NOV. 22

Twenty-five Years Later
Twenty-five years ago, on Nov. 22, 1963, President John F. Kennedy was assassinated here, in Dallas, Texas. The country's sorrow has endured, softened perhaps by the span of time but never far from consciousness. The city's sorrow has endured as well, always closer at hand, magnified by lingering self-examination of itself and its institutions, of which this newspaper is one. This report attempts to understand better what happened then in order to measure how far we have come, and how far we have to go.

Burl Osborne
President and Editor
The Dallas Morning News
NOV. 22
Twenty-five Years Later

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Some articles were written for The News’ 1963 special report on the Kennedy assassination and were updated in 1988.
Tough seldom calm, the political atmosphere was supercharged in Texas in the summer of 1963. Among the Democratic, top leaders were engaged in a bitter feud. Among the Republicans, conservatives were in control and ultrconservatives were out of control.

Yet there was hope for easing tensions on both sides through a single event—the impending visit to Texas of John F. Kennedy.

Car leaders saw the visit as a chance to reseize the embarrassment caused by two nationally publicized incidents involving rich Republicans. Democrats, meanwhile, saw a number of possible benefits from the trip.

Some Texas politicians said the president planned his visit to shore up support for his upcoming 1964 election campaign and to pry loose some of the Texas wealth for his political coffers. But Kennedy associates said the trip was to heal an increasingly nasty personal and philosophical rift among three of the most powerful Texas Democrats—Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, Gov. John Connally and U.S. Sen. Ralph Yarbrough.

"The president was trying to get the political situation settled in Texas," Robert Kennedy said later in an interview.

"I know that was the point of the trip, to heal everything, to get everybody to ride in the same car or something," Jacqueline Kennedy recalled.

The usual struggle between the liberal and conservative wings of the Texas Democratic Party had been compounded by the conflicts among the three powerful and ambitious main characters in the Democratic drama.

Johnson, the master politician who had led the Senate for years, was painfully adjusting to the secondary role of vice president. Connally, a conservative, the pin-striped rancher who had gained much of his political acumen from Johnson, was rapidly becoming a favorite of the state's business community.

Lon terrestrial, the last Texas politico lawyer, had angered Johnson when he supported Kennedy for the 1960 presidential nomination instead of fellow Texas Johnson.

All three of the strong-willed Texans were up for re-election in 1964, and Yarbrough was convinced that Johnson and Connally were plotting to find a candidate to unseat him.

"So let us not be petty when our cause is so great," said the East Texas liberal Yarborough. "Our nation's state's business community.

On Oct. 24, 1963, U.N. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson visited Dallas to speak at a U.N. Day program at Memorial Auditorium. The rhetoric of the right was powerful. At the first National Indignation Convention in Dallas in November 1961, ultrconservative Texas J. Ernest Bailey lampooned the feisty, bearded Stevenson, describing him as a "Judas" of the right, often seen on billboards and bumper stickers as "Get the U.S. Out of the U.N. and the U.N. Out of the U.S."

During Stevenson's speech, the protesters coughed in cadence and walked the aisles carrying U.S. flags upside down as a sign of distress. At one point, Frank McGregor, a leader of the Dallas-based National Indignation Committee, stood and began shouting. Stevenson brushed him off with a quip as police escorted McGehee out of the auditorium.

The incident made national news. Why's film was shown in slow motion by Walter Cronkite on CBS News the following evening, and Newsweek published the photo on their front page.

Clearly, the right-wingers were not as harmless as Dallas leaders had assumed them to be. But they were as powerful as the world assumed them to be after the assassination. Many Dallas leaders agree with the Warren Commission finding that the assassination was unrelated to the political turmoil in Dallas at the time.

It was a coincidence. It just happened in a place where the pot was boiling," said Willa Tate, president emeritus of Southern Methodist University. "As president of SMU at the time, Tate got a firsthand view of the actions of the ultraconservatives. He was bombarded with community protests when left-leaning speakers appeared on campus. Right-wingers, according to newspaper reports, began referring to SMU as "the Kremlin on the campus."
called for a hanging.

Dallas also gained some attention as the home of billionaire oilman H.L. Hunt, who often was featured in magazine articles of that time as the world's richest man. The articles noted his ultraconservatism, which he sought to spread through the Facts Forum and Lifeline national radio programs.

After the assassination, Dallas frequently was referred to as the capital of the far right, although news accounts of the ultraconservative movement had never made such a case before November 1963. Even at the height of their activity in Dallas, the right-wing extremists were a small group, but they managed to draw big attention.

"These people were fairly well-funded," Brown said. "Many came from the middle class. They were educated. They were articulate. They knew how to use public opinion and public relations."

Looking back on that time, Marcus said, "I believe that there was a spirit of hate that existed in Dallas — in the strong Republican districts in North Dallas where people believe they had the only true and revealed truth and could not conceive of any pluralism in society."

"And they were aided and abetted by the newspaper," Marcus said. "The Dallas Morning News was the one instrument that could have refused that point of view, but it didn't. It just aided and abetted it."

At that time, the editorial page of The Dallas Morning News had gained a national reputation among journalists and politicians for its unswervingly conservative and often acerbic viewpoints. An editorial columnist referred to the New Deal as the "Queer Deal," to the American Civil Liberties Union as the "American Swivel Liberties Union" and to the U.S. Supreme Court as the "Judicial Kremlin."

Marcus and other critics accused The News' editorial page of polarizing the issues and of encouraging the far right's tenacity and disrespect for national institutions.

Dick West, editorial director of the newspaper at the time, said years later, "I don't know whether it encouraged disrespect or not. But many, many people applauded what we were saying."

If Dallas was different from other cities at the time, it was in the degree of acceptance that the far right enjoyed. There are differing opinions, however, on the level of that acceptance.

Some Dallas leaders say the extremists were simply ignored because they were such an insignificant group. "It was just a handful of little people — not representative of the community at all," the late C.A. Tatum Jr., who was president of the Dallas Citizens Council in 1961, said in a 1983 interview.

Conservative politicians say the extremists represented a minority viewpoint that never inflamed mainstream conservatives. But leaders of the time clearly had to walk a fine line to appease both groups. "There were some problems in those days," said former U.S. Sen. John Tower, who was elected in 1961 as the first Republican senator from Texas since Reconstruction.

"But I got along with everybody. I never chastised anyone or read the riot act to anyone."

Some say the extremist viewpoints weren't just tolerated in Dallas but were quietly embraced. "The old boys (establishment leaders) sympathized with these folks," said Beverly Pringle, a sociologist at UNT at the time, now retired in Seattle. "They didn't like violence and all that, but they could certainly see what all the fussing was about."

Dallas lawyer Sid Finkel, who later served on the City Council, watched the actions of the far right from a vantage point as vice chairman of the Jewish Federation's Community Relations Council. He didn't like what he was seeing.

"They seemed to be receiving more and more prominence and attracting more and more of the respectable groups of citizens in the community. It was scary," he said.

In the wake of the Stevenson incident, Dallas leaders realized that the ultraconservatives were out of control. "These are not conservatives — they are radicals," Dallas Mayor face Cabell said in a harsh rebuke.

Dallas was embarrassed and reprieved over humiliating Stevenson. The Dallas Morning News published an editorial extending a "community apology" to Stevenson, assuring him that "the actions of a few do not represent the demeanor of the rest." The Dallas Times Herald published a front-page editorial headlined "Dallas Disgrace."

Telegrams signed by 150 civic leaders were sent to Kennedy and Stevenson saying that Dallas was "courageous and objectively atone" of the incident. The City Council quickly passed an anti-Russiante ordinance.

In a statement issued two days after the October 1963 incident, Cabell said civic leaders must accept some responsibility for the problem in Dallas. "The conservative thinker and civic builder, although in the majority, has become enwrapped in his own affair and has permitted a small but highly vocal minority to project the image of our city to the world at large."

But Cabell also saw a way for the city to clear its name. "We have an opportunity to redeem ourselves," he said, "when the president pays us a visit next month."

This article, written for The News' 1983 special report on the Kennedy assassination, was updated in 1988.
John Fitzgerald Kennedy arose Friday, Nov. 22, 1963, in a Fort Worth hotel. Three days later, he was buried in Arlington National Cemetery.

This is the story of those four days, in the words of the people who were there.

The recollections come from interviews by The Dallas Morning News in 1983 and 1988, and from documents at the Lyndon B. Johnson library and other archives. Those quoted are identified by the titles they held at the time of the assassination.

All times are Dallas time. A complete list of sources is on Pages 54-55.

Nov. 22-25, 1963

Nov. 22

FRIDAY

7 a.m.

Evelyn Lincoln, President Kennedy's personal secretary, begins her day at the Hotel Texas in Fort Worth with a brief visit to the president.

Mrs. Lincoln: "I dressed in a dark blue suit and then asked a maid to clean the room. I had some friends from Dallas coming to have breakfast.

"I walked to the president's room... and asked him if he'd mind meeting my friends.

"He told the Secret Service to let me know when he parted to leave so I could bring my friends out to the hallway to meet him... He was in a very happy mood."

7:10 a.m.

Lee Harvey Oswald knocks on the front door of the Irving home of Wesley Frazier, an order clerk at the Texas Book Depository where both Oswald sometimes rode to work with Frazier.

Frazier: "He came down... as I was eating my breakfast... I left for work a few minutes after..."

"And when I came out to get into the car, I glanced over and saw a package in the back seat. I said, 'What's that?' and he said, 'You remember — that's the curtain rods I was going to bring in.'

"It was kind of a drizzling rain... Everybody knew by that time that President Kennedy was coming to Dallas and he was coming down (past the book depository) on the parade route.

"As we rode to work that morning, we talked about it. I said it may not be a good day for a parade."

7:30 a.m.

Peter Sacco, catering manager of the Hotel Texas, oversees preparation of Kennedy's breakfast. Jacqueline Kennedy will eat later.

Sacco: "The president had soft-boiled eggs, bacon, dry toast with marmalade, orange juice and coffee. He had a pretty standard breakfast — very light.

"We were told that he wasn't hard to please — just to make sure his eggs and his coffee were hot."

8 a.m.

Frazier and Oswald arrive at the book depository.

 Shortly before 8:30 a.m.

Kennedy and Larry O'Brien, a close friend and aide, are at the hotel looking out a window toward the parking lot where the president will give a brief address minutes later.

O'Brien: "They were putting the final touches on the stand out in a large parking lot in front of the hotel where he was going to make an appearance, and he made a comment that 'if someone wanted to get you, it wouldn't be very difficult, would it?'"

8:30 a.m.

Marjorie Belew, wife of Fort Worth lawyer David S. Belew, Jr. and Mrs. Kennedy's escort to the speech, goes with U.S. Rep. Jim Wright to the Kennedy's hotel suite.

Mrs. Belew: "Mr. Kennedy came out and apologized to me because she wasn't ready, that she had to do something with her hair, but that I would understand — and we would understand if he didn't invite us in."

"I think I was chosen (to escort the
Kennedys) because of my ability to make conversation. But I finished.

"I just sat on the floor and couldn't think of anything to say. But he was so charming. And finally, I think Congressman Wright said, "Say something, Maude." And the president just laughed."

About 8:10 a.m.

Kennedy emerges from his suite again and stops in the ball to greet his secretary's friends.

Mrs. Lincoln: "He gave the usual pleasantries. He said he was pleased to meet them and that any friends of mine were friends of his. Then he looked out of the window and commented about how many people were down below. The size of the crowd pleased him."

8:45 a.m.

Mrs. Below accompanies the president and others in the entourage to the platform for his speech. Also there are Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, Sen. Ralph W. Yarborough and Gov. John Connally.

Mrs. Below: "It was drizzling until we got on the platform and he got up to speak. The sun came out. It was amazing."

Mary in the crowd of 5,000 chanted:

"Come on Jack! Where's Jackie? " The president points toward the hotel suite. Liz Carpenter, executive assistant to Johnson, stands nearby at the president's right.

Ms. Carpenter: "He realized that crowd had really wanted to see Mrs. Kennedy. So he was very disappointed when she didn't show up. (Kennedy said) that Mrs. Kennedy had been getting dressed and it takes women longer, but of course, Mrs. Kennedy looks better."

Shortly before 9 a.m.

Kennedy finishes his brief speech and makes his way through the crowd, shaking hands. As he walks toward the hotel for a Fort Worth Chamber of Commerce breakfast, he chats with Terrace County Sheriff Lon Evans.

Evans: "I had my sheriff's pose there to assist with the crowd. So when we came back across the street to the hotel, he asked me, 'Sherrif,' he said, 'are these men Texas Rangers?'"

"No. Mr. President, these are members of my sheriff's pose," he said. "Would you be kind enough to introduce me to a couple of them?" So I introduced him to a couple of the men on horseback. He was very interested in the horses. He commented on the men's chinsins and everything, which were Texas."

The president stops to chat with Mary Anne Gilkison, a 16-year-old junior at R.L. Paschal High School in Fort Worth.

Miss Gilkison: "He was shaking hands with the people in the front row. When he got to me, he stopped and said, "Jean, you supposed to be in school right now?" I said, "Well, yes, as a matter of fact, I'm supposed to be taking a test right now."

"He said, 'You tell your teacher that the president of the United States excused you.'"

9 a.m.

W. Richard Guertler, an 8-year-old member of the Texas Boys Choir, is among those who sing a selection of Texas ballads as Kennedy enters the hotel ballroom for the breakfast.

Guerler: "He shook the hands of a couple people. I didn't get to say "I love you...

short. I was in the front row, but the platform was in the way and there were other people in front."

9:20 a.m.

Ms. Carpenter watches as the first lady arrives with a Secret Service agent and walks to the head table.

Ms. Carpenter: "There was much expectation about Mrs. Kennedy, hoping that she would come because she did have a 'Grace Kelly attention' and everyone was eager to see her.

"One of the public information men for the governor . . . said to me, 'Has Jackie blown it again?' and I said, 'I'm quite sure she'll be here."

"Sure enough, in a minute, with camera and lights on. Mrs. Kennedy entered looking perfectly beautiful in a pink dress with navy blue lapels and a pink pillbox hat."

"She went up alone with her Secret Service agent beside her, but in a spectacular entrance, with great cheers from the crowd, and seated herself by the president. He didn't speak to her immediately, but the vice president got up and was very charming."

"I watched carefully to see if there was any exchange, and there was briefly, but I had the feeling that he was lavished on her. She didn't make the encore with him."

Alwinn Bedford, wife of Fort Worth oilman Charles Bedford, is among the breakfast guests.

Mrs. Bedford: "The (Mrs. Kennedy) did walk in a little late, but that was exactly what impressed me so much. She walked in with the greatest dignity. . . . She absolutely won my admiration."

9:25 a.m.

Willard Barr, Fort Worth's mayor pro tem, remembers that many of the guests were Chamber of Commerce members and businessmen.

Barr: "Probably most of them would have gone out and voted against him, but he had them charmed — sort of in the palm of his hand — by the time he finished his speech."

"He started his speech with praise for Jim Wright. Of course, Jim had a lot of supporters there."

"He then went on to talk about Jacqueline. He said, 'Everybody wants to see what Jacqueline will wear, and they never pay attention to what you and I wear.'"

"And I think it would have been some- thing demeaning and insulting for him to parodize us Texans and the way by playing like he wanted a cowboy hat."

9:50 a.m.

Dr. Marion Brooks, a physician and a leader in Fort Worth's black community, attends the speech only after considerable negotiation. The Chamber of Commerce initially made no tickets available to blacks but later granted 50. Brooks said that as the Kennedys are presented cowboy hats and boot.

Brooks: "When he was handed the hat, he looked at it and smiled — but he didn't put it on. . . . He made no apologies for that."

"And I think it would have been some- thing demeaning and insulting for him to parodize us Texans and the way by playing like he wanted a cowboy hat."

9:55 a.m.

The Rev. Granville Walker, pastor of University Christian Church, gives the morning benediction.

Walker: "I used the traditional prayer of 'Lord bless you and be gracious unto you.' I added a few words about peace in the world. . . . and I asked for the presi-"
The Events of Nov. 22, 1963

11:40 a.m.
Air Force One arrives at Dallas Love Field.

11:45 a.m.
Presidential motorcade leaves Love Field.

12:22 p.m.
Motorcade reaches downtown.

12:30 p.m.
Kennedy and Connally hit by shots fired from Texas School Book Depository.

12:40 p.m.
Limousine arrives at Parkland.

12:45 p.m.
Oswald boards bus.

12:44 p.m.
Oswald gets off bus.

12:47 p.m.
Oswald enters cab.

2:08 p.m.
Hearns bearing Kennedy's body leaves Parkland.

2:15 p.m.
Hearns arrives at Love Field.

1:45 p.m.
Oswald runs into Texas Theater.

1:50 p.m.
Oswald arrested inside theater.

1:54 p.m.
Oswald leaves cab and walks to boarding house.

12:59 p.m.
Oswald arrives at boarding house.

12:59 p.m.
Oswald leaves minutes later with a pistol.

1:15 p.m.
Oswald is stopped by police officer J.D. Tippit.

Tippit shot to death.
At Love Field, Mrs. Kennedy carries a bouquet of red roses given to her by Dearie Cabell, wife of Mayor Earle Cabell.
The first lady greets well-wishers after the presidential party’s arrival at Love Field.

lot of serious charges against the Kennedy administration. I left there a long time — just really to show how.

“However, the fabulous thing about the Dallas reception was it was not at all as we envisioned — just thousands of people. They could not have outdone Houston and outdone Fort Worth.”

11:45 a.m.

Charles Roberts, a Newsweek correspondent covering the presidential party, watches as Kennedy enters the back seat of his convertible limousine. Mrs. Kennedy sits beside her husband. Secret Service agent Bill Greer is driving, agent Roy Kellerman sits beside him, Gov. Connally and his wife, Nellie, take the jump seats. The other cars in the entourage fall behind for the motorcade that will take them through downtown Dallas en route to the Trade Mart, where Kennedy is to deliver a luncheon address.

Roberts: “He (Kennedy) had inquired about the weather that morning and decided that they would not have the top on it (the limousine). They had a choice of three tops: a fabric top — a fabric top, of course, would have obscured him from the public; and the plastic top, which the Secret Service had told me would deflect a bullet, but would not stop it; and then a metal top.”

About 11:50 a.m.

Kennedy halts the motorcade at the intersection of Lemmon Avenue and Lomo Alto Drive to greet a group of small children.

Connally: “There was one little girl who was carrying a sign saying, ‘Mr. President, will you please stop and shake hands with me?’ He just told the driver to stop ... and, of course, he was immediately mobbed by a bunch of youngsters.”

About noon

U.S. Attorney Barefoot Sanders shares a bus with about 20 people, mostly White House staff members. The bus is several vehicles behind the presidential limousine.

Sanders: “The crowd started building. From 11:50 a.m. on, the crowds were very thick and very friendly. The chatter on the bus was, ‘Gee, isn’t this nice? Isn’t this a pretty day’?”

Jack Valenti, a Houston public relations man, is aboard the bus.

Valenti: “I recall we were all remarking about how marvelous the reception was. There were no hostile faces, not even a hostile sign, which was amazing.”

Lady Bird Johnson rode with the vice president and Sen. Yarbrough.

Mrs. Johnson: “The streets were lined with people — lots and lots of people — the children all smiling, placards, confetti, people waving from windows.”

About 12:15 p.m.

At the Trade Mart, many of the 2,600 guests are arriving for the 12:30 p.m. speech. Erik Jonsson, president of the Dallas Citizens Council, has gone straight to the Trade Mart from Love Field to make final preparations.

Jonsson: “Everything was in order. We had no problems with the police. The streets were lined with people — lots and lots of people — for Caroline, but I can’t recall what it was. ‘Everything was organized as well.”
The presidential limousine moves along Main Street in downtown Dallas.

Lady Bird Johnson sits between Vice President Johnson and Sen. Ralph Yarborough in the motorcade.

The presidential motorcade nears the Adolphus Hotel. About 200,000 people line the route through Dallas, many smiling and waving.
President Kennedy is struck by a bullet. The president slumps; Connally turns in his seat. A second shot strikes the president.

The mortally wounded president falls toward his wife.

Mrs. Kennedy rises in the rear seat of the limousine.

Secret Service agent Clint Hill climbs onto the car.
After the shots, photographers on the grassy knoll dash after the speeding motorcade. Bill and Gayle Newman shield their children with their bodies.

**The Dallas Morning News**

THE DALLAS MORNING NEWS NOVEMBER 20, 1988

we knew how to do it.”

12:29 p.m.  
The carcass is about to turn north on Houston Street. As the car passes the Dallas County Courthouse, Nellie Connolly is moved by the reaction of the spectators and turns to the president.

Mrs. Connolly: “Mr. Kennedy, you can’t say that Dallas doesn’t love you.”

12:30 p.m.  
The limousine travels down the slope in front of the book depository at the northeast corner of Houston and Elm. Shots ring out.

Mrs. Kennedy: “I heard a noise. . . . I saw President Kennedy grab at himself and lurch down. ’And ‘I love you Jack.’ I remember I had this sort of quizzical look on his face. . . . I remember thinking he just looked as if he had a slight headache . . . .

‘I remember falling on him and saying . . . ‘Oh, my God, they have shot my husband,’ and ‘I love you Jack.’ I remember I was shouting.

Secret Service agent Clint Hill, in the next car back in the motorcade, bolts for the president’s limousine.

Hill: “I heard a noise . . . . I saw President Kennedy grab at himself and lurch forward.

Mrs. Kennedy . . . jumped up from the seat . . . when she noticed that I was trying to climb on the car. She turned toward me, and I grabbed her and put her back in the back seat, crawled up on top of the back seat and lay there.”

Connolly: “Strangely, I had but one thought — this is an assassination attempt . . . .

‘When I was hit, I said, ‘Oh, no, no, no’ . . . . and then I said, ‘My God, they are trying to kill us all.’ . . .

Mrs. Connolly: “I pulled him (Connolly) over into my arms and put my head down on his. I thought he was dead. But then he moved his hand — it was an almost imperceptible movement — and I knew he was alive.

Bill and Gayle Newman have brought two young sons downtown to see the president. They are standing along the curb on Elm Street in front of the grassy knoll.

Mrs. Newman: “This shot fired out, and I thought it was a firecracker, and the president kind of nixed up in his seat and I thought, you know, he was kind of going along with a gag or something. And then all of a sudden the seat one popped . . . and another one — it was just all so fast . . . . And my husband said, ‘Quick, get down,’ and I grabbed the baby and we ran and laid down on the grass and I got on top of him.”

Secret Service agents Edgar Yaegaki . . .

**blood is running with the Johnsons.**

Youngblood: “I turned instinctively in my seat, and wish my left hand I grasped President Johnson’s right shoulder and wish all the leverage I could exert from a sitting position, I forced him downward.

‘Get down!’ I shouted. ‘Get down!’ The vice president reacted immediately. Still not seeing the source of the explosion, I swung across the back seat and sat on top of him.

Mrs. Johnson: “Then in the lead car, the Secret Service men were suddenly down. I heard over the radio system, ‘Let’s get out of here!’

‘The car accelerated terrifically fast — faster and faster.’

**Seconds after 12:30 p.m.**  


Baskin: “People could be seen diving for the ground, some protecting their children with their bodies . . .

‘Smith grabbed the telephone . . . . Jack Bell began to demand the telephone and I grabbed the baby and we ran and laid down on the grass and I got on top of him.”

Secret Service agents Edgar Yaegaki . . .

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**Seconds after 12:30 p.m.**


Baskin: “People could be seen diving for the ground, some protecting their children with their bodies . . .

‘Smith grabbed the telephone . . . . Jack Bell began to demand the telephone as we raced along, but Smith would not relinquish it . . . . A wrestling match for the phone ensued . . . .

Several bystanders point to the upper levels of the seven-story book depository. Police rush into the building to conduct a search. Car salesman James T. Tague is among the spectators standing across from the book depository.

Tague: “There was a man sobbing, ‘His head exploded,’ and at that point we determined he was talking about the president’s head and that he had been killed. I remember (Deputy Sheriff) Buddy Walters kicking the grass, saying, ‘Oh damn, oh damn.’

‘And at that time, he looked at me and he says, ‘You’ve got blood on your face.’ And I reached up and there were a couple of drops of blood on my cheek, and I recalled that during the shooting something had swung my face.”

12:33 p.m.  
The phone rings in the emergency room of Parkland Memorial Hospital. Doris Nelson, a registered nurse, answers the call.

Ms. Nelson: “The operator told me the president had been shot. I thought she was joking and asked her what else was new. But then, from the tone of her voice, I knew she wasn’t kidding. She said the president’s motorcade was on its way to Parkland.”
The presidential limousine races on Stemmons Freeway past the Trade Mart, taking about six minutes to get from downtown to Parkland hospital.

12:34 p.m.

UPI transmits Herrman Smith's 12- word bullets around the world: "THREE SHOTS WERE FIRED AT PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S MOTORCADE TODAY IN DOWNTOWN DALLAS."

The bullets thud on tables of a U.S. State Department Boeing 707 over the Pacific. Heading for a Tokyo trade conference are Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Treasury Secretary Douglas Dillon, Secretary of Commerce Luther H. Hodges, Secretary of Agriculture Oreille Freeman, Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz and Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall. Also on the aircraft are deputy White House counsel Myer Feldman and White House press secretary Pierre Salinger, who speaks by radio to the Situation Room in the White House.

Salinger: "Please list our hard — this plane is on which Secretary of State Rusk and other Cabinet members are headed for Japan in coming around and returning to Honolulu. Will arrive there in approximately two hours. . . . Any other information, please get . . . as quickly as possible."

Situation Room: "The AP is coming out now to the effect that they believe the president was hit in the head. That just came in."

Salinger: "Hi in the head!" Situation Room: "Roger. Will pass on any additional information we get as soon as we have it."

Feldman: "Dean Rusk . . . and the other Cabinet members and I gathered in the front of the plane and decided the only thing to do was to turn back. At that point, we didn't know that he had been killed — just that he had been shot. So we turned around to come back."

"I looked at Oreille Freeman, I remember, and Oreille had been shot at Guadalcanal. The bullets had gone just below his jaw up through his skull, and he had survived. . . . I said, 'Well, if you could have survived that, I think the president could survive a shot."

"It was after we had turned the plane around to come back that we found he had been killed, and then our concern was as to where the vice president was and where the speaker was because Dean Rusk was fourth in line."

"We thought this might be a Russian plot and if it was a Russian plot, then we were all in danger, too."

12:36 p.m.

The presidential limousine arrives at Parkland: The car carrying the Johnsons and Yarborough follows.

Mrs. Johnson: "We pulled up in a building. I looked up and saw it said 'Hospital.' Only then did I believe that this might be what it was."

"Secret Service men began to pull, lead, guide and hustle us out. I can see one last look over my shoulder and saw, in the president's car, a bundle of pink, just like a drift of blossoms, lying on the back seat. I think it was Mrs. Kennedy lying over the president's body."

Yarborough: "The minute the president's car stopped, the Secret Service rushed to Johnson and formed a cordon around him. I heard one of them say 'Mr. President' to Johnson, and I knew then Kennedy was dead."

"I got up and walked up to the Kennedy car, and Mrs. Kennedy was sitting there with President Kennedy's head in her lap. I didn't say anything. There was too much agony."

"And I heard her say twice: 'They murdered my husband; they murdered my husband.'"

12:38 p.m.

Dr. Charles R. Baxter, professor of surgery at the University of Texas Southwest Medical School and director of Parkland's emergency room, stands by in Trauma Room One with Dr. William Kemp Clark, a neurosurgeon.

Baxter: "The president's car was aimed at stabilizing breathing and stopping bleeding first so that other wounds could be treated. Within only a few minutes, it was obvious that the situation for the president was hopeless."

"He started to have a cardiac arrest. But we did not resuscitate him because Dr. Clark had examined his head wound and said it was hopeless."

"As soon as we knew we had nothing medical to do, we all backed off from the man with a reverence that one has for one's president, and we did not continue to be doctors from that point on. We became citizens again, and there were probably more tears shed in that room than in the surrounding hundred miles."
Dearie Cabell, the wife of Dallas Mayor Earle Cabell, waits in a motorcade car outside Parkland Memorial Hospital.

Clark: "There was a delay in the notification of death to honor Mrs. Kennedy's wish that a priest be allowed to give last rites before the president was pronounced dead."

12:45 p.m.

Dr. Baxter moves to the operating room where Connally is being treated. Baxter: "John Connally had a lethal wound, and it was rarely unnoticed — except by the people who were treating him. Connally — because of the emphasis on the president. But he (Connally) had a sucking chest wound; the side of his chest was blown out. And he was blue and agonal when he arrived at the emergency room."

Dr. Kenneth Pepper, a Parkland chaplain, speaks much of the rest of the day with Nellie Connally.

Pepper: "Mrs. Connally was afraid he (Connally) would not be treated because all the movement was around Kennedy."

About 12:50 p.m.

Steve Landergan, an assistant administrator at Parkland, is near the major surgery area.

Landergan: "Mrs. Nelson (the registered nurse) motioned me over and whispered, 'It's dead.' . . . A Secret Service man with no coat on and a bloody shirt came over to me and said, 'We've got to get a casket.' I gave the Secret Service man my coat to cover his bloody shirt; he said he had to get his over the president . . . "

I went back to the major surgery area where I was standing near to Mayor (Earle) Cabell and overheard him saying to no one in particular, 'It didn't happen. It didn't happen.'"


Gonzalez: "I went over to the limousine and looked down in horror at the blood-splattered seat and floorboard and the crumpled roses and I said, 'My God. Mrs. Kennedy was hit. I still didn't want to believe the president was shot."

Gonzalez sees Mrs. Kennedy in a hospital waiting room, finds a cigarette for her and offers her a glass of water.

Gonzalez: "She had a very, very upsets, but a classic way of saying 'Thank you'. She was just like she was in a trance.

"All of a sudden an attendant in white opened the door where I was standing and she told me that the body was not dead. She said, 'My God.' I went over to the other side and saw a guard and a Secret Service agent. I wanted to say something but realized that was not the appropriate thing to do."
Assistant press secretary Malcolm Kilduff, Kennedy's chief spokesman on the Texas trip, announces to reporters gathered as Parkland Memorial Hospital that the president has been pronounced dead.

12:59 p.m.

( Oswald arrives at his rooming house in Oak Cliff. He grabs his pistol and leaves several minutes later.

1 p.m.

President John Fitzgerald Kennedy is pronounced dead by Dr. Clark, Assistant press secretary Malcolm Kilduff, the president's chief spokesman on the Texas trip, tells Kennedy aide O'Donnell that the president's death must be announced.

Kilduff: "He said, 'Don't ask me, ask Johnson.'" Nor Lyndon, nor the president - Johnson. So I went and I found Lyndon Johnson ... across the hall from the emergency room. ... I walked up to him and I didn't know what to call him. I didn't know him that well, so I wasn't about to call him Lyndon. And he wasn't vice president, he was the facto president. So I just walked up to him and I said, 'Mr. President. And lady lied screamed, kind of an audible yelp. Nobody had bothered to tell them.'

3:05 p.m.

Aboard the Cabinet plane, which had absorbed its trip to Japan and turned back toward Illinois, Salinger has been in continuous contact with the White House Situation Room since learning of the shooting.

Salinger: "After about 30 minutes, a voice came on: 'Wayside, stand by.' Wayside was my code name. About every 30 seconds for the next three or four minutes the voice would come back. 'Wayside, stand by.' Then finally, a voice: 'Wayside, Lancer is dead.' Lancer was the president's code name.

1:15 p.m.

Dallas police officer J.D. Tippit is shot in Oak Cliff. Ted Callaway, a used-car salesman at a lot near 11th Street and Patton Avenue, hears the shots.

Callaway: "I could tell they were coming from right behind us. I ran to the corner. Oswald was running toward me on the sidewalk. He had run through a 6-foot hedge at the corner where the policeman was shot."

"He had a pistol in his right hand. He pointed the gun at me; he slowed down as he ran toward me. I asked, 'Hey man, what's going on?' He didn't say a word; he just shrugged his shoulders."

"I ran to the corner to find out what was going on. The officer was on the ground. He was lying on his back. He had drawn his pistol or it had fallen out of his holster because it was lying by his right arm. He had been shot in the face and chest, and I could tell he was a dead man.

L.J. Lewis, also a used-car salesman, saw a man running along Patton Street shortly after hearing gunfire.

Lewis: "I saw a man coming down the street reloading his revolver. He had a coat over his arm. I called the police. He ran into an alley. Some of the men followed him. Some of them found his coat there."

1:16 p.m.

Dallas police officer J.D. Tippit, M.D. "Nico" McDonald, aide to about 25 officers as signed to control the crowd outside the book depository, hears on his radio that an officer driving Unit 10 has been shot in Oak Cliff.

McDonald: "I knew immediately that it was J.D. Tippit's squad car. I knew him. We dressed side by side in the police locker room in the Southwest Substation. He was a neighbor of mine, lived a block from me over in Oak Cliff."

"I reported to the supervisor and asked for permission to leave the scene and go to Oak Cliff to search for a suspect who shot J.D. Tippit. They had plenty of officers to take care of what they were doing, anyway.

Assistant District Attorney Bill Alexander, also at the book depository, heard the same radio report.

Alexander: "Bud Owens (a Dallas police officer) had his car parked there. There was a mention that he was solo, and I said I'd go with him."

1:12 p.m.

Book depository officials poll their employees and discover that Oswald is making Police find a rifle at the depository.

Alexander: "To route over there (to Oak Cliff), the police radio was broadcasting that Oswald was missing and we were also getting a description of the man who shot Tippit.

1:26 p.m.


Curry: "I don't know whether he was on the floor or whether he was just lying down in the seat, but he was low, as he could get in the car, on intersection of his bodyguards.

"We didn't know whether this was an organized conspiracy, (whether) there'd be others who they would attempt to assassinate, or just what the situation was."

Mrs. Johnson: "We drove along as fast as we could. "I looked up at a building and there already was a flag at half-staff. I think that is when the enormity of what had happened first struck me."

1:30 p.m.

Ms. Carpenter rides to Love Field in another police car.

Ms. Carpenter: "I started thinking that one thing I could do was to start writing what the vice president would have to say when he stepped off a plane.

"With a pencil, I started writing out a statement and, as it turned out, most of it was what the vice president used with a few little changes."

1:31 p.m.

Kilduff announces to the press that Kennedy is dead.

1:33 p.m.

Johnson boards Air Force One and meets with aides. The pilot is Air Force Col. James S. Vorteral, also aboard are Ms. Fehmer, Johnson's secretary, and Valenti, the Houston public relations man.

Mrs. Johnson: "We entered airplane Number One for the first time. There was a TV set on, and the commentator was saying, 'Lyndon B. Johnson, now president of the United States.'"

Valenti: "We were sitting there some
time when suddenly he (Johnson) appeared in this passageway, looming over us. We all stood up automatically. Even in those days there was a new demeanor in all of us, and certainly in Johnson.

"I often thought that he looked graver. Whatever emotions or passions he had in him, he had put them under strict discipline. He was very quiet and seemingly very much in command of himself."

Swain. "Mr. Johnson stated that he would not leave for Washington without Mrs. Kennedy and the body of the president."

Mr. Feinman: "Johnson was first of all, a Southern gentleman, regardless of the salty language and the masculine behavior. He was sincerely concerned about Mrs. Kennedy and the president's body. He wanted to make sure they were returned safely to Washington."

"Others, particularly the Secret Service men, were talking about the need for protection and security and, thus, the need to return to Washington immediately. But he kept saying, 'That is what I have to do. I owe it to this woman and her husband.'"

About 1:45 p.m.

Warren Burroughs, working behind the concession stand at the Texas Theater in Oak Cliff, sat Oswald in the balcony. Police arrive minutes later, and employees show officer McDonald where Oswald is sitting. Burroughs: "He (Oswald) darted up the main to the balcony. The police ran up the balcony, but he had already come down the back stairs. There were about 18 people in the auditorium. He was sitting by a pregnant lady who got up to go to the restroom. The police came from both sides."

McDonald: "I was going to search every person as I came to them before I got to him, so I wouldn't make a mistake or overlook anybody or anything else that might be connected."

"I was looking at Oswald over my right shoulder, glancing at him, seeing what he was doing, making sure he was still in one place. I gave the guys a pat search. I had them sit back down and I walked toward Oswald."

"I was trying to show an act of diversion so as Oswald may think I wasn't even considering him."

"And as soon as I got to him — I was just in front of him — I said, 'Get on your feet.' He stood up, and he said, 'Well, it's all over now.'"

"He was bringing his hands up at this point. Suddenly (he) made a fist and hit me between the eyes with his left fist and in the same motion drew a panel from his waist."

"I happened to grab the pistol out of his hand. As (he) fell into the seats, I could feel the hammer come back on his pistol. And then it returned. The firing pin on the hammer struck me on the hand between the forefinger and thumb."

"This, of course, reversed the action of the hammer, and the bullet didn't receive the full force. I managed to get my right hand on the butt of the pistol, and I jerked it away."

"I stuck the gun into his stomach for just an instant. . . . I thought about shooting him. The thought came through my mind. This guy's trying to kill me. I'll try to kill him."

"Then I said to myself, 'Well, we don't need to shoot him because I've got him now. He's under control.'"

1:50 p.m.

Detective Bob Carroll helps McDonald escort Oswald from the theater. Carroll: "There was a crowd outside the picture show when we brought him out — a dozen or so folks there. We were yelling. 'Kill that son of a bitch! Let us have him. We'll kill him.'"

At Parkland, Medical Examiner Earl Rose, Justice of the Peace David L. Johnston and Therese Ward, and Parkland official Landregan argue with Secret Service agents about removing Kennedy's body. Rose points out that Texas law says an autopsy must be performed in a violent death. Kennedy's aides, including O'Brien, enter the discussion.

Landregan: "I noticed Dr. Earl Rose attempting to make out the necessary legal papers for removal of the body. He seemed quite agitated and upset and was asking for Judge Ward. During the next few minutes . . . (there) seemed to be some question as to whether or not an autopsy would be ordered on the president."

Johnson: "The turmoil was there. It wasn't as bad as some people would try to make you believe. Some federal agents got a little rowdy."

O'Brien: "The local coroner, whoever he may have been, and somebody who described himself, as I recall, as a judge, were saying that the casket couldn't be moved. And Jackie said, 'I'm not leaving without Jack.'"

2 p.m.

Abroad Air Force One at Love Field, Johnson phones Attorney General Robert Kennedy in Washington. Johnson: "I talked to the attorney general and asked him what we should do . . . where I should take the oath . . . here or there . . . (He) said he would like to look into it and would notify me whether we should take it here or not."

McGeorge Bundy (special assistant to Kennedy) and Walter Jenkins (Johnson aide) called me (and) thought we should come to Washington as soon as (we) could. (I) told them I was waiting for the body and Mrs. Kennedy. The attorney general interrupted the conversation to say that I ought to have a judicial officer administer the oath here."

Ms. Fehmer: "I called Judge Sarah Hughes' office. They said she was not there. The president said that he'd talk to anyone in her office. He got on the phone and told the person at the other end that he needed someone to administer the
At Parkland Memorial Hospital, Jacqueline Kennedy enters the hearse bearing the body of her slain husband.

The hearse arrives at Love Field and the president's body is placed aboard Air Force One.

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At Parkland Memorial Hospital, Jacqueline Kennedy enters the hearse bearing the body of her slain husband.

The hearse arrives at Love Field and the president's body is placed aboard Air Force One.

The Dallas Morning News
With Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. Kennedy at his side, Johnson takes the oath of office, administered by U.S. District Judge Sarah T. Hughes on Air Force One.

An unidentified woman outside Parkland hospital weeps at news of Kennedy's death.

Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy and two of his children on the lawn of their home in McLean, Va., after being notified of his brother's assassination.
Jacqueline Kennedy, with Robert Kennedy, sees the casket placed in a U.S. Navy ambulance at Andrews Air Force Base.

After 3 p.m.
During the flight back to Washington, Kennedy aides O’Brien, O’Donnell and Powers all with Mrs. Kennedy beside the casket in the rear of the plane.

O’Brien: "The (Mrs. Kennedy) formed in her mind a firm or strong view. It was summed up in one comment she made on the long and sad journey back to Washington. To the three of us, she directed the comment: "You were with him at the beginning, and you were with him at the end."

Powers: "I have never known so much composure in a person. She made all of us feel good. I almost broke up when she said: "Date, you’ve been with him all these years, what will you do now?"

About 3:30 p.m.

At Dallas, police headquarters, travel is still being questioned. District Attorney Cadwell believes U.S. Attorney Sanders still prosecute Oswald in the president’s death, but Sanders Johnson.

Johnson: "We’re not sure. You know, this is going to be our baby."

It a federal offense to kill the president and he said: "The most we could charge him with is assault on the president and the maximum penalty is five years.

"My biggest thought was that I wanted plenty of evidence. Whatever they got, I wanted enough evidence to try them on. You don’t want any mistakes."


Brooks: "He was concerned, as you might suspect, with the hundreds of problems affecting running the government."

O’Brien: "(I was told) the president would like to do that with me. And the president brought up the subject that the whole world was on the edge, that we had a tremendous responsibility in terms of the nation and how we acted through this period of crisis, and it was essential that I stay with him through this whole matter."

"I remember my reaction was, ‘My God, we can’t be talking about this sort of thing at this point.’ And so I went back to where Mrs. Kennedy was and we talked in low key conversation through the trip."

Ms. Behrens: "They (Kennedy aides) were bhefth. They were suffering."

"I can remember going to one or two of them and saying, ‘Can I get you some soup or bread?’ It offended them, and it should have, because a few hours earlier this was their airplane — yet here I was, unknown to them and with a different accent. Oh, there was just an anger and hurt that had to be taken out somewhere, and we (Johnson aides) were there."

Mrs. Johnson: "He ride to Washington was silent, strained — each with his own thoughts. One of mine was something I had said about Lyndon a long time ago — that he’s a good man in a tight spot."

About 4:45 p.m.

Assistant District Attorney Alexander receives a call from police asking for a warrant to search Oswald’s room at the Tark Cliff boarding house.

Alexander: "Things at the district attorney’s office were beginning to heat up. I got hold of Justice of the Peace David Johnston. I had the search warrant filled."

out. I met Johnston on the street by the exit from the Sheriff’s Department. A pair of homicide officers picked us up. We did a definite searching job of Oswald’s apartment. Actually, it was a screwdriver room. We found the bolt to his gun, a couple of cameras, a bunch of Communist literature and some letters he had written.

"I had Oswald’s little black book with names and addresses in it, and we were real anxious to run these people down."

4 p.m.

Capt. Fitz dispatches detectives Ross, Richard Storrell and John Adamick to the living house of Ruth Paine, where Marilyn Oswald is staying.

Ross: "When we got to Ruth Paine’s house, she had her TV on, watching the assassination. Course, there wasn’t anything else. She was cooperative, completely, but not particularly hospitable. She didn’t offer us coffee or anything.

"I told her what I was there for. She told me she (Marina) didn’t speak English.

"I said, ‘What does she speak?’"
Abou 4:30 p.m.

Johnson and other official leaders, all of the Trauma Service, discusss the impact of the assassination on Dallas.

Johnson: "The basic decision was that we would not hire a public relations man to cure something that we had hoped could not happen . . . This was a matter of things to think about. None of us wanted to do that. I was particularly vehement about that. 

"The only way out of it was to work as people should and let them see for themselves that we were not to be pictured as a team of mice."

Shortly before 5 p.m.


Mr. Carpenter: "The plane got ready to land and we were told by the president that when we landed, the casket would be taken off first with Mrs. Kennedy and the staff members.

"Then, the attendants Mrs. Johnson would get off, and then he said, 'I want my staff behind me and then the Texas members of Congress.'"

In Dallas, District Attorney Wade — Cassondra's roommate at the University of Texas and in the Navy — arrives at Parkland to check on the governor.

Wade: "Cassondra was being operated on, and I talked a little bit with Nellie . . . I also talked to (assistant district attorney) Jim Allen, who was down at the police station and after they went over the evidence they had, told them to go ahead and accept the charge on him (Oswald) for the murder of Kennedy and also of Tippit."

5 p.m.

At Andrews, Air Force One arrives a lift to remove the casket.

Mr. Carpenter: "As we stood there . . . suddenly, I was aware that nothing was happening through us was lady Kennedy."

"She looked shocked and tears were streaming down her face, and I said just as he pushed me on . . . "Where's Jackie?"

Valenti: "Robert Kennedy" really came rushing through, neither looking to the right nor to the left. He got to the back of the plane.

"He passed President Johnson without saying anything. going to the rear of the plane."

O'Brien talks with Robert Kennedy as to where his remains would be interred.

O'Brien: "There was a military contingent that was going to take the casket down on a forklift off the back of the plane, and we asked them to stop aside and we proceeded . . . to move the casket down and into a hearse."

Terry Shepard, Kennedy's nurse aide, is among those who meet Air Force One at Andrews.

Shepard: "I remember that when we went to meet the plane when it came to Andrews, they didn't have a rollout carpet down or anything. I remember reaching up and lifted her (Mrs. Kennedy) down (from the cockpit). I'll never forget the anguish on her face."

Mr. Carpenter darts back behind the Johnsons.

Carpenter: "As he (President Johnson) had suggested, we walked to the foot of the plane where there was a very disorganized group of people waiting — a congressman, just looking expectation members of the Cabinet, all of the members of the diplomatic corps. The president and Mrs. Johnson went over to the ambulance to say goodbye."

5:10 p.m.

Mrs. Kennedy, Robert Kennedy and Brig. Gen. Godfrey Knehrig sit in the rear of the Navy ambulance with the casket. In front are three Secret Service agents and Dr. George L. Burkly, President Kennedy's physician. The ambulance begins the trip to Bethesda Naval Hospital, where an autopsy will be performed. Johnson walks into a crowd of interetted citizens and delivers his brief statement.

Johnson: "This is a sad time for all people. We have suffered a loss that cannot be weighed. It is a deep personal tragedy. I know the world shares the sorrow that Mrs. Kennedy and her family bear. I will do my best. That is all I can do. I ask your help — and God's."

5:11 p.m.

Johnson and his entourage walk to two nearby helicopters for the brief flight to the White House. Joining them aboard are Special Assistant to the President, Deputy Secretary Robert McNamara and Undersecretary of State George Ball.

Ball: "He (Johnson) was recounting the events of the day. He was just very, very quiet and was very moved by it. He was moved by what had happened. He had been greatly impressed by the way the people of Dallas had handled it, the way the people had handled it. He did not want to be left behind."

Johnson: "I wanted to take her (Mrs. Paine) with me on the plane."

Mr. Carpenter: "I think you may be right. Mrs. Johnson was very tight and I think she was thinking, 'I'm going to the rear of the plane. You are going to take care of this. The Secret Service man motioned to Mrs. Johnson's chair in front of the White House, and the president said to me, 'Stay with Lady Bird and help her all you can.'"

Wallace: "We started, and we started driving through the night to the plane (the vice president's official residence), rolling up the window so we could talk. Both of us were well aware of what dreadful things had happened and the difficult days ahead — made even more difficult because this had occurred in the home state of the vice president."

"And I said to her, 'It's a terrible thing to say, but the salvation of Texas is that the governor was hit.'"

Johnson: "And she said, 'Don't think I haven't thought of that. I only wish it could have been me.'"
Secretary of State Dean Rusk speaks for Kennedy's Cabinet members after their return to Andrews. They were on route to Japan when he was killed.

8 p.m.

Porter is assuaging those who await Mrs. Kennedy at the autopsy by per- forming at Bethesda. George Thomas, Kennedy's valet, arrives with several suits and ties.

Porters: "We picked out clothes for the president... a blue suit—it was his favorite, he called it his 'TV suit' — a white shirt and a solid blue tie.

"At that time, we were not certain if the casket was going to be open. I had sold hubby and Jackie earlier in the evening that politicians have to go to a lot of wakes, especially an Irish politician, and Jack did not enjoy them... He told me he didn't want anyone looking down at him and deciding whether he looked good or bad, or like he was sleeping."

8:27 p.m.

Johnson tells Valentì, who has been working in an outer office, that he is ready to go home to The Elms.

Valenti: "He came out of his office and called me to the side and said to me. 'You can go home with me and you can stay at The Elms.' I said, 'Yes, sir.'"

"There was a great blur of activity that night. When we got to The Elms... we went into the president's den."

Jimmy Bums, a longtime Johnson friend, is waiting for Johnson at The Elms.

Bush: "When he came in, Mrs. Johnson was coming down the stairs, and they embraced out in the lobby and spoke, very briefly, holding each other. And then he came on out to this little room... "There was one thing on the wall, and that was a portrait of Sam Rayburn, who had died in 1961. Johnson came in and... before he did anything else he looked directly at the portrait and kind of threw a salute at it and said, 'Old friend, how I wish you were here.'"

"He turned over to me and said, 'You know, I imagine I know less about what's gone on today than any other person in the New States.'"

11 p.m. to midnight

At Bethesda, the managers console Mrs. Kennedy. Robert Kennedy and family friends, including O'Brien, talk quietly in a waiting room.

O'Brien: "After a considerable period of time of just sitting around, frankly, or standing around, it dawned on us that the casket had been marked up, the bundle had been broken, and then we were left with the post you do things like this. But I suggested that there (Powers) and Ken (O'Donnell) and I go to the nearest funeral parlor and select a casket.

"We went down to Kayser's funeral parlor and... I remember saying to the man... 'Will you show me the simple casket in the display of middle-priced caskets?

"He pointed it out to us and we asked him to move it up to the hospital immediately.

Johnson talks in his bedroom with Valentì, Kennedy aide Bill Moyers and Johnson aide Carter.

Valenti: "I sat in a little chair next to the phone, so the left of his bed. Bill sat on the edge of the bed, and Cliff had a chair in between us. We had the television set on, and the president put on his pajamas, propped himself up in the bed, and we watched the news reports. From time to time he would say, 'Now tomorrow I want to talk to so-and-so.'"

11:25 p.m.

Pritz flies a complaint with Justice of the Peace Johnston accusing Oswald of murdering Kennedy. Wade, concerned about reports that Oswald would be charged as part of a conspiracy, goes to the police station.

Wade: "It had gone out over the air that we'd filed him (Oswald) as part of a communist conspiracy. Everything you allege in an indictment you have to prove... "I went down to the police station and found out they had just filed on him for the murder of John F. Kennedy. It didn't allege any communist conspiracy or anything."

11:31 p.m.

Secretary of State Rusk and other Kennedy Cabinet members lead at Andrews air force base. Rusk steps to the microphone where President Johnson had stood earlier that evening.

Rusk: "None of us who had the honor of serving President Kennedy value the gallantry and wisdom he brought to the grave, awesome and lonely office of the presidency. President Johnson needs and deserves our fullest support.
About 12:30 a.m.

Investigators are uncertain whether the assassination was the result of a conspiracy, and in the search for others who might have been involved, they focus on Joe Molina, a credit manager at the Texas School Book Depository.

Because he is a member of the American GI Forum, an organization of Hispanic veterans, Molina is listed in Dallas Police Department files as a possible subversive.

Capt. W.P. Gunneway, Assistant District Attorney Alexander and several other police officers go to Molina's home.

Molina: "He (Gunneway) said, 'Well, what do you know about this fellow Oswald?' I said I don't know anything. He was just a fellow who worked in shipping and I worked in the second floor in the office. . . . They said you had something to do with Oswald so you better tell us 'cause if you don't it's gonna go bad for you. . . . My response was still the same. I didn't know anything. They had it all wrong."

The policy displays a search warrant.

Molina: "They went through all the rooms in the house. . . . They would ask questions about Oswald. If I was involved in any subversive activities. I would tell them.

"They opened a drawer and took out a letter addressed to my wife. The letter was from a friend of mine, I opened up the letter and they asked me if I knew anything."

And she looked at me — oh, she was an.

Molina: "And I said, 'No, Mrs. Johnson, it's more likely five years, if not nine years.' And she looked at me — oh, she was an.

"Well, I thought from his breathing that he was asleep. So I got up and started around him. He finally turned out the light. And he got up Larry (Crafard), if he knew how to pack the clubs."

At Dallas police headquarters, police escort Oswald past more than 100 reporters to another room. Jack Ruby is among those in the crowd.

Wade: "It was a mad scene. . . . You had five reporters there behind the iron Curtains and people from Europe and from all over the United States. They were yelling. 'Did they beat him up?' or 'Is it a police brutality?'

"The chief of police and Fritz and the Fill came up and wanted to know if it was all right if they put him in the show-up room and in there they asked.

"That's when I said, 'Take him out there and let them see him. Let them know that he ain't dead.'"

"They put him in a show-up room somewhere downtown. It was just pandemonium. . . . I think they were trying to ask questions, but they were behind the screen. He can't see out and they can see in. . . . He told the press he wasn't guilty of anything."

Oswald is taken out of the room and reporters question Wade.

Wade: "Somebody (asked) . . . was he (Oswald) a communist? . . . And I said, 'Well, now I don't know about that but they found some literature — dealing with First Cuba Movement. . . . I looked up and Jack Ruby is in the audience and he said, 'No, it is the Fair Play for Cuba Committees.'"

"Ruby ran up to me and he said, 'Hi Henry.' . . . I ran loud. . . . And put his hand to shake hands with me and I shook hands with him. And he asked, 'Don't you know me?' And I am trying to figure out whether I did or not. And he said, 'I am Jack Ruby, I run the Varga Club. . . . And I said, 'What are you doing in here?'

"He said, 'I know all these fellows.'"
Military honor guards keep watch over President Kennedy's casket, which rests on a catafalque in the center of the East Room at the White House.

President Lyndon Johnson leaves his home on a rainy Saturday morning, heading for his office in the Executive Office Building and a full day of meetings.

Rose Kennedy enters St. Francis Xavier Church in Hyannis, Mass., for a memorial Mass for her son.
Ruby: "There was a similar (post office box) number. . . . But I thought at the time it would be the same number of 1792 (the number listed on the Weizman ad), but it was 1775. That is the reason I went down there, to take the Polaroid picture of it..."

"I went to the post office to check on box 1792. I even inquired with the man in charge of where you purchase the boxes. And I said to him: 'Who bought this box?' And he said, 'I can't give you the information. All I know is it is a legitimate business box purchase.'"

3:42 a.m.

"The ambulance drives up to the White House, escorted by the Marines. A standard team of six bearers, under the direction of army Lt. Sam Seed, unload the casket and struggles up the portico steps, realizing that the casket is far heavier than anticipated. The body bearers include Army Sgt. James Felder."

Felder: "We hardly get it in the White House. That's when I told Lieutenant Bird we're going to have to add more men (to the team). Well it never get it up the steps of the Capitol. So we picked another man and another man..."

An honor guard made up of members of the secret service is present to stand watch at the four corners of the casket as well as at the door on arrival. Guard members are in uniform and on guard. It is stationed by the door at the family entrance. Also present is Joseph Haas, operations manager of Gouler's funeral home.

O'Brien: "I really have memories of Mrs. Kennedy coming in with her pink dress with bulldozer on her legs and dress. Even though we supposed to look somber, tonight. I feel my eyes mama a little bit"

Hagan: "Something like that is beyond description, the reverence, the respect, the elegance of the room itself. Then, as we walked, they brought Kennedy down and the casket was opened. There were a few moments of just, strictly, silence."

About 3:40 a.m.

A priest says a brief blessing.

O'Brien: "Jackie had arranged for a short religious ceremony in the East Room for the White House staff. After the ceremony she asked me to talk to three men around me. She said, 'I know what kind of a day you've had. Why don't you sleep here tonight?' She also asked Larry O'Brien and Kenny O'Donnell to stay in and have them come to the office."

About 3:40 a.m.

In Chicago, officials at Klein's Sportswear told an agent, and then a woman with a coupon used to order a 6.5mm Mannlicher-Carcano rifle eight months before — the same type of gun that police suspect was the weapon used to kill Kennedy. The coupon is addressed to A. Hidalgo at a Dallas post office box; later Saturday, FBI officers and experts say there was a delay in the shipping of the coupon to Gouler's. In Washington, Kennedy's aides discuss whether to have an open casket.

O'Brien: "Robby Kennedy spoke to Ken and I. He suggested to us that we make that decision. So we went into the East Room, where the casket was closed, and there were servicemen at each corner of the casket, and our decision was not to open the casket..."

5:50 a.m.

The phone is ringing in Saigler's room in the West Wing of the White House.

"Mr. Kennedy said he was going to talk to you...immediately. I thought this the nature of my mind that I had a terrible nightmare. Then a voice said, 'Ferris, this is Lyndon.' It struck me completely, not just because it was really dead."

"Mr. Kennedy was dead. I knew he'll be able to talk about the problems of the country, but I was rending as press secretary."

"Said you can't resign for the transition..."

Starting early Saturday, officials grapple with the details of the funeral, the transition to the new administration, the responsibility that football photos of the casket should be held on Sunday.

"I had graduated from college...with Ferris and by this time he was a commissioner of the NFL. He called Sr. at the White House and asked if he should cancel the games on Sunday. I told him that if he'd asked that question of President Kennedy, he'd have told him to cancel the games."

At 8:30 a.m., Mrs. Kennedy goes to Mass at St. Francis Xavier.

About 7 a.m.

At Parkland, assistant administrator Landregan arrives for work.

Landregan: "By Sunday morning we were moving the casket into Parkland. The governor was still in intense care, but it was obvious he was going to die all right. . . . The governor appeared worse, but was talking and seemed quite lucid..."

"I got to the hospital shortly before 7 o'clock; one of the first things I did was to go to my desk to get a razor and shaving cream for the governor. We had fabricated a shield to put in front of the window in the room where the governor was going to be moved. This shield was made of metal or something like that and it was intended to deflect a bullet. We still did not know if this had been part of a conspiracy or what."

In Washington, the last telegrams of invitation are sent to relatives and close Kennedy acquaintances, for a morning Mass in the East Room. Also, Sen. Yarborough, like other government officials and workers throughout the nation, prays with his boss and his staff for the new leadership.

Yarborough: "I remember going to my office to call my chief of staff and others and have them come to the office. . . . I told them our whole relationship with the White House has changed. It's a whole different world... a whole different kind of government. Kennedy and I were close friends. . . . I was not close with John..."

He'd tried to keep me out of the Sears (in 1961). "I told them... the situation worldwide has changed. Kennedy intended to serve the war in Vietnam and get it out as soon as the '64 election was over. I didn't think Johnson would do that."

We will not have close friends in charge anymore. Things had changed — not just personnel but policies."

8 a.m.

Although it had not yet been decided whether to hold the funeral in Texas, the casket arrived at the Texas Memorial Cemetery to inspect possible burial sites after conferring with Johnnie McKinley, superintendent of Arlington. Accompanying McLane was Gen. Maxwell Taylor, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Army Secretary Cyrus Vance.

At 8:56 a.m., Ruby is at his apartment watching a memorial service in New York on television.

Ruby: "I watched Ralph Bellamy. . . ."

He concluded that here is a man (Kennedy) that fought in every battle. Went to every country, and had to come back to his own country to be shot in the back.

"That created a tremendous emotional feeling for me, the way he said that..."

About 9 a.m.


Power: "It was rainning in Washington that day and I just kept looking out the window. The rain was falling against the White House, and the White House had always looked on beautiful, beautiful, beautiful to me. . . . That day, it just drapered in black."

In Dallas, flowers and memorials to Kennedy start appearing on the grass. Rev. Dr. Carson, pastor of Carver's Flowers on Lover Lane, brings one of the special requests.

Mrs. Carson: "We opened Saturday morning and the tone was under the desk — no sound, handsomeness on a piece of blue-lined white paper just ripped off of something. And there were two 200 bills and a pen (in the envelope). I remember that because it was very impressive to us. At that time, a big wreath would be 10, 15 dollars."

The now specifically asked for all white flowers. . . . It (the wreath) was large and it was on an easel. Alvin (Coo- per the delivery man) brought it down and stuck it in the ground. They didn't instruct him where to place it, just down there in the (massacre) site."

Preparations begin for the burial of officer Tipps. The Rev. C.D. Tipps, pastor of the Rocky Hills Baptist Church, who will officiate at the funeral, sees Tipps's widow, Marie, who is a member of the church.

Tipps: "She was a lady who was superlative dependent on him. On Saturday I read Scripture to her and prayed with her. I tried to get her to see that this wasn't all of it, that life didn't have to end there, but this was the way it was..."

State Department Chief of Protocol An- gel Duke: "Lincoln had lain in state in the East Room, and she (Mrs. Kennedy) chose that, I think, with much the same decorum, the hanging of the black curtains from the windows. All of that was done from pictures and drawings and ren- ditions of Lincoln lying there."

"It was very impressive, very awe- some, in a very majestic way."

McLaren returns to Arlington Na- tional Cemetery with Robert Kennedy and others for further discussion of a possible burial site. Among those present is Maj. Gen. C. Carroll, a former colonel in the Army and post engineer at Fort Myer. The sentiment begins to shift in favor of an Arlington burial.

Carroll: "Secretary McLane and a group from the Pentagon, and with the Kennedys, decided where the grave would be... They picked a site that was in line with the center of the Lin- coln Memorial and the center of the Lin- coln Bridge and the Lee Curtis monument that sits on the hill above the grave. It had to be on the center line of those three things. We took a surveying instrument and lined it up."
Authorities confer at the Dallas Police Department; the questioning of Oswald continues, as do efforts to find an attorney for him.

Oswald continues. as do efforts to find an attorney for him.

Authorities confer as the Dallas Police Department: the questioning of Oswald continues. But as the second man, whom they think may have shot Kennedy, was questioned again.

About noon

Oswald's wife, Marina, and mother, Marguerite Oswald, go to the city jail.

Marguerite Oswald: "We waited quite a while. One of the men came by and said. 'I am sorry that we are going to be delayed in letting you see Lee, but we have picked up another suspect.'"

"I said to Marina, 'Oh, Marina, good, another man they think maybe shot Kennedy.'"

School Book Depository employee Jae Molina, the "second man," has been worked at police headquarters all morning to be questioned again.

Helena: "There was havoc there, policemen everywhere, cameras everywhere. . . . They put me in a waiting room. They were questioning Oswald at the time. Finally I asked if they were going to talk to me or not."

"Maybe an hour later they took me to another room where I was questioned by (Dallas police Lie.) Jack Revell. He started asking me about the American GI Forum, what kind of an organization it was."

"So I explained to him. . . . (8) was a veterans organization with its makeup being mostly Mexican-Americans. He kept asking me about the forum and did I know there were some communist members. . . . I said no. . . . He insisted we had communist affiliations and I insisted there were none."

"In the meantime, they were giving three television interviews, saying they were questioning a second man and all that, and I wasn't even aware of that."

12:31 p.m.

Kennedy's rocking chairs are removed to the Old Executive Office Building.
1 p.m.

Johnson telephones Tippit's widow, Marie, to express his condolences. Mrs. Tippit's brother, Dwight Gasway, also consorts his store.

Gasway: "It was a very difficult time for the family. Things were pretty much an uproar. All the kindness were coming in and officers who knew him were stopping by all the time."

1:06 p.m.

Mrs. Kennedy goes to Arlington National Cemetery to make a final decision on her husband's grave site. She sees the site selected earlier by McNamara and others.

Cemetery superintendent Musier: "She said, 'This is perfect.' She said, 'This is exactly the way he [Kennedy] described it.' Apparently he had come over a couple of weeks earlier with John-John and he said, 'This is the most perfect view of Washington. I could stay here forever.'"

Throughout the afternoon, Mrs. Kennedy continues to make funeral arrangements. Among those involved is Miller, the military district's director of ceremonies and special events.

Miller: "The procedure was as outlined in the same funeral plan. She had requested participation of the Black Watch (a Scottish bagpipe group), and she requested participation of the Special Forces and the Irish cadiers... the Irish equivalent of our military academy. I believe. She requested participation of the 3rd Infantry's rifle and drum corps and the Air Force pipe band. So they were worked into the funeral proceedings in a proper way."

Plans are also made to have Air Force One join a planned flyby of Air Force and Navy jets over the grass — despite some concern that the big planes will spook the horses in the program. Col. Swindal, pilot of Air Force One, known how much the plane meant to Kennedy and is pleased to learn of the flyby.

Swindal: "We were glad to hear it because we wanted to do something like that."

About 1:10 p.m.

Marina and Marguerite Oswald are allowed to talk to Oswald by telephone in a visitor's booth at the city jail.

Marguerite Oswald, "Lee seemed very severely composed and assured. He was well dressed up. He had black eyes and his face was all bruised and everything. But he was very calm."

He smiled with his wife, and talked with her, and then I got on the phone and I said, 'Mother, you are so bruised up, your face. What are they doing?' He said, 'Mother, don't worry. I got that in a scrub.'"

"I talked and said, 'Is there anything I can do to help you?' He said, 'No, Mother, everything is fine. I know my rights and I will have an attorney. I have already requested to get in touch with attorney Mrs. I think is the name. Don't worry about a thing."

"I would say I spent about three to five minutes on the telephone and then Marina came back to the telephone and then Marina came back to the telephone and talked with Lee. So we left. So Marina started crying. Marina says, 'Mama, tell Lee I love Lee and Lee says he love me very much. And Lee tell me to take sure I buy shoes for June.'"

Marina Oswald: "He tried to console me that I should not worry that every...

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Ethel Kennedy arrives at the White House to view the casket. Former President Dwight Eisenhower confers with President Johnson.

President Kennedy's rocking chair is wheeled from the White House as the family's belongings are moved.
thing would turn out well. He asked about how the children were. He spoke of him. I don't know who he had in mind. But the children had written to someone in New York before that.

"I told him that the police had been there and that a search had been conducted, that they had asked me whether we had a rifle, and I had answered yes. And he said that if there would be a trial, and that if I was questioned it would be my right to answer or not to refuse to answer.

"I said, 'I don't believe that you did that.'" (called Tippett), and everything will turn out well. I couldn't accuse him — after all, he was my husband.

"He said that he should not worry, that everything would turn out well. But I could not see by his eyes that he was guilty. Rather he tried to appear to be brave. However, by his eyes I could tell that he was worried.

1:30 p.m.

Johnson holds his first Cabinet meeting, which lasts 25 minutes. The president opens with a silent prayer and then asks for the advisers' guidance and support. Robert Kennedy arrives late. George Beatty, special assistant to Johnson, is among the non-Cabinet officials attending.

Beatty: "The mood was neutral. Nobody quite knew where to go. . . . Everybody was there, all of the Kennedy people and all of them, and it was rather interesting.

"1 remember Dallas Stevenson as the senior officer — he was ambassador to the United Nations — saying to the president "I believe everybody is practically everybody in his service and pledged to serve him loyally and completely."

"One of his (Johnson's) goals at that particular moment was to convince the American people that a crackpot with a mail-order rifle couldn't kill the United States. If you kill a president, somebody else steps into his place and carries on. And he was very much worried to carry on the Kennedy policies."

"Therefore he was sort of looking to the Kennedy staff members for clues as to what Kennedy had wanted done. And I think they were looking to him for clues as to what he wanted done. Nobody quite knew where to go."

About 2 p.m.

Dallas death threats and other memorials continue to be laid at the происхождения (Kennedy) in Coopertown, delivery man for Carr's Flowers, makes a large wreath to the area.

Coopertown: "There were a lot of people downtown, just milling around. There were about 10,000 people with clothes. It was awfully crowded that day. . . . At the end of the day, I think that thing was practically full of flowers. It felt rather strange. It was like some sort of looking to me and said, 'I'll see him at midnight next.'"

A visitor writes a message beside one of the pictures of Robert Kennedy, located on the Texas School Book Depository. The police told Molina, "Do not form any opinion on the so."

Robert Oswald speaks to his brother Lee at the jail. Robert Oswald: "I didn't try to point out to him that the evidence was overwhelming that he had killed the police officer Tippett and possibly the president. To this he replied, 'I do not form any opinion on the so-called evidence.'"

Ruby has been driving throughout the downtown area talking to people about the assassination.

Ruby: "We went over to the Turf bar Lounge, and it was a whole hubbub, and I showed the pictures (of impersonator Earl Warren) to (Dallas jeweler Frank Belloch), and he saw the picture and got very enthusiastic. "I have got to leave Dallas."

"Captain Fritz showed him the picture and said, 'Let me show you this and tell me whose rifle is this.'" When he showed it to him, Oswald was visibly upset.

"The people that were gathered. I didn't say it wasn't a lady or 'Isn't this awful, Lon?'

"And Mars came to his eyes and he says, 'Isn't this awful, Lon? And I sold, 'Yeah, It sure is."

"I was shown the Western saddles that were to be given John-John and Caroline. And my feeling was that I was just an innocent. . . .

"And I didn't say it wasn't. And I didn't say it wasn't.

"I went down and talked to the people at the Police Department. . . . They said they would have him (Oswald) available for me to interview, but I said this is no place . . . They said they were going to move him and I said, 'I'll see him at midnight next.'"

"We went down and talked to the people at the Police Department. . . . They said they would have him (Oswald) available for me to interview, but I said this is no place . . . They said they were going to move him and I said, 'I'll see him at midnight next.'"

After 4 p.m.

The police direct Molina, the 'second man.'" home.

Molina: "My wife was very much upset. She said all these reports, although they didn't mention my name, said there was a second man, implications that I was associated with Oswald in some manner. I tried to reassure her there was nothing.

"My feeling was that I was just an innocent individual caught in the bycatch and I was trying so keep as calm as I could. When, believe me, that was hard to do."

Police do not question Molina again.

About 6:30 p.m.

The questioning of Oswald resumes.

Detective Rose has returned from the search of the Paine residence and has given Fritz the photograph showing Oswald carrying a rifle and wearing a pistol on his hip.

A visitor writes a message beside one of the floral arrangements placed by mourners near the Texas School Book Depository.

Rose: "I brought the photograph to Captain Fritz and showed it to him.

Later we were able to show that was the same rifle that was found on the sixth floor of the book depository.

"Captain Fritz said (to Oswald) after some preliminary talk . . . ''You told me you'd never owned a rifle in your life.' And he said, 'That's right, I never did.'

"Oswald was visibly upset.

"And he said, 'Well, that's not me. Nobody has superimposed a picture over that body.' Captain Fritz said, 'It's your face, though.'

And he (Oswald) snapped. . . . on second look, it's not even my face. It's somebody just kind of resembles me."

9:30 p.m.

Oswald is returned to his cell.

9:40 p.m.

The Jacobinsky hierarchy is obvious to make a decision about what we should do next to try to get people together. We were trying to get people together.
People waiting for a glimpse of Lee Harvey Oswald line Houston Street across from the Dallas County jail, awaiting Oswald’s transfer from the city jail.

At the White House, relatives and close friends gather for dinner. Afterward, several again visit the East Room. Mrs. Kennedy asks Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield to look at the Capitol Rotunda on Sunday after the casket is moved there, and he agrees.

In Dallas, reporters and photographers gather at the Police Department to await further developments with Oswald.

Police Chief Jesse Curry: “They (reporters) said, ‘Are you going to transfer him tonight?’ and I said, ‘No, we are not going to transfer him tonight.’ I said, ‘We are tired. We are going home and get some rest.’”

“Something was said (by one of the reporters) about, ‘Well, we are tired, too. When should we come back?’ And . . . I told them, ‘If you are back here by 10 o’clock in the morning, I don’t think that you would miss anything you want to see.’”

11:44 p.m.

Bree Wall (real name: Billy Ray Williams), an entertainer and friend of Ruby’s, is at his parents’ home in Galveson. Ruby telephones him.

Wall: “He was like really, really angry. Abe Weinstein had the Colony Club next door to his and he was very, very upset that she had stayed open. . . . He (Ruby) was yelling, raving mad . . . .”

“I was the head of AFTRA, which was the entertainers’ union . . . .” I think originally when he called me he was asking if there was anything I could do to make him (Weinstein) shut down.

“Then in the course of the conversation he started talking about Oswald. I don’t think he ever said his name. He said, ‘This guy who killed our president, someone needs to do the same to him.’”

About midnight

Ruby has just left the Carousel Club after making a series of phone calls. He drops by a friend’s McKinney Avenue club.

Ruby: “I didn’t do anything but wait a little club over here and had a Coca-Cola, because I was sort of depressed. A fellow who owns the Pago Club, Bob Norm, knew something was wrong with me in the certain mood I was in.”

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Suddenly the feeling, the emotional feeling came within me that someone owed this debt to our beloved president to save her daughter’s life.

It wasn’t me who had to come back for the trial of Lee Harvey Oswald. I talked to him about my father’s death. It was a way to try and communicate with someone who might have some knowledge or insight.

Oswald was quite composed. He answered readily those questions that he wanted to answer. He could cut off just like with a knife anything that he didn’t want to talk about.

And those particular things that he didn’t want to answer were anything that pertained with the assassination of the president or the shooting of officer Tippit. He flippantly denied any knowledge of either.

He was not particularly obnoxious. He seemed to be intelligent. He seemed to be clear-minded; he seemed to have a good memory, because in questioning him about the (postal) boxes, which I had original applications in front of me, he was very accurate.

Someone asked him about what his beliefs were. Someone referred to his communistic, and he said, “I am a Marxist. . . . A communist is a Lenin Marxist and I am a true Karl Marxist.”

So this secret service detective asked, “What religion are you?” . . . And he said, “I have no faith.” And then he said, “I suppose you mean the Bible.”

“Well,” he said, “I have read the Bible. It is fair reading, but not very interesting. But as a matter of fact, I am a student of philosophy and I don’t consider the Bible as even a reasonable or intelligible philosophy. I don’t think much of it.”

About 10:15 a.m.

Ruby gets a phone call from Karen “Little Lynn” Bennett, a secretary. Ruby has closed his club in mourning and she hasn’t been paid. The rent on her Fort Worth apartment is due, and she has been threatening to evict her if she doesn’t come up with the money soon.

Miss Bennett: “The rent was $15. I called Jack and asked him to send me $15 and Jack said, ‘Well, I’m going downtown’ or ‘I have to go downtown.’ But, anyway, he said he was going downtown and he would drop the money off at Western Union for me so I could get it quicker.

He sounded as if he had been crying or was crying or was about to cry. You know, like someone that was far away. When I talked to him, I had to call him back to the phone three times. I asked, ‘Jack, are you still there?’ because it seemed like he was far away.

Senator: “He sure had a moody look and very heavy look to me. It was a look that I had never seen before on him. . . .

All he said, he said, ‘George, I am taking the dog (Sheba, his favorite dachshund) down to the club.’

Ruby: “I got a call from a little girl — she wanted some money — that worked for me. . . . So my purpose was to go to the Western Union — my double purpose — but the thought of doing, committing the act wasn’t until I left my apartment.”

Among those gathered at the police station in anticipation of Oswald’s transfer is a reporter with WREB radio in New York.

Pappas: “I was amazed when I listened to Jesse Curry because he was laying out every bit of the detail of moving this prisoner, probably the most notorious prisoner we’ve had in this century. . . .

I didn’t understand that. . . .

He had all these people from all over the world in there, and international reporters, and he was playing to the crowd.

‘He told us the time and how they were going to take him, and he was a little confused about how they were going to put him in an armored car.”

10 to 11 a.m.

At the crowd grows at the police station, thousands of others gather at Dallas area churches for Sunday morning services. Many of the ministers address the Kennedy assassination, including the Rev. Thomas Fry Jr., pastor of First Presbyterian Church, and the Rev. William A. Holmes, pastor of Northaven United Methodist Church.

Fry: “I said it was such a shame. We didn’t know why it happened at the time.”

“The only thing we had to do was to say to them, ‘We are going to pray for General Kennedy and our country.’”

Miss Bennett: “The rent was $15. I called Jack and asked him to send me $15 and Jack said, ‘Well, I’m going downtown’ or ‘I have to go downtown.’ But, anyway, he said he was going downtown and he would drop the money off at Western Union for me so I could get it quicker.

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Holmes also delivers a sermon critical of Dallas.

Holmes: “President John Kennedy was killed two days ago in Dallas, and the one thing worse than that is this that the citizens of Dallas should declare unto the world, ‘We take no responsibility for the death of this man. . . . There is no city in the United States which in recent months and years has been more acquisitive toward its extension than Dallas, Texas.”

Holmes sermon will be broadcast two days later on the CBS Evening News. Because of phone threats, police will advise Holmes and his family to leave their home for a week. But on Sunday, he has a large audience.

Holmes: “It was standing-room only, as was true for churches throughout the nation. It was an atmosphere that contained several dimensions. One was a great sense of tragedy and loss and a great sense of unity . . . Everybody was just devastated.”

“We just acquiesced for months prior to this and let our city be taken over, as far as public image was concerned, by a bunch of extremist reactionary right-wing people.

“I just felt that if the Christian faith wasn’t there, the whole town would have been a very different place. . . . I can’t imagine what it would be applicable to.”

10 to 11 a.m.

Parkland officials are notified by hospital controller Bob Strawn that large crowds have gathered to watch Oswald’s transfer.

Assistant administrator Landregan: “Strawn noted that there was a possibility of an incident and suggested we might want to alert the emergency room to be ready. Mr. (Pete) Gethic (assistant administrator) then proceeded to the emergency room to alert the emergency room and asked them to delay any lunch hour until after the visitation had been effected.”

Ruby is driving toward the Western Union office to send money to Miss Ben...
Lee Harvey Oswald’s morning  

5-10 a.m.

Police discuss plans to transfer Oswald from city jail to county jail. During the night, Dallas FBI had received anonymous threat that group of 100 to 200 men would attempt to kill Oswald. Base ment of Police and Courts Building has been cleared and guards stationed. Oswald is given final interrogation in captain’s office.

10-11 a.m.

Questioning of Oswald continues. Oswald, meet reporters and photographers gathers at police station.

11-11:15 a.m.

Police change plan for transfer by deciding to move Oswald in police car rather than armored truck.

11-17:11:18 a.m.

Officers escort Oswald to basement.

11:21 a.m.

Two officers bring Oswald from jail into basement. Another officer takes up car to load Oswald and almost hits Ruby as he jumps out of crowd and fires one shot into Oswald.

11:22 a.m.

While police subdue Ruby, officers carry Oswald back into jail office. Oswald is mortally wounded. He is taken to Parkland Memorial Hospital where he is pronounced dead at 1:07 p.m.

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Kennedy that he was insignificant so what my purpose was.

"I had the gun in my right pocket and impulsively... I saw him, and that is all I can say. And I didn't care what happened to me.

"I think I used the words 'You killed the president, you rat.' The next thing I was down on the floor."

Garvin: "Ruby jumped out in front of me and startled us and put one bullet in him... It stunned me. It stunned us all... Oswald moaned and he fell."

Bob Jackson, a staff photographer of the Dallas Times Herald, captures the shooting in a picture that later won a Pulitzer Prize and became the most famous photo from the scene.

Jackson: "I was already pre-focused on about 11 feet, which helped, and I was pretty ready—like everybody was—and then he came out. And I was aware of somebody stepping in from the off of my right.

"My first thought was somebody is getting in my way. I didn't think somebody is stepping out to shoot him. Of course, the gun went off and then I knew. He was shot right on the spot."

Garvin, Liberty and Don Ray Archer, an auto theft detective, are among those struggling to subdue Ruby.

"I never could find a pulse. He (Oswald) just made a few agonial grunts and I never heard anything out of him. He wasn't bleeding externally. He just had a bullet hole, I guess it was on his left side... in his chest."

Liberty also rules in the ambulance.

"Capa (Capa Fritz told me to side out in the ambulance with Oswald to Parkland hospital and set up security because (Gov. John Connally was out there. And also to try and get a dying declaration out of Oswald.

"He looked up at me one time and kind of gulped with his eyes open but that was all that came out of him."
Oswald grimaces as Jack Ruby (right) shoots him in the Police Department basement. The shooting, televised nationally, is witnessed by millions.
Officers struggle with nightclub owner Jack Ruby after the shooting. Ruby is not visible. Officer L.C. Graves holds the gun used to shoot Oswald.

Police guarding Parkland emergency room where Oswald is taken. Jack Ruby walks through the city jail to be arraigned on murder charges.
Jacqueline Kennedy, John-John and Caroline wait outside the White House before Kennedy's casket is carried to the Capitol.
The caisson leaves the White House for the Capitol.

Honor guards accompany the caisson bearing Kennedy's casket.

Behind the caisson are Pfc. Arthur A. Carlson and Black Jack, carrying a saddle with riding boots turned backward, symbolizing a fallen leader.
1:07 p.m.
Oswald is pronounced dead.

1:17 p.m.
After Kennedy is eulogized by Mansfield, Chief Justice Earl Warren and House Speaker John McCormack, Mrs. Kennedy and her daughter kneel by the coffin and kiss the flag.

Bald head: "Mrs. Kennedy and Caroline went over to the casket and put a hand on it. In fact she (Caroline) put her hand under the flag to touch it. It was a very emotional moment for all of us."

1:19 p.m.
The Kennedy party leaves Capitol Hill.

1:25 p.m.
Chief of surgery Shires announces Oswald's death. Oswald's body is taken to the morgue at Parkland.

Assistant administrator Landregan: "I was the hospital's representative at the autopsy. ... I remember a law enforcement officer at the end of the table with a shotgun, standing there the whole time. I don't know what they expected — that Oswald was going to get up and try to escape or that somebody was going to break in and do something to the body or what.

1:28 p.m.
The Kennedy party returns to the White House. The Rosales, meanwhile, is opened to the public, and hundreds of thousands gather throughout the afternoon and evening to view the casket.

Funeral home manager Hagan, "as far as you wanted to look there were people. Most of them were crying. The tragic death, the assassination of a young president who had enjoyed immense popularity — and all of a sudden, it's all over. And we aren't ready for that. A state of shock existed everywhere."

About 1:30 p.m.
Marina and Marguerite Oswald drive to the Paine residence in Irving to pick up some fresh clothes and diapers.

Marguerite Oswald: "We got to Irving. There is police cars all around. As soon as the car stopped, the Secret Service agent said, 'Lee has been shot.' And I said, 'How bad?' He said, 'In the shoulder.'"

"I cried and I said, 'Marina, Lee has been shot.'"

"I was sitting in the car with the (Secret Service) agents (Mike Howard). Marina is in the home now. So something comes over the mike, and the Secret Service agent says, 'Do not repeat. Do not repeat.'"

"I said, 'My son is gone, he's dead' and he didn't answer. I said, 'Anne, I want to know, if my son is gone, I want to meditate.' He said, 'Yes, Mrs. Oswald, your son has just expired.'"

"When I got the news, I went into the house, and I said, 'Marina, our boy is gone.'"

1 to 2 p.m.
Word of Oswald's death reaches the Dallas Police Department. Archer is with Secret Service agents Sorrels and Sgt. Pat Dean.

Archer: "I said, well, Ruby hasn't really given us any reason or anything up to this point. I said he's talking about his childhood in Chicago, he's talking about the clubs he's owned here in Dallas, he's talked about the old Silver Spur he used to own on Firmy Street."

"Sorrels suggests that Archer tell Ruby about Oswald's death.

Archer: "I said, 'Jack, it looks like it
The horse-drawn caisson reaches the steps of the Capitol.

Mourners gathered at the Rotunda during the eulogy by Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield.

Rays of sunlight bathe the casket during a short ceremony in the Capitol Rotunda attended by government officials, friends and family members.
Jacqueline Kennedy kisses the flag on her husband's casket. Also kneeling is their daughter, Caroline, who slips her hand beneath the flag.

might be the electric chair for you. They just told me that Oswald's dead."

"I had really expected this to be a more serene scene. He had been borrowing cigarettes from me. He had been smoking some cigarettes. But when I told him he was dead, his demeanor completely changed. He was more relaxed, he was perspiring, his hard breathing had stopped.

"And I said, 'Do you understand that you might go to the electric chair?' He said, 'Yes, I understand that.' I said, 'Well, Captain Fritz is going to come up and talk to me.'"

"I said to him, 'Do you want a cigarette?' And he said, 'No, I don't smoke.'"

About 1:45 p.m.

Mrs. Kennedy, who had seen the natural flame in Paris, asks for one to be prepared for her husband. Her friends and advisers are hesitant, worried it might be seen as ostentatious, but the Pentagon is asked to fashion a flame.

The request is handled by Lt. Col. Bernard Carroll, Fort Myer's post engineer.

Carroll: "Our shops that furnish gas and copper tubing and wherever we needed were closed. So my assistant and I went down over in the cemetery office with two sets of Yellow Pages. My assistant took the one for Virginia and I took the one for Maryland.

"We went down the line of supply houses . . . and after probably an hour I called a place in Maryland and a man answered the phone. I told him what I wanted and he said, 'I'll be glad to get you anything you want.' And they brought down all the supplies. . . ."

"There was no panic. There was a sense of having a job to do and having to get things done and having to do them in a hurry."

About 2 p.m.

Marguerite and Marina Oswald are driven by Secret Service agents to Parkland.

Marguerite Oswald: "They didn't want us to see Lee the ugliness of it, evidently. But I insisted, and so did Marina.

"On the way in the car they are trying to get us to change our minds. Mike Howard said, 'I want you to know when we get there we will not be able to protect you. Our security measures end right there. The police will then have you under protection.'"

"I said, 'This is fine. If I am to die, I will die that way. But I am going to see my son.'"

Assistant administrator Gellich sees the two women when they arrive.

Gellich: "The mother was quite upset, but the wife merely had a look of shock about her. The look on her face was not unlike that on Mrs. Kennedy's face two days earlier."

The two women see Oswald's body.

Marguerite Oswald: "Lee's body was on a hospital bed, I would say, or a table. . . . Marina was first. She opened his eyelids. I am a nurse, and I don't think I could have done that. This is a very, very strong girl, that she can open a dead man's eyelids. And she says, 'He cry. He eye wet. To the donor. And the doctor said, 'Yes.'"

"While leaving the room, I said to the police, 'I think some day you will hang your heads in shame.'"

2:06 p.m.

Dallas police officials ask Dr. Biebert to talk to Ruby.

Biebert: "They were concerned that Ruby might commit suicide, so they sent me in to talk to him. . . ."

"Ruby said, 'I know they're worried about me committing suicide, killing
Marina Oswald and daughter June arrive at Parkland Memorial Hospital.

Jacqueline Kennedy, holding the hands of Caroline and John-John, descends the steps of the Capitol. Kennedy family members and the Johnsons follow.

Late Sunday afternoon
In Washington, the crowds outside the Capitol Rotunda continue to swell. Joan Pounds, a Washington housekeeper, has been standing in line for hours.

Ms. Pounds: "We left home at 6 on Sunday morning and we never did get to the Rotunda. ... The line was long, and it moved very slow. We finally left at 6 that night. ... It was just that we wanted to pay our respects. It affected everybody all over the world, not just us, and we wanted to pay our respects. He was my favorite president."

Jim Clark, a 20-year-old student at the University of Texas at Austin, has traveled to Washington and has been standing in line for several hours to see the casket.

Clark: "It was a feeling that this was something I needed to do. Inside, the honor guard stands watch for 30 minutes on, two hours off.

Peers: "Whenever we were off watch, we were in the old Senate chamber. ... We had a little freedom to step back into the Rotunda out of the lamplight and just observe. At one time, I stopped outside to look out over the Capitol steps, and listening to the radio, for 22 minutes, I didn't think about anything. I jumped inside and said I'd be out again in 22 minutes. ..."

...I hadn't ever seen anything like that. People were lined up outside the Rotunda as far as you could see. How could one single thing bring all these people together like that?"

At the White House, officials discuss the funeral procession to be held Monday to St. Matthew's.

Busby: "Somehow the word got out that the new president would walk in the procession. ... People started calling me from all around the country— 'Stop this madness, he mustn't be on the streets.'"

"Regular people, corporate executives, nearly all of whom I didn't know. People were indignant and angry. I finally called the head of the Secret Service and told him this was the reaction that was developing. People were scared to death."

"But Johnson felt strongly that you must let people like assassins take control of the streets."

Some officials are thinking even further ahead. Deputy U.S. Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach ponders the investigation that will have to be held.

Katzenbach: "I began thinking about what went on at the Warren Commission ... what you had in the past, and I was primarily thinking of Lincoln, all that speculation through the years about who really was behind it and what really happened. ... I wrote a memo. Monday (suggesting that Johnson appoint a federal commission)."

Mrs. Johnson reflects on the emotionally draining events of the day.

"She didn't see spec. Just being perfectly normal, like you'd meet him on the street. He was not incoherent. ... He wasn't bringing or proud of himself either."

3:15 p.m.
Ruby is brought to Fritz's office for questioning and arraignment on a charge of murdering Oswald.

About 6 p.m.
Eva Grant goes to jail to visit her brother, Jack Ruby.

Ned Green: "My brother didn't tell me anything. He was crying. ... Someone said, 'Did you ask him why he did it?' I says, 'No.' Because I tell you the math, my brother looked a little crazy."

"I was crying. I was carrying on. He says, 'Don't worry about me.' I says, 'I'm glad Ma and Pa is dead. They don't see you in jail, they don't know about you being in jail.'"

A Secret Service agent contacts Paul J. Groody, director of Miller's Funeral Home in Fort Worth, about arrangements for Oswald's funeral.
After the Capitol Rotunda is opened to the public, hundreds of thousands of people file past to view the flag-draped casket of President John F. Kennedy.
French President Charles de Gaulle (left) is met by Secretary of State Dean Rusk on his arrival at Washington's Dulles International Airport.

Groody: "I remember that I was scared. We didn't know who this guy (Oswald) really was. You have to think in terms of what life was like back then, and we really did think that was the beginning of World War III.

"I was called about 6 o'clock (Sunday evening) and we went to Parkland but it was at least 11 p.m. before we were able to get the body released...

"They (authorities) roped off the entire triangle around where the funeral home was located...

"The Secret Service wanted me to do it as secretly as I could and not put out any information. We were scared because the president had already been shot and none Oswald was shot. I didn't know if some other nut was going to shoot the undertaker."

After 7:30 p.m.

Rev. Gaertner calls Gruaud's brother, Gaertner: "I told him I was a Lutheran minister and had been asked if I would officiate at a committal service. He responded, 'We don't want just a committal service, we want a big funeral with a church in Fort Worth.'

"I told him that the Secret Service wanted to keep it very quiet, and he assured us that there would be no one of the larger churches in Fort Worth."

"I said that under the circumstances, with emotions in the community and nation running so high, that I didn't think it would be a good idea."

Sunday evening

In Washington, dozens of foreign dignitaries and heads of state are arriving for the Kennedy funeral. Undersecretary of State George Ball greets them. Ball: "We went out to Dulles (airport) and (Secretary of State Dean) Rusk and I took turns all night long greeting these heads of state and foreign dignitaries. There were a vast number.

"It was a pretty impressive lot of characters. (Charles) de Gaulle was very eloquent. He said, 'I haven't come on my own. I've been sent by the people of France.'"

A small group of the Johnsons' friends gathers at The Elms for dinner. Those present include John Connally III, (Secretaries or State Dean) Rusk and Mrs. Kennedy and Robert Kennedy. Secretary of State Dean Rusk was unsalable to the press.

Connally: "Everyone was very saddened. The president and Mrs. Johnson were very upset. He was trying to console people about how to get going, how to keep going with the government. The grief was such that everyone was talking in hushed tones...

"After dinner people were sitting around in groups of twos and threes. Sometime that evening we went to the Rotunda and paid our respects to President Kennedy, who was lying in state. We went in through a back way.

8:04 p.m.

Mrs. Kennedy and Robert Kennedy re-enter the Rotunda. Allen J. Eldredge, a sergeant first class in the Army, is on duty in the Rotunda.

Eldredge: "No one was around the casket because it was kind of personal. I was standing near the main entrance of the Rotunda. She went up and put her hand on the casket. Then I think she knelt down. I had to turn away — a lot of people did. I doubt it there was a dry eye in the Rotunda. It was so sad."

Late Sunday evening

Concerned about the weight of the casket and the steps that the bearers will have to descend from the Capitol on Monday, Lt. Bird has his team practice on the steps at Arlington cemetery's Tomb of the Unknowns with a standard military casket weighted with sandbags.

Fielder: "We had to wait until everyone was gone, 'cause you didn't want people seeing you out there rehearsing with a casket.

"We've got a couple of them as the fort we used for rehearsals and training. In this particular incidence, we went further to get the feel for the weight. We had two guys (Lt. Bird and the tomb guard) sit on top of it so we went up and down the steps."

About 11 p.m.

At Arlington cemetery, the grave has been dug with a baritone and the temporary holder for the eternal flame constructed. Fort Myer engineer Carroll makes the checks on the flame.

Carroll: "We did a final check at midnight... When we got ready to light the flame somebody had to be with the switch over in a hiding place, and as a signal one man would throw a switch and a much would be held to the flame and it would ignite.

"The plan was that we would have tapes for Mrs. Kennedy to light it. They were made of a piece of welding rod crimped at one end with a piece of gun clock...."

"And everything was all set. It worked."

Near midnight

About 7,500 people have filed past Kennedy's coffin. Officials had planned to close the Rotunda at 8 p.m. but then decided to keep it open as long as people wanted to come. Realizing the size of the crowd, they start having people go by two abreast in each of two lines past the casket. Once people are filing by at the rate of 14,400 an hour.

Se. T. Barrich and his wife, from their apartment looking toward the Capitol, watch the crowds gather all night long.

Yarbrough: "The crowds... were lined up for blocks... We stood up all night and watched them and talked about the future... We could hear footsteps on the cobblestone, on the sidewalks...

"(It was) very quiet. I never heard a voice spoken. People were dealing with their own thoughts about what had happened to their world, as we were."

Nov. 25

MONDAY

1:05 a.m.

The line on Capitol Hill is three miles long.

6 a.m.

Dr. Louis A. Saunders, executive secretary with the Fort Worth Area Council of Churches, heard on the radio that Oswald's body is being brought to Fort Worth for burial.

Saunders: "Before I left home, I called this Mr. Groody, the undertaker, and told him I just wanted to be sure that a minister was available to perform the service. I was assured that arrangements for that were being made."

Reporters, including Mike Cochran of The Associated Press, begin to gather soon after dawn at Rose Hill Cemetery...
which Marguerite Oswald had selected as the burial site.

Connally: "We really had no idea when it (the burial) was going to take place. I think I got there after setup. . . . They not only had nobody to carry the coffin, but they had no one to recruit someone to perform the service."

8:05 a.m.
The last visitors go by Kennedy's cof- fin in the Rotunda. About 250,000 peo- ple have filed past the casket.

9 a.m.
Confusion develops over who will hold the Oswald services as the Secret Service contacts Gaertner, pastor of the Zion Lutheran Church, and Fry, of First Presbyterian Church.

Gaertner: "I told the Secret Service that I was willing to do it. . . . They said they would call me back."

Fry: "They asked me if I could bury Lee Harvey Oswald and I swallowed hard and said yes. . . . I've never refused to bury anybody. You may not want to do it, but you do it."

"(Later) they called me back and said (the arrangements) had been done over in Fort Worth."

Saunders, meanwhile, goes to Farrington Field to make arrangements for a memorial service for Kennedy. On his way back to the office, he listens to prepar- arations for the Kennedy funeral on the radio.

Saunders: "I remembered Oswald. . . . I was afraid that with everything that was going on, this was just going to fall through the cracks and I didn't want people to think that if no minister was there, that was a reflection on the Christian community in Fort Worth. . . . "I didn't want to do the service myself because I was not an active pastor at the time. I just wanted to make sure there was one available. When I got to my office I called the funeral home again and the secre- tary called me back and was assured ev- erything was taken care of."

About 9:40 a.m.
Jacqueline, Robert and Ted Kennedy kneel by the casket in the Rotunda and pray.

9:45 a.m.
The body bearers, wearing white cot- ton gloves, dampened to improve their grip, carry the casket out of the Rotunda.

Body bearer Felder: "This was the part we were all dreading. We wore our gloves and prepared, took a good grip and Lieutenant Bird was right behind. We got it down the steps no problem, breathed a sigh of relief and put it onto the casket."

About 9:50 a.m.
The procession leaves Capitol Hill for the White House and then St. Matthew's. Larry O'Brien is in the White House.

O'Brien: "We were observing the ceremo- nial aspects of all this in the Capitol and the departure from the Capitol (on television). And the little boy we knew at that time called John-John was in the room looking at the screen. He came into the room where Dave Powers and I were and smiled at the screen."

"One of the White House ushers, we said to him, 'Get us a bottle of champage,' which he did, and we poured glasses, the three of us, Powers, O'Brien and I. While still watching the un- folding on the screen, we raised our glasses and said, 'To the president.'"

"Then we left the White House and joined the procession as it passed the White House."

10 to 11 a.m.
Many Dallas-area churches held memo- rial services; some set up television sets so that parishioners can also watch the national services. A large interde- nitional memorial service at Fort Worth's Farrington Field draws about 5,000 peo- ple. The speakers include the Rev. Gran- ville Walker, pastor of University Chris- tian Church in Fort Worth.

Walker: "I guess the most spectacular thing about the service was that it was one of the very few times when Catholics, Jews and Protestants got together. That is something we do a lot more often now, but that wasn't the case back in 1965."

10:30 a.m.
Chief of protocol Duke arranges the procession on foot from the White House to St. Matthew's.

Duke: "I asked the chiefs of state to step forward, and in my intense, amazed relief they all fit in one line across the north driveway. There were 11 of them. The prime ministers were all behind them, but it didn't matter about the prime ministers."

I wanted each of those chiefs of state not to have to march behind anybody else. I didn't want to have the president of Ger- many pushed behind the president of France, for example. I wanted them all to march in equal rank, and, by God, they did."

Officials are worried about security as so many U.S. and foreign dignitaries walk to the Mass. Undersecretary of State George Ball forges the ceremonies and works in the communications center at the State Department in case an emer- gency arises.

Ball: "I had a feeling that somebody in some authority had to say in the depart- ment because of the possibilities of an- other assassination taking place as this procession walked through a crowded section of Washington."

"It was madness, it seems to me, but it was Jacqueline Kennedy's idea and we couldn't talk Jackie out of it. She wanted that. . . . There was no incident, for- tunately, but we were scared to death there was going to be."

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10:35 a.m.
The caisson arrives at the White House. Mrs. Kennedy takes her place be- hind it, with Robert and Ted Kennedy, to walk to the cathedral. John Connally III is among those walking.

Connally: "You have to remember every- one was nervous, tightly nervous after the assassination. This was a couple days later, and no one knew if there were going to be other attempts."

"I walked in the funeral procession with the Kennedy family to the cathedral. That's a fairly long walk. . . . I was never conscious of the distance. I never even thought about it."

"We were walking right behind the Kennedy family, and I was right off President Johnson's shoulder."

Johnson: "I remember marching be- hind the caisson to St. Matthew's Cathed- ral. The muffled rumble of drums set up a heartbreaking echo."

Just before 11:14 a.m.
Ushers seat the marchers in St. Matthew's.

Duke: "We guided the St. Matthew's."

A military team carries the casket down the steps of the Capitol Rotunda.

Leaders from West Germany, France, Greece, Belgium, Ethiopia and the Philippines walk in the funeral procession.

Crowds line the streets to watch the caisson as it moves through the capital.

The funeral procession moves slowly up Connecticut Avenue. Walking behind the caisson.
Cardinal Cushing conducts a funeral Mass before President Kennedy's casket at St. Matthew's Cathedral.

Cardinal Richard Cushing greets Jacqueline Kennedy as she arrives at St. Matthew's Cathedral for the funeral Mass.

Somehow or another the prime minister of Jamaica... didn't have a place to sit. I saw Nelson Rockefeller, then governor of the state of New York, sitting in an aisle seat. So I went over to him, and I said, 'Governor, we have a problem here, could you possibly surrender your seat?' He got up and order was restored.

11:15 a.m.

Keith Clark, a bugler in the Army band, reports in Arlington National Cemetery, nearly three hours before he is to play taps at Kennedy's funeral.

Clark: "The military goes crazy on dry runs and being there ahead of time. So I seas to do it ahead of time, and we weren't allowed to wear overcoats. So I stood there in the drizzle for three hours. Normal in the military."
"There was one cemetery that had told me they would have space, but later called me and told me that he couldn't be buried there because people would object. Even the owner of the (Rose Hill) cemetery called me the next morning, saying people were threatening to move out (loved ones) from the cemetery because we buried him there. I don't think anyone ever actually did that, but that's what we were faced with."

12:05 p.m.

Air Force One is circling between Andrews Air Force Base and Washington, awaiting a signal to begin its run for the Arlington National Cemetery flyby.

"I remember seeing Robert Kennedy ride in a car..." Clark. "I remember seeing Robert Kennedy ride in a car..." 12:11 p.m.

Some of them were sadder; they sold their souls, lost their faith. "Some of them were sadder; they sold their souls, lost their faith."

The coffin has been taken out of the cathedral and put on the gun carriage. The band plays "St. John's March," and Mrs. Kennedy whispers to her small son, who raises his right hand in a salute.

Powers: "We used to salute around the White House a lot. Heads of state and I wore a salute. My children would be in the balcony, even as a little boy, and he'd see them all saluting. He was always great at saluting, except sometimes he'd salute with his left hand but this day he was perfect."

12:20 p.m.

The funeral motorcade leaves St. Matthew's, Frederick Carse, a clarinet player in the Marine Band, has been waiting outside. Power: "We stood outside right in our places and froze... We were allowed to relax but not go anywhere... After Mass there... we led the funeral come to Arlington cemetery..."

"We see someone standing eight to 10 feet deep along a seven-mile funeral route to get a look at a flag-draped coffin go by is one of the most moving sights in my time as a Marine."

"We (Kennedy) was such a personable man. We (the band) just liked him and loved him. Whether you agreed with his politics or not, you always felt like you lost a member of your family..."

"It was quite emotional... I still strikes me today that the bandmen seemed so... be as personally affected by it."

"There was a feeling that what had happened was an insult on the American system, not just one man or a leader but on our whole system. It's sort of a living symbol of what our country is about."

As the funeral procession leaves the cathedral, PT-109 crew members Magazine, Drowich and Ross get in at the president's car and fall in at the end of the procession. Magazine: "Ross had a 10-year-old junk car. We rode at the end of the motorcade, looking at the people lining the streets."

"Ross had a 10-year-old junk car. We rode at the end of the motorcade, looking at the people lining the streets."

12:35 p.m.

The Kennedy's leave St. Matthew's behind the president's casket.

University of Texas student Clark watches as the cortège passes.

Clark: "I remember seeing Robert Kennedy ride in a car..." Clark: "I remember seeing Robert Kennedy ride in a car..."

"Some of them were sadder; they sold their souls, lost their faith..."

Secret Service agent Youngblood, too... "Secret Service agent Youngblood, too..."

"It was sort of a silence that was so different. I could actually hear people sobbing. (The funeral procession) was a slow-moving thing. There was nobody trying to run out into the street or alongside... People had tears streaming down their faces."

12:30 p.m.

Air Force One is circling between Andrews Air Force Base and Washington, awaiting a signal to begin its run for the Arlington National Cemetery flyby.

Powers: "We wanted to get as close as we could, safely, without interfering with Washington National (Airport) traffic so it wouldn't take us too long to get there once we were cleared to do it."

Black Jack, the riderless horse, prances nervously behind the caisson, and Carlson is interrupted that the horse might bolt from his grip.

Carlson: "There was quite a bit of doubt in my mind whether I would make it... I'm not sure about handling the horses so many times and in his state..."

Shortly before 1:54 p.m.

The procession arrives at Arlington cemetery. As U.S. and foreign officials and Kennedy family members gather around the grave site, the Marine Band plays The Star-Spangled Banner, followed by the Air Force Bagpipe band with Hiawatha."

Simmons: "I thought as we were going up to the grave site, because it was quite a steep hill, that my God, there are muscles I haven't used in months. We were very tired, but you never hear one person complain."

"Probably what sticks in my mind most was the type of casket, the humongous weight of it and seeing these... body bearers struggling to carry it up the hill to the grave site. It was really a struggle."

Body bearers Felden: "We were tired when we got over there... and we still had an eighth of a mile to go up the hill to the site..."

"When we took it (the casket) off the caisson and started marching up the hill to the grave site, the pace was so slow and the paces was walking so slow that we caught up to them and were almost muddling them."

"The guy behind me was saying, 'I'm losing my grip, I'm losing my grip.' I said, 'Let go and grab it man and hold it up here.' The slow pace it just felt like we were being pulled into the ground."

"We got to the grave site, and Lieutenant Bird saw the grime on our faces and stepped up and gave us some relief. At one point I thought we were going to have to set it down on the ground before we got there."

1:54 p.m.

Ten jet fighters, flying in a V formation with the last plane missing in the top... banish the fallen leader..." Carolline Kennedy looks up at her mother as the family leaves St. Matthew's..."
John F. Kennedy Jr. salutes his father's casket outside St. Matthew's Cathedral. The day of the funeral was John-John's third birthday.
The funeral cortège crosses Memorial Bridge in Washington en route to Arlington National Cemetery. In the background is the Lincoln Memorial.
With the Kennedy family nearby, a military team places the president's casket at the grave site.

Cemetery superintendent Metzler: "The most difficult thing — I think of the whole bit — they wanted that flyby to come as the body was approaching the grave.

"Now when you give the signal to go, they're going to be there in 10 minutes. And as it turned out, they flew over just as the body got in the grave."

Assistant press secretary Kilduff: "Suddenlly, seeing this flight of fighters come across, just screaming jets, with one plane missing from the formation — that was heart-wrenching. Then Air Force One coming across the same way.

"I never saw a plane that size fly so low in my life. And it came over, and dipped its wings, before it took off and gained altitude."

Powers: "I can remember Air Force One, flying over. He loved that plane."

1:55 to 2:06 p.m. The Irish cadets execute a silent drill. Cardinal Cushing conducts the commitment.

Assistant: "We are trained not to get emotional about burial details. That was the one time I had to really restrain myself from viewing the family. There were so many, it was difficult not to glance over there out of the corner of your eye.

"I think that's the first time it really hit me as to who I was burying. After participating in 1,100 funerals you become very cold, unemotional, but this was a little different."

In Dallas, Gov. Connally is watching the funeral on television set in his Parkland hospital room.

Connally: "It was strange, almost as if I was in a dream. I think I was probably fairly high on drugs, but I remember it extremely well.

"It had an unrealistic quality about it because the last time I had been conscious, we were riding together in a car and then, as I regained consciousness briefly on Sunday. Nellie told me, confirmed that the president had been fatally wounded."

2 p.m. In Dallas, the funeral service for officer Tippit starts at Beaches Hills Baptist Church, with the Rev. Tippit presiding.

Tippit: "He was doing his duty when he was taken by the bullet of a poor, confused, misguided, ungodly assassin — as was our president."

Thousands have gathered for the service. Afterward, Tippit will become the first person to be buried in a special section at Laurel Land Memorial Park for those who gave their lives in community service.

Tippit: "It was on television and reporters were there. Sometimes they were kind of rude. Like when the casket was being transported, conduct wasn't like it ought to be."

"I was just trying to help the family. The (Mrs. Tippit) was a very quiet lady.
and she really had a struggle because she was alone. She said she didn't think she could have made it if it hadn't been for her faith in the Lord.

"There were about 5,000 to 6,000 people at the funeral service. Since the church sat on about 20 acres of land, it was easy to accommodate that many people. A lot didn't even know the family, but they just came out because they'd heard about it.

"I remember that I tried not to be lengthy (in the sermon). . . . It was only about 15 or 20 minutes. The message that God had promised us eternal life. When a person is a Christian his body may die, but spiritually live with the Lord forever."

"I really feel like we were able to help her."

Marie Tippitt's brother, Dwight Gasway, is moved by the 700 police officers who attend the funeral.

Gasway: "I remember thinking . . . that it was great. I keep thinking that it was the most law enforcement officers I had seen at one time in my life."

As the Tippitt service is held, preparations for the Oswald funeral still have not been finalized. The Secret Service finally tells Gears that arrangements have been made with another minister.

Gears: "The other minister (a Lutheran, Paul Franke) — when he called, the funeral home, he was told that he didn't have to go, that I was going."

"Because of the confusion, neither delegation had a group at Rose Hill Cemetery that afternoon."

2:07 to 2:08 p.m.

Taps is played at Arlington, and the bugler Clark misses a note.

Post engineer Carroll: "You have to see something like that for a great man to go wrong. You don't want anything go wrong.

"And the only thing that happened was that the bugler who played taps missed one note, and it was kind of obvious. But shoot, I would have too if I had been him. I would have been pretty nervous."
Body bearers, at Arlington National Cemetery, hold taut the flag that covered President Kennedy's casket.

Jacqueline Kennedy holds the flag that covered her husband's casket.

As the eternal flame burns, an officer salutes the grave.

Jacqueline Kennedy clasps the hand of Robert Kennedy.
I said, 'Oh, honey, put your coat on, we are going to Lee's funeral. It will be all right.'

**About 3:30 p.m.**

Mestler escorts the last of the prominent guests from the burial site and then sees Sgt. Maj. Frank Ruddy walk up to the grave.

Mestler: "A man came back and put his gun barrel down on the shrubbery around the eternal flame and everybody did the same . . . the other branches of service."

**Between 3:30 and 4 p.m.**

Lewis Saunders, still uncomfortable with the arrangements for Oswald's funeral, drives to Fort Worth's Rose Hill Cemetery, where the burial is scheduled for 4 p.m. He realizes that no other ministers have shown up. Funeral home director Groody asks him to perform the service.

Saunders: "I don't believe I've ever had a more difficult moment. I hadn't had a funeral in quite some time. I had become an administrator."

"With reluctance and yet a sense of responsibility, I walked over to Mrs. (Marguerite) Oswald and asked her, 'What are your wishes?' She said she'd like me to have the burial service for her son..."

"I asked her to tell me something about him. She said he was a good son, a good husband and a good father."

"I had an awareness that anything I said (because of the extensive media coverage) could be evaluated, misinterpreted or misunderstood. I recognized this could be an international incident."

"I felt that whatever happened could be seen as a reflection of the church's feeling and understanding of what this family was going through. I felt I had to express a deep-seated concern of Christian faith for a family in trouble."

**About 4 p.m.**

At Rose Hill, a group of reporters, including the Associated Press' Cochran, is about to carry Oswald's casket from the chapel to the grave site because no arrangements had been made for pallbearers.

Cochran: "I think I was outlasting the prospect of carrying the casket. But when Preston McGraw of UPI was recruited and he said he'd do it, I think I felt my duty was carried for AP..."

"There was also in the back of my mind that I was thinking that if we didn't do it, that if we didn't get this guy buried... we wouldn't be able to file our stories. That the sooner he was buried, the sooner we'd be done."

"I got some of what was going on in Washington."

"You can imagine it (the service) was solemn. I think the only ones there were the brother, Robert, and Marina, with the two little girls and Marguerite. It was a grim affair... just a handful of family and a handful of reporters."

"I can assure you I had no sense of mirth. It was a story and an unpleasant story at the scene of a very unpleasant news event.

Saunders: "I made a brief statement to the effect that we were here so lay away Lee Harvey Oswald, not judge him. I quoted from memory, the 23rd Psalm and the 14th Chapter of John. I prayed that the love of God, who we know through Jesus Christ, might comfort the mother and family in this dark and tragic moment."

"There was a dim awareness in me of the tremendous contrast between the beautiful and carefully worked-out service for President Kennedy and the very humble and stark service we were having (for Oswald)."

"The service itself probably took about 10 minutes. The family left very quickly after it was over."

**After 4 p.m.**

In Washington, Johnson is hosting a reception for foreign dignitaries at the State Department.

Duke: "At one point all the kings of Scandinavia, and the presidents of Finland and Iceland, had a little caucus and were sitting in a circle of sofas at the end of the room. And Johnson came over and joined them."

"At that time, President de Gaulle came downstairs... and he asked where President Johnson was, and as he came over they all stood up and he searched out his arm. It looked like he was about to knock them all down, to embrace President Johnson, which I felt was a dramatic thing."

At Arlington National Cemetery, the body bearers are relieved of duty.

Chalf: "After the funeral, that was probably when everything started to hit us. We got in the bus and went back to Army barracks and dispersed from there. That was the first time we didn't have anything to face us the next day."

"Initially we were all pretty quiet, we were in a state of disbelief as to what had happened. Then we started talking about it."

"We stayed there until all the crowds had gone, and we initially provided a coast, security, until they could provide some relief for us. Then I went back to the barracks, changed my clothes and went home."

"I sat down in my living room and all of a sudden I couldn't hold it, I just cried, bawled. All of a sudden it hit me what I had done, that day as I was watching the TV reruns."

**6 p.m.**

After the reception, close friends and family members gather at the White House to comfort Mrs. Kennedy — and to observe her son's birthday.

Powers: "John was well aware it was his birthday. His father had told him he would bring him something, and a 3-year-old boy just knows it's his birthday. Jackie and Lee (Bardinwell, Jacqueline's sister) and Bobby Kennedy and I were there, and we sang Happy Birthday and John had a cake."

"It must have been the saddest Happy Birthday ever sung... But we smiled at John, being that happy. We all put on an act."

**7:32 p.m.**

Johnson, meeting with the governors of 50 states, says he will press for enactment of a civil and civil rights legislation proposed by Kennedy, and that he'll begin that push in a speech to Congress on Wednesday night.

Johnson: "(I told them). 'We are going to have plenty of time after the convention to get on and campaign and talk about ourselves and our merits. Let's talk about our country until then and let's not just talk about it, but let's get some action on it and do something."

"We have hate abroad in the world, hate internationally, hate domestically where a president is assassinated and then they (the haters) take the law into their own hands and kill the assassin. That is not our system."

Johnson aide Valentis: "Everything he was doing in those first days was part of his grand design to alay fears... He had to demonstrate the government was in strong hands, unbiased hands."

"That was his main goal that first week: to ease the anxieties around the country and the world... and to show the linkage between the 35th and 36th presidents."

**About 11 p.m.**

Jacqueline and Robert Kennedy decide to make another visit to Arlington cemetery.

Mestler: "That night I got a call at 11 o'clock and Robert and Jackie came over, and they knelt down, said their prayers."

"As the clocks strike midnight, Mrs. Kennedy lays a bouquet of lilies of the valley on the grave, and she and her brother-in-law sit quietly moan."

In the next few days, Mrs. Kennedy will return several times to the grave site. And in the months and years to follow, hundreds of thousands of others will also come to pay their respects to the slain president — to gaze at the flicker of the eternal flame, and to wonder what might have been.
"The courage of life is often a less dramatic spectacle than the courage of a final moment; but it is no less a magnificent mixture of triumph and tragedy."

John Fitzgerald Kennedy
Profiles in Courage, 1956
The preceding account of Nov. 22-25, 1963, was compiled from the recollections of 121 people. Unless otherwise noted, these sources were interviewed by staff writers for The Dallas Morning News from August through October 1983 or August through October 1988.

Bill Alexander, an assistant district attorney in 1963, is in private law practice in Del Rio. He was interviewed by Charles Biddle in 1983 and by Steve McGonigle in 1988.

Don Bay Archer, a Dallas Police Department auto theft detective in 1963, is a lieutenant in the department's general division. He was interviewed by Steve McGonigle in 1988.

George Ball, a undersecretary of state in 1962, is a lawyer and author living in Princeton, N.J. He was interviewed by Steve McGonigle in 1988.

Willard Bair, Fort Worth mayor pro tem in 1963, is a Fort Worth businessman. He was interviewed by Ed Timms in 1983.

Robert Basik, Washington bureau chief of The Dallas Morning News in 1963, became a columnist for The News before retiring on June 30, 1979. He was interviewed by Ed Timms in 1983. His statements, dated July 25, 1983, were taken from the diaries of state members of The News, compiled in the months following the assassinations.

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Alana Bedford, who was among the breakfast fans at the Hotel Texas on Nov. 22, 1963, is now a Fort Worth homemaker. She was interviewed by Ed Timms in 1983.

Marionie Below, who was Mrs. Kennedy's secretary in 1963, is a Washington lawyer. She was interviewed by Steve McGonigle in 1988.

Karen Lynn Bennett was a stripper who lived in Swinnanot, N.C. He was interviewed in Ed Timms in 1983.

Dr. John L. Baskin, Washington bureau chief of The Dallas Morning News in 1963, is in private practice in Austin, Texas. He was interviewed by Steve McGonigle in 1988.

Don Ray Amber, a Dallas Police Department lieutenant in 1963, is a Dallas Police Department lieutenant. He was interviewed by Steve McGonigle in 1988.

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Willard Barr, Fort Worth mayor pro tem in 1963, is a Fort Worth businessman. He was interviewed by Ed Timms in 1983.
Jean B. Learelle, a Dallas homicide detective in 1963, died on Jan. 29, 1975. He left written recollections compiled by Helen Pamperin in the Dallas Morning News. His recollections also are on file at the John F. Kennedy Library in Boston. Learelle was a U.S. district judge in Dallas in 1963, died on April 23, 1983. His statements were taken from an October 1966 interview for the oral history collection at the LBJ Library and from an article published in the Dallas Morning News on June 29, 1983.

Bob Jackson, a staff photographer for the Dallas Times Herald in 1963, won the Pulitzer Prize for his photograph of Jack Ruby shooting Lee Harvey Oswald. Jackson is now a staff photographer with the Colorado Springs (Colo.) Gazette Tele gram. He was interviewed by Steve McGonagle in 1988.

James Jenning, a Dallas police officer in 1963, lives in Dallas and is a sports ana- lyser, commentating on agent and public relations consultant. He was interviewed by Bill Deer in 1985.

Ladybird Johnson was interviewed on the LBJ Ranch in Stonewall, Texas, and in Austin. Her statements were taken from an interview conducted by the LBJ Library in 1993 and by Ken Stephens in 1988.

Nellie Johnson, a secretary of the Dallas Junior Chamber of Commerce in 1963, is retired and lives in Dallas. She was interviewed by Mary C. Bound in 1983.

Evelyn Lincoln, President Kennedy's personal secretary in 1963, lives in Chane, Me. She was interviewed by Bill Deer in 1985.

Evelyn Lincoln, president of the Green- wood Avenue Christian Church and chap- lain at the Dallas Country Club in 1963, is retired. He was interviewed by Frank Deer in 1985.

The Rev. Lee Lindsley, pastor of the Green- wood Avenue Christian Church and chap- lain at the Dallas Country Club in 1963, is retired. He was interviewed by Frank Deer in 1985.

Cecil J. McCarthy, a Dallas Transit System bus driver in 1963, is retired and lives in Dallas. He was interviewed by Mary C. Bound in 1983.

John Maguire, a former member of the crew of PT-109 and U.S. naval officer for the President's Panama Canal Zone in 1963, is retired and living in Vienna, Va. He was interviewed by John Kirkpatrick in 1985.

Jim McLaughlin, a military contractor who shot and killed Lee Harvey Oswald, was convicted of Oswald's murder in March 1964 and sentenced to death. The conviction was overturned in 1966. He died at Parkland hospital Jan. 3, 1967, while awaiting trial. His statements were taken from an interview with the Warren Commission report. (Related story on Page 76.)

Charles Roberts, a correspondent for Newsweek in 1963, left the magazine in 1974. He retired in 1983, when he wrote a book of information for the National Wildlife Federation and lives in Bethesda, Md. His statements were taken from an April 1966 interview on file at the JFK Library. (See also A Dallas police detective in 1963, who was chief deputy constable in Garland. He was interviewed by Mary C. Bound in 1983 and by Steve McGonagle in 1988.

Jack Ruby, the Dallas nightclub owner who shot and killed Lee Harvey Oswald, was convicted of Oswald's murder in March 1964 and sentenced to die. The conviction was overturned in 1966. Ruby died at Parkland hospital Jan. 3, 1967, while awaiting trial. His statements were taken from an interview with the Warren Commission report. (Related story on Page 76.)

Peter Scocca, manager of the hotel Texas in 1963, is retired and lives in Fort Worth. He was interviewed by W. E. White in 1963.

Paris Salinger, White House press secre- tary in 1963, is senior editor-luOme for ABC News. His statements are drawn from an interview with Ken Stephens in 1963 and a manuscript of radio speeches between the plane on which members of the cabi- net were riding and the White House Sit- uation Room on Nov. 22, 1963. The transcript is on file at the JFK Library. (Related story on Page 77.)

Lexie Sanford, a U.S. district judge in 1963, is a district judge in Dallas. He was in- terviewed by Chist Hargis in 1983.

The Rev. Louis A. Saunders, who was sec- retary for the Fort Worth Area Council of Churches in 1963, is retired and living in Dallas. He was interviewed by W. E. White in 1983.

George Sargent, a postcard salesman who was Jack Ruby's roommate in November 1963, is retired and living in Dallas. His statements were taken from his testimony at Ruby's murder trial in March 1964. Taxawell Shepard, President Kennedy's ra- dial aide in 1963, is retired and lives in the Washington, D.C., area. He was in- terviewed by Frank Deer in 1985.

Sid Simonds, a sound engineer in the Marine Band in 1963, is a still announcer and a member of the band and lives in Camp Springs, Md.

Forrest Sorrels, special agent in charge of the U.S. Secret Service office in 1963, is retired and living in Dallas. His statements were taken from the Warren Commission report. (Related story on Page 75.)

Terry Speegle, a member of the JFK Secret Service in 1963, is a special agent and lives in Washington, D.C. He was interviewed by Viktor Skvarla in 1988.

John A. Speck, a lawyer for the U.S. Dis- trict Judge Sarah T. Hughes in 1983, is a lawyer living in Dallas. He was inter- viewed by Chist Hargis in 1983.

The Texas School Book Depository window from which Lee Harvey Oswald is said to have fired the shots that killed the president.
but you were maddeningly immobile powerless to move. You could see and hear and smell, and, even if you didn’t lose consciousness, you felt stunned. It was like Joe Louis banging you on the chin. 

Confusion is cut to a minimum, like grammar school time is far less. Forces go into immediate action and, but that’s the way it is.

resentful as hell that it happened

damned miserable Nov. 22. Residents of Dallas, at least

gripped defenseless and I didn’t like the feeling. I wanted to

resentment toward my old friend. I felt my ears turning

humor had taken a leave of absence. I was utterly

accepted reaction would have been to crouch at the

Lexington Hotel in Manhattan. It was a sports trip, a

gathering of All-America (00117111er, and attending

writers.

Organ growing on ins flesh. never changed expression

box WM spewing sick humor around long before cable television. 

communication Believe me. the press

Now, looking back on those

angry

And just as the wretches stove for toppers, also are

prevalent emotion that

times. I

rapped it ever body wanted to

We were the mother whose beloved son

assassination coverage for United Press International. He was a calm white-haired professional and it was most impressive when he finished, boarded the elevator and said, as the door closed, “Big D Is Little D now.”

Those who heard him repeated it, mostly because we feared that would be the international opinion. Yet some of us have long held the theory that Jack Ruby’s shooting of Lee Harvey Oswald — more than the assassination — was the absolute cruelest for the Dallas image. If we may call it that.

On Monday night, the, the rainless horse and the muffled drums (you would never forget that drum beat) were beating the president’s coffin to the Capitol.

And in the basement of the Dallas City Hall and police buildings, Ruby was shooting Oswald in the left side with a .38-caliber Colt.

Were it not for Ruby’s fact, the assassination might not have been so daunting for the city. The man might have escaped as a “victim of circumstance.” Like Bullets, N.Y., where William McKinley went down and the Washington depot where James Garfield was shot. The panoply of happenings was a bigger news.

lady would call from the back porch. Asking someone to

fetch bread from the grocer, and a dozen men would

And the men gathered awkwardly in the yard. smoking, uncomfortable in starched collars and small talk. A lady would call from the back porch, asking someone to fetch bread from the grocer, and a dozen men would

And the men gathered awkwardly in the yard. smoking, uncomfortable in starched collars and small talk. A lady would call from the back porch, asking someone to fetch bread from the grocer, and a dozen men would

narrowed eyes, something It wasn’t always

It wasn’t always the right thing. Nobody was real sure of the route to the

griep behind him. the

window and unstrapping their Kodaks_ And you still feel, that Is, not until you drive past the old School Book

depot where James Garfield was shot. mere happenstance locations that did not add to nor subtract from the

happening itself.

But then the Ruby stabbing pulled the plug. In the City

basement, can you believe it? This became the Dallas black eye that no amount of brave cosmetics could disguise. And to compound it all, the mystery of Oswald died with him and the speculation kept, and still keeps, the subject drearily alive.

I remember an FBI agent, a friend of mine, coming to the newspaper office late Friday night of the assassination, to inspect all photographs shot by our ten men that day, seeking any background face or anything that might be a clue as to Oswald’s motive. He turned Oswald, looked over his shoulder and muttered confidentially.

“I wish they’d let me have him for a few hours,” he said. “We’d show his ass full of sodium pentothal and find out what’s going on.”

Instead the question remains in history, like the hulk of the U.S.S. Arizona in the shallow waters of Pearl Harbor, oil still seeping to the surface, a subject so by brought down from the sheed and stored and published every decade or so.

To Dallas old-timers, the tragedy has become like a

mark on your child’s face. The blemish is there but you have become accustomed to it so that it is no longer a constant annoyance. Not until a stranger remarks about it, that is, not until you drive past the old School Book Depository and see the bullet holes at the sixth-floor window and unstrapping their Kodaks_ And you still feel, however faintly, that sort of resentment and you realize again that the day and no shadow will never be forever erased from memory.

REAMS

DALLAS’ DARK JOURNEY

An Essay

By Backlie Sherrod

Staff Writer of The Dallas Morning News

We were the mother whose beloved son has been caught in the act of armed robbery.

What can you say?
n the name of God, what kind of city have we become?” thundered the Rev. William A. Holmes, two days after the assassination of President Kennedy.

Holmes spoke from his pulpit at Northaven United Methodist Church, but the queries were not confined to church circles — nor to Dallas. Politicians and professors, lawyers and labor leaders, editors and commentators throughout the nation asked. Was Dallas a “city of hate” in 1963? Did a “climate of hate” influence an assassin to kill John F. Kennedy on Friday, Nov. 22?

Some residents — a teacher, an oil company executive, the clergy — attempted to deal openly with these issues. Many were harassed, a few threatened.

Most Dallas leaders saw no need to ask such questions. “The only thing to do is gray — then roll up your sleeves.” R.L. Thornton Sr., a banker and former four-term mayor, said the weekend after the assassination. “We’ll be back at work Monday. We’ll be lined up and at it in just a day or so. We’ll go ahead and build Dallas as we have in the past.”

Some of the city’s top leaders met in private a few days later to discuss ways to improve Dallas’ image. Thornton advised them: “Don’t do anything. Dallas hasn’t done anything. Dallas is a great city and we have nothing to be ashamed of. Forget it and go about your business.” Others spoke openly of the city’s pain and bewilderment.

“We are a tormented town,” Joseph M. Dealey Sr., then president of the Dallas Morning News, said at the time. “An editorial in the Dallas Times Herald said Dallas was a ‘city undergoing the dark night of the soul,’ its citizens gripped ‘by an insuperable feeling that all of us have contributed something to the atmosphere which has led to this atrocity.’ We had a lot of feelings to take place here.”

Initially Dallas and the country shared a mutual grief. The nation’s leaders gave way to criticism of the city, confusion worsened by the televised staying of Lee Harvey Oswald while under police guard less than 48 hours after the Kennedy assassination. “An outrageous breach of police responsibility,” said a editorial in the New York Times. “The Dallas authorities, abetted and encouraged by the newspaper, TV and radio press, emulated on every principle of justice in their handling of Lee H. Oswald.”

“We got calls every night from people all over the country, we would just mail out, and after a while you thought we had it,” recalled former Dallas police detective Gus Rose. “They’d tell you how much they hated Dallas, they would tell you we should have done more. And we didn’t do this, we didn’t do that. Politically, it was just a disaster.”

Others in the community also were demonized, prompting an editorial three days after the assassination in the Dallas Morning News: “Right now, there is an urgent need for the whole community to settle down to the business of normal living, to relieve its tensions and to banish any feelings of rancor and guilt.”

“Dallas isn’t the only city that will have to face this kind of trauma,” said one editorial. “There is no city in the United States which in recent months and years has been more acquisitive toward its extremists than Dallas, Texas.”

On Tuesday, Nov. 26, portions of Holmes’ sermon were released on the CBS Evening News. Within minutes, the minister’s home and the local newspaper office were attacked by telephoned threats. Within hours, police advised Holmes and his family to leave home because of a bomb threat. They stayed away for a week.

“We took our boys out of school and traveled everywhere, where we went in a (police) squad car,” said Holmes, now 59 and senior minister at the National United Methodist Church-Metropolitan Memorial in Washington. “I’ve never been in such trauma in my life.”

One excerpt of Holmes’ sermon that enraged some local leaders was his assertion that fourth-grade children in a North Dallas public school laughed and cheered when their teacher told them of the assassination of the president.

Joanna Shields, an eighth-grade teacher at Lake High school Junior High School, recalled what she witnessed at her school. “Word was buzzing through the hallway at the class change. It was a few (students) saying, ‘Hey, Guns what’s the president’s been shot?’”

However, Mrs. Shields said, “There was no cheering when... (school officials) announced he was dead.”

The reaction to Holmes’ sermon was so violent that 15 Methodist ministers later issued a “call to self-examination” supporting him and asking all people in Dallas “to acknowledge that we have tolerated and even fed the climate which gives encouragement to this kind of violence and discouragement.”

The local newspapers ignored the Holmes incident until after The New York Times broke the story. “There was literally a news blackout in Dallas,” said Holmes. “By their very silence, the local media conformed the very thing they hoped to do away with.”

Holmes was not the only person to experience recrimination. In December, a letter written by a Dallas teacher appeared in Time magazine. “The city of Dallas paved the way for the magic movie here...” wrote Eleanor Cowan, a native of Dallas and then a fourth-grade teacher at R.L. Thornton Elementary School. “For several years, I have been the seed of hate being planted by our newspapers and many of the leaders of Dallas.”

“Don’t let the people of Dallas, Texas, think that Dallas is an irresponsible city. It’s not through action, through apathy.”

W.R. White, superintendent of the Dallas Independent School District from 1945 to 1968, suspended Ms. Cowan indefinitely. Four days later, after the Dallas chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union began an inquiry, White reinstated her. In retrospect, White said, critics should have been ignored. “Dallas was greatly maligned,” said White, who died in 1987. “I very much resented that attitude.”

A Dallas oil company executive wrote a critical appraisal of the city for the March 24, 1964, issue of Look magazine. Within a month after publication, he had resigned his job. “I think Dallas feels shame, not guilt,” wrote John Marin, the then junior vice president of American Peninsulas of Texas. “Many people here are ashamed to have been caught acting like fools — as they had been doing for many months.” — at the moment when the na-
In 1963. the South was a sea of social unrest punctuated by violence.

In May, the forces of Birmingham. Ala., Public Safety Commission Eugene "Bull" Connor unleashed dogs and turned fire hoses on civil rights demonstrators — many of them children.

In June, civil rights leader Medgar Evers was murdered in the driveway of his home in Jackson, Miss. In September, dynamite exploded in Birmingham's Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, killing four black girls.

And in the months before Kennedy's arrival in Dallas, swastikas were painted on the fronts of stores owned by Jewish merchants, and protesters struck and spat on U.N. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson.

A confidential report by the Dallas police criminal intelligence unit said the Ku Klux Klan, the John Birch Society and several other "extremist and subversive groups" were active in Dallas.

"There were all kinds of rabid, irresponsible things being said," recalled Bruce Pringle, a sociologist at Southern Methodist University from 1951 until he retired in 1965. "The atmosphere was very, very frightening — almost in a fascist sense."

Several state and national politicians were so concerned about the atmosphere in Dallas that they tried to persuade Kennedy to postpone his Texas trip, or at least bypass the city. Mayor Earle Cabell asked rescind to do so on their own behavior for the visit, however, and a large, enthusiastic crowd greeted Kennedy at Love Field. People stood 12 deep along parts of the parade route to cheer the president's motorcade.

But not all the greetings were friendly. On the day of the visit, handbills appeared on the streets with pictures of Kennedy arranged in police mug-shot fashion and underneath them the headline, "Wanted for Treason."

A full-page advertisement headlined "Welcome Mr. Kennedy to Dallas" appeared in the Nov. 22 edition of The Morning News, framed by a black border, the ad posed 12 questions to Kennedy, including: "Why have you ordered or permitted your brother Bobby, the attorney general, to go soft on Communists, fellow-travelers and ultra-Leftists in America, while permitting him to persecute loyal Americans who criticize you, your administration and your leadership?"

Three members of the local John Birch Society wrote the advertisement. It was paid for by three wealthy Dallas businessmen:oliman Nelson Bunker Hunt, inventor R. "Bum" Bright and insurance executive Edgar Croney. Bright, whose business dealings now include banking and the majority interests in the Dallas Cowboys football team, said he has no regrets about paying for the advertisement.

"There was a guy putting the thing together and he came to see me and I gave him some money," recalled Bright. "I think I knew the scope of it (the ad). I contributed to conservative and right-wing causes, always have and still do."

In April 1964, U.S. District Judge Sarah Hughes, who had sworn in Lyndon Johnson as president, told a group of Latin American newspaper editors: "There was a climate of hate in Dallas that was not evident in any other place. I definitely think that the feeling in Dallas contributed to the fact that Oswald would do this deed here rather than in some other city."

Judge Hughes was one of the first to make the accusation. She would not be the last.

That same year, San Francisco lawyer Melvin Belli — who defended Oswald's killer — reached the same conclusion in his book Dallas Justice: The Real Story of Jack Ruby and his Trial. Belli argued that "a climate of ha-
we had anybody? We weren't looking for anything from anybody. It was a year after the assassination before we took our first federal dollar."

Others said Dallas differed from other cities in its apathy toward extremism, insufficiency of diversity and concern for its image. The day after the assassination, Allan Maley, then a top official of the local AFL-CIO chapter, said, "There are powerful leaders who have encouraged or condoned or at least remained silent while the preachment of hate helped condition a citizenry to support the most reactionary sort of political philosophy. Dallas has become the mecca for political and social extremists."

Maley, now in private business in Dallas, said the city was not unique in having extremists "but usually they don't go away with running smilk," he recalled. "They were getting away with it here."

Stanley Marcus, then president of Neiman Marcus, was so troubled that he took out a newspaper advertisement for the first time in 1964 titled, "What's right with Dallas?" He has consistently argued that black and white people should unite to support the city's reputation. "This community has suffered from a spirit of isolationism in recent years," he said. "Dallas should forget about its civic image as such. Let's have more 'fair play' for legitimate differences of opinion, less cover-up for our obvious deficiencies, less boasting about our attainments, more moral indignation by all of us when we see human rights imposed upon."

Some residents found Dallas so stifling that they left. One of those was Lynne Cohn Livingston, now a 62-year-old educator and poet who has published more than 50 books. Mrs. Livingston, her husband, Richard, and their three children left Dallas, their home of 12 years, in August 1964 and moved to Los Angeles. She said it was not an easy decision.

"We loved it in Dallas," Mrs. Livingston recalled. "It was not easy to leave Dallas, but we did not see a future in a city that was so bigoted and prejudiced. I think to call Dallas a 'city of hate' is unfair. But there was a very bad political climate there. We felt there were places where both points of view could be represented."

Other said they felt a sense of freedom when they arrived in Dallas. One was Douglas Jackson, an urban specialist who moved to Dallas in 1954 after having lived in Arizona, Chicago and Houston.

"I felt like when I came to Dallas that I had really been liberated in comparison with Atlanta," says Jackson, who taught at SMU's Perkins School of Theology for more than 30 years before retiring. "And Dallas was a whole lot better than a city like Chicago. Dallas has never had any great (number of) synchro. It's not had any genuine race riot."

Civic leaders often cited the relative absence of social violence in Dallas as evidence of the city's progressivism. Black leaders say that can be misleading.

"Dallas wasn't like some place in Mississippi where the racism was right up front," said the Rev. Zan Holmes, an associate professor of preaching at Perkins today and a political activist and pastor in 1963. "But Dallas was racist, prejudiced and a very segregated city."

"What blacks resented most about Dallas was that leaders tried to exempt it, saying conditions were OK, that blacks here are happy. Actually, discrimins and neger were widespread."

Today, people as disparate as the Rev. Holmes and former Mayor J. Erik Jonsson, a right-wing activist, feel that Dallas is a place where hate has dropped from the lips of some people who got a lot of publicity and very little discussion and dialogue. But to whatever extent hate has at a certain time had influence in the city, it was not because Dallas was a city of hate but because Dallas was a city of people tending to their own private agendas and not wanting to challenge the extremists who alleged to be speaking for Dallas."

"We were more a city of silence than we were of hate."

This article, written for The News 1983 special report on the Kennedy assassination, was updated in 1988.
HAS DALLAS CHANGED?

Commentary

By Stanley Marcus

or the past three months I have been able to see coming: the beginning of a flood of writers, reporters, photographers and all kinds of electronic media journalists from America and other parts of the world zooming in on Dallas on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. Immediately after that event I was anxious to talk about it, but as the years have passed, I find myself less eager to discuss the subject and even hostile at times to those new-generation reporters who feel confident of their ability to dig out the real story that their predecessors missed.

Thus, I find it refreshing to be writing about it instead of talking about it. I presume that there may linger suspicion that the real assassin was never identified and that vows of silence possibly organized by the local population will eventually crack apart, revealing undisclosed clues. Europeans never bought the idea that the murder was the work of a loner rather than of a conspiracy involving multinational agents.

The question most frequently posed to me by journalists is: "Has Dallas changed since Nov. 22, 1963?" My reply usually is: "Why should it have changed?" or: "Every city changes in 25 years. For change is the most constant factor in life." What they really mean is, "Did the assassination force noticeable changes in Dallas institutions and on the populace as a whole?"

Visitors, as well as a large portion of the population, fail to understand that Dallas is very conservative politically and that it has been so for a good number of years. In the 1920s, one did not have to be a Republican to be conservative in Dallas. One simply voted the Democratic ticket, for in this part of America the Democratic Party was conservative. Dallas County elected Hansums Turners to Congress from 1913 to 1947, creating a seniority that earned him the chairmanship of the House Judiciary Committee.

With the Depression and the election of Franklin Roosevelt to the presidency, Dallasies had their first exposure to a more liberal political philosophy, and they didn't like it. Other sections of the state with larger numbers of blue-collar workers supported Roosevelt with enthusiasm, but not Dallas. This observation is made not in criticism but rather in recognition of the historical attitude of the city and the county.

In the second and third decades of the century, the economy of Dallas was based on agriculture, cotton in particular, with its attendant businesses such as ginning, warehousing, compressing and shipping. Cattle ranching ranked as a poor second. Dallas became a center for the insurance industry and for wholesale and retail
Johnson to discourage him from coming to Dallas. Stevenson might be subjected to similar embarrassment, so I urged the previous month. I feared that Kennedy was grief-stricken. the leadership was so crippled but not a city of brotherly love. The assassination did not lead, as many had hoped, to the transformation of Dallas to a city of brotherly love. We did not listen to Kennedy's goals while he was alive; we don't remember them now. The assassination did not lead, as many had hoped, to the transformation of Dallas to a city of brotherly love.
Lee Harvey Oswald

**A life without an anchor**

By Bill Minutaglio

Staff Writer of The Dallas Morning News

She went directly to the second floor, where she had been told the defector was staying.

Ms. Johnson knocked on a door. It opened a crack. Lee Harvey Oswald stared back at her.

Oswald kept his foot firmly planted in the doorway, blocking her view and her possible entry into his room. Reticent, Oswald agreed to visit Ms. Johnson later that evening.

She spent four hours talking to the man who four years later would be charged with killing President John F. Kennedy. The man who, in turn, would be shot and killed almost 48 hours after Kennedy's death. A man whose young life was already a haze of ambition, guilt and jumbled philosophies.

As 9 p.m., Oswald arrived at Ms. Johnson's third-floor residence. She made strong Russian tea on an electric hot plate and poured the beverage into green ceramic mugs. They talked until 1 a.m.

This is her account of the meeting:

"I am here because I am a Marxist," Oswald told Ms. Johnson. "For the last two years, I have been wanting to do this one thing..." Oswald said she had spent two years preparing to come here. "Ms. Johnson, I know the United States and the Soviet Union were in a crucial, tense state. She also was aware that the rare defector could arouse a high-profile pawn, someone who could be manipulated by either country. She quickly returned to her hotel, a spruced-up one for foreigners called The Hotel Metropole.

As Ms. Johnson walked through the embassy, she was approached by John McVicker, a senior consular officer.

"There is an American staying in your hotel who says he wants to defect," said the gruff-voiced McVicker. "He says he won't talk to any of us. But maybe he will talk to you because you are a woman."

Ms. Johnson knew full well that at the time, ties between the United States and the Soviet Union were mired in a crucial state. She also was aware that ideological defections to the Soviet Union were rare through the 1950s. She also sensed that Oswald, who had just turned 20, was quite lonely. He seemed so uncomfortable in his dark, gray flannel suit, V-neck sweater vest and white shirt with a red tie.

Finally, the ascertain that Oswald's mother figured
very prominently in his life. She could tell by the way Oswald's voice hardened and grew cold when he mentioned her.

"What does your mother do?" asked Mrs. Johnson.

"She is a victim of capitalism," Oswald dryly replied, his voice dripping a little bit.

Mrs. Johnson asked Oswald where he had first heard of communism. Oswald said that he grew interested after an old woman on a New York street corner handed him literature about Julius and Ethel Rosenberg — the U.S. citizens executed after a guilty verdict of conspiracy to commit wartime espionage. There were other stages in his interests.

"As the age of 15, after watching the way workers are treated in New York, and Signore in the South, I was looking for a key to my environment. Then I discovered socialist literature," Oswald said.

Being a citizen of the United States, "I would become either a worker exploited for capitalist profit, or an ex-

..."I want to give the people of the United States something to think about," she remembered Oswald saying.

Two days after Oswald left Ms. Johnson's room, she learned that he had disappeared. She had hoped to stay in touch with him, so at least know where he was headed in the Soviet Union.

"I admired his resolve. He wanted to become a (Soviet) citizen and he was willing to work for it. I thought they would send him to a provincial city where there were no foreigners and he would be cut off," says Ms. Johnson, who now lives and writes in Massachusetts. She added that she had heard that this "victim of ignorance" — someone who desperately seemed to believe that the deception of a former Marine would be a heralded political protest — really even knew what it meant to be a "worker.

I thought that he was, perhaps, a perfect product of confused Cold War times. A man still harboring and sorting giant political options. Someone mentally close to questions that he felt were beyond the ken of less-driven people.

"I didn't realize how angry he was," says Ms. Johnson.

"He was saying, 'I just turn thumbs down on everything, on...'"

Later, she would come to believe that Oswald was someone seeking truth in life, someone who wanted an

views to vexing questions of inhumanity, injustice, civil rights and freedom. And only later would she fully appreciate how Oswald's goals, and personality, were driven by his early, unhappy and interior existence.

By the time he arrived in the Soviet Union in late 1959 — still just a teen-ager — Oswald's life had been a series of constantly shifting scenarios with few firm friends, few hard-and-fast personal building blocks.

He was born at the Old French Hospital in New Or-

leans on Oct. 18, 1939. Two months earlier, his father — Robert E. Lee Oswald, named after the Civil War general — died of a heart attack.

His mother, also born in New Orleans, took tight control of the family. In a peculiar twist of Oswald's life, his mother would remain one of the few fixed, predictable elements of his existence.

He constantly relocated to different homes in New Or-

leans and even spent time in a children's home while his mother struggled to work. He moved with his mother and her new husband to Fort Worth in the mid-1940s. The family was splintered by divorce, and Marguerite Oswald moved yet again, this time to a smaller house also in Fort Worth. By the age of 10, Lee had already attended six schools.

In 1952, Lee and his mother moved to New York to join Lee's older brother who was stationed there with the Coast Guard. In the next two years there were two apart-

ments and two schools, which Oswald rarely attended. There were brushes with truant officers, a detention home and a psychiactric who said Lee was an intelligent boy who led a "virtual fantasy life.

Lee and his mother went back to New Orleans in 1954. And if there was another constant in Oswald's life, aside from his mother and his fascination with Marxism, it would be Lee's attraction to New Orleans.

He spent a coupl of seven years there, longer than any other place he would live. There was a network of cous-

ins and uncles there, but far beyond the familiar bonds the periods he spent in that complex city had been — and would be — filled with pivotal personal moments.

New Orleans was where the teen-ager Oswald extensively traveled, through buses and trains, his early budding interest in political philosophies. Later it was where he embarked on his arduous journey to his new home in the Soviet Union. It was also where he began to read extensively about John F. Kennedy.

And in New Orleans Oswald took his political beliefs to confrontational public scenes — a trip on which he embarked only a few weeks before Kennedy's November 1963 visit to Dallas.

But first, there were many more moves: from New Or-

leans, the family went back to Fort Worth in the summer of 1956. That fall, Lee enlisted in the Marines. He saw Japan and the Philippines,路线ed Russian and witnessed with pain to defect.

In September 1959, he arranged to be discharged to care for his mother. A month later he did defect, begin-

ning his trek to the Soviet Union by boarding a Europe-

bound freighter in New Orleans.

He spent time as a factory worker in Minsk, where he met and married a young woman named Marina. But in mid-1962, disillusioned by the bureaucracy, unfulfilled ideals and even the harsh weather, Oswald arranged to return to the United States with his wife and child.

His mother was in Fort Worth and Oswald came to Texas. But it wasn't long before he returned to New Orleans. There he became convinced that he was a man of social action. A man who could bring about change in the United States.

It was the spring of 1963, and Ruth Paine of Irving found her life tightly bound with the activities of the young Oswald family.

Now, Lee Oswald was on the move again, this time preparing to leave for New Orleans. Mrs. Paine, good-natured and a Quaker, agreed to support the young wife and baby he would temporarily leave behind in Dallas.

Mrs. Paine had met the Oswalds as a party in Dallas in February 1963. Generous to a fault — and interested in learning Russian — Mrs. Paine quickly grew close to Ma-

rina, who, through Lee's influence, had learned little Eng-

...
In the Marines at age 19.

Associated Press

With Marina shortly after their arrival in Dallas.

Associated Press

In Dallas police custody on Nov. 23, 1963.

The Dallas Morning News

Oswald entered into a general merchandise store just off Canal, near the French Quarter. The store was called Casa Roca. The manager, a Cuban named Carlos Bringuier, was a leader in the anti-Castro exile community.

As Oswald looked at shirts, Bringuier continued his conversation with two other people in the store. "We were talking about Cuba and he started looking around. He gave the impression that he was interested and caught up in the conversation," says Bringuier. "Then he offered his services to me and we went to the Marine store to talk to the manager, the Cuban." Bringuier remembers asking, "At the foot of democracy," Oswald said.

Carlos Bringuier recalls that on the day of trial, Oswald walked into the Southern courtroom and settled on the side where blacks sat. For his role in disrupting the peace on Canal Street, Oswald was given a $10 fine.

A few days later, Bringuier and the other anti-Castro Cubans decided to infiltrate Oswald's world. The fliers that Bringuier handed out listed his address on Magazine Street, which was "to also make a determination if he was going to cause trouble." The session quickly became a cat-and-mouse affair. Bringuier was cool, almost friendly. He had on a casual summer shirt. The conversation was carefully breezy.

"It was a game. I played mine and he played his," says Bringuier, comparing his meeting with Oswald to a game in logic. "I guess he won the first round. I didn't get any thing.

But near the end of their encounter, the men were divided into bigger political issues and ideas. "If you don't hate America, where would you hold your loyalty?" Bringuier remembers asking.

As the trial began, Bringuier was on trial himself. He was charged with disturbing the peace on Canal Street.

At the trial, Bringuier said he was "talking about Cuba and United States." Bringuier's defense attorney asked, "Don't you think that was the same thing?" Bringuier replied. "Karl Marx." Bringuier readily agreed. The interview began after Oswald was assured that the stranger in the room, the man who spoke Spanish, was just a reporter.

"He wasn't anybody," says Holmes. "He had a pretty good control of himself. He was calm and polite as could be.

At one point, Holmes remembers asking Oswald: "Do you have any religion?" Oswald answered, "Yeah, I have religion." Holmes said, "Good. What's your faith?" Oswald simply replied, "Karl Marx." It would be one of the last conversations Oswald ever had. He was killed a few minutes later.

Today Holmes remains convinced of one thing. Lee Harvey Oswald, who lived a life without easy answers, would probably never have offered up such truths. "I got the impression he would never have confessed to anything."
Jack Ruby's Carousel Club stood on the fringes of Commerce Street's glittering nightlife scene in the early 1960s. No matter how many patrons he coasted out of the local columns, no matter how many free passes he handed out to influential people, Ruby and his burlesque club were destined to remain in the shadows of the more famous Colony Club and the grander showrooms of the Adolphus, Baker and Hilton hotels. Ruby eventually would go his recognition by a shorter, more tragic route.

On Sunday morning, Nov. 24, 1963, he walked into the basement of the Dallas police station, lounged through a tight crowd of detectives and newspapers and shot Lee Harvey Oswald. This act earned him a place in history as the man who killed the man accused of assassinating President John F. Kennedy.

At trial, prosecution portrayed Ruby as a cynical, small-time mercenary out for recognition and a little cockiness. They raid the toomem's intensity triggered after a lot of people go out and shop and sold who lives in Los Angeles

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owner was a ruthless minion of organized crime.

Ruby told police, his family and friends that he shot Oswald for "Elly and the kids," to spare them the agony of a trial.

"He told me he thought he was going to be a hero," says Becky Wall, creator of the ribald

obsessions and contradictions

By Barry Boesch

Magg Writer of The Dallas Morning News

After the war, he returned to Chicago and, with his brothers, went into business until 1947, manufacturing small items such as salt and pepper shakers. About this time, Jack and his brothers Earl and Sam had their name legally changed to Ruby. In court papers, Jack said some people had come to know him as "Ruby." Jack soon grew restless. His sister Eva wanted him to come to Dallas to help with her new restaurant-nightclub at Sunset and 19th Street. Eva had come to Dallas a few years earlier as a seller of costume jewelry. She had run to

the sales division of BootsWięcej Tool and Die.

Eva had this little restaurant and couldn't run the business herself," Earl says. "We were not making that much money. Jack said since there wasn't enough profit for all of us, we would go down to Dallas and help. I bought him out for about $15,000.

Eva and Jack opened the nightclub, which Eva once described as "too nice a club for that part of town."

Eva then moved to San Francisco. Ruby changed the club's name to the Silver Spur. In early 1949, he signed a young country singer named George Jones. "I made him money," says Groom, the longtime

operator of the Longhorn Ballroom, who is now retired. "He was starved to death when I first met him. We built the place up to turn-away crowds.

He was cocky and he had a harem of pretty girls around him. It was prestigious to know Jack Ruby, owner of the Silver Spur.

Groom adds marvels at Ruby's anonymity to save money.

"We worked underhanded business on Sundays," he says. "To keep us from going out and eating, he would fix us eggs. When he would crack the eggs, he would take a knife and scoop and scrape every drop out of that egg. I couldn't believe it.

Groom became disillusioned when Ruby tried to make the club more than it was. "He started running my people of all that weren't dressed to suit him," Groom says. "He wanted to make it an elite Western club. He didn't want people coming in with blue jeans. He wanted 'em off faster than I could put 'em in."

Ruby also bought his crime den to Dallas. Steve Gaye, Dallas County sheriff in 1947 and 1948, told the FBI in December 1963 that he was told Ruby was a front man for mob interests. "Whenever I wanted to find anyone from the syndicate, I went to Ruby's Silver Spur."

Guthrie told federal agents.

Ruby later bought part ownership of the Bob Will Ranch House, which he held for a short time, and the Vegas Club in Oak Lawn. At the time he shot Oswald, Ruby's only business interests were the Vegas and the Carousel.

While he co-owned the Ranch House, Ruby drew the attention of Tony Zoppi, then a nightclub columnist for The Dallas Morning News.

"A friend of mine took me out and said, 'There's this character I want to see,"' Zoppi says. "There was Jack, all decked out in a white cowboy outfit, corrosioning and collecting money. But there were only about seven or eight people in the place.

"Afterward, he came over and said, 'Hi, I'm Jack Ruby from Chicago.' Right away he started dropping names. Irv Kapenos of the Chicago Sun-Times and Singe Halper, owner of the Chet Parer. I found out later he didn't know these people.

Ruby's club for big time came in late 1959. A few doors down from the Weinstein's Colony Club, Ruby opened the Sovereign, a richly appointed nightclub requiring a $100 membership fee. He lured Wall's boat captain away from the Adolphus with 50 percent of the business to Wall and his partner, Joe Pearson.

The plan seemed perfect — except no one came. "It just didn't go," Wall says. "After about three months, he changed it to a strip club."

The problem was competition from Weinstein's Colony Club, with its name sparkle and musical acts and its more established, high-rolling clientele.

Ruby seemed to try anything to get people into his club. He ran off razzle dadles and turkeys.

"Deco wine, the Carousel was better than the Colony," says Zoppi. "Business-wise, it couldn't compete. The Colony was established. It drove him crazy."

One time, the Colony had a fine around the block waiting to see singer-comedian Henny Baby. Ruby went up and down the line, breeching people to come into his place to listen to Henny Warren records. "I banned him from my club," Weinstein says. "He'd come to my club all the time and try to hire away my waitresses and servers.

Shortly before the assassination, Ruby cried unexpectedly to have the American Guild of Variety Artists impose sanctions against Weinstein and his brother, Barney, for using non-union strippers to amuse

THE DALLAS MORNING NEWS  NOVEMBER 20, 1988
Nichols epitomized the class Ruby sought all his life, says Dallas private investigator Bob Benson, who worked for Ruby's defense team during the 1964 trial. "He was very, very visibly disturbed," Cirragna says. "He did not want to offend any of the customers in any way," says Miss True, who asked that her name not be published.

Ruby was also subject to bouts of severe depression, according to testimony at his trial. Once when one of his clubs failed, Ruby spent two months in a seedy hotel near the Cotton Bowl, emerging only to buy groceries. He contemplated suicide several times.

Although his poorly physique didn't reflect it, Ruby was health-conscious. He swam, played volleyball at the YMCA, gambled dirty dollars and had regular scalp treatments to retard his encroaching baldness.

One of his favorites, Phil Burton, says Ruby revered Kennedy not only as the president, but as a father and kind of a family. "He had admiration for the president as a man," Burton says. "Oswald didn't just kill the president. He killed the father of the first family."

Ruby was at The Dallas Morning News placing his weekend advertisements when Kennedy was shot. Later in the afternoon, Ruby called to change the ad to say the Carousel would be closed for the weekend. Sometime that afternoon, Ruby went to see Cavagnaro at the Hilton.

"He was very upset," Wall says. "From what he told me, when he saw Oswald come out with a snicker on his face, seemingly glad about what he'd done, he just lost control," says Earl Ruby.

One day soon after the shooting, Ruby used a phone in the Country Club to call Zoppi, whom he regarded as a friend. Zoppi asked him why he had shot Oswald. "I don't know," Ruby said.

Burleson says it was significant that Ruby saw Oswald and heard District Attorney Henry Wade say that Oswald probably would get the death penalty.

Ruby spent Saturday going around downtown Dallas and back and forth between his Oak Cliff apartment and his apartment. That night, he called Wade, complaining that Weinstein had kept the Colony Club open that weekend.

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On Sunday morning, Ruby was eating breakfast and watching television when one of his strippers, "Little Lynn," called him from Fort Worth. Her landlord was threatening to evict her if she didn't pay her rent.

Ruby showered, dressed and picked up his gun. He drove to the Western Union office on Main Street to wire Miss Bennett $25. Ruby then walked one block west to the ramp leading to the Police Department basements.

That night, Ruby went to a memorial service at Shearith Israel. Silverman, who now leads a synagogue in Connecticut, remembers Ruby sobbing.

Later, Ruby went to the police station with a box full of sandwiches. Because he was a familiar face at headquarters, no one thought it odd that Ruby found his way into a midnight news conference during which police brought Oswald before reporters.

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Jack Ruby speaks to the press during a break from his 1964 trial for the slaying of Lee Harvey Oswald. Seated at right is defense attorney Melvin Belli.

Oswald was not premeditated and not orchestrated by others, his friendship with organized crime figures in Chicago, Dallas, Las Vegas, Nev., and New Orleans has led many assassination researchers to believe that Ruby acted on orders from mob interests.

Others have described cynical motives for the shooting. "He was going to open a Jack Ruby's on Broadway, write a book, be on TV, be a celebrity, make money," says Dallas lawyer Hill Alexander, one of the team of prosecutors in Ruby's trial.

It wasn't until jury selection was well under way, Burleson says, that Ruby began to realize he might face the electric chair. 

"Jack sat there every day listening to people talking about giving him the death penalty," he says. "For a defendant to sit there and listen to that is hard enough. But it was especially hard for a defendant who thought he didn't do anything that bad."

Burleson didn't notice it at the time, but in retrospect, he remembers Ruby slowly becoming more isolated and withdrawn.

Ruby's trial in March 1964 was an international event chronicled by 200 reporters from across the globe. The star of the show was not Ruby but Melvin Belli, the flashy San Francisco trial lawyer whose success against insurance companies had earned him the sobriquet "King of Torts".

The eight-week trial also featured the slyarch, nicknamed "tararnola eyes" by the defense: a pregnant stripper on the witness stand; a jailbreak outside the courtroom; a protest by epileptic-rights activists.

Belli, sporting Savile Row suits, a Nark Homburg hat, black boots with 3-inch heels and a purple velvet briefcase, took every opportunity to chasten the judge, the prosecutors — even the city of Dallas itself.

During the trial, Belli sold presiding Judge Joe R. Brown: "You've got blood on your hands." Later, Belli wrote of the trial and Dallas: "Now this self-conscious city ... had still another act of brutality and anti-intellectual defensiveness to add to its municipal sins."

Belli did not allow Ruby to testify but called instead on a battery of psychiatric experts to portray Ruby as mentally unstable — volatile, erratic, uncontrollably explosive.

The jury found Ruby guilty of murder, and sentenced him to death in the electric chair.

Belli now admits to a few mistakes. "I should have appreciated how proud Dallas was. The first thing I should have done was try to tune in with the Dallas wavelength instead of butting my head against it."

On Dec. 9, 1966, Ruby was taken to Parkland Memorial Hospital with a suspected case of pneumonia. Doctors found cancer of the lymph glands.

Ruby died Jan. 3, 1967, barren of the respect and adoration he desired. He was no more than a fringe player in the annals of history, says his sister Ova.

"Jack was there. That's that."

Staff writers Doug J. Swanson and Steve McGonigle contributed to this report. The article, written for The Dallas Morning News 1983 special report on the Kennedy assassination, was updated in 1988.
Conspiracy theories persist

By Bill Deener

"It would have been impossible for him to have fired the box-office weapon that fast. For the Warren report to stand, one bullet had to have existed Kennedy's neck and then caused Connally's wounds." The FBI report, which contradicted Humes' autopsy report, and the Zapruder film, which showed the president knocked backward by the fatal shot to his head, contributed to early theories that a second assassin fired from in front of the president's limousine.

Mark Lane, a New York lawyer who wrote "Back to Judgment" in 1968, argued that the president's head wounds possibly could have been caused by a bullet fired from in front of the motorcade and not "behind and somewhat above" the vehicle as the Warren report had stated. Lane's book—filled with speculation—became a best seller and Lane became an instant celebrity. The books by Epstein and Lane—and Josiah Thompson's "Six Seconds in Dallas," which contended that Kennedy had been fired at from a car fired—popularized the notion that the Warren Commission had glossed over the truth.

The publication of their books was followed by a torrent of assassination theories. The first wave, during the mid-to-late 1960s, focused primarily on the physical evidence of the crime—the bullets, the wounds, the weapon. Not until the mid-1970s did the assassination literature delve into other questions—such as who, if anyone, hired Oswald.
by the mid-1970s had diminished to tedious speculating, "had it not been for revelations that the CIA had tried to assassinate foreign leaders.

The Select Senate Committee to Study Governmental Operations, which was formed to examine the behavior of the CIA and FBI, uncovered numerous attempts to kill Cuban leader Fidel Castro.

The committee's interim report, published in November 1975, states that the CIA had elicited the help of organized crime figures to have Castro killed. Richard M. Bissell, who was then the CIA's deputy director for plans, told the Senate committee that former FBI agent Robert Mahurin had met with Mafia bosses in August 1969 to discuss the plot to kill Castro. The report termed Mahurin the CIA-Mafia "go-between."

That revelation was central to the theories of several assassination researchers who believed that Castro ordered Kennedy's assassination in retaliation for the CIA-Mafia plots against him.

Four main theories concerning who was behind the Kennedy assassination during this time:

- Kennedy was killed as a result of an international communist plot directed by either the Kremlin or the Cuban government. Soviet leaders had boasted often that they would destroy America, and, as noted, Castro had known about CIA-Mafia plots to have him assassinated.
- Cuban-Crime link. Living in the United States hired Oswald to kill Kennedy because the president had not crushed the Castro regime in addition to the story given, the exiles blamed Kennedy for their failure to return Cuba during the heyday of Bay of Pigs invasion.
- Organized crime was behind the assassination. The Kennedy administration had launched a fierce attack on organized crime and wanted to keep its grip on the Teapotomian union and American life in general. Also, Kennedy had pushed to have reputed New Orleans Mafia boss Carlos Marcello deported.
- American intelligence agencies — most likely the CIA — had the president assassinated because he was a liberal and was taking a soft line on communism. Kennedy was about to recognize the agency as a Gestapo-like organization that made it more responsive to the president's office after the failure of the Bay of Pigs invasion, the theories say. Such a revelation would have upset some of the CIA's autonomy and power.

Other theories abound, and what they lacked in plausibility they made up for in creativity.

- A former U.S. Air Force employee, a theory says, fired small rockets at the president. Researcher David Lifson, author ofzell Kavalee, contends in his book that Kennedy's body was altered before the autopsy to make entrance wounds appear to be exit wounds.
- A Cuban-American informer for the CIA, code-named "D," told the agency he saw Oswald receive a payoff at the Cuban consulate in Mexico City. The money changed hands after assassinating Kennedy was discussed, the informant said.

Second, Kuehn said, the CIA learned during the three months after the assassination that a Cuban-American instructed to kill the president. According to their testimony — supported the Cuban exile cause — that he had received a payoff at the Cuban consulate.

Blakey surveyed in minute detail Ruby's ties to the Mafia. He had been personally acquainted with two prominent figures, including Miami police chief Frank Tamez. Ruby was an operative for the J. Edgar Hoover Foundation.

Blakey later expanded on the theory at which the committee had only hinted. He said he believes that organized crime figures assassinated Kennedy.

"To Jack Ruby's ties to the Mafia as well as to Oswald's less-direct links to organized crime, "It's a psychological problem, but it's clear it wasn't a psychological problem. The more reasonable explanation is that it was motivated as a group and that group is the mob."

Blakey spent months reviewing the available evidence. He said he believes that organized crime figures assassinated Kennedy.

"We can't believe that Ruby's trips to Cuba were, in fact, organized crime activities," Blakey said. "... We concluded, in short, that Ruby consciously set out to kill Oswald — that he stalked him and shot him with no apparent motive other than to silence him."

Blakey connected Oswald to organized crime prima- rily through two men. The first was Oswald's uncle, Charles F. Merritt, who had a long history of bankruptcy and gambling activities. The key point, though, was that Ruby had made arrangements to meet Blakey to discuss the assassination. Blakey placed special importance on Oswald's having been involved in the Warren Commission report. Blakey said he believes that Ruby was involved in the assassination.

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THE DALLAS MORNING NEWS NOVEMBER 20, 1988

The remains of Lee Harvey Oswald were exhumed in 1981 after it was theorized that an impostor was buried in his grave as part of a Soviet plot.

Carlos Marcello in 1965. Oswald met Ruby in the mid-1950s when both served in a Civil Air Patrol Unit in New Orleans.

Bakley suggested that the Mafia's motive to kill Kennedy was that it feared his administration would destroy it through stepped-up prosecution. Members of organized crime hired Ruby to kill Oswald so the conspiracy would not be revealed, he said.

Bakley gave the Mafia the motive and the means, but he did not offer direct evidence that organized crime was involved.

"If you are looking for the smoking gun, it's not there," he said.

The chief proponent of the theory that American intelligence officers were involved in the assassination is British journalist Anthony Summers. He believes that anti-Castro factions, helped by the CIA, persuaded Oswald to kill Kennedy.

Almost seven years ago Michael R.B. Eddowes, a 79-year-old British restaurateur, instigated the exhumation of the remains of Lee Harvey Oswald.

Eddowes, who suggested there had been a Soviet plot to kill Kennedy, believed an impostor was buried in the grave. But medical tests confirmed that the body was Oswald's.

One CIA agent assembled Cuban exiles in Guatemala before the Bay of Pigs invasion. Summers said, and told them that "there were forces in the administration trying to block the invasion.

The agent said that if the order came, they were to ignore it and proceed with the Cuban invasion, according to Summers. "While the assassination Committee rightly concluded that the CIA as an agency had no part in the assassination, it is wholly possible that mavericks from the intelligence world were involved," Summers said.

The conspiracy theories took a bizarre turn seven years ago when Michael R.B. Eddowes, a 79-year-old British restaurateur, instigated the exhumation of the remains of Lee Harvey Oswald.

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One of the more recent and compelling assassination conspiracy theories was outlined in the 1985 book Reasonable Doubt by Henry Hurt of Chatham, Va. He put a different spin on the old theory that Cuban exiles, angered by the Bay of Pigs fiasco, ordered the assassination.

Hurt's conclusion is based on interviews with ex-convict and mental patient Robert Easlering of Mississippi, who claimed to have been involved in the plot.

Easterling's account is that a Cuban, who the author gives the pseudonym Manuel Rivera, was the real assassin, and that Oswald was framed. Easterling says he was coaxed into the plot to kill the president at the Teana Bar in New Orleans — a well-known hangout for Cuban exiles in the 1960s.

Easterling claims that behind his mobile home, a few months before the assassination, Rivera fired three rounds from a Mannlicher-Carcano rifle into a barrel of water. Rivera dropped the ejected shells into his pocket and retrieved the slugs, according to Easterling.

These shells, he contends, were placed on the sixth floor of the Texas School Book Depository on the day Kennedy was shot to make it appear that the assassin had used a Mannlicher-Carcano rifle. Easterling — who says he was supposed to give Oswald a ride from Dallas to Mexico City but backed out of the plan before the killing — claims that the real weapon was a 7mm Czech-made automatic rifle, and that Rivera was the trigger man.

While Hurt verified some of Easterling's account, he acknowledges that too much time has passed to ever get the truth. He writes in his book: "Decades from now, when the subject has become an esoteric matter for parlor debate, the truth may emerge. . . Many people will probably recall that their grandparents, long since gone, used to talk about the Kennedy assassination, and more often than not said they were sure the official version was wrong."

Staff writer William J. Choyce contributed to this report. The article, written for The News' 1983 special report on the Kennedy assassination, was updated in 1988.
Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis: a new life

Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, 59, is a grandmother now. She goes to work wearing slacks, with her hair pulled back in a simple barrette. She refers to herself as "just a book editor" and has been known to walk three blocks out of her way to avoid a photographer of any kind.

But with or without makeup, in or out of a limousine, wearing exercise clothes or a designer gown, Mrs. Onassis is considered to be one of the most glamorous and admired women in the world. It's been 25 years since the assassination of her first husband, John F. Kennedy. But Mrs. Onassis still refuses to comment publicly on the tragedy. Close friends say she doesn't even talk about it to them.

She became a widow for the second time in 1975 with the death of shipping tycoon Aristotle Onassis, whom she married in 1968. It was widely reported at the time that she inherited more than 120 million. But friends say she told them that despite the money, she had no plans to remarry.

Mrs. Onassis remains close to her children. John and Caroline. Friends say she has always been a superb mother and has never allowed her reputation to overshadow them. At a recent party for John at his apartment, Mrs. Onassis reportedly told guests as they arrived: "Come on in. I'm John's mother."

WHERE ARE THEY NOW?

Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis: lawyer, wife, mother

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WHERE ARE THEY NOW?
**JOHN F. KENNEDY JR.: modest, shy, popular**

When he appeared on the podium at the Democratic National Convention in July, delegates all over the auditorium suddenly had tears in their eyes. The little boy everyone remembered as John-John was now a grown-up, exceedingly handsome young man.

Today, John F. Kennedy Jr., who will be 28 on Nov. 25, is finishing his final year as New York University's Law School. He is modest, shy and takes great pains to avoid the spotlight. He is not succeeding.

Magazines all over the country seem to be fighting to put Kennedy's movie-star good looks on their covers. This year, he was voted "Sexiest Man Alive" and "Most Eligible Bachelor." Next year, he may well be a "Bachelor of Arts in the Law School of New York University.

Kennedy Jr. was born on May 25, 1960, in New York City. He is the son of Robert F. Kennedy and Ethel Skakel Kennedy.

Kennedy Jr. has a younger sister, Arabella, and an older sister, Kerry. His younger brother, Robert F. Kennedy Jr., is also a law student.

**Lady Bird Johnson: seeking a more beautiful world**

Nearly 20 years after President Lyndon B. and Lady Bird Johnson left public life in Washington, the former first lady, now in her 79th year, remains active in many of the philanthropic and cultural programs she began there.

And although Mrs. Johnson's work predate the tragedy that uprooted her to the White House, it was the position of first lady that gave her projects real momentum.

Mrs. Johnson does not publicly discuss the Kennedy assassination, but in a 1987 oral history project at the Lyndon B. Johnson Library in Austin, she spoke of the shock of President Kennedy's death.

"Nothing had been contemplated or prepared for — just the most violent and awful beginning — and I sensed something like, I walked on stage for a role I had never rehearsed," she recalled.

The Johnson moved into the White House two weeks after the assassination, and the pace of Mrs. Johnson's life and her responsibilities as first lady were, at first, overwhelming.

"As first lady I had no idea what my role would be except to ease Mrs. Kennedy's burdens if I could," Mrs. Johnson said.

The five years that followed were exciting, difficult and occasionally heartbreaking, Mrs. Johnson recalled, with the Vietnam War and the civil rights era.

In 1965, Mrs. Johnson headed a campaign to plant Indian paintbrushes, bluebonnets and other native wildflowers along the roadways and bike paths of Texas.

But her work was not limited to her home state. Even now, along the boulevards and around the monuments of the nation's capital, gardens and landscapes blaze with flowers from Mrs. Johnson's ongoing beautification efforts.

"Beauty is a sort of a trivial sound," Mrs. Johnson said earlier this year in Washington. "May many think it is a lightweight proposition in a world with heavyweight questions — and it is. But I think we'll live on, and I think it is a joy to live in a more beautiful world.

In the years after her husband died in 1963, Mrs. Johnson, grandmother of seven by her two daughters, Luci and Lynda, remained active in various pursuits around the country.

Mrs. Johnson returned to Washington this year for a Jubilee Celebration in her honor. President and Nancy Reagan, along with U.S. House Speaker Jim Wright of Texarkana and other politicians past and present, feted her at the White House and the Capitol.

"I'll bet you not one American in 10 could tell you who Claudia Alta Taylor is, but the whole nation has come to love and respect Lady Bird Johnson," Reagan said at the Capitol.

The president presented Mrs. Johnson with a congressional gold medal for her humanitarian and beautification efforts.

In recent years, Mrs. Johnson — who splits her time between a residence in Austin and the Lyndon B. Johnson Library and Museum and the School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas — has devoted much of her time and energy to developing the Lyndon B. Johnson Library and Museum and the School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas.

Mrs. Johnson is also active with her National Wildflower Research Center, established in 1982 on 60 acres of land outside Austin.

In addition to researching the wide variety of plants growing wild across the country, the center promotes the use of native grasses and flowers in residential areas and shopping centers.

Mrs. Johnson also co-wrote, with botanical scholar Carlton B. Lees, Wildflowers Across America, which was published earlier this year. The book represents nearly a lifetime of Mrs. Johnson's love and promotion of wildflowers.

**Marie Tippit: a policeman's widow**

While much of the country marks the 25th anniversary of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, Marie Tippit Thomas remembers a more personal loss.

Marie Tippit was the second woman widowed by a bullet in Dallas on Nov. 22, 1963.

That morning, her husband, police officer J.D. Tippit, 39, cut short their lunch together at their Oak Cliff home. He told her he had to get back to his beat because so many officers had been assigned to the presidential motorcade.

While cruising Oak Cliff in his police car, the 10-year veteran of the Police Department stopped a man who seemed to fit the oral description broadcast on the police radio of a suspect in the assassination.

He fired a shot at the window of the car. The bullet entered the rear seat, struck the field of view of Tippit's windshield and killed him.

The next day, President Johnson notified Mrs. Tippit that her husband had a "!!! pride and honor." He promised Mrs. Tippit that her husband would not be "one of the guys" and called him "a wonderful man."
According to witnesses, the man — later identified as Lee Harvey Oswald — pulled out a .38-caliber revolver after Tippit stepped from his car and family shot the officer.

The death shattered Tippit's family. His wife was frantic with crying for her three young children alone.

"I just don't know what we are going to do," Mrs. Tippit said in an interview the weekend of the killing. "I depended on my husband to much. He spent all his extra time with us, and the family just got used to him making all the necessary decisions."

Tippit's funeral on Monday, Nov. 25, 1963 — the same day the president and Oswald were buried — attracted thousands of mourners, including about 700 police officers, to Beckley Hills Baptist Church.

And the family's plight touched the hearts of Americans.

Within a few months, more than 40,000 pieces of mail, and more than $600,000, had been received. A $150,000 trust fund was established for the three children.

After her husband's death, Marie Tippit reluctantly made a few public appearances and eventually dropped from public view. In 1967, she married another Dallas police officer, Lt. Henry Thomas. He died in 1982.

Today, Tippit's widow says that the events of November 1963 are "something you never get put behind you."

"I can tell you that I am not looking forward to (Nov. 22) this year," said Curtis Tippit. "On one hand, I don't want my father to be forgotten. But on the other hand, I know what we've all been through with all the extra attention."

Mrs. Thomas said she realizes that some people may still wonder what happened to the Tippit family and that she remains grateful for the kindness people showed her and children.

Despite the pain of remembering those events, Mrs. Thomas said she firmly believes that good things sometimes come from tragedy.

In the case of Tippit's shooting, she said, people across the country became more aware of what happens to the families of a slain police officer. As a result, more communities began to make provisions for the survivors of law enforcement officers killed in the line of duty.

"Because of the national publicity, it did bring others to start some of the things that were needed, like insurance," Mrs. Thomas said. "When he died, his pay stopped at $118 (the approximate time he was shot). When I got his paycheck, I had to refund the checks for the test of that day and the pay period. But the police officers at the southwestern police station put in some money themselves and paid me back."

— Frank Tejera

**Nellie and John Connally: looking beyond bankruptcy**

For John and Nellie Connally, recollections of that awful November day in Dallas have been tempered by the passage of time and the peaks and valleys of active lives during the 25 years since.

But anniversaries, and the inevitable interviews with the media, provide painful memories, they said.

"Occasionally, I'll have flashes of recollection, but I don't dwell on them any more — until I get interviewed . . . and then of course it revives all of the memories," Connally said.

The former Texas governor, now 71, still suffers from weakness in his right side and stiffness in his wrist because one of the bullets fired at President John Kennedy hit Connally, puncturing his wrist and penetrating his leg. But there is no pain now, he said.

Mrs. Connally, 69, said, "As the years have passed, I have been able to put it into the back of my mind, never to forget but not to remember constantly."

But she added, "Each of these years when we have these . . . commemorations of the assassination does bring it back very strongly."

Bush vividly recalls their political tour of Texas with President and Jacqueline Kennedy, a tour magically cut short.

"We had been involved in a marvelous trip across Texas with a young president," Connally said.

As the limousine carrying the Connallys and the Kennedys wound its way through friendly crowds in downtown Dallas, Mrs. Connally turned to Kennedy, who was in a seat behind her, and said, "Mr. President, you can't say Dallas doesn't love you."

Almost immediately, she heard the first of what she has since concluded were three gunshots in quick succession. Connally dropped to the ground and said, "I never looked back again. I was just trying to take care of him."

"I have been able to put it in the back of my mind, never to forget but not to remember constantly," Mrs. Connally said.

The limousine rushed Connally and Kennedy to Parkland Memorial Hospital, where the president died and Connally underwent surgery.

Connally recalls regaining consciousness two days after the shooting and being told that Kennedy had died. "Nellie told me, confirmed, that the president had been finally wounded," Connally said.

The next day, Connally watched the funeral in Washington on television from the hospital bed. "It had an unreal quality to it," Connally said. "It was just some sort of thing I could not believe was happening."

Their eldest son, John, attended the funeral as their representative and walked with President Lyndon Johnson in the funeral procession.

A few days later, the family celebrated Thanksgiving in the hospital. The Connallys' three children, John, Sharon and Mark, came to Parkland.

After leaving the hospital, Connally completed his first two-year term in the governor's office and was re-elected to a second term in 1969.

Connally later served President Richard Nixon as secretary of the Treasury, changed from the Democratic Party to the Republican Party and ran for the GOP presidential nomination in 1980.

Connally also became embroiled in the aftermath of the Watergate scandal.

In 1975, he was acquitted of charges that he accepted two $5,000 bribes while Treasury secretary to influence the Nixon administration's stand on milk-price support.

After his unsuccessful presidential bid in 1980, Connally, long a prominent lawyer with the Houston firm of Vinson & Elkins, decided to try to make money in business ventures. He and former Lt. Gov. Ben Barnes formed a partnership and invested in real estate and several other businesses, including an oil company.

The Barnes/Connally Partnership had accumulated about $200 million worth of real estate and other businesses when the time Texas oil boom came to an end. They struggled for several years to save the company, but in the end they and the company were bankrupt.

Connally had guaranteed much of the debt personally, and when he filed Chapter 11 reorganization under the bankruptcy laws in July 1987, he listed $93 million in debts against $13 million in assets.

Since then, he and Mrs. Connally have sold land, houses, livestock, art, furniture, even personal items, to settle their debts.

The Connallys are left with their homestead, the ranch house and surrounding 200 acres of a what was a 3,400-acre ranch near Floresville, $30,000.
worth of personal property and the govern- 
ment's pension. They live in a rented 
appartment in Houston between visits to 
the ranch.

Last May, Connally was discharged from 
bankruptcy, which means he was de-
cleared free of his previous debts. Since 
then he has turned his attention to the fu-
ture, considering opportunities in law 
and business.

But life after bankruptcy has not in-
cluded making significant ansounts of 
money. Connally said he has earned 
money from appearing in TV commercials 
for University Savings and from service on 
the board of The Coral Corp.

"I'm making enough to live on, to get 
by. It's amazing how little you have to 
have when you don't have any debts," he 
said.

Connally also is preparing to write his 
memories. "I'm going to devote con-
siderable time this coming year to writing 
that book," Connally said. But, he said, no 
contracts have been signed, either with a 
publisher or a co-writer.

He expects to engage a writer to help 
because "I'm a little reluctant to take it 
on all by myself. I've never done 
that before," and he thinks he needs some counsel-
ing, although frankly I anticipate discus-
sing practically every word of it." 

Mrs. Connally has stayed busy as a 
mother of four children and as a member 
of boards associated with M.D. 
Anderson Hospital in Houston and the 
Paramount Theater in Austin.

"And right now, of course, after the 
bankruptcy and losing everything we had, 
your mind is on redoing houses and putting 
some furniture back into those empty 
rooms," Mrs. Connally said.

Both said the Nov. 22, 1963, tragedy in 
Dallas deepened their appreciation for 
life. "It proved to me conclusively that 
life is fragile, extremely fragile,... so 
from that day on I tried and still try to 
make my days and my efforts meaning-
ful," Connally said.

"I'm impatient with pettiness and 
minutiae and inane, perhaps even to 
the point of being insouciant of them," he 
said.

Mrs. Connally added, "Maybe the sun-
cases are a little more impermeable and 
the sunsets are a little more beautiful than 
they were before." — Bruce Nichols

Marina Oswald Porter: 
not sure who pulled 
the trigger

Marina Oswald Porter says that for 
years she was guilt-ridden and accepted 
the role of wife of the assassin of the 
president of the United States. She would 
even have dreams where she would beg 
Jackie Kennedy for forgiveness.

Now she is not so sure that Lee Harvey 
Oswald actually pulled the trigger.

In interviews this year with The Ladies 
Home Journal and columnist Jack 
Anderson, she said she feels she was 
used by the Warren Commission.

"I was young, immature and naive," 
she told Anderson. "At the time I was 
only asked the questions that suit the 
theory of a single assassin.

"I believe there was a conspiracy, that 
more than one person was involved," she 
told The Ladies Home Journal. "It does 
necessarily mean that the bullet that 
came from the depository shot President 
Kennedy. I don't know if Lee shot him. 
I'm not saying that Lee is innocent, that 
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Marina in reconciled with Kenneth Por-
ter and they are living together in 
Rockwall. He is protective of her and tries 
to shelter her from reporters.

Mrs. Porter, a Russian immigrant, has 
not become a citizen, although she has 
saved many times she feels comfortable 
and happy in the United States.

Although she says she has gotten rid of 
the guilt she felt so strongly 25 years ago, 
she also says she has never stopped feeling for 
the Kennedy family.

She has said that when she heard that 
Caroline Kennedy was pregnant, she 
prayed the baby would be healthy and was 
"tickled pink" that the baby was.

Now, friends say, she would just like to 
be left alone to enjoy her own family and 
her own expected great-grandchild.

— Marilyn Schwartz

James Felder: 
prond to carry the casket

When President John F. Kennedy 
surveyed the honor guard marching 
in his inaugural parade in 1961, he noticed 
that there was not a single black face 
among a contingent from the Coast Guard 
Academy. He demanded to know why.

"To carry the casket was a sacrifice. 
I wanted to be a part of it. I wanted to carry 
the casket for President Kennedy. He was 
my father's brother, and I wanted to be 
part of it."

James Felder was one of the 
white cadets who carried the casket. 
He was proud to be a part of the 
inaugural parade.

James Felderrememned: that, 
and he regrets that President 
Kennedy's concerned all to the Rev.
Martin Luther King's wife, Coretta, after King had been arrested and desecrated in Atlanta in October 1956. And he remembered Kennedy's aggressive support for civil rights legislation in 1965.

So Felder, only the ninth black member of the Old Guard, the army's ceremonial unit, felt honored to serve Kennedy. On three or four occasions, Felder served as presidential orderly to Kennedy.

On Nov. 22, 1963, Felder was called to serve Kennedy the last time — as were hundreds of other members of the military, whose duties ranged from serving as honor guards to leading horses in the parade. Felder's job was to be a member of the team of military men who would carry the president's casket during the next three days.

By then, Felder, a sergeant, was the senior non-commissioned officer in the Army's burial detail and had participated in 1,100 military funerals. "I had done that for the 18 months I had been at Fort Myer, burying military dead and dependent. So when the president died there was no debate as to who would do it. The Army uses seniority, and I was the senior NCO," Felder recalls. "Having done as many funerals as I did, 1,100 in the service, there was nothing new to prepare for except we knew the eyes of the world would be upon us. That just meant more pressure."

"We are trained not to get emotional about burial details. That was the one time I had to really remain myself from viewing the family. There were so many, it was difficult not to glance over there out of the corner of my eye. I think that's the first time it really hit me as to who I was burying. After, 1,100 funerals you become very cold, unemotional, but that's the first time it really hit me as to who I was burying.

The senior non-commissioned officer, the National Guard burial detail and had participated in 1,100 military funerals. It was the only Neiman Marcus suit I had that was worth a damn."

Leavelle said he tried in vain two hours before Oswald's shooting to persuade Chief Jesse Curry to move Oswald to the Dallas County Jail in secret. Leavelle said he was worried that death threats against Oswald might be acted on. "We'd had about 15 or 20 calls threatening calls, come in that they were going to take him away from us and sort him up and do all kinds of things with him."

But police officials wanted to question Oswald publicly so the press could see he was not, but not been physically abused or anything," Leavelle said. Leavelle said the only suit I had was that which was worn by the victim of the assassination.

After returning to the Police Department in 1975, Graves went into business as a private polygraph examiner with his brother-in-law Paul Remley, a former policeman who had helped capture Oswald in the Texas Theater on Friday, Nov. 22, 1963, after President Kennedy's assassination.

Graves is now retired and lives in the Pleasant Grove section of Dallas. — Steve McGonigle

Joe Molina: 'The second man'

On Saturday afternoon, the day after President John F. Kennedy's assassination, a six-column headline blazed: "Police Quiz Second Man."

Television networks were reporting that during the night, Dallas police had searched the home of Joe Rodriguez.
Molina, a Texas School Book Depository employee who was listed in their files as a subscribee.

By the time those reports were being published and broadcast, the officers involved already had, or soon would, discuss any possibility that Molina was involved with Lee Harvey Oswald in Kennedy's assassination. But that conclusion would be lost in the swirl of larger events, including Oswald's own death the next day, and for Molina the damage was done.

"My feeling was that I was just an innocent individual caught in the system," recalled Molina, now 64.

Molina — who said he had only met Oswald once — was drawn into the drama by the accidents of his place of employment and by his membership in the American GI Forum. The Forum, an organization of Hispanic veterans, was then on a list of subversive groups distributed by the U.S. attorney general, according to Bill Alexander, the assistant district attorney at the time.

Molina, a Navy veteran of World War II, had helped found the Dallas chapter of the G.I. Forum in the 1950s, the suggestion of a priest, The group held dances and other functions to raise money for college scholarships. Today it is a mainstream Hispanic social service organization.

Within a few days of the assassination, Molina recalls, his employer was receiving angry letters and calls complaining that the deposition was employing communists. Molina was soon relieved of his public duties, such as making bank deposits for the company and corresponding with textbook publishers and school districts. Today it is considered a mainstream Hispanic social service organization.

On Dec. 13, Molina was told that his position as a credit manager was being eliminated because of automation. On Dec. 30, he was out of a job. In the next few months, he applied for other jobs, but without success — which he attributed to the publicity immediately after the assassination of the president.

In February 1964, a friend from Holy Trinity Catholic Church helped him land a job at a packing company's credit union.

Molina asked to testify before the Warren Commission to put to rest any question about whether he had been involved with Oswald. At that time, in April 1964, attorneys for the commission repeatedly assured him that no one suspected him of anything.

A few months later, Molina was working as credit manager of a wholesale jewelry company. In May 1966, he became a postal clerk and named attending El Centro Community College. He graduated in 1969 and was promoted to postal contract compliance examiner.

He later worked the same job for the General Services Administration, then became an equal opportunity specialist with the U.S. Department of Labor in 1978. He retired in March.

"In the final analysis, it was a very traumatic experience. It changed the direction of my career," he said.

"I truly believe that if I had been in Dallas that day I would have been shot, too," he said. "There was like a gloom cloud hanging over everybody."

Salinger accepted without knowing what his job or salary would be. The next four years left Salinger with dozens of war memories — Kennedy's narrow victory over Richard Nixon in the presidential election, Kennedy's return to his ancestral homeland of Ireland, the president's dramatic speech at the Berlin Wall, the birth of Kennedy's son, John.

In his last conversation with Kennedy, Salinger mentioned a letter he had received from a woman in Dallas who said she feared something terrible would happen if the president came to Dallas.

"He responded, as he said several times whenever we talked about security issues, was that if someone wants to kill the president of the United States, all they have to do is be willing to give up their own life," Salinger recalled.

The night after Kennedy's death on Nov. 22, 1963, Salinger's distraught 15-year-old son, Marc, wandered the streets of Washington pondering suicide. "He didn't succeed that night, but eventually, 12 years later, he did. The death of Kennedy had an overwhelming effect on him," Salinger said. For Salinger, too, the months after Kennedy's death were rough. He said he "almost drank every day" while trying to figure out a way to resign without offending or embarrassing President Lyndon Johnson, who, Salinger said, had gone out of his way to be nice to him.

Finally, in early 1964, Salinger told Johnson that he wanted to resign to run for the U.S. Senate in his home state of California.

"That he understood," Salinger said. "He reached in his pocket, peeled out five $100 bills and said, 'Here's your first contribution.'"

Salinger was soon appointed to fill an unexpired Senate term. He handed current Sen. Alan Cranston the only detail of his political career in the Democratic primary but lost the general election.

Salinger then held a number of corporate jobs before joining ABC News as a foreign correspondent in 1977. In 1981, he broke the story on the secret negotiations to free the American hostages in Iran. Today, Salinger, 63, is ABC's senior editor-Europe, stationed in London.

Rufus Youngblood: LBJ's protector

Youngblood said that these days, in addition to helping his wife with her real estate business, he goes fishing one day a week and enjoys gardening. In fact, he is president of the local daylily society.

"All the days sort of run together now," said former Secret Service agent Rufus Youngblood of the tragic weekend that began at 12:30 p.m. Nov. 22, 1963. But Youngblood, a decorated real estate salesman in Savannah, Ga., recalls that a pervasive sense of loss enveloped the nation that weekend.

"There was like a gloom cloud hanging over everything," said Youngblood, who became famous when he threw himself on top of Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson after shots were fired at President John F. Kennedy's motorcade.

Youngblood, who was 38 at the time, was riding with the vice presidential party two cars behind Kennedy's limousine. For his quick action in protecting Johnson's life, Youngblood was presented the U.S. Treasury Department's Meritorious Service Gold Award.

Although there were many congratulations and well wishes, there were also some negative aspects. Youngblood said he received calls from people who would say things like "Why didn't you save Kennedy?"

He retired from the Secret Service in 1971 and later wrote a book, Twenty Years in the Secret Service.

Youngblood acknowledges some nostalgia about the days when he was put to protect U.S. presidents. But he also notes that "at my age, I really don't miss it. I couldn't be home for things like birthdays. I now can enjoy my grandchildren."

Youngblood said that these days, in addition to helping his wife with her real estate business, he goes fishing one day a week and enjoys gardening. In fact, he is president of the local daylily society.

Joe Molina: 25 years after being questioned in Kennedy assassination.
A SQUARE OF SILENCE

Memorial is a site for reflection

By David Dillon
Architectural Critic of The Dallas Morning News

The John F. Kennedy Memorial was designed as "a place of quiet refuge."
By Abraham Ribicoff

President Kennedy was a born leader, a man of stunning brilliance, a distinctive style. His strength and courage were nobly shored by a deep sense of country and devotion to a world of peace and freedom.

For me, friendship began in 1948. We were both young congressmen from neighboring states. I sensed in him then an inner strength, a combination of will and dedication. Indeed the spark of greatness that so many would come to know.

John F. Kennedy brought to our nation a sense of motivation and responsibility. He was warm, intuitive, a quick learner and with deep humanity. We have not had a president since John Kennedy who has so inspired our people, giving them the sense we were part of a great and hopeful age.

For 25 years, America has drifted through doubts and crises. It is time for another generation of leaders to bring hope, inspiration and confidence to our people. The standards by which political leaders of the future should be judged can be found in John Kennedy's legacy.

I remember a young senator resolving to seek the presidential nomination of his party through a difficult and inescapable primary race — in Wisconsin at factory gates in below-zero weather, shaking hands of workers until his hands bled. 

I remember a young U.S. senator determining, against the advice of those close to him, to undergo a life-threatening operation in an attempt to correct his serious back condition and silently enduring the inevitable months of recuperation that followed.

I remember a young senator resolute in the fondest presidential nomination of his party through a difficult and inescapable primary race — in Wisconsin at factory gates in below-zero weather, shaking hands of workers until his hands bled.

I remember a young presidential candidate confidently confronting Richard Nixon in that first presidential debate in Chicago and clearly besting his unseen opponent while millions watched.

I remember a young president, challenged by the bitter sense of loss of President George Wallace of Alabama and Gov. Ross Barnett of Mississippi to thwart the law, triumph in his fierce determination to ensure equal educational opportunities for all Americans.

I remember a young president, barely seated in the Oval Office, suffering a devastating setback at the Bay of Pigs and, while we around him were in despair, fortiifying his unshakable faith to the American people, who responded with strong favorable action to his can-

I remember, perhaps more of all, a young presidential meeting the Cuban missile crisis head-on and, while an anxious nation and world awaited breathlessly, going eyeball to eyeball with Nikita Khrushchev to end a terrifying threat of widespread devastation. And Khrushchev blinked.

The young F. Kennedy I remember busts onto the world stage to join those leaders of a past generation — including Winston Churchill, Charles de Gaulle — as the first world leader of my generation, the post-World War II generation. His leadership qualities were immediately apparent; he fulfilled our expectations; he was truly our leader. His untimely loss to the nation and the world was incomprehensible.

Yes, in recalling the Jack Kennedy I knew, in remembering the man I was proud to call my friend, there is a word that repeatedly and hauntingly comes to mind: courage.

Abraham Ribicoff, a U.S. senator from 1953 to 1981, was secretary of health, education and welfare in 1961-62.

By Larry O'Brien

The 25th anniversary of the tragic loss of President John F. Kennedy is a time for remembering and, in remembering, one word repeatedly comes to mind: courage.

I remember a young congressman campaigning for the U.S. Senate against long odds while enduring current physical pain caused by his World War II PT boat injuries — sometimes on cruises — but never complaining and ultimately succeeding in the face of those odds.

I remember a young U.S. senator determining, against the advice of those close to him, to undergo a life-threatening operation in an attempt to correct his serious back condition and silently enduring the inevitable months of recuperation that followed.

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Larry O'Brien helped direct several of John F. Kennedy's political campaigns and was special assistant for congressional relations from 1961 to 1963.

By Dean Rusk

On Nov. 22, 1963, six members of President Kennedy's Cabinet and other high officials of his administration were on a plane on the way to Tokyo for a Japan-U.S. Cabinet meeting that President Kennedy and the Japanese prime minister had set in motion. When we were one hour west of Hawaii, the pilot of our plane brought back to my cabin a one-line Associated Press ticker tape from a machine that we had on board stating simply that President Kennedy had been shot in Dallas.

We asked Pierre Salinger, who was in our party, to telephone the White House immediately to confirm the press flash. He did so, and I announced on the plane's loudspeaker that the president had been shot. We immediately turned the plane around to return to Hawaii, but before we reached Hawaii we got the news of President Kennedy's death. I again announced over the plane's loudspeaker that terrible news.

When we landed in Hawaii to top off our fuel, we saw signs of a military alert on the airfield. We sent a message to President Johnson asking whether he wanted us to come to Dallas or Washington and he directed us to return to the nation's capital. We made a non-stop flight from Hawaii to Washington, arriving before daylight.

After we learned of the president's death, all of us on the plane spent 20 to 30 minutes with our own private anguish. The other Cabinet officers and I, along with a handful of high officials, then gathered in my cabin on the plane to discuss the things that needed doing to keep the public business in full effect.

Meanwhile, back in Washington, arrangements were set in motion by George Ball, the acting secretary of state. Of course, an intensive investigation was launched immediately to determine the facts of the assassination. In the State Department we were intensely interested in whether or not a foreign government was involved because that might have been an issue of war or peace. As was later reported by the Warren Commission, we could find no evidence that a foreign government was involved in such a plot.

I have never tried to put into words the muted anguish and dismay of all of us about the terrible tragedy of Nov. 22. This new young president was an inexpressible loss that we all felt around him on film. He had an extraordinary and unequivocal ability to call forth the interest and enthusiasm of young people for politics and public service. His fine intellect, irascible curiosity and his sardonic wit made service in his administration a delight for the soul even though his thousand days were days of crisis. President Lyndon Johnson was superb in seeing that the public business was carried on despite the national tragedy that befell the nation.

Dean Rusk was secretary of state from 1961 to 1969.
President John F. Kennedy was often photographed sitting in a rocking chair. He found such chairs were the most comfortable for his back, which was injured during World War II. The injury, suffered when a Japanese destroyer sliced in half the PT boat he was commanding, plagued him the rest of his life.
The legacy of John F. Kennedy

By Carl P. Leubsdorf

Washington Bureau of The Dallas Morning News

He was young and handsome, witty and eloquent, the perfect president for the new television age. And he died in the manner of which myths are made.

To historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr., a man who worked for and admired him greatly, John Fitzgerald Kennedy was "the most spectacular, extraordinary man in my whole generation. I was caught by his charm, his vision of the future, his irony, his humor, his rational view of issues."

But to historian Herbert Parmet, whose biography stresses the limits of his presidency, the Kennedy aura was all a bit much. "JFK appeared too handsome, too witty, too intelligent; Jack was too beautiful, too cultivated, and much too elegant," he wrote. And the prose that speech writer Ted Sorensen wrote for him "began to seem like the tinsel wrapped around an artificial world that posed as a modern Camelot."

Even before Kennedy assumed the presidency on a bitter cold January day in 1961, his life had encompassed a range that was unique for someone his age: war hero, socialite, congressman, Pulitzer Prize-winning author, rising political star. Born with the advantages of wealth and a war hero's aura, he was often forced to hobble on crutches when outside the public eye.

Years after his death, that issue still divides close associates. "I wish somebody would explain to me what the myth of the Kennedy presidency is," said Myer Feldman, who was Kennedy's deputy White House counsel.

"To me, there is no myth about the Kennedy presidency," said Feldman, now a Washington lawyer. "He was handsome, he was beautiful. They were a bright, young, active group of people come into Washington, and they gave a new spirit to the town. That's not a myth, that's a fact."

Critics, however, say that the aura on the style of the Kennedy years obscured their lack of real accomplishment. As Parmet puts it, "His thousand days led to the nightmare years that followed." The years of Vietnam and domestic disorder. His backers say Kennedy would have prevented that.

Much of the Kennedy image stemmed from what was written about his presidency and his family before and during Kennedy's presidency — the courtesy pictures of a laughing president, his young wife and beautiful children. "They seemed to fill a national need for celebrities in the same way that the royal family filled a need for the British," wrote Martin. "Proud, the Kennedy's wore the crossed creases of our past. But the basic material was there. . . . Fueled in by a well of small expectations, the average American family saw in the Kennedys the idealized world of the American dream."

The legacy of John F. Kennedy

About King Arthur's court:
"Don't let it be forgery. That once there was a spot
For one brief shining moment
That was known as Camelot."

Camelot conjured up an ideal world, later events made clear, that was true neither in the private lives of the Kennedys nor in the administration. Behind the public image, subsequent accounts disclosed, was a far different private reality, a husband with several girlfriends and an active young president troubled by back problems so painful he was often forced to hobble on crutches when outside the public eye.

"I think the whole Camelot idea was very unfortunate," Schlesinger said. "It was an invention of Mrs. Kennedy in a grief-stricken moment after Dallas, Teddy White went up to Hyannis Port (Mass.) and talked to her, and he wrote it in Life. It wasn't like that at all."

"I can't say I remember the Kennedy years that way," wrote Larry O'Brien, Kennedy's chief congressional liaison. "Mainly, I remember working like hell."

White has said he was willing to take his "share of the credit and the blame" for putting Camelot into circulation. And he acknowledged that "the myth obscures the reality of a tough, rather conservative man, a liberal I only used to call him, whose achievements were substantial."

"You could make a laundry list of the things that started in the Kennedy administration," White said, citing the 1964 Civil Rights Act, Medicare and the first White House conference on women. "Some things were so much more important than the elegance and the dancing, the fun and the merrieess."

The shocking revelations of Kennedy's death, and the exaggerated way he was eulogized, distorted any reasoned view of his presidency.
"I agree that the assassination involved so much emotion that you may be inclined to exaggerate whatever accomplishments he had or whatever the inspiration he seems to have developed among the people of the United States," Feldman said. "But I think that doesn't last very long."

What then of the man and his presidency?

"I don't know what he had," Larry Newman, a friend and Hyannis Port neighbor of the late president, told author Marlin. "I can't put my finger on it. But he knew how to reach the people and excite them with hope. Whatever he had, it was real and it was magic."

Kennedy was the great-grandson of Irish immigrants who settled in Boston in 1818. His grandfather was a saloonkeeper but his father, Joseph P. Kennedy, married the daughter of Boston Mayor John "Honey Fitz" Fitzgerald and became one of America's richest men through enterprises ranging from real estate to bootlegging.

In the 1930s, Joseph Kennedy entered public service under President Franklin D. Roosevelt as chairman of the Securities and Exchange Commission and, later, ambassador to Great Britain.

Kennedy grew up in a large, competitive family in which his older brother, Joseph P. Kennedy Jr., was the golden boy, the one destined by his father to be president. When Joe Jr. was killed in World War II, the father's dreams were passed to Jack, who nearly died himself when the PT boat he was commanding was sliced in half by a Japanese destroyer. Though Kennedy survived, after an adventure later recounted in the book and movie PT 109, the back injury he suffered plagued him the rest of his life.

After World War II, Kennedy went into politics. He was elected to Congress in 1946 from a district that included Harvard, his alma mater, and the adjacent blue-collar area.

Kennedy's first national prominence came in 1956, when Democratic presidential nominee Adlai Stevenson threw the vice presidential choice open to the party's nominating convention. Kennedy came close, but by lost — just as well, considering the tickets would be

But by 1960, Kennedy was the Democratic front-runner. And despite his youth and Roman Catholicism, he managed a narrow victory over Republican Vice President Richard M. Nixon that fall. The victory was attributed largely to the cool, confident performance he displayed against a nervous, swearing Nixon in the first of four nationally televised debates.

And so, on Jan. 20, 1961, the presidency passed from Eisenhower, at age 70, then the nation's oldest president, to Kennedy, at age 43, the youngest man ever elected to the office.

"I believe the contrast between his predecessors and Kennedy was so striking that it gave not only the United States but the entire world a romantic lift, if I can use the word 'romantic' in the sense of a feeling of exhilaration," Feldman said. "He was young, attractive, full of ideas. We sent over 100 messages to Congress during the first 100 days. We were deliberately doing something like Roosevelt did in order to give the feeling of, as he phrased it, 'moving ahead.'"

"There had been a period of eight or more years of almost no initiative and innovation in the legislative arena," recalled Theodore Sorensen, the Nebraska-born lawyer who was Kennedy's special counsel, chief speech writer and, besides his brother Robert, closest aide. "So Kennedy decided that one of his goals as president was to set up a new agenda."

"We sent up messages in areas which are commonplace now, but which were unprecedented then — consumer affairs, environmental affairs, women's rights, as well as all the others," said Sorensen, now a New York lawyer.

Kennedy himself set the tone in his inaugural address, in which he invoked the themes of change. "Let the word go forth that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans, born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace," he said. It was the first of many speeches that would prompt historian James David Barber to say that Kennedy's main legacy was "his oratorical charisma."

It was not only the government that changed. Life at the White House was different with a 32-year-old first lady and the first young children to occupy the presidential mansion in more than a half-century — Caroline, born in 1957, and John F. Kennedy Jr., known as "Jackie-John, born just weeks after the 1960 election."
Jacqueline Kennedy did not figure prominently in her husband's political life. Instead, she devoted her public role to such things as redecorating the White House. And though she reportedly craved privacy, the next three years were marked by perhaps the most intense coverage ever of a presidential family. Scarcely a week went by without a magazine displaying color pictures of the presidential children crawling under the Oval Office desk or playing with their adoring father on the Hyannis Port beach.

Every president has his "honeymoon," but Kennedy's was more intense than most. "The glow," Parmet declared, "lent the 'honeymoon' an almost magical aura; if not the dynamic, somber rolling up of sleeves of Roosevelt's time, there at least was another kind of appeal - the spark of confidence. America really seemed to be 'moving again.'"

But the author noted a contrast between the aura and the reality. "While news and analysis columns did not hesitate to delineate just how cautious the new administration really was," Parmet said, "the (New York) Times nevertheless declared, after he had been in office 64 days, that the 'Kennedy personality has turned the White House into a beehive of action and ideas.'"

The Kennedy promise came face to face with the reality of 1961. Kennedy won by the slimmest margin of the century, amid accusations of vote fraud in Illinois and Texas. His party lost 23 seats from the swollen House majority it had achieved in 1958.

"It made a tremendous difference," Sorensen recalled. "We got a memorandum in the early days or in the transition period that said, 'Forget it. There's no chance of getting any legislation through this House.'" But he noted Kennedy did not take that advice. The president sent Congress a substantial amount of legislation. Statistics compiled by independent observers illustrate Kennedy's difficulties with Congress. In 1962, according to Congressional Quarterly, Kennedy got 44.3 percent of his legislative requests. In 1963, he got only 27.2 percent, a rating the publication called the "lowest score for a president in 10 years."

The low score was due partly to the large number of requests, partly to Kennedy's awe for the kingpins of Congress, who were many years his senior. Rep. Wilbur D. Mills, the Arkansas Democrat who was then chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, later said Kennedy was "timid." Parmet quoted a member of the congressional liaison staff, Charles Daly, as saying he was frustrated at Kennedy's remoteness from day-to-day lobbying efforts.

"For all his national popularity, for all the effective troops he had in the White House in terms of relations with Congress, he was not confident of his ability to get things through Congress," Feldman recalled. "I think he had a deep-seated belief, that he had to condition and educate the country in his first term and he'd get his payoff in the second term."

"He was largely a president who prepared for a second term," Feldman recalled, "or at least the fourth year of the first term plus the second term. We used to talk about the second term a lot." But Sorensen said there was "not a great deal" of talk about a second term — at least with the president himself. "The only time he
President John F. Kennedy takes time off for a visit to the beach at Hyannis Port, Mass., with his wife, Jacqueline, and daughter, Caroline. "Send me some love for the second term," was how Kennedy referred to his intentions to seek the normalization of U.S. relations with the People's Republic of China that President Nixon would achieve in 1972.

Like many other presidents, Kennedy soon became caught up in events across the sea. In Cuba, Berlin and Southeast Asia. He had been in office less than three months when he faced the disaster at the Bay of Pigs in Cuba and, within five months, he was in Vienna, Austria, conferring with Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev. "He was, as presidents tend to be, primarily interested in global affairs," Parmet declared.

Kennedy publicly took the blame. "And I really thought that this was absolutely the low ebb of our brief period in Washington," recalled O'Brien. "And lo and behold, the Gallup Poll and other polls two weeks later showed a significant rise in his approval by the public. Why? Because he had lied to them."

Kennedy vowed to overcome the setback. He pressed forward with his attempt to increase defense spending and soon launched the U.S. effort to put a man on the moon by the end of a decade — a success he did not live to see.

Kennedy's foreign policy seemed at times contradictory. He vowed to stand firm in Southeast Asia, but resisted pressure to send significant numbers of U.S. combat troops. He sought to build up the nation's defenses, and meet the Soviet construction of the Berlin Wall with a call-up of reserve troops. At the same time, however, Kennedy asked Americans to "face the facts that the United States is neither omnipotent nor omniscient, that we are only 6 percent of the world's population, that we cannot impose our will upon the other 94 percent of mankind, that we cannot right every wrong or reverse each adversity, and that therefore there cannot be an American solution to every world problem."

In the last 13 months of his life, Kennedy enjoyed two enormous successes in foreign affairs. With his firm stand against the introduction of Soviet missiles into Cuba, he took the nation to the brink of nuclear confrontation with the Soviet Union in October 1962 and prevailed. The missiles were withdrawn.

"And in the summer of 1963, he negotiated the ban on atmospheric nuclear tests, the first significant step toward arms control and the action for which a number of former Kennedy aides believe he would have most liked to be remembered."

"At the same time, his presidency was increasingly involved in two controversial areas: the civil rights revolution at home and the deepening crisis in South Vietnam. In the former, a reluctant Kennedy ultimately settled leadership, in the latter, he was out conflicting signals,"

"It is their war," Kennedy said of the Vietnamese in a Feb. 2, 1963, interview with Walter Cronkite. "...In the final analysis, it is their people and their government who have to win or lose this struggle. All we can do is help." At the same time, his administration was involved in the overthrow of the South Vietnamese government headed by Ngo Dinh Diem. In the speech that he was to have given at the Dallas Trade Mart on the day he died, Kennedy would have said, "Our assistance to these nations can be painful, only and costly, as true in Southeast Asia today."

"But we dare not weary of the test."

Fleischer noted that Kennedy "only had a thousand days, and no president who has served for so brief a period of time will ever have a place in history that will label him as one of the great presidents."

James MacGregor Burns, the Williams College historian who wrote one of the first Kennedy biographies in 1960, noted another problem. "Do you measure him by the way he was moving in the third year, or do you measure him by what he achieved?" he asked. "One has to kind of project him into the future."

But Burns said he gives Kennedy "a very high place (in history) because of his ideals and philosophy and goals, which he committed on somewhat at the start, but which he was moving very clearly to achieve in the time of Dallas."

The principal criticism leveled at Kennedy is that the president set goals and raised expectations he was unable to meet. As Parmet put it,
"He had vowed to 'get America moving again,' but failed to deliver in key ways."

"This criticism is absolutely correct," Sorensen said. "He felt that one of the duties of a president was to set the country's sights, but to raise them, to give something to people to reach for... He laid out an enormous list of goals that were not fulfilled by the time of his death. But that is not a surprise, and he did not really expect them to be."

After Kennedy's assassination, President Lyndon B. Johnson took advantage of the emotional reaction to his predecessor's death to win enactment over the next two years of a sweeping legislative program — some of it Kennedy's, some of it his own. Kennedy associates bristles at the suggestion that the new president was able to push through programs that Kennedy could not.

"I don't minimize the role which Johnson played — and possibly even the Kennedy tragic death played — in helping get some of that legislation through," Sorensen said.

Nevertheless," he said, "Johnson and the legislative leaders from both houses and both parties said, when that whole raft of legislation was enacted and signed into law, 'This is Kennedy's program.' Not only did it come from the Kennedy White House, but while Kennedy was alive, he and his lieutenants laid the groundwork for it, shepherded it through the committees, provided the testimony, and I believe most all of it would have passed in any event."

O'Brien, who unlike Sorensen and Feldman remained throughout the Johnson administration in various roles, agreed. "I can tell you... that there was an uninterrupted flow. On the very day of Dallas, Henry Hill Wilson (House congressional liaison) tried that morning to get me on the phone to report a conversation he had had with William Still on Medicare that indicated that we were in a potential situation for a breakthrough there," O'Brien recalled.

"And then without interruption, President Johnson picked up his program... and there was no interruption in the pursuit of the legislative programs. You can take the combined Kennedy-Johnson period and it is, without question... the greatest record in the history of this country, including the first hundred days of Roosevelt... I'm not discussing the merits, or the implementation or the administrative failures... I'm just talking about the enactment of the programs..."

"People who say that Kennedy didn't accomplish very much as president forget how it was at the end of the Eisenhower administration," said David Ormsby-Gore, a good friend of Kennedy who served as the British ambassador to the United States during his presidency.

"Here was Eisenhower, one of the most popular American presidents, who couldn't visit Japan because of the expected riots. And there was his vice president, Nixon, who went to Vietnam and was assed by the crowds. But two years after Kennedy was inaugurated, this young president was invited by every leader in the world."

In citing specific Kennedy achievements, some mention the Peace Corps, an idea of the late Hubert H. Humphrey that Kennedy picked up during the 1960 campaign. But Feldman and Dave Powers — a Bosnian who was as much friend as adviser to Kennedy and who today is curator of the Kennedy Library in Dorchester, Mass. — agreed on what Kennedy thought was his single greatest achievement.

"He himself has said that he thought that his major contribution was the one-hundred-year treaty," Feldman said. "But I am not sure I would say that equals in importance with some other thoughts I have. I believe that Kennedy was the last president who was able to unite the country so that people today look back on those years as the so-called 'good years'."

"I believe that the Kennedy presidency today, in general, rather than for specific programs that we mentioned earlier, set a standard that, again, succeeding presidents look to and the people look to," Feldman said.

Schlesinger sees a combination of the abstract and specific. "Kennedy, like Theodore Roosevelt, Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, believed that there are great reservoirs of idealism within the American people that can be tapped."

"He was greatly concerned with the spread of nuclear weapons and he devised a lot of time and attention to this. And on the domestic side, along with brother Robert later on, he tried to do something to reduce the disparities in American life," Sorensen and others cite more intangible aspects of the Kennedy legacy.

"I am constantly encountering people in government and politics who said they got into government and politics because of John F. Kennedy," Sorensen said. "They didn't know him personally. They never met him. Some of them were even too young to have been active at the time he was active. But the inspiration that he gave them, the.
President John F. Kennedy uses a dictating machine at the White House in 1961. Recalling that first year of Kennedy's administration, aide Myer Feldman said, "He was young, attractive, full of ideas. We sent over 100 messages to Congress during the first 100 days."
"Having committed the first U.S. combat forces in Vietnam, I question whether the Kennedy administration would have significantly changed U.S. policy in the war," said former President Gerald Ford, a Michigan congressman during the Kennedy administration.

"It's a hard thing to know," former Undersecretary of State George Ball was quoted as saying by author Martin. "I have great doubts that he would have done anything different than Johnson did," said Ball, who served in the Kennedy and Johnson administrations and eventually became an outspoken critic of the war. "It was a kind of creeping thing . . . he probably would have said, as Johnson did, 'I'm not going to be the first president to lose a war.' Vietnamese is not the only instance in which former Kennedy associates argue — with the benefit of some hindsight — that a re-elected President Kennedy might have made a difference.

Feldman noted that Kennedy sent him to the Middle East "to see if I could work out the settlement of what was then the refugee problem — you didn't have the PLO at that time and we came very close to settling it. . . . I still believe that we could have attacked the refugee problem in such a fashion that it would have prevented the PLO problem and . . . I believe that if we had resolved the refugee problem, we might have avoided the battles in that area of the world."

Politically, a successful second term by Kennedy might have prevented the disastrous internal battle that waktued the Democratic Party under Johnson in 1968. Sorensen and Feldman believe that Kennedy would have used his influence to secure the nomination that year for brother Robert. "If he had lived out his eight years," White said, "I think we would have a fundamentally different country than we have today. Not only because of Vietnam but because there would have been a more stable definition of what liberalism was." He said he thought Kennedy might have kept liberalism closer to the center, adding that he believes "Presidential Reagan is, to some extent, a reaction to what liberalism became."

Kennedy would have become an ex-president at the relatively young age of 51, "He had no specific plans," Sorensen said. "He thought he was going to probably write or teach, publish a newspaper. The president of a university was something that intrigued him. Secretary of state is somebody else's administration."

Feldman said Kennedy had three things "he always wanted to do. One, he wanted to be a newspaper publisher. Two, he wanted to write. And three, he wanted to continue to be a force, a political force, in the country."

Where does the myth end and the reality begin?

"He will always be looked upon as a glamorous president, because of his charm and youth," said former President Ford. "However, subsequent historians unfavored by personal exposure to President Kennedy's dynamic personality will inevitably chip away at the substance of his 'thirty-eight month word in the White House.'"

Such revisionism has already begun. "During his brief period in the White House," Parrish concluded, "he established a new style and tone for the presidency, one that evoked national pride and hope. That made his limitations all the more painful."

But Kennedy admires believe he ultimately will be judged favorably. "In a conservative period," Schlesinger said, "previous liberal presidents don't look quite as relevant as they will later on. I think the Kennedy legacy, the Reagan values, does not seem consonant with the national mood. But it will again very soon."

Martin concluded that Kennedy was "not a great president. . . . There was the growth of the man in office, the pragmatism that turned into passion on the big issues . . . . But there was no time to prove his potential."

When Kennedy was assassinated, columnist James Reston wrote, "Kennedy was not a great president. . . . The heart of the Kennedy legend is what might have been."

... This article is reprinted from "The New York Review" special report on the Kennedy assassination.