure of his time did just that.

For those who hated him, and they were legion, he could do little or no right. But for those who admired him, and they are legion, Wayne Morse gave politics a good name. And right now that seems like a considerable legacy for any person to have given his country.

[From the East Oregonian, July 22, 1974]

MORSE WAS QUITE A MAN

(By Dean Holmes)

U.S. Sen. Wayne Morse was quite a man. And there are thousands of Oregonians mourning his passing today. A husky longshoreman, a retired school teacher and an Eastern Oregon farmer, may all shed a tear today.

I became acquainted with the senator 25 years ago. It happened in a Williamette Valley High School where he was making a speech. He was a Republican, and he was, among other things, lashing out at his party's campaign for cutting the federal budget in places like veterans benefits. He was pleading the case for the ex-serviceman that day and he was doing it in typical Morse fashion.

The several hundred students from surrounding towns were tuned in to his speech. The teachers couldn't get that kind of attention.

He always said his best audiences were high school students. Also, he said he could sense the attitudes of his audiences like a circus performer and when they started coming with him he would turn it on like a fire horse.

He was challenged by Douglas McKay at the insistence of Republican President Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1956. McKay was the popular former Oregon governor and Eisenhower's Secretary of the Interior.

Sen. Morse made a swing that year through Eastern Oregon speaking mostly to high school students. Adults also came to hear the maverick sena-
tor, who was lashing out at Eisenhower. The school auditoriums were filled. Neighboring towns closed their schools and bused their students to hear Morse.

He said that swing into Eastern Oregon let him know that he was a winner. He beat McKay by 75,000 votes.

Morse was at home with the common man or the millionaire. He had a legion of friends in both categories.

He didn't stand much on protocol.

He liked to tell of the time he was called to the White House one night for an emergency meeting. He had been out to his Maryland acreage. He drove into the underground driveway of the White House in his muddy Ford sedan with chicken coops in the back seat. He said the security people couldn't believe what they were seeing. He said that car looked strange in the parking garage that was filled with limousines.

Another time he was traveling via train along the eastern seaboard and received a note in the handwriting of President Harry Truman. Morse said Truman wanted him to come to the White House to discuss the attorney general's job. Morse was told to go to a side door in the dark to avoid alerting newsmen.

Always in a hurry, and always in top physical shape, Morse didn't drink or smoke.

Once a drunk on a cafe stool in a small Oregon town wanted to shake the senator's hand. The drunk fell to the floor. Morse, a strong man, picked him up and parked the big man on a stool with a thud. Then with a pleasant smile and a handshake he made the drunk happy and amused the other people. As he left he commented, "After that jolt that fellow won't sleep well tonight."

After he kicked over the political traces of the GOP in 1952 he lost thousands of political friends in Oregon.

In December of that year, after Eisenhower won, Morse came back to Oregon to tell his side of the story. He was invited to speak at Sheridan. The speech was in the high school gym and attracted an estimated 1,200 people in a town of 1,700 population.

The speech also marked something else. It was the first live telecast program from Oregon.

At Sheridan he refused at the last minute to speak at the Catholic Jesuit Novitiate because the school administration ruled his daughters or newsmen couldn't attend. Morse said he refused to speak if newsmen were barred.

The political climate changed in later years when he moved from a Republican to an Independent, then finally a Democrat. He lost lots of devoted friends.

On his last visit to Hermiston he attracted only a few of the party faithful. Twenty years earlier he would have filled the school auditorium with students and adults.
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[From the Eugene (Oreg.) Register-Guard, July 24, 1974]

UPS AND DOWNS OF MAKING FRIENDS WITH THE "TIGER": MEMORY OF MORSE BEGAN IN 1941

(By Robert B. Frazier)

I don't know why I feel this way, but I do and I want to set some things down on paper four hours after WAYNE MORSE died. In more than a quarter century of following Oregon politics, I have never felt as keenly the loss of a political figure. Not even Dick Neuberger, a close friend, which WAYNE was not.

Maybe my regret is that WAYNE was not a close friend and I am sorry about that. I think I tried. But the rift between WAYNE and the Register-Guard was too great. Let me go back to the beginning.

In 1941, I was a reporter for the Oregon Daily Emerald on the campus and WAYNE was dean of the law school and already a national figure. There was some hanky panky about a student body election and all agreed that Dean MORSE should be the guy to adjudicate it. He found the ballots fraudulent and burned them. I have been following him ever since.

When he campaigned against "Deadwood Dave" Hoover in the 1950 primary, I sometimes drove the car for him, a courtesy that the now much more discreet Register-Guard would not allow. WAYNE would sleep as we drove from Bend to Prineville, then to John Day, Ontario, Burns and so on. Sometimes he'd wake up and talk a little. At the end of the day I'd be exhausted and WAYNE MORSE, after half a dozen speeches, would feel fine.

We were pretty friendly right into 1952 when Bill Tugman, my mentor and predecessor, and WAYNE had a falling out about Truman's seizure of the steel mills. The fight got pretty bitter. WAYNE was not a candidate that year, so I saw him only occasionally.

That summer the Republicans nominated Eisenhower and young Sen. Dick Nixon. WAYNE seemed to support the ticket. But he must have been seething inside. Maybe he wanted the vice presidential nomination. I knew that he had an intense dislike for Nixon. MORSE had been badly snubbed at the convention, with a choice post that he wanted going to an obscure young state legislator named Mark Hatfield.

I did not see MORSE again that summer. In late August I left for Cambridge, Mass., to accept a Nieman fellowship at Harvard. In Toronto, I picked up a copy of the Star and read that WAYNE would not support the Republican ticket.

Ten days later, I arrived at Harvard and found my mailbox full of letters and Register-Guards. WAYNE was taking a hell of a beating. I understood that his wife and children were snubbed in church and that he was being brutally cussed out.

So I wrote to him, telling him that while I did not agree with his decision, I had to admire his courage and guts. I got a nice letter back. He came to Boston and visited with the Nieman fellows at one of our weekly seminars.
On the Sunday before election, he was going to be in Boston again and wrote me about it, inviting me to spend the day with him. One of his activities was to take part in a television show with Walter Reuther of the United Automobile Workers and Maurice Tobin, former mayor of Boston and at that time Truman's secretary of labor.

Wayne was staying at the Parker House. In the taxi to the Statler, where Reuther was staying, Wayne took one of his famous quickie naps. Reuther had recently been the target of an assassination attempt and always had a bodyguard with him. We knocked on the door and this gorilla opened it. Reuther looked around the room corridor and said, "Hi, Wayne, come on in." Morse stepped in and I followed, only to be stopped by the gorilla's arm.

"Walter," said Wayne, "let this boy in; he's as close to me as a member of my own family."

We had a fine day.

That winter, Morse and Bob Smith, our guy in Washington, got into a scrap. The Associated Press joined on Bob's side. On my way home in May of 1953, I stopped in Washington a few days and free-loaded on Bob. When I went to see Morse, he asked where I was staying and I gulped and said, "With a friend." He ushered me into his inner sanctum, which was festooned with ribbons and plaques and pictures of horses. Then he began.

I have been castigated, chastized and just plain chewed out many times. But this reading off was classic. I could hardly believe it. What had I done? Except for one magazine article favorable to Morse I had not written a line about him for nine months, nor had I written much for the Register-Guard.

Gradually it came through. He had developed a hatred for Tugman and a contempt for Bob Smith. Jack Bell of the Associated Press was on the big list, too. Apparently anybody who looked as if he ought to have a press card in his hat was fair game. He ended up by ordering me out of the office and inviting me never to return.

I came home to cover politics, which meant frequent encounters with the senator. Naturally, I was wary. He was cool, almost icy. After I came onto the editorial page and got my name on the masthead of the paper, the ice froze a little harder.

When he and Dick Neuberger got into their big scrap in 1958, I often held Dick's sore paw. Dick didn't understand what he had done wrong, either.

In 1963 I was walking down the corridors of one of the Senate office buildings when I saw the sign on the door, "Morse of Oregon." I put my hand on the knob and started to turn it.

Then I said, "The hell with it. I've been there." I went over to see Maurine Neuberger instead.

Over the years in the course of business, I'd see Wayne from time to time. After his defeat by Bob Packwood in 1968 something seemed to happen to him. I know he was terribly hurt. And, I think, humbled. Since that defeat, I saw him more than I had seen him for several years. We had several very pleasant talks, and Wayne could be the world's most pleasant guy. He disapproved
of my smoking and could not understand how little I cared about horses and cows, but the old animosity seemed to have disappeared.

Then in 1972, when he was running against Mark Hatfield, a funny thing happened. He came to the Register-Guard building. It was, as far as I know, his first visit in 20 years. He came not only once, but twice. The thaw was on.

In his later years, our relationships improved. But I always had the feeling that he thought Bill Tugman was still down here at 10 and High, hurling his thunderbolts. I very much regret that it took so long to repair what had been a fine friendship.

The last time I saw him face-to-face was May 3 when he met with the Register-Guard editorial board. Unlike most candidates, he did not arrive with an entourage of press agents, bodyguards and speech writers. He drove his own car and came in all by himself. We taped a delightful hour and a half of give-and-take.

The paper endorsed Morse in the primary and he telephoned to talk about that. He also invited me up to the farm to hear returns on election night, but I felt it would be inappropriate for me to go.

Usually after an election, we erase tapes of the old interviews and use them again. Saturday I ran across those Morse tapes and almost erased them. Now I don’t think I ever will.

[From the Eugene (Oreg.) Register-Guard, July 24, 1974]

FAR MORE THAN TITANIC POLITICAL FIGURE: MORSE WAS FIRST A HUMAN BEING

(By Henny Willis)

It is not easy to think of WAYNE MORSE dying. He seemed somehow indestructible, a kind of masterpiece by some Renaissance sculptor who worked in granite and steel.

But, WAYNE MORSE was more than the titanic political figure who became—by far the most colorful, caustic, controversial, and crusty politician ever to stride across Oregon. He was first a human being, a warm companion, a genteel and courtly host, a gracious and stimulating conversationalist, an entertaining story-teller.

It is this latter Morse, the very human yet very rare individual, which I feel a deep-seated compulsion to write about. It is also this WAYNE MORSE, the rancher in the Western hat and the eager coffee-maker who made terrible coffee, that I will miss most.

We first met in 1967, the year I took over the political beat at the Register-Guard. I went out to his Crest Drive home in Eugene for an interview, my first trip to that spacious and imposing, yet eminently comfortable, home he and his wife built in the early 1930s. I was a little apprehensive. because I was new on the political scene and he was in his 73rd year in the United States
Wayne L. Morse

Senate, a man of gargantuan reputation who was said to chew up political writers at the drop of an adjective. And, hovering above this first visit was his 20-year feud with the Register-Guard.

He greeted me at the door, graciously, and ushered me into the large living room. His wife had remained in Washington, D.C., and he offered me a cup of coffee he had brewed himself, apologizing in advance for how it might taste. The apology was appropriate. It was bad coffee. Later, we would joke together about his coffee, but at that first meeting, I wasn’t about to begin our tenuous professional relationship with criticism.

We spent the better part of an hour chatting about various things, mostly Vietnam, and in the process I was subjected for the first time to the Wayne Morse pronunciation on U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia—an oral dissertation that was at once brilliant, rambling, intellectual, emotional. It was a quickie course in constitutional law, a passionate blast at the "Eisenhower-Nixon-Dulles military containment policy" and, more than anything, Wayne Morse’s bone marrow conviction that the war was morally wrong, legally indefensible and intellectually abhorrent.

That first meeting went well, although Morse’s rhetorical style and strong convictions against the war made me feel at times more like a college student hearing a lecture than an interviewer asking questions.

There were other such visits, sometimes at the Morse home, occasionally at public gatherings. During the next year, Morse and I came to respect each other and could converse comfortably. He was a magnificent talker, expansive in mood and gesture, and though he always kept the built-in propensity to lecture, the growing familiarity between us made conversation easy and enjoyable.

Occasionally, he’d refer to a piece I’d written about him, saying, “Henny, that was fair reporting,” meaning that I’d been fair in my treatment of Wayne Morse. From the old devourer of journalists, it was indeed a compliment.

The personal side of Wayne Morse came more into focus for me following his 1968 defeat by Packwood. The loss meant he was around more for interviews and brief chats; thus we became more comfortable with each other. Morse was not a man to show private emotions, unless they were emotions dictated by public events and his role in those events. He was not someone easily approachable, unlike so many politicians, and he kept his private life to himself. Yet, there were times over the years that brief glimpses of the private Morse broke through.

One such time was at his Eugene home the day Bobby Kennedy died. Though he and Kennedy were not particularly close, certainly not as friends, the assassination touched Morse deeply. In his small kitchen that summer morning, he talked at a great length about public life, its rigors and demands, its rewards and challenges. One great regret I have is that I did not tape that conversation, but it does remain indelibly imprinted in memory.

Another time the private Morse emerged for me was in early 1970, when he had called me to come up to his house for an “important announcement.” When I arrived, he told me he was not running against John Dellenback for
Congress, a possibility that had been rumored for several weeks. We talked more and, somewhere along the line, the conversation turned to his home and his roots in Eugene.

At one point he looked out the large picture window of his living room toward the back part of his 27 acres. There was an unusual wistfulness in his voice and his facial expression and he said: "We're going to have to sell part of this. The taxes are just too high." He seemed to be saying it more to himself than to me. He loved that setting, the cattle pens, the rolling miniature hills, the large trees. He and Midge Morse had lived there for nearly 40 years and had raised their three daughters there. It was their haven from the turbulence of the public arena.

They're saying that I was the last political writer to interview Morse in depth. I don't know about that. If so, I am honored. If not, I treasure the many moments we did share.

The most vivid recollection I have of Wayne Morse is one of our last contacts with each other. It was at the State Demoforum in the Inn at Otter Crest. Morse had come over to be the keynote speaker at the Saturday night banquet. He seemed relaxed, mingled easily with the delegates and at one point, he sat for more than an hour listening to the delegates tediously debate land-use planning. As always, he was immaculately dressed in dark suit and sporting his latest condescension to male fashion—a colorful striped shirt, instead of his usual plain white. And, as always, he seemed indefatigable, sitting erect during the dull debate (Wayne Morse never slouched), everyone in the room aware of his presence.

After his banquet speech on Saturday night, the press corps automatically headed for the cocktail lounge. We were sitting together discussing, naturally, politics, when in the door walked Wayne Morse and Joe Smith, a long-time Morse colleague and the banquets emcee. No one at the press table could ever recall seeing Wayne Morse in a cocktail lounge, especially since he was one of the most famous teetotalers in Oregon history. But, there he was. Several tables eagerly sought for him to join them, but he chose to join the press group.

He ordered a ginger ale from the mini-skirted waitress and proceeded to discuss anything the reporters wanted to talk about, which at that time was mostly his own campaign, his chances of winning the possible impeachment of Richard Nixon. Then, for some reason undiscernible to anyone present, the conversation shifted to Morse's early years. He discussed his boyhood on a Wisconsin farm, his traveling in a buggy to hear the famous orator and politician, Sen. Robert La Follette, and his later contact as a university student with La Follette.

"I once was engaged in a debate on some subject and drew the side I really didn't want to have," he said. "I talked to La Follette about that predicament and he told me something I've never forgotten. He said: 'Wayne, do you want to win the debate or educate the audience?' I told him I wanted to do both. After the debate competition, I got a telegram from La Follette and it said simply: 'You did both.'"
WAYNE L. MORSE

WAYNE MORSE was immensely proud of that telegram and I am immensely proud to have known the man they have billed the Tiger of the Senate. That night, over a ginger ale, he was no tiger, but a warm, friendly, interesting man with a trove of fascinating stories to tell about Bob LaFollette, Harry Truman and Franklin Roosevelt.

And, there's something I never got a chance to tell him. You did both, senator, you did both.

[From the Eugene (Oreg.) Register-Guard, July 26, 1974]

MORSE REMEMBERED AS "SENIOR'S SENATOR"

(By Jerry Uhrhammer)

SALEM—Oregon's political establishment paid its last respects here today to former Sen. WAYNE MORSE.

An overflow crowd at a memorial service in the state Capitol's House Chamber heard the "Tiger of the Senate" eulogized as a "senator's senator" and a champion of law, whose courage and conviction should be emulated in these days of Watergate.

The memorial service here was to be followed by a funeral service this afternoon at the First Congregational Church in Eugene. MORSE, whose oftentimes stormy Senate career spanned 24 years, died Monday at the age of 73 from kidney failure.

The crowd that filled the House chamber for the memorial service was dominated by government figures and politicians, including some political opponents from MORSE's past.

Gov. Tom McCall, hospitalized Thursday afternoon with a viral-intestinal infection, left the Salem Memorial Hospital about 9:30 a.m. today and—while reportedly feeling dizzy at times—came to the Capitol to deliver his eulogy to MORSE as scheduled.

Looking drawn and somewhat shaky, McCall called Morse "our most eloquent petitioner, under the constitutional right to petition the government for a redress of grievances."

McCall said, "The young and many of their elders view most politicians with immense cynicism—a cynicism fostered outrageously by political leaders who defend Watergate with the canard that 'everybody does it.'"

"So the young have the notion that almost everybody is on the take from the oil companies, and ITT, and the milk trust, and that everybody with any influence at all can dodge taxes, and steam open other people's mail.

"But they do not believe that of WAYNE MORSE, and, oh what his past has taught us! . . . He told us that personal and national principles cannot be changed to accommodate your bank account or your political party or your friends or even your enemies. In his uncompromising way, he encouraged us to stiffen our backs against compromise of principles."

Concluded McCall: "Let us now take up his burden as our memorial to his name."
MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

The governor's press aide, Ron Schmidt, said McCall planned to leave the Capitol immediately after the service and spend the next 48 hours at home recuperating from his illness. Schmidt said the governor no longer had a fever and the sharp pains and cramps he suffered at the onset of the infection Thursday had disappeared, but he still felt dizzy.

McCall was the first of six speakers who eulogized Morse during the memorial service. The others were Senate President Jason Boe, House Speaker Richard Eymann, Sen. Mark Hatfield, former Minnesota Sen. Eugene McCarthy and a representative of AFL-CIO President George Meany, Morris Novick of Washington, D.C.

Hatfield spoke of Morse's love of the law. He "always remained a tutor of the Constitution to all who would listen," he said.

Hatfield said it was "that love which produced such bristling indignation whenever he felt others were jeopardizing the sanctity of constitutional law. All these qualities equipped Wayne Morse for the most valued contribution he made to our country: his unceasing drive to bring the nation from war to peace. That is how Americans will remember him best," Hatfield said.

Boe called Morse a "national symbol of courage" whose leadership in causes he believed just transcended party lines and narrow political ideologies.

[From the Eugene (Oreg.) Register-Guard, July 22, 1974]

FRIENDS, RIVALS PRAISE MORSE

The death today of former U.S. Sen. Wayne Morse brought quick expressions of sorrow from political figures in Oregon and Washington, D.C.

Gov. Tom McCall, who ordered flags flown at half staff on state buildings until after the Morse funeral, said:

"Democracy has lost a very good friend. Wayne Morse was a brilliant counsellor, a courageous man, an American who really understood freedom. We loved him for being the Tiger of the Senate. We stood behind him and said, 'That's telling 'em Wayne.' His politics weren't always those of a majority of Oregonians, because he was often far out front, leading causes not yet popular. But, he himself was immensely popular, because we always could depend on him to say what he thought. And that's the first lesson of integrity."

U.S. Sen. Bob Packwood, the man who beat Morse in 1968 and was to face him again this November: "Wayne Morse was a man of integrity and courage. He was never afraid to fight for his convictions—as dean of the UO Law School and as Oregon's U.S. senator for 24 years. He will be deeply missed by Oregon and the nation. Mrs. Packwood joins me in expressing our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Morse and the family."

U.S. Sen. Mark Hatfield, who defeated Morse in 1972: "Senator Morse was a politician from a unique mold and an enigma to many people. His interest was substance and his commitment to issues produced a unique Morse...
WAYNE L. MORSE

style. When convinced of a position on an issue, he was not swayed by political considerations or pressures. Those of us who have fought for nearly a decade to change U.S. policies in Indochina owe a debt of gratitude to WAYNE MORSE.

U.S. Sen. George McGovern, a long-time ally of Morse in opposing U.S. Vietnam policies: “The passing of WAYNE MORSE so closely after the death of Ernest Gruening deprived the nation of its two most courageous and persistent critics of the Vietnam tragedy. He was one of the 20th Century’s most powerful voices for justice and peace.”

U.S. Sen. Mike Mansfield, D-Mont.: “WAYNE MORSE was a man of independence who served his state and nation with credit and distinction. He was an effective senator who feared no one, answering only to his conscience. His loss is Oregon’s and the nation’s.”

U.S. Sen. William Proxmire, D-Wis.: “He was a man of remarkable intelligence and rock-like integrity.”

Oregon Senate President Jason Boe, D-Reedsport, whom Morse beat in the 1974 Democratic primary: ‘Sen. Morse was a unique man in the annals of the political history of this state and nation. His courage, wisdom and ability to take a stand in spite of long odds will be remembered as long as a political system exists in this country. Both Oregon and the nation have suffered a grievous loss.”

Oregon House Speaker Richard Eymann, D-Springfield: “He was one of Oregon’s finest citizens since the beginning of statehood. As one who encouraged him to run for the Senate this time, his death is particularly grievous to me.”

Congressman John Dellenback, R-Ore.: “I’m terribly sorry. He died the way he lived, with his boots on and in the middle of a fight for what he believed. Oregon has lost one of her giant trees and the nation is the poorer.”

Orlando Hollis, former UO Law School dean and long-time colleague of Morse’s: “I have known WAYNE MORSE since he came to Oregon in 1929. Oregon and the nation have lost a public figure whose influence will be with us for a long time.”

Secretary of State Clay Myers: “I have great admiration for this high-principled, brilliant and able maverick. WAYNE MORSE’s integrity serves as an example to all Americans. He was a towering figure in the U.S. Senate.”

Lane County Democratic Chairman Dorothy Leeper, a close Morse friend: “His keen intellect, rare wisdom and integrity were a guiding light to so many of us. In an era of corruption and confusion, he held the torch high. His place in history remains untarnished and he will be recorded by historians as one of the great statesmen of our time. His was a profile in courage.”

State Treasurer James Redden: “It is not only the citizens of Oregon who have lost a friend and champion, but the citizens of the world.”

State Democratic Chairman Caroline Wilkins: “I am only one of many thousands who feel this great loss. The pursuit of his convictions and strength of courage helped shape more than a quarter century of our nation’s and state’s political history.”
MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

Former congressman Charles Porter of Eugene: "WAYNE MORSE was my ideal as a public servant even before I met him 28 years ago. What I saw of other senators during my four years as a member of Congress affirmed my opinion. WAYNE MORSE’S virtues were classic—deep concern for the oppressed and disadvantaged, a keen intellect, tireless industry, fearless independence and, above all, integrity. . . ."

[From the Eugene (Oreg.) Register-Guard, July 23, 1974]

MORSE EULOGIES STRESS HIS INTEGRITY

Eulogies for former U.S. Sen. WAYNE MORSE brought warm recollections from his friends and colleagues as they recalled his fighting style.

MORSE died Monday at the age of 73. Integrity was the word spoken most often by those who remembered him.

President Richard Nixon, one of the targets MORSE hit most often with his sharp tongue, said Monday he will write a personal letter of condolence to MORSE’s family.

In Eugene, MORSE was praised by former associates. And the city council adopted a resolution expressing sympathy to the MORSE family and calling the former senator “one of the most distinguished citizens in our history.”

“I have always admired his courage and often felt that he was much more often right than he was wrong,” said Fred Cuthbert, professor emeritus and former dean of architecture at the University of Oregon. MORSE was one of the first faculty members Cuthbert met when he came to the U of O in 1932.

“I was present at one of MORSE’s famous lambasts at Dr. (William Joseph) Kerr when he was appointed to be chancellor and interim president of the university,” Cuthbert said.

MORSE, then one of the youngest law school deans in the United States, said “the plot to put him (Kerr) into office stank to high heaven,” Cuthbert recalled.

“And Kerr was at the meeting when MORSE said it. Kerr didn’t crack a smile on that one or even move a muscle.”

The installation of Kerr as chancellor was part of a movement to take the university out of Eugene in unification of the State System of Higher Education.

“He was one of the great men to be sent back to the U.S. Senate from any state,” said Cuthbert. “That feeling is shared even more on the east coast.”

Aaron Jones, owner of Seneca Sawmill Co. in Eugene and a long-time acquaintance of MORSE, called his death “a tragedy.”

“Although I think of myself as a good Republican, I intended to support MORSE and vote for him this time. He exemplified to me honesty and ethics in government—which is obviously in dire need at the present time. I felt he was one of the most staunch friends of the lumber industry and a most
intelligent individual in regard to the lumber business, multiple use and log exports.

"I intended to cross over party lines this election, regardless of Morse's age. I can't say how bad I am touched by his death."

Jones knew Morse personally and worked closely with him in regard to the Japan log export bill. He was among those who went to Japan to gather information that led to the so-called Morse Amendment.

Jones recalled how he visited Morse in his home in 1940 as Morse's supporters talked of him some day running for President.

"It was a great thrill for me as a young student just starting college," Jones said, "The strategy was being laid for him to run for President some day—and it should have happened."

Another Eugene lumberman agreed that Morse helped the lumber business.

"In most respects, Wayne Morse was a very good friend of the forest products industry," said L. L. "Stub" Stewart, president of Bohemia, Inc.

"He spent very little time here, but when he did he was very effective. One of his great accomplishments was when he singlehandedly got the log export prohibition through the Congress.

"He was truly a great guy and a very controversial one."

Eugene Attorney Otto Vonderheit first met Morse when Vonderheit was a student at the U of O law school. Later "I visited him in Washington during the war and he was discussing the political maneuvers then of Truman and Roosevelt and so on. And he was incensed with the way they handled politics.

"He was always a man of great integrity and real high principle. Even in his first term, he was trying to get things done with integrity . . . He was just a real great man. That's about all you can say."

Acting Eugene Mayor Tom Williams said: "I am deeply saddened that a man who has given his life to public service and has made a powerful contribution toward solving American and world problems has passed from the scene.

"The death of Wayne Morse is especially tragic to this community of which he has long been a member. I want to express our profound respect for a most exemplary citizen and to extend to his family our condolences. Their loss is indeed shared by this community and by our country."

Oregon Rep. Robert Duncan, former congressman and candidate for Congress in Oregon's 3rd District, said, "A turbulent, combative and very productive life is at an end. Senator Morse asked no quarter and gave none. His was a life of great accomplishments, embracing elements of greatness that will not soon be forgotten."

Former Sen. Maurine Neuberger, whose husband, the late Sen. Richard Neuberger, was the object of a Morse feud, called Morse's death, "the end of an era."

Oregon Research Institute Director Paul Hoffman, a friend of Morse, praised him in an eloquent memo to the institute staff. "He will be remembered as the senator who always placed principle above politics; who never backed
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IN THE
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, it was with a profound sense of shock and personal sadness to learn of the untimely death of WAYNE MORSE earlier today. What can one say about a man who has contributed so much to his country and for his countrymen. His stature in the Senate during his brilliant career has been matched by few before or since.

His legislative achievements were so many they cannot be counted. But perhaps one single vote speaks of his courage more than any other. It is especially fitting to recall in this day when the horrors and malaise of the Vietnam war still linger. This vote, of course, was his vote in 1964 against the Gulf of Tonkin resolution authorizing then President Johnson to commit American forces to Southeast Asia. Senator MORSE was one of only two in the entire Senate to have the foresight and the wisdom to say "No." Such strength of character, willingness to take the unpopular side were a part of WAYNE MORSE. I did not always agree with him, but I always knew he spoke with sincerity and conviction and who could help but have tremendous respect for those qualities.

He will be deeply missed by all those who knew him well and perhaps as much by those who did not as a man possessed of extraordinary abilities, courage, and compassion. I know that all Americans and particularly those of his beloved home State join me in extending to his wife, Midge, and his daughters our most heartfelt sympathy.

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, I want to join with my colleague from Oregon in expressing profound grief and shock at the passing of one of the great men of our times: Senator WAYNE MORSE.

As a private citizen, a professor of law, a courageous labor mediator, and U.S. Senator, WAYNE MORSE never lacked the courage of his conviction. His sense of moral right and wrong, his belief in the
basic tenets of our democratic system, and his understanding of his fellow men never failed him.

Certainly, he was one of the most controversial men of our times. But history will also record him as one of the outstanding figures in this Nation's public life. His contributions to the events, the thoughts, and the feelings of this era were deep and sure. His accomplishments in his 24 years in the Senate are a proud and eloquent testimony to his vision.

I campaigned with Senator Morse for a period of many years. In 1956, when he first ran for office as a Democrat, we stumped the State together and I came to know him well. Although we did not always agree, he never hesitated to let anyone know where he stood on an issue. In his public utterances, he had more courage than anyone I know, and this is best remembered in his opposition to the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. Yet in his personal life he displayed gentleness, and a deep sense of calm and warmth.

Throughout his life, both public and private, Wayne Morse had a deep longing to make things grow better than before, and one way he fostered that longing was his abiding passion for raising purebred livestock. It was his way of getting away from the pressures and frustrations of public life. Yet he brought to it the same intensity and sense of mission he exercised in carrying out his duties in the Senate.

Mr. Speaker, his death is a great blow to this Nation. He wanted badly to return to the Senate and to serve the State he knew so well. For those of us who were close to him there is much sorrow, and I want to extend to Mildred and their three lovely daughters my sincere sympathy.

Wayne Morse made a great imprint on the U.S. Senate, on this country, and on our history. That imprint will endure, and will serve as a living memorial to a great man.

Mr. Wyatt. Mr. Speaker, on this side of the aisle, I would like to say I have had a long and at times close relationship to Senator Morse. He was the dean of the law school during my entire attendance at the Law School of the University of Oregon.

In addition to the towering presence felt so obviously by those around him, Wayne had a gentle and kind nature not so obvious. We have frequently differed, but he was my friend. I feel deeply a sense of
personal loss with his passing. Certainly, Senator Morse made a great impact on this country. Mrs. Wyatt and I extend our heartfelt condolences to Mrs. Morse and his daughters.

Mr. DELLENBACK. Mr. Speaker, Wayne Morse has been a significant force in the creative history of Oregon for more than three decades. He will be missed, and he rightfully should be missed, by both admirers and detractors.

He and I were by no means always in agreement. But I invariably listened to his opinions and judgments with respect and interest, and invariably I learned from what I heard.

He died as he lived—in the midst of a fight for something in which he earnestly believed. His fights ranged from the District of Columbia to Oregon, from education to world peace. Our State and our Nation are different because he cared enough to fight those fights, and, certainly on balance, we are all better off because those fights were fought.

The national landscape has lost a promontory. I deeply regret that fact, and extend my deepest sympathy to Mrs. Morse and the family.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Speaker, it is with regret that I have learned today of the passing of our former congressional colleague, the distinguished Wayne Morse, of Oregon. I know that this Chamber is deeply saddened to hear of his passing and we extend our very deepest sympathy to his family.

Though our political philosophy sometimes differed substantially, I nevertheless respected and admired Senator Morse, for his dedication to Oregon, and the Nation, and for his service in the U.S. Congress. He was obviously a man of deep conviction and fortitude and his thoughts on issues which have shaped our Nation's course were sought by people of all political persuasions.

To say that he will be missed is an understatement. His influence on U.S. foreign and domestic affairs will long survive as will his example to all those who respected Wayne Morse for the dedicated public servant he was.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, the Nation has suffered a great tragedy and immeasurable loss in the passing of former Senator Wayne Morse. It was my privilege to serve in the Senate with him for many years. He was a rare man—rare in ability, rare in the depth of
his dedication to the public interest, rare in his integrity of mind and principle, rare in his persistence and pursuit of a worthy goal, rare in his understanding of public matters, rare in charm and graciousness. His public career is a record of a great warrior for the causes that he deemed right. It mattered not to him what the odds against him were, what forces opposed him or whether he stood alone. He fought unalteringly, doggedly, persistently for what he thought was right. He had a deep feeling about public issues, because he saw the impact of such issues upon people for whom he had a very sensitive concern. He fought with only former Senator Gruening, his Senate colleague at his side, to prevent the enlargement of the war in Southeast Asia and to stop it once it achieved momentum. First because he thought it was wrong constitutionally for the President, without a declaration of war by the Congress, to conduct large-scale military activities in Southeast Asia and second, because he loved the men, women, and children who died in that war too much to see them killed. His strong and advanced position in trying to prevent and then later to stop the war in Southeast Asia undoubtedly contributed to his defeat in his effort to return to the Senate. But if he had known when he voted and fought as he did against that war that it would inevitably mean his defeat, such knowledge would not have changed his action or his attitude one iota. He put principle above politics, partisanship, or personal detriment. He fought for the working people of this country with singular tenacity and effectiveness. He fought for the farmers. He fought for the underprivileged—those discriminated against, those who needed help. He was like a knight of the round table as he ranged over the realm of public problems, jousting with every defender of wrong, gallantly fighting for every cause which he thought was right.

There was great variety in his genius. He was not only an eminent lawyer, a distinguished dean of the law school of his State, a great negotiator, an outstanding administrator, but a successful and imaginative farmer and breeder of horses and cattle, erudite writer, and a persuasive speaker all over the country.

He had been renominated for the Senate in his State and many thought he had a chance of winning back his Senate seat which would have warmed his heart for he loved the Senate and he loved the opportunity that it gave him to fight battles he felt needed to be fought.
Only a little while ago he and I were together at the memorial service of his late, great colleague, Senator Ernest Gruening, and we talked about his great career, his campaign, and his hopes of another opportunity of great public service. Then he seemed in good health. I congratulated him upon his Democratic victory and extended him warmest wishes for the future.

Now that great voice is stilled, that brilliant mind is no longer restless in his mighty work, that body that vibrated with energy is active no more. But the memory of WAYNE MORSE, all that he was, all that he did, all that he fought for, all that he stood for, all that he meant to a loving family and innumerable friends and to people everywhere will never be forgotten. My wife joins me in extending deepest sympathies to his widow and to all the members of his family.

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, the death of one of America's most distinguished liberal statesmen, in the midst of his attempt to reenter the public service, represents a great loss for America.

A courageous and outspoken individual with an incredible political perspicacity, former Senator WAYNE MORSE of Oregon repeatedly demonstrated his expertise on matters relating to agriculture, civil rights, conservation, education, and labor. Throughout his 24-year tenure in the Senate, MORSE revealed his strong dedication to the public interest; he sought to place the welfare of the public above his loyalty to "the party."

The interest and concern that Senator Morse directed toward problems in the domestic sphere was extended to the realm of foreign affairs as well. The Senator's bold decision, in 1964, to oppose the Gulf of Tonkin resolution revealed another fine characteristic inherent in his personality—his refusal to abandon the principles he believed in despite the fact that his convictions were considered unpopular or improper by majority standards.

Men of WAYNE MORSE's caliber, integrity and intelligence are not easily found in government.

Though there can never be another WAYNE MORSE, let us hope that his spirit will serve as an inspiration to all individuals engaged in the public service. Our Nation needs more leaders with the stature and conviction of Senator Morse for only they can maintain an independent, fresh, and nonpartisan outlook in these times of increasing political distrust, partisanship, and disillusionment.
MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

As a further tribute to Senator Morse, I am inserting in the Record at this point a moving editorial from the New York Times, dated July 23, 1974, memorializing him.

The editorial follows:

THE SENATE'S LOSS

Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon was too much the maverick to be a reliable party man, too much the gadfly to be a hero of the Senate Establishment, too much the independent to be predictable even in his proved liberalism. He was a superb public servant—not in spite of those attributes but because of them.

Originally a Republican of the Western progressive breed known in an earlier day as the “sons of the wild jackass,” Wayne Morse broke with his party when General Eisenhower, whom he had warmly supported, made peace with the conservative Senator Robert A. Taft. He sat in the Senate for a time as an Independent by name as well as by nature and a few years later won reelection as a Democrat. He did not disparage the party system as such; he just gave principle a higher priority than party or, for that matter, than the views of his constituents.

Believing with Edmund Burke that a representative's first loyalty is to his own judgment, he took counsel with himself and had the courage to act on it. He could be wrongheaded at times—but most of the time he seemed magnificently right—especially, in the light of history, when he and another great Independent Liberal, Senator Ernest Gruening of Alaska, who died only a few weeks ago, stood alone against the Gulf of Tonkin resolution.

Right or wrong, Wayne Lyman Morse went his own way, cavalierly crossing party lines to vote his conscience. At his death he was in the thick of a fight to make a last comeback to the United States Senate. The Senate lost.

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, former Oregon Senator Wayne Morse, a man whose name was synonymous with intellectual dignity and courage, died Monday in a Portland hospital at the age of 73. A man of tremendous resourcefulness; death came to him as he was in the midst of an intense campaign to recapture the seat he once held.

As Senator from Oregon for 24 years, Wayne Morse brought an indomitable spirit, a formidable intellect, and a reservoir of legislative skills to the forefront of America. Moreover, he was a man who did not back down from defending his beliefs and who was not afraid to speak to people directly from his heart.
As we all recall, it was Senator Morse and the late Senator Gruening of Alaska who had the courage to stand alone years ago and vote against the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, legislation which ultimately led to the tragedy of Vietnam. Now that both men are gone, Mr. Speaker, I can not help but wonder how many young lives would have been saved had we heeded their advice and given credibility to their foresight.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to extend my deepest sympathy to the Morse family and to the people of Oregon. They can take comfort in the fact that Wayne Morse will long be remembered as one of America's most outstanding and courageous men.

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, a great friend of human rights, peace, and self-government for the District of Columbia has died. Wayne Morse served the State of Oregon and his country with distinction for 24 years in the U.S. Senate. During that tenure, he established a noble reputation for intelligence and independence.

In the 1950's, Senator Morse was a key Republican opponent of Senator Joseph McCarthy's "witch hunts" and a proponent of important civil rights legislation.

As a member of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, he fought for many years for home rule for the District—a struggle I fully supported this year as a member of the House Committee on the District of Columbia.

But perhaps his most unique and indelible mark on history was made in 1964 when Wayne Morse—with typical foresight—voted against the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, which was later cited as congressional approval of American action in Vietnam.

This vote against the resolution—a stance he shared with only one other Senator—demonstrated his usual independence. Senator Morse continued to oppose the Vietnam war in the Senate and in speeches across the Nation.

Mr. Speaker, the Nation is grateful for the unique and lasting contributions of Wayne Morse to the causes of peace and social justice.

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, this week the Nation mourns the passing of one of its great sons and one of the most brilliant and dis-
an accomplished legislator with expertise in foreign policy, education, and labor legislation. He managed President Johnson’s landmark aid-to-education bill on the Senate floor and when it passed, Johnson said of Morse:

No one else could have done it.

Wayne Morse’s defeat in 1968 by Bob Packwood for the Senate was very close. His chances for returning to the Senate this election were considered quite good; he was vigorously campaigning last week when he became suddenly ill. Wayne Morse will be long remembered for his honesty and integrity as a man who truly served the American people. His forthrightness and perspective will be sorely missed.

Mr. Ullman. Mr. Speaker, the Nation lost a distinguished public servant this week when former Senator Wayne Morse passed away in Portland, Oreg., on Monday, July 22. Wayne Morse was in the midst of a vigorous campaign, attempting to regain the Senate seat he lost in 1968. His untimely death is a great loss to the people of Oregon, the Nation, and the U.S. Senate.

I wish to insert into the Record at this point, an editorial and article from the New York Times and an article from the Washington Post memorializing his distinguished career:

[From the New York Times, July 23, 1974]

Wayne Morse Dies: A Senator 24 Years

(By Alden Whitman)

Former Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon, a strong early critic of the Vietnam war and a long-time congressional liberal, died yesterday of kidney failure in Good Samaritan Hospital, Portland, Oreg. He was 73 years old. Morse had entered the hospital last Wednesday in the midst of an arduous campaign in which his chances to regain the Senate seat he lost in 1968 were considered good. He had won the Democratic nomination in a primary two months ago and was opposing Senator Robert W. Packwood, the Republican incumbent.

A Populist in the tradition of George W. Norris, Robert M. La Follette and William Jennings Bryan, Wayne Lyman Morse spoke up for many transiently unpopular causes. He opposed American military involvement in Vietnam; he fought for trade unionism and for civil rights.

As a champion of the common people, he was often raspy and blunt, but he regarded himself as a man who refused to compromise his principles or
mute his voice. Many of his critics, though, saw him as an opportunist and a threat to the Establishment.

At various times in his 24 turbulent years in the Senate, Mr. Morse was a Republican, an Independent, and a Democrat. Neither party was wholly pleased with him, nor was he ever wholly compatible with a party label. He was impartially scornful of both Democratic and Republican Presidents, upbraiding them with his rich talent for invective.

He described an address to Congress by President Harry S. Truman as “one of the cheapest exhibitions of ham acting I have ever seen”; he denounced President Dwight D. Eisenhower as a “hypocrite”; he accused President Lyndon B. Johnson of being “drunk with power.” Nor did Mr. Morse spare his fellow Senators, once calling one of his corpulent colleagues “a tub of rancid ignorance.”

CRUSTY CRITICS OF WAR

Mr. Morse entered the Senate in 1945 as a liberal Republican and left it in 1968 as a Liberal Democrat. His last term was notable for his crusty criticism of President Johnson and the Vietnam war, which started with a succinct “nay” that recorded his opposition to the Gulf of Tonkin resolution of Aug. 7, 1964. Only one other Senator, the late Ernest Gruening of Alaska, voted against the measure, which President Johnson used as a functional declaration of war in Southeast Asia. Mr. Morse’s intransigent opposition to the war was a factor in his defeat in 1968.

From 1964 until he left office, he voted against every measure, including appropriations, that had the effect of keeping American troops in Vietnam. He also carried his campaign against the war through the country in speeches, and he supported Senator Eugene J. McCarthy when the Minnesota Democrat sought the Presidency on an antiwar platform in 1968.

Once aroused, Mr. Morse could be a fiery, though prolix, speaker. His long-windedness did not sting nearly so much as his epithets; but he considered his outspokenness a virtue.

“It is true that I use language that people can understand,” he remarked a couple of years ago. “And if I think a course of action is outlawry, I say so.

“If I say that the United States is the greatest threat to world peace, I say so simply because it is true. If the truth is intemperate, then I will continue to be intemperate.”

Mr. Morse was so often in the minority and so frequently cutting in his remarks that he was known as “The Lone Ranger” or “The Tiger of the Senate.” These views of his were softened yesterday as Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana, the Democratic leader, spoke of him as a “man of fierce independence” and Senator Mark O. Hatfield, Republican of Oregon, said that his “early prophecies and warnings about Vietnam were such that we all owe him a great debt.”

Mr. Morse, who was a lean, trim man with a clipped mustache, sharp nose and bushy black eyebrows, was an extraordinarily hard-working Senator. He was accounted knowledgeable in labor and education matters, in con-
servation and in the farm problem. He was himself a breeder, raiser and trader of Devon cattle and a horseman who won many competitions.

Mr. Morse’s Populism had its roots in Wisconsin, the home state of the La Follettes, where he was born, a farmer’s son, on Oct. 20, 1900. From his father, a livestock man, he learned a fear of debt and of hard times, when the cattle had to be fed on cornstalks and straw mixed with molasses. His father, Mr. Morse recalled, strongly counseled him on the evil of becoming beholden to others.

TAUGHT LAW AT COLUMBIA

The young man was educated at the University of Wisconsin and took law degrees from both the University of Minnesota and Columbia. He taught briefly at Columbia and the University of Oregon and then in 1931, became dean of the Law School at Oregon. Because of his position he was often called upon to arbitrate labor disputes on the West Coast, establishing a reputation for settling controversies with dispatch and fairness.

His record commended him to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who named him a public member of the War Labor Board in 1942. He left in something of a storm in 1944 asserting that the board was too considerate of John L. Lewis, then head of the United Mine Workers.

In that year he was elected to the Senate as a Republican, but no sooner had he taken his seat in 1945 than he was jousting with party conservatives. One of his bêtes-noires was Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, who was for Mr. Morse “a symbol of reaction and defeatism.” Among other things, the Oregonian vociferously objected to the Taft-Hartley bill as hamstringing trade unions. He voted against the bill, which became law in 1948 over President Truman’s veto. (For most of his political life Mr. Morse enjoyed strong labor support. It diminished in 1968, when Vietnam was a critical issue.)

In the Republican jockeying in 1952, Mr. Morse swung to General Eisenhower in order to block Senator Taft’s aspirations for the nomination. But he chilled toward the general when he designated Senator Richard M. Nixon of California as his running mate, and in the campaign he spoke for Adlai E. Stevenson, the Democratic candidate.

When the Senate convened in January 1953, Mr. Morse announced that he had shucked the Republican Party and was now an Independent. With a pixie sense of humor he went into the Senate chamber with a folding chair and asked where he should sit. He was eventually assigned to the Republican side of the aisle, but was stripped of his committee posts.

Three years later, after having harried the Republicans over the Korean war settlement and cold-war brinkmanship, as well as over domestic matters, Mr. Morse became a Democrat and was handily reelected to the Senate in 1956. He still, however, thrived on adversaries, including Democrats who failed to measure up to his principles.

And he did not neglect Republicans, notably Clare Boothe Luce, whose confirmation as Ambassador to Brazil he fought unsuccessfully in 1959. Mr. Morse pronounced her unfit, and she retorted that her “difficulties go back
some years and began when (Mr.) Morse was kicked in the head by a horse.” She alluding to an episode in 1951 when a horse broke the Senator’s jaw with a kick. Mr. Morse won his contest with Mrs. Luce, however, for she resigned the Brazil post without serving.

In the early nineteen-fifties Mr. Morse was a strong supporter of civil rights legislation, and he continued to espouse liberal voting and other rights for blacks. He also supported increases in price-support payments to farmers and other agricultural legislation. Additionally, Federal support for education had his warm backing.

Mr. Morse irritated some of his fellow Senators by the length of his speeches. An hour for him was a mere warm-up—in one session his speeches covered 400 pages of The Congressional Record. Once, in 1953, he talked for 22 hours and 26 minutes against an offshore bill that gave the title to coastal states. At the time his remarks were described as the longest continuous oration in the Senate’s history.

His defeat by Mr. Packwood in 1968 was close, the margin being a little more than 3,000 votes, Mr. Morse essayed a comeback in 1971, but Mr. Hatfield was an easy winner. This year, despite his age, he was said to have a good chance of returning to the Senate for his last hurrah.

Mr. Morse was campaigning until last Wednesday, when he was stricken with an infection of the urinary tract. He had responded to antibiotic therapy until Sunday, when his condition worsened and he slipped into a coma.

Surviving are his widow, the former Mildred Downie; three daughters, Nancy Campbell, Judith Eaton and Amy Bilich; two brothers, a sister and six grandchildren.

[From the New York Times, July 23, 1974]

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MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

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[From the Washington Post, July 24, '74]

WAYNE LYMAN MORSE

It is characteristic of the career of former Sen. WAYNE MORSE of Oregon, who died on Monday, that he should have been in the midst of a political battle right up to the end of his life. At the age of 73, he was doing what he had done through a half century of public service—he was waging vigorous combat. His most celebrated target was the war in Southeast Asia and he was the earliest and most outspoken opponent of that policy in the Senate, taking pride in the fact that he voted against every measure in support of that war that came before the Senate. On several occasions he was joined in that crusade by his friend from Alaska, Sen. Ernest H. Gruening, who died just a few weeks ago. After six terms in the Senate as a Republican, an Independent and a Democrat, Sen. MORSE was defeated in 1968 by a 3,000-vote margin.

He was in the midst of his second attempt at a come-back when his kidneys and heart failed him. Descriptive adjectives such as “maverick” and “combative” were easy to apply to WAYNE MORSE. But the man did not lend himself that easily to labels. Born on a farm near Madison, Wis., Mr. MORSE attended the University of Wisconsin for his undergraduate training, received a law degree from the University of Minnesota and went on to Columbia University for a doctorate in law. He made a major study of the grand jury system and it attracted the attention of officials of the University of Oregon. He was brought there as a professor and soon was made the dean, bypassing several older men to become the youngest law school dean in the nation at the age of 30.

His first national attention, typically, came as the result of a fight within the National War Labor Board, to which he had been appointed by President Roosevelt. Mr. MORSE resigned from the board after two years, in the midst of a loud policy disagreement. His loss to that body can be measured by the fact that he wrote more than half the board’s opinions in the two years in which he served.

Although he had been a lifelong Republican, in 1952 he broke with his party and its leader, Dwight Eisenhower, and ran as an Independent. He lost his committee assignments and languished in a no-mans land until he finally became a Democrat. One of his first contributions to his new-found party was to assist Richard Neuberger in becoming the first Democrat

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electected to the Senate from Oregon in 40 years. But soon, he and Neuberger were at war with each other in one of the Senate's most celebrated feuds.

He was cut from a mold that seems to fit few of our contemporary political leaders. It didn't bother him which way the wind was blowing. He would more likely go out and try to change its direction, unafraid to be the first to take a stand that might not be popular. He was prepared to disagree with his party or his President if he thought either to be wrong. He knew some of his positions would cost him votes, but he cared more about what he thought was right. Many a man who loses his office at 67 could be expected to retire to his farm. WAYNE MORSE was different. He loved the feel of movement and action, combat and discourse, and he set a standard of integrity and independence that will be difficult to match.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I join hundreds of my colleagues and millions of my fellow Americans in paying tribute to the late WAYNE MORSE:

A man who placed personal principles above petty, partisan politics.

A politician who refused to become part of the pack. From farm legislation to civil rights to his historic vote on the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, WAYNE MORSE stood alone, above the mediocre.

As the New York Times wrote in an editorial:

At his death, he was in the thick of a fight to make a last comeback to the United States Senate. The Senate lost.

We all lost.

Mr. MOAKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I share with my colleagues the profound sorrow that accompanies the death of a true individual. We mourn together the passing of Senator WAYNE MORSE of Oregon, possibly the most courageous man ever to occupy a seat in the Senate.

The Senator's life exemplifies that of an individual dedicated only to his moral sense of virtue and propriety. Raised in the populist tradition, Mr. MORSE became renowned for his overpowering logic and inexhaustible ability of tireless speech.

Receiving his undergraduate degree from the University of Wisconsin and law degrees from the University of Minnesota and Columbia University, Senator MORSE went on to the University of Oregon as an assistant professor of law and years later, at the age of 31, became the youngest law school dean in the country.

In 1942, some 11 years after assuming the administrative post, Franklin Roosevelt asked Mr. Morse—already a well-known figure for his dauntless frankness and honesty—to represent the public on
the War Labor Board. The dynamic future Senator resigned this post, however, when he viewed as excessive the concessions made by the Government to John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers.

Senator Morse, who liked to refer to himself as the “one true liberal” is perhaps best known for his Independent Party. Reelected to the Senate for a second term as a Republican in 1950, the Senator subsequently decided to support the Democratic nominee for President, Gov. Adlai E. Stevenson. In Mr. Morse’s words, “a free man is a man who is free to do what he knows is right.” Deciding that in remaining a member of the Republican Party he would restrict his freedom to act as an individual, the Senator chose to become an Independent and subsequently joined the one-member Independent Party. “Someday,” he claimed, “my new party will come to fruition and we will have a party of truly independent-minded men.”

The Republicans saw no reason to return to their renegade colleague his coveted seats on the Armed Services and Labor Committees. Senator Morse decided to fight for what he believed were his rightful positions on the two committees. Inasmuch as the Democrats, the minority party at the time, had few enough seats to distribute to its loyal and tenured Members and therein refused to offer the Independent Senator one of their positions, and inasmuch as the Republicans offered Senator Morse seats on the relatively unpopular Public Works and District of Columbia Committees, the Senator decided to take his plea to the full Senate instead of relying on the political whims of the two major parties.

Only six colleagues, however, stood with Mr. Morse on his appeal for his old seats. Similarly, the Senator’s attempt to increase membership on the Armed Services and Labor Committees failed. “If three or four Senators,” decried Mr. Morse, “went along with me, we would be a movement, we would be formidable, we would have the balance of power in the Senate.” The fighting legislator, who referred to his committee predicament as “garbage can disposal,” brought a folding chair to the Senate floor at one point, claiming that since the parties would not give him a seat, he would bring his own. Forced to conduct his “committee” business after regular Senate business was over for the day, the Senator became affectionately known as the “Five O’Clock Shadow.”
Incredibly enough, Senator Morse not only accepted the seat on the District Committee, but he became a firm supporter of measures beneficial to the District, so much so in fact that he refused to give up his seat on the committee even when eventually offered positions on more prestigious committees. Among legislation that he proposed in the District Committee was a bill which subsequently became law—that provided free hot lunches to 7,500 poor Washington schoolchildren; a proposal which provided a wage floor for most District workers; a measure establishing the Federal City College and the Washington Technical Institute; numerous bills to stifle corruption in the city hall; bills to tighten the followup procedure in traffic violations; a $100 million proposal to construct a sewage treatment plant that would clean up the Potomac River; and a measure providing for a schoolbus fare subsidy. Even such minor matters as a traffic light at the corner of Virginia and Constitution were important to the Senator and worth fighting for. Summing up the Senator’s contributions, former President Lyndon Johnson doubted that anyone had done more than Senator Morse to “help make the District a decent place to live.”

Senator Morse was also outspoken about general senatorial matters. After having survived a 79 to 11 senatorial fight led by Senator Morse to stop her appointment as ambassador to Brazil, Claire Boothe Luce commented that her difficulties began when the Oregon legislator was kicked in the head by a horse. Senator Morse subsequently went on the Senate floor and stated that Mrs. Luce’s statement proved her basic instability. Three days later, she resigned.

Though Senator Morse prided himself on his willingness to attack anyone in the wrong, including fellow members of the Oregon delegation and newsmen who had the exciting and arduous task of covering his various activities, he was at heart a very personable family man. His good friends noted that the Senator was happiest on his farm. At one time the Morse family hosted horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, chickens, and dogs. His horses, though, were his pride and joy. Riding roadsters, a type of harness horse or show animal in the gentleman’s driving class, Senator Morse won 25 trophies and 10 championships, all with horses that he had raised himself.

The Senator finally left his Independent Party and joined the Democrats in 1955. In one of his greatest personal triumphs, Senator
Morse in 1956 defeated President Eisenhower's Secretary of the Interior, Douglas McKay, who had returned to Oregon especially to keep the maverick Morse from being reelected.

Senator Morse did ultimately lose in his bid for reelection in 1968, largely due to his 1964 vote on the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. Casting one of the two negative notes in the Senate, the legislator thus embarked on a campaign against the war in Indochina. "Once you put expediency above principle," commented Mr. Morse, "there is no principle left." So from 1964 until 1972, Morse traveled around the country speaking out against our participation in the Vietnamese war.

One sees in all then, the life of an emotional individual, a man of integrity, of dedication, and of respect. To achieve a point which he thought to be in the best interests of this Nation's people, Senator Morse would allow his own personal welfare and interest to wait while he concentrated on the issue at hand. Indeed, a figure who according to Webster, refuses to conform to his group. Senator Morse believed that he would be vindicated in the future, though at the time have appeared mistaken to others. Once again in the words of Daniel Webster:

It is my living sentiment, and by the blessing of God it shall be my dying sentiment—Independence now and Independence forever.

In mourning of Senator Morse’s death, then, we are at the same time inspired to continue the admirable and courageous tradition of independence and vitality so well embodied in this man. I join with my colleagues in expressing my sincere condolences to his lovely wife Mildred; his daughters, Nancy, Judith, and Amy; his six grandchildren; his two brothers and his sister.

Though we shall miss him, let us be guided by this man, individual, and image—Senator Wayne Morse.

Mr. Wolff. Mr. Speaker, it was with the deepest sadness that I learned of the untimely death of former Senator Wayne Morse.

The passing of Wayne Morse has left a void which will be difficult to fill. He was a man dedicated to the service of the people of the United States and to his beliefs.

Wayne Morse was always an independent at heart; he was never a man of partisan motives. He worked for the solutions he felt best answered the problem, sat hard regardless of the party line. His
prophetic vote against the Gulf of Tonkin resolution in 1964 symbolized the determination and strength of conviction he held in every opinion he voiced during his 24 years in Congress.

Whether in the fields of labor or education, civil rights, or home rule, he was always a leading spokesman for the peoples' interests in the classic populist tradition. He was a brilliant legal scholar, a true statesman, and one of the finest individuals to serve in either House of the Congress. The tragedy of Senator Morse's untimely passing, in the midst of his vigorous campaign to regain a seat in the Senate, is heightened in this particular time when our people are seeking in their public officials the qualities of courage, honesty, and forthrightness.

To say that Wayne Morse will be missed by the Congress and by all Americans is an understatement of serious proportions. My deepest sympathy goes out to his wife and family, and to our Nation, which has lost a unique public servant, a man of unparalleled distinction.

Mr. Conyers. Mr. Speaker, few public officials manage to retain their independence of mind and action in the face of intense pressures to compromise and conform. Wayne Morse was such a man. He personified a spirit of individual commitment and social responsibility throughout his 30 years of public service. He legislated and debated with great honesty and with greater vision than many of his contemporaries appreciated.

During his first term in the Senate, he demonstrated that his concern for the best interests of the people took priority over the constraints of party dogma. As a Republican, he aroused the ire of his fellow partisans by vigorously supporting President Truman's veto of the Taft-Hartley Labor Act. Senator Morse could not support the Presidential candidate and platform of his party in 1952, and he had the courage to act on his beliefs, returning to the Senate in 1953 as an Independent and then joining the Democratic Party in 1955.

In addition to his lasting interests in civil rights, education, and foreign policy, Senator Morse was among the earliest proponents of home rule for the District of Columbia, a goal we are only now beginning to achieve. But of all the independent positions which he took during his distinguished career, perhaps the most courageous was his opposition to the Gulf of Tonkin resolution in 1964. It is particularly tragic that, within 2 months, we have lost the two Senators, Senator
MORSE and Senator Ernest Gruening of Alaska, who correctly anticipated the tragic consequences of American intervention in Vietnam.

Although WAYNE MORSE lost his bid for reelection to the Senate in 1964, he continued his active efforts against the Vietnam war and in support of human rights and the protection of the environment. It is fitting that this great man died doing what he loved most—speaking with the people of America, and telling them the truth.

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, it is with deep regret that I mark the passing of WAYNE MORSE, former Senator from Oregon, and wish to pay final tribute to this truly dedicated and moral man.

A strong and early critic of the Vietnam war, MORSE will be remembered as one of the only two Senators who, on August 7, 1964, voted against the original Gulf of Tonkin resolution. It was on this day that MORSE said:

I believe that history will record that we have made a great mistake in subverting and circumventing the Constitution of the United States . . . by means of this resolution. As I argued earlier today at great length, we are in effect giving the President . . . warmaking powers in the absence of a declaration of war. I believe that to be a historic mistake.

He was, of course, right.

It was this, against the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, which contributed to MORSE's defeat in 1968, as it also was a factor in the defeat of Ernest Gruening, the other dissenting Senator.

MORSE's unflinching opposition to military involvement in Vietnam from the very start, is just one example of his strong convictions, which often placed him on the side of unpopular causes. In the early 1950's he fought for civil rights legislation and was also a strong supporter of trade unions.

For 24 years WAYNE MORSE served in the Senate—first as a Republican, then as an Independent, and finally as a Democrat. He was above all else a man of conviction who dealt with each issue on its own merit and would not compromise his stand to conform with party lines.

As a young man he studied at the University of Wisconsin and then went on to receive degrees of law from both the University of Minnesota and Columbia University. He became dean of the law school at the University of Oregon and subsequently achieved recognition
as an outstanding labor arbitrator. His brilliance and dedication was reflected in his outstanding work in Congress.

Defeat in 1968 did not cause Morse to give up his political aspirations. In fact, he was actively campaigning for a seat in the Senate only a few days before his death and had recently won the Democratic nomination.

Wayne Morse's passing was indeed untimely. His fortitude and foresight, combined with a patriotism dedicated to peace, will be greatly missed.

Mr. PHILLIP BURTON. Mr. Speaker, I should like to join with my colleagues in paying tribute to the memory of the distinguished former Senator Wayne Morse.

Wayne Morse was a man of towering conscience, conviction, and integrity. A renowned legal scholar, former dean of the law school at the University of Oregon, Wayne Morse was a champion of working men and women who vigorously supported President Truman's veto of the Taft-Hartley Labor Act.

In the Senate he was a champion of home rule for the citizens of the District of Columbia.

Wayne Morse, 10 years ago recognized the folly of the Vietnam war and voted against the original Gulf of Tonkin resolution. Time has proven the correctness of his views and confirmed the integrity of his courageous action.

The country has lost a true patriot and public servant. I should like to join with my colleagues in extending sympathy to his wife.

The Nation and the Congress are the richer because of Wayne Morse's service. His record of public service sets a standard for all who would serve the common good.

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, on July 30 in the Washington Cathedral a memorial service was held for the late Senator Wayne Lyman Morse of Oregon, 1900–74. Canon Cave of the National Cathedral officiated. Eulogies were delivered by Senator Hatfield of Oregon, by me, Bishop Smallwood Williams, George Meany, Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., Senator J. William Fulbright, and the Honorable Arthur J. Goldberg, in that order. There were prayers and music befitting the occasion. In further honor of this distinguished Senator, this dedicated American, this magnificent advocate, this noble man, and this friend,
whom so many of us mourn, I insert a transcript of the memorial service for Senator Morse in the Record, on this occasion:

MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR SENATOR WAYNE MORSE OF OREGON, 1900–74
(Tuesday, July 30, Washington Cathedral)

ORGAN Prelude
Music of Johann Sebastian Bach.
Sonatina from the Cantata “God’s Time Is Best.”
Sinfonia from the Cantata “I Stand with one foot in the Grave.”
Choral Preludes: “When we are in greatest need, deck thyself, O my soul.”

PROCESSION OF THE PARTICIPANTS
CANON JEFFREY CAVE
(In silence.)

OPENING SENTENCES AND PRAYER
(All standing.)
Canon Cave.
Lord, make us instruments of your peace;
Where there is hatred, let us sow love;
Where there is injury, pardon;
Where there is discord, union;
Where there is doubt, faith;
Where there is despair, hope;
Where there is darkness, light;
Where there is sadness, joy;
Grant that we may not so much seek to be consoled, as to console;
To be understood, as to understand;
To be loved, as to love;
For it is in giving that we receive,
It is in pardoning, that we are pardoned,
And it is in dying that we are born to eternal life.

Oh, God of righteousness, we thank you for the faith we inherit. It gives us the vision of a world where children of God are not ground down in oppression, but lifted up in freedom.
We thank you for the gift of your love. It demands that the human person must not be bound in misery, but liberated in joy.
We thank you for the abundance of the earth. It makes possible a society of persons not equal in poverty, but diverse in wealth.
We thank you for the pricking of conscience. It makes us lay the foundations for such world, not tomorrow, but today.
And, we thank you for WAYNE MORSE, a faithful and good man, Amen.
Senator Hatfield. Let us remain standing and join together in responsive reading taken from Psalm 119:
R. Thy word is a lantern unto my feet, and a light unto my paths.
C. I have sworn, and am steadfastly purposed, to keep Thy righteous judgments.
R. I am troubled above measure: quicken me, O Lord, according to Thy word.
C. Let the free-will offerings of my mouth please Thee, O Lord; and teach me Thy judgments.
R. My soul is always in my hand; yet do I not forget Thy law.
C. The ungodly have laid a snare for me; but yet I swerved not from Thy commandments.
R. Thy testimonies have I claimed as mine heritage forever; and why? they are the very joy of my heart.
C. I have applied my heart to fulfill Thy statutes always. Even until the end.

ADDRESS, THE HONORABLE MARK HATFIELD

All these come to mind with the memory of WAYNE MORSE.
At times like this, we remember what is most lasting about the imprint of a life; we remember what will endure beyond those 73 years given by God to WAYNE MORSE; we remember what is transcendent of mere politics, and reaches forward to our common destiny and future.
WAYNE MORSE was a man of the earth.
With his ranch and cattle, he always maintained his roots with the soil. He treasured Oregon's forests and ranges, battling to preserve their bounty and beauty.
At the bedrock of his career was his commitment to Oregon's land and people.
WAYNE MORSE cherished his convictions. He clung to them, fought for them, and yielded to them.
Certainly he fought as hard or harder as any in political combat, for he was a relentless pursuer of his causes. But there was a difference. It was not just his political survival which thrust him into his battles. Rather, in a larger way, it was the unquenchable strength of what he believed.
WAYNE MORSE never thought the point of politics, or for life, was "to get along, you go along." He was freer than most from that perpetual concern with popularity. It was more important for WAYNE MORSE to stand for his convictions, and to struggle for truth.
WAYNE MORSE loved the law.
He always remained a tutor of the Constitution to all who would listen.
And it was that love which produced such bristling indignation whenever he felt others were jeopardizing the sanctity of constitutional law. Would that such a jealous love were shared by all given the responsibility of political power.
All these qualities equipped WAYNE MORSE for the most valued contribution he made to our country: his unceasing drive to bring the nation from war to peace.
That is how Americans will remember him best. For he warned America; he pleaded with her; he tried to alarm her; he wanted to tell America how she was endangering her deepest ideals, and spilling innocent blood.

You could say that he spoke then like a prophet, heralding the truth to ears that rarely were open.

Inexorably, the truth he proclaimed was embraced by more and more others, as the nation began to listen. His zeal was infectious, both nurtured and shared by Mrs. Morse and family.

He refused to even let age defeat him. WAYNE MORSE would no more yield to it than to any other foe. So he died fully alive, still in political combat, with his incisive mind and penetrating voice advocating his cause, still preaching constitutional sermons about the law he knew and loved so fervently, and still telling us what he felt in his mind and heart.

It is Tennyson’s words which to me would capture the life of WAYNE LYMAN MORSE: “To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield.”

HYMN 471 “ROCK OF AGES”

All sing:

Rock of Ages, cleft for me
Let me hide myself in Thee
Let the water and the blood
From Thy side, a healing flood
Be of sin the double cure
Cleanse me from its guilt and power.

Should my tears forever flow,
Should my zeal no longuor know,
All for sin could not atone:
Thou must save, and Thou alone;
In my hand no price I bring
Simply to Thy cross I cling.

While I draw this fleecing breath
When mine eyelids close in death
When I rise to worlds unknown
And behold Thee on Thy throne
Rock of Ages, cleft for me,
Let me hide myself in Thee. Amen

Mr. Pepper, Canon Cave, members of the family of Senator Morse, and friends: A reading from the 39th Chapter of the Book of Ecclesiasticus:

“He who devotes himself to the study of the law of the Most High will seek out the wisdom of all the ancients, and will be concerned with prophecies; he will preserve the discourse of notable men and penetrate the subtleties of parables; he will seek out the hidden meaning of Proverbs and be at home with the obscurities of parables.

He will serve among great men and appear before rulers; he will travel through the lands of foreign nations, for he tests the good and evil among men."
WAYNE L. MORSE

He will set his heart to rise early to seek the Lord who made him, and will make supplication before the Most High; he will open his mouth in prayer and make supplication for his sins.

If the great Lord is willing, he will be filled with the spirit of understanding; he will pour forth words of wisdom and give thanks to the Lord in prayer. He will direct his counsel and his knowledge aright, and meditate on his secrets.

He will reveal instruction in his teaching and will glory in the Lord's covenant.

Many will praise his understanding, and it will never be blotted out; his memory will not disappear, and his name will live through all generations. Nations will declare his wisdom, and the congregation will proclaim his praise.

If he lives long, he will leave a name greater than a thousand. If he goes to rest, it is enough for him.

ADDRESS, THE HONORABLE CLAUDE DENSON PEPPER

Mr. Pepper. On the first day of this month, many of us who have gathered here today in this noble edifice, assembled to pay our honor and respect to the late Senator Ernest Gruening.

Among those who came all the way across the continent from his home state of Oregon to join in that appreciation was him whose name we honor today—Senator WAYNE MORSE.

I shall never forget how we stood and talked together in the robing room, of his great past, of our service together in the Senate, of his hopes for the future, should he be endowed with the opportunity to resume that great career previously cut short.

And, now, too soon it is his name, and his memory which we honor today.

Senator WAYNE MORSE was a rare man! Rare in so many respects: Rare in keen intelligence, rare in the dynamism of his spirit, rare in his peculiar capacity to be dedicated to a purpose, rare in his courage, rare in his persistence in pursuit of a dream that he entertained.

Senator WAYNE MORSE, as a Senator, ranged all over the realm of public issues like a knight of the round table jousting with every defender of wrong he could reach, raising his fearful lance in support of every worthy cause that came within the scope of his restless energy.

And, what a record he made! In two respects, I should like to mention that record: One having to do with his participation in the formulation and in the development of the policy of our country in respect to Latin America:

In nineteen hundred and fifty-five, he became Chairman of the Subcommittee on Latin American Affairs of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

In 1958, he began a study of the relations of our country with our neighbor to the South, and out of that study came the principles of what was later the noble declaration of the Alliance for Progress. A great member of that subcommittee was Senator John F. Kennedy.
MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

When Castro was coming to power in Cuba, it was the voice of Wayne Morse, raised in warning against our country embracing one of his character and the disposition that he was beginning to display. Thereafter, visiting with the President, with the Secretary of State—representing the President, he had a large part in the relations between our country and Latin America, always striving to make the hemisphere stronger, and to make closer the attachments of friendship between our country and theirs.

And, then in the field of education, Wayne Morse had signal distinction. During the time he was Chairman of the Education Subcommittee of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee, more legislation affecting education in this country, giving federal assistance to the program of education in our nation was enacted, than ever before in the nation’s history, and Wayne Morse was the one who led the passage of that legislation in the United States Senate.

His colleagues have borne eloquent testimony to the contribution that he made in this field. I quote from the remarks of Senator Abe Ribicoff, former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare in the administration of President Kennedy:

"When the name 'Morse' appears on an educational bill, the present generation of children and children yet unborn will be assured that the bill stands for one man who in my opinion more than any other single individual in the whole world history of our nation has helped further the cause of education in the United States."

And Senator Javits:

"The work of the Senior Senator from Oregon in bringing this bill to the floor with the unanimous support of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare is of such an extraordinary quality that I feel that that alone, whatever else ensues, deserves the highest encomium of which I am capable, but also the entire world of education."

And majority leader, Senator Mansfield, said:

"The title, 'Mr. Education', is a title well-earned by Senator Morse. I thank him from the bottom of my heart, and I congratulate him for his tremendous understanding, knowledge and ability on all matters, but especially on questions involving education."

Every aspect of education: Elementary and secondary. Higher education. Assistance to students needing financial aid in obtaining an education, all this great panorama of education passed under the careful guidance and great leadership of Wayne Morse.

Perhaps, one of the qualities of Wayne Morse, that all will remember best is his steadfastness of purpose. Indeed, once he committed himself to a course, he was unshakeable in that position.

It might be said, as was said in an ode from Horace, "were the vault of Heaven to break and fall upon him, its ruins might smite him, undismayed."

He was actuated by the motivation of concern for people, and pursuit of what he thought was his just duty.

And he was moved by what might be words of Babcock, who said,
"We have hard work to do, loads to lift; Shun not the struggle; Face it. It is God's gift."
We may truly say, as was said by Shakespeare:
"He has borne himself beyond the measure of his own times, doing in the figure of a lamb the feats of a lion."
And we can say,
May God long preserve the memory and the spirit of WAYNE MORSE; for,
as his friend said to Hamlet,
We know "we shall not see his like again."

A REMINISCENCE: BISHOP SMALLWOOD WILLIAMS

Bishop Williams. Canon Cave, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, and members of the family:
In my considered judgment, the late Senator WAYNE MORSE was one of the greatest Senators to have sat in the United States Senate.
He was not only interested in the citizens of the State of Oregon, who sent him to the U.S. Senate for twenty-four years, but his profound humanitarianism gave him a great consideration for the poor, the disenfranchised, the disinherited, and the under-privileged everywhere.
The hungry children of our nation's capitol loved him for his great concern which led him through legislative action to secure a lunch and milk program for public school children, liberal welfare, public assistance, and family aid legislation.
He was an intrepid determined fighter for civil rights, civil liberties, and integration for all citizens of the United States of America.
He was a fierce fighter against all forms of discrimination and second-class citizenship in our nation. His powerful voice, and wise counsel, and impressive presence, and liberalism in the Fifties helped to make possible the civil rights legislation for the Sixties.
Senator MORSE was a very friendly person. He would invite me to have breakfast with him, in the U.S. Senate dining room, back in the Fifties, before the days of integration. The Senate dining room at that time was a lily-white situation. The usual only visible blacks were waiters and servants.
The presence of a black guest would always attract undue attention. The Senator, while conversing and eating unhurriedly, would look up and notice some of his distinguished colleagues from various parts of the country who did not share his views on racial integration.
He would politely rise, as the Southern Senator from Louisiana passed, and he would warmly address his colleague and say:
"Senator, I want you to meet my good friend, Bishop Smallwood Williams."
The Senator would blush red, and shake my hand, acknowledge the introduction, and later the Senator from Georgia would pass. He would repeat the introduction with similar results; so, finally, one of the Southern Senators gave Senator MORSE what I considered at that time a left-handed compliment. The Senator with the different racial philosophy from Senator MORSE said:
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“I differ with his racial views. However, one thing I would say about WAYNE MORSE—he practices what he preaches.”

And may I profoundly add, not only did he practice what he preached, but we honor him today because he preached what he practiced.

For his strenuous effort and others like him; America is the bastion of the free world, and it is a better place to live; a more pragmatic example of human freedom and dignity, which our Declaration of Independence and Constitution proclaims.

Senator WAYNE MORSE leaves this nation a great legacy of liberalism and determinism, which his contemporaries cannot ignore, and history should not omit.

In spite of the political turbulence of our times, this nation is better because a man named WAYNE MORSE lived and worked here tirelessly, throughout his life, for the causes in which he believed.

May God ever bless his memory, family, and friends. Amen.

ADDRESS, GEORGE MEANY

Mr. Meany. I came to know WAYNE MORSE early in his years of public service on the War Labor Board, during World War Two.

That Board was a solid example of the ability of free men to govern themselves, uncoerced, in the service of their country in the time of searching trial.

As a public member, the character, wisdom and diligence of WAYNE MORSE helped to make it possible for labor and management to measure up to that test. Yet, he never demanded or expected that either would yield, for a moment, their duty to advance most vigorously the rights and interests of those they were there to represent.

Our respect for WAYNE MORSE grew with familiarity over the years, as he involved himself deeply in the processes of collective bargaining, as one of the nation’s leading arbitrators and mediators of labor-management disputes. His fairness, integrity and dedication to free and voluntary paths to industrial peace were above question by either side of the many controversies he helped to resolve.

His contribution to human rights in industrial life, as well as political life, will endure far beyond his time.

That respect and regard continued to grow in the course of his political career, and it survived frequent differences on issues and approaches to issues. A powerful advocate and a formidable adversary, he was one whom we always wanted to have on our side. His force always exceeded his solitary vote in the Senate, for he was willing to step forward from the pack, to lead and to fight, and he fought from conviction, not from any awe of persons or institutions.

He was a friend of labor, not because he was beholden to labor, but because his largeness of heart and mind made him a champion of the plain people, the advocate of the little man surrounded by forces and aspirations beyond his reach.
He played the game on the top of the table, without guile or petty artifice. But, he brought to that great game of politics and legislation, a spirit of steel and a will of iron. He knew full well that when the battle of the common man is to be fought, any weakness of will or slackness of mind must succumb before the interest and odds against it.

He gave as much of himself to the people of the District of Columbia, who lacked the political voice or power to reward him in any way for his fidelity, as he gave the nation, when larger issues called him forth.

Wayne Morse perceived and understood the vital link between education and human progress. That great series of acts of Congress, which vastly enlarged the federal role in support of the expansion of educational opportunity during the years of Lyndon Johnson’s Presidency bear the strong marks of his concern.

How often since he left the Senate and issues and causes languished for lack of a courageous and stalwart champion, have we said among ourselves, “If we only had a Wayne Morse to lead this fight for us on the Hill?” But the only Wayne Morse was Wayne Morse himself.

We had hoped that in the fall we would be able to help return Wayne Morse in full voice to the Senate where he belonged, and where he is needed; but it was not to be. Now, we shall not see his like again. The Senate, the nation and the people have lost a great champion of justice, and we are all the poorer for that irreplaceable loss.

ADDRESS, JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR.

Mr. Rauh, Canon Cave, friends, family of Wayne Morse:

I think I speak this morning not for myself, but for all those in the civil rights movements who worked with Wayne Morse. For those of us who had the privilege of working closely with him; for Clarence Mitchell, Roy Wilkens; but, really, above all, for the millions of people whose rights exist today because of Wayne Morse, and who probably do not even know his name:

Justice Brandeis once wrote, “If we would guide by the light of reason, we must let our minds be bold.”

More than any other public leader of our lifetime, Wayne Morse lived by the Brandeis injunction. There is no time within memory when he failed to let his mind be bold. Over and over again in the thirty years of our friendship and collaboration, it was Wayne Morse who raised the banners toward new goals of equality and civil freedom.

Once the goals were set, no force on earth could move him from his appointed course.

It was Wayne Morse in the late Forties and Fifties, who outlined the constitutional bases, for the broad civil rights laws of the Sixties. Only too often in that period he knocked unsuccessfully at the Senate clubhouse door with its ever-present sign, “No Civil Rights legislation wanted.”

It was Wayne Morse who helped keep the civil rights goals alive in Nineteen Fifty-Seven, by voting against the watered down civil rights bill.
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of that year, and eloquently reaffirming the true needs of minority Americans. And, I suppose I may say, like so many others would say, I was one of those who advised him to vote for the bill.

It was WAYNE MORSE who helped stop the 1958 Congressional onslaught on the civil liberties decisions of the Warren Supreme Court.

Indeed, my favorite mind’s-eye picture of WAYNE is at four a.m. on an August Sunday morning in 1958, with books piled high on his desk, and a “they shall not pass” look on his face. The drive for the last of the anti-court bills lapsed in the face of that threatened end of the session filibuster.

It was WAYNE MORSE who kept the goal of true Home Rule for the District of Columbia alive in the Fifties and Sixties, while others berated him for not accepting unworkable substitutes. Every Washingtonian should thank God for WAYNE MORSE, as they cast their first Home Rule vote this fall.

Often, WAYNE MORSE stood alone. Where others sought refuge in the crowd, he had the courage to take the stand, undaunted by the absence of colleagues or other supporters. For those who knew him, Tonkin Gulf was not a surprise, but an inevitability.

As so many have said this morning before me, we shall not see the likes of this fierce warrior for justice soon again. Almost alone among public figures, his courage never once left him faltering or hesitant. Wrong he may, on occasion, no doubt, have been, but lacking in boldness he never was.

At a time when too many would hide in the changeless center, WAYNE MORSE is our reminder, forever, that one man with unlimited courage can move mountains of apathy and despair.

We shall miss him more and more.

HYMN 519, "EBENEZER"

All sing:
Once to ev’ry man and nation
Comes the moment to decide,
In the strife of truth with falsehood,
For the good or evil side;
Some great cause, God’s new Messiah,
Off’ring each the bloom or blight,
And the choice goes by forever
Twixt that darkness and that light.

Then to side with truth is noble,
When we share her wretched crust,
Ere her cause bring fame and profit
And ’tis prosp’rous to be just;
Then it is the brave man chooses,
While the coward stands aside,
Till the multitude make virtue
Of the faith they had denied.
By the light of burning martyrs
Jesus' bleeding feet I track,
Toiling up new Calveries ever
With the cross that turns not back;
New occasions teach new duties,
Time makes ancient good uncouth;
They must upward still and onward
Who would keep abreast of truth.

Though the cause of evil prosper
Yet 'tis truth alone is strong;
Though her portion be the scaffold,
And upon the throne be wrong.
Yet that scaffold sways the future,
And, behind the dim unknown,
Standeth God within the shadow
Keeping watch above his own.

ADDRESS, THE HONORABLE JAMES WILLIAM FULBRIGHT

Mr. Fulbright, Canon Cave and friends: To WAYNE MORSE our country is deeply indebted.

The circumstances presently confronting our nation serve to emphasize the importance to the preservation of our democratic system of government of men with the personal integrity, the dedication, and the courage of WAYNE MORSE.

Although he enjoyed personal friendships as others do, he always gave one the impression that the welfare of all the people he represented so ably was his primary concern and he was relentless in his pursuit of that objective.

He was willing, as few men are, to be aggressive and abrasive to his colleagues, or to Presidents, when he believed the peoples' interest required it. Few men have equaled his devotion to the Senate and to the country!

Some Senators distinguished themselves as great advocates; others, as far-sighted critics of national policy. WAYNE MORSE was both: A remarkably knowledgeable and skillful legislative manager, especially in the fields of labor and education, and an equally distinguished critic of mistaken policies, especially in our foreign relations.

As a legislator, he was brilliant and indefatigable. As one who usually agreed with WAYNE MORSE in debate, but occasionally did not, I can state, unequivocally, that I greatly preferred having him on my side. He was in the classic sense of the term a great debator, a gifted practitioner of an art form now in decline. While Senators increasingly have taken to the media, and to the techniques of public relations, WAYNE MORSE retained an old-fashioned faith in government by discussion, and the place for that discussion, in his view, was the Senate floor. It was preeminently his forum, where he brought to bear his extraordinary gifts of knowledge, logic, and tenacity.
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Wayne Morse and I served together on the Foreign Relations Committee for fourteen years, from 1955 until 1969. There, especially, I appreciated his remarkable energy and foresight.

Whereas, many Senators made it a practice to appear only occasionally in the committee, to make a point or advance a particular cause, Senator Morse was there most of the time, listening, questioning, probing, and in so doing, educating—educating his colleagues, and educating the American people.

Above all, in foreign relations, he was far-sighted. He was ahead of most of us in appreciating the defects of our bi-lateral foreign aid programs. He was one of the architects of the Alliance for Progress, and, under his chairmanship, the Foreign Relations Committee on Inter-America Affairs was uniquely creative and influential.

To his enduring fame and credit, Senator Morse perceived the tragic folly of the Vietnam War before virtually anyone else. His vote against the Tonkin resolution in 1964, one of only two in the Senate, along with his then unheeded efforts to apprise the Senate of the facts of that episode, stand as a landmark of courage and prescience in the Senate.

We have heard a great deal in recent years about the need to strengthen the Senate by means of new rules of procedure and reorganized committees. For my part, I can think of a much more effective means of strengthening and rejuvenating the Senate: Elect more Senators like Wayne Morse of Oregon.

ADDRESS, THE HONORABLE ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG

Mr. Goldberg. There was a man—He was a zealot! He railed against injustice, immorality and abuse of power.

He had the courage to be alone and apart, in defense of principles. Just like the tree planted by the water, where principles were involved, he could not be moved.

He alienated and challenged the establishment on occasion. He even chided his most intimate friends for lapses from what he regarded to be the true faith.

Critics were prone to say that he was too self-righteous, that he wore a hair-shirt, that he was intolerant of human failings, and that his deep-felt convictions were too strongly expressed, too single-mindedly held, and too passionately argued.

Yet, his heart was filled with love, notwithstanding, that he often felt that he had to speak in words of condemnation.

He was a maverick, a mugwump. The man I have described is Jeremiah, Ezekial, Isaiah, or Micah, prophets in Israel.

It is not remarkable how many of the qualities of the Hebrew prophets Senator Wayne Morse possessed? I would not presume to characterize Wayne Morse as a prophet in the biblical sense. The prophets of the Old Testament were divinely inspired.

Yet, it cannot be gainsaid that Senator Morse, like the prophets of old,
WAYNE L. MORSE

was a zealot—for integrity, morality, justice, the rule of law, peace, and steadfast adherence to basic principles.

There is an old Jewish tradition, tracing back to the prophet Isaiah, that in every age there are 36 just men, which in Hebrew is called—they're called the "Lamitvov". According to this tradition, if just one of them were lacking, the suffering of man would multiply.

Lamitvov, the legend says, are the hearts of the world multiplied; and into them, as into one receptacle, pour all of our grievances against injustice and inequity. The teaching of this legend is that one man is indispensable, and WAYNE MORSE was!

For WAYNE MORSE's career and good works proves the essential truth of this legend: Absent WAYNE MORSE and his great contributions to the cause of the poor, the oppressed, the wage-earner and those discriminated against, the suffering of mankind would, indeed, have multiplied!

The Lamitvov tradition is a legend. But, to paraphrase the poet, more things are wrought by legends that men dream of.

If WAYNE MORSE dissented from public policies contrary to the public interest, as he frequently did, if he championed social and economic justice, as he frequently did, if he fought for the elimination of illiteracy, of prejudice and racial bigotry, as he did, if he loved peace—hated war—abjured violence and discord at home and abroad, as he did, Senator Morse was giving expression to the highest patriotism, best defined by Adlai Stevenson in these words:

“What do we mean by patriotism in the context of our times?
A patriotism that puts country ahead of self;
A patriotism which is the steady dedication of a lifetime.
These are words that are easy to utter,
But this is a mighty assignment.
For it is often easier to fight for principles,
Than to live up to them.”

“When an American says he loves his country
He means not only that he loves the New England hills,
The prairies glistening in the sun,
The wide and rising plains,
The great mountains and ranges and virgin forests of the far west,
He means that he loves an inner air,
An inner light in which freedom lives
And in which a man can draw a breath of self-respect.”

I don't know whether Adlai Stevenson was conscious of this, but he was paraphrasing the words of the first Chief Justice of the United States, John Jay, who spoke of the “Free Air of American Life.”

If I were to have a capsule of WAYNE MORSE, I would say he took one again from the founding fathers.

His slogan was theirs: “Do not tread on me and our liberties.” That to me is the essence of WAYNE MORSE.
Like another great American, he conceived that those who won our independence believed liberty to be the secret of happiness, and courage to be the secret of liberty.

They believed, as he did, that the greatest menace of freedom is an inert people; that public discussion is a political duty; that this should be a fundamental principle of all American government.

They recognized the risk to which all human institutions are subject; But they knew, as he did, that order cannot be secured merely through fear of punishment for its infraction; that it is hazardous to discourage thought, hope and imagination; and that fear breeds repression, that repression breeds hate, that hate menaces stable government; that the path of safety lies in the opportunity to discuss freely supposed grievances and proposed remedies, and that the fitting remedy for evil counsels is good ones. These convictions held by the founding fathers—and WAYNE MORSE, perhaps represent a lesson to us, and a teaching for our present travails.

I mourning WAYNE MORSE’s passing, we, his friends and distinguished colleagues who are gathered here today salute this indomitable combat soldier for liberty, freedom, justice and peace.

To these great ends he dedicated his life and, in so doing, left an enduring profile in courage.

PRAYERS

For the departed and those who mourn, for Oregon, for our country, the Lord’s prayer.

Canon Cave. As the service draws to a close, shall we stand for the prayers:
“Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, in whose hands are the living and the dead, we give Thee thanks for all Thy servants who have spent their lives in the service of our country, especially Thy servant, WAYNE. Grant to him Thy mercy, and the light of Thy presence, and give to us such a lively sense of Thy righteous will that the work Thou hast begun in him may be perfected through us.” Amen.

Let us pray for Oregon:
“O, God, author of all majesty, how bright is Thy glory, upon the land of Oregon. Blessed be the trees upon their hills, the valleys in their verdure, and the dry places waiting their turn of fertility. Praised be to Thee for the precious gift of rain, drawn in to Heaven from the sea, caught again upon the snowy peaks, returning fruitfully down the strong rivers, giving life to Thy people in their orchards and city places. May their lives likewise be lifted to Thee and blessed, and sent again to do Thy service upon earth; so may the land be renewed, and the souls of Thy servants, through Jesus Christ, our Lord.” Amen.

Let us pray for our country:
“Almighty God, who hast given us this good land for our heritage; we humbly beseech Thee that we may always prove ourselves a people mindful of Thy favor and glad to do Thy will. Bless this land with honorable industry, sound learning, and pure manners. Save us from violence, discord, and
confusion; from pride and arrogance, and from every evil way. Defend our liberties, and fashion into one united people the multitudes brought hither out of many kindreds and tongues. Fill with the spirit of wisdom those to whom we entrust the authority of government, that there may be justice and peace at home, and that, through obedience to Thy law, we may show forth Thy praise among the nations of the earth. In the time of prosperity, fill our hearts with thankfulness; and in the day of trouble, suffer not our trust in Thee to fail; all of which we ask through Jesus Christ, our Lord.” Amen.

All pray: “Our Father, who art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done. On earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil, for Thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever and ever.” Amen.

Benediction, Canon Cave

Canon Cave. “The peace of God which passeth all understanding, Keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, And of His Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, and the blessing of God almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be amongst you and remain with you always.” Amen.

Postlude

Choral Prelude “We Believe in One God,” by Johann Sebastian Bach.

Mr. GUNTER. Mr. Speaker, I have been requested by a constituent to have the attached article that was printed in the July 28, 1974, edition of the Sentinel Star of Orlando, Fla., inserted in the Record to be brought to the attention of my colleagues in Congress:

[From the Orlando (Fla.) Sentinel Star, July 28, 1974]

OLD MORSE LETTER GUIDE, DOCTOR SAYS

(By Charley Ryan)

An Altamonte Springs allergist believes a treasured 1954 letter from the late U.S. Sen. WAYNE MORSE detailed his political independence might be pertinent today.

Dr. Albert M. Ziffer, then an intern at Bellevue Hospital in New York City, was angered because the Oregon senator, elected twice as a Republican, proclaimed himself an Independent in 1952 and, in 1954, announced he would vote with the Democrats to organize the Senate in 1955.

The physician, in his lone political fling, had walked his New York precinct as one of the Citizens for Eisenhower. He called himself a Republican then. So he wrote MORSE protesting his decision on Nov. 4, 1954.

The peppery senator replied 20 days later, “It has always been my belief that a U.S. Senator is not the property of a political party. Rather, I regard
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him as under obligation to every person in the state and to the nation. He has the solemn obligation of deciding each issue honestly and on the merits regardless of possible opposing views of political party leaders."

Morse said he warned the voters of Oregon, in his two campaigns, against electing him "unless they were willing to send me to the Senate as a free man, free to exercise an honest independence of judgment on the facts as I understood them."

In 1953, Morse said, "I considered myself morally bound to support the mandate of the people when they elected a Republican Senate in 1952 in that he would "support that mandate until the people had a chance to review their action. The recent (November, 1954) election constituted such a review and, in it the people decided against electing a majority of Republicans to the Senate."

The Oregonian announced his organization vote early so "the people of Oregon should know how I stood on this issue before they went to the polls. The election of the first Democratic senatorial candidate in 40 years is an interesting aftermath and is some indication of how the voters of Oregon feel on the matter . . . ."

The Oregon vote that year was far clearer than the Morse letter indicates. The Democrats nominated a Portland state senator, Richard L. Neuberger, against Douglas McKay who had resigned as Eisenhower's Secretary of the Interior to campaign in his home state.

Neuberger, the victor who died in office in 1960, campaigned as a conservationist against McKay's forestry policies. He also disagreed with a McKay-sponsored plan, the so-called "Dixon-Yates deal" under which the Tennessee Valley Authority would be forced to purchase electric power from a private utility combine.

McKay called it government and private industry partnership in electricity. Neuberger said it would demolish the "yardstick" by which government measured private utility performance and smash the TVA system.

Morse, who in 1953 established the longest single speech record in the U.S. Senate, 22 hours and 26 minutes arguing against Republican conservation policies, strongly supported Neuberger. In fact, Morse had left the Republican party, saying he was "too liberal" for it.

In his letter to Dr. Ziffer, Morse said his 1954 decision to help the Democrats organize the Senate—he was to become a Democrat himself in 1956—was "reached only after thorough consideration of what would best promote the public interest. I concluded that, upon the basis of its record over the past 19 months, the Republican administration is not entitled to confidence from the American people and the control of the Senate and House by the Democrats is essential to the general public welfare."

He concluded, "So long as I serve in the Senate, I shall recognize the high obligation of keeping faith with my conscience. In so doing I am satisfied that I will be carrying out the will of the great majority of those who sent me to the Senate."

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He also wrote, "When I was elected in Oregon, I became the senator for all persons in Oregon, including those who voted against me. I did not become the property of the Republican party."

The organization issue was heated in those years partly because Republican majorities in both houses were slim and became slimmer by attrition, particularly the death of Ohio U.S. Sen. Robert A. Taft late in 1953.

The 83d Congress, that of the first two Eisenhower years, 1953-54 was the only Republican Congress organized under a Republican administration since the first Hoover years, 1929-30.

Dr. Ziffer, incidentally, has traveled a similar road Morse, who died Monday, had taken. He now calls himself an Independent politically. "Right now I'd be ashamed to call myself a Republican," he said.

But beyond party label, the allergist thinks Morse's words and stance should be a clear guide to members of the U.S. Senate now, particularly, "keeping faith with my conscience" and "carrying out the will of the great majority."