THE AMNESTY ISSUE: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

by

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The question of the utility or futility of amnesty has been posed by the refusal of a small percentage of America's youth to serve in the Armed Forces. Some said No to the Selective Service System—they evaded involuntary induction into the military. Some said No to a military superior—they call themselves self-retired veterans; the military calls them deserters. Other servicemen—volunteers as well as conscripts, commissioned officers as well as enlisted men—have been confined to military prisons, convicted of such violations as refusing assignment to combat duty in Southeast Asia, soliciting other service personnel to desert, making disloyal statements, and sedition.

Amnesty for American draft evaders and deserters of the Vietnam era is one of the most sensitive of contemporary issues. To place this problem in its proper perspective, it is necessary to set aside the emotionally charged question of the rightness or wrongness of US participation in the Vietnam conflict. Similarly we need not now determine the degree of innocence or guilt of those who would not go. What must be done is to leaf through the pages of history and take note of how Washington, Lincoln, Truman, and other presidents of the United States addressed amnesty. They, too, found it to be an extremely controversial issue, for amnesty has always stirred deep emotions in American hearts.

By a careful consideration of the motives underlying past grants of amnesty, perhaps we can anticipate more intelligently the timing, the recipients, and the conditions of any future proclamation of amnesty. At the very least, a historical review will reveal the extent to which amnesty has become a part of our political heritage; perhaps the insight gained from such an examination will contribute to enlightened opinion concerning the merits of amnesty for those who refused to serve in the Armed Forces in the 1960's and 70's.

A HISTORICAL REVIEW WILL REVEAL THE EXTENT TO WHICH AMNESTY HAS BECOME A PART OF OUR POLITICAL HERITAGE . . .

CONSCRIPTION

Before attempting an analysis of amnesty, we will find it useful to explore the nature and background of conscription, since conscription was a primary cause of the war-resistance phenomenon. Of ancient origin, conscription is described in the Old Testament in a dictum of the Lord to Moses:

> Take a census of all the congregation of the people of Israel, by families, by fathers' houses, according to the number of names, every male, head by head; from twenty years old and upward, all in Israel

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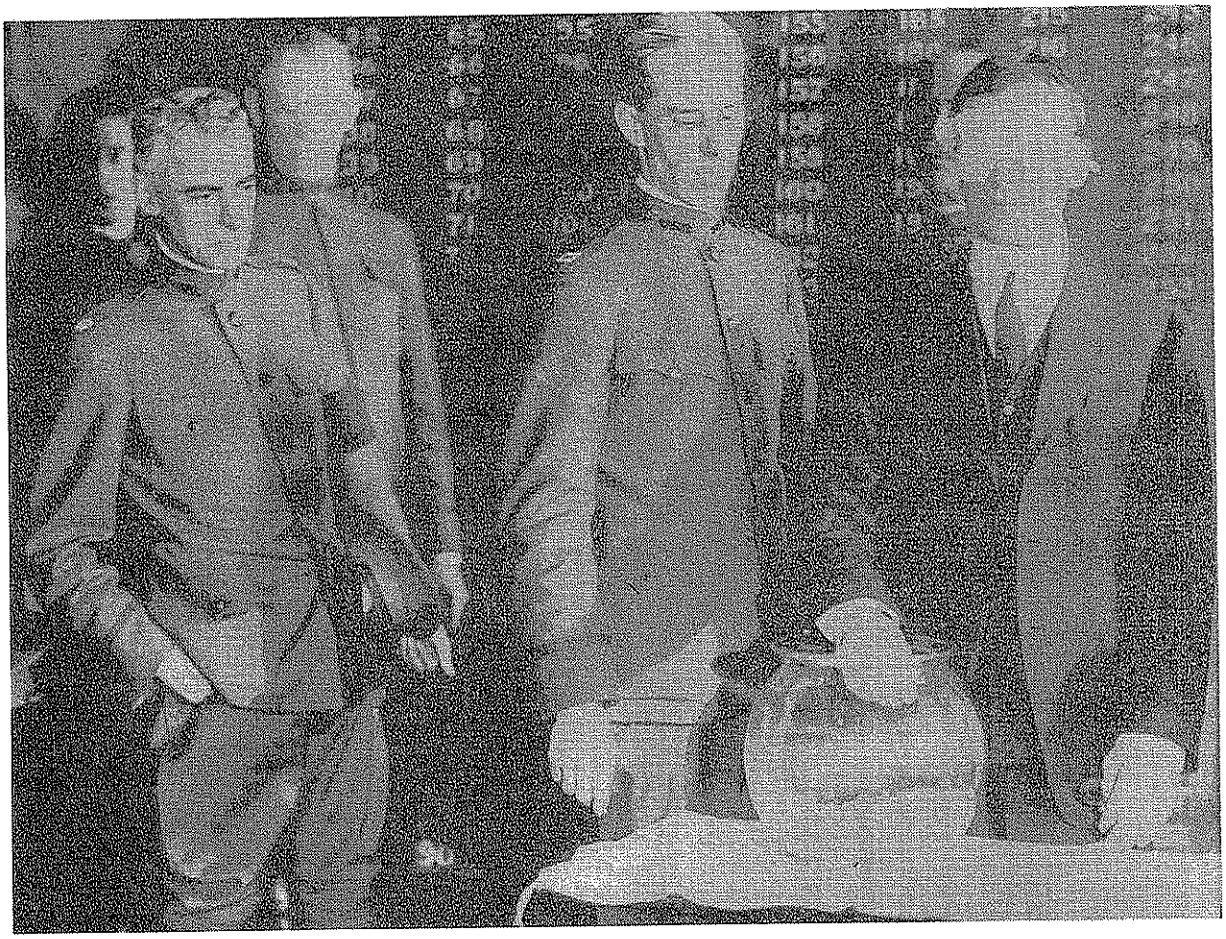

US ARMY

Secretary of War Baker drawing a number for the WWI draft, the Nation's first large-scale conscription.

> who are able to go forth to war, you and Aaron shall number them, company by company.[1]

The Continental Congress resolved on 18 July 1775

> That it be recommended to the inhabitants of all the united English colonies in North America, that all able bodied effective men, between sixteen and fifty years of age in each Colony, immediately form themselves into regular companies of Militia, to consist of one captn, two lieutenants, one ensign, four serjeants, four corporals, one clerk, one drummer, one fifer, and about 68 privates.[2]

The United States Supreme Court has consistently upheld the constitutionality of compulsory service. Although conscription is an encroachment upon personal freedom, the legal consensus has unswervingly been that it is a justified method of maintaining those armed forces necessary to safeguard the Nation's freedom and to fulfill international commitments. It has been held that Congress possesses the power to conscript the Nation's citizenry not only to wage war, but to maintain an adequate peacetime army. A

THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT HAS CONSISTENTLY UPHELD THE CONSTITUTIONALITY OF COMPULSORY SERVICE.

formal declaration of war is not required to validate involuntary induction. The conscientious objector is not given the legal option of refusing to serve his country, though he may qualify for a noncombatant military assignment or be eligible to perform civilian work in lieu of military service. But he must serve. Those who defy the Selective Service law are subject to fine, imprisonment, or both.

AMNESTY: DEFINITION AND PURPOSE

> Amnesty, a concept of public law . . . which means forgetfulness or oblivion and implies an act of the legal sovereign conceding, from grace, a voluntary extinction from memory of certain crimes committed against the state. It is a legal oblivion, usually of political offenses.[3]

Amnesties may be classified as general or particular, and as absolute or conditional:

> . . . first, general or particular, that is, they may demand the performance of certain conditions before their provisions enter into legal effect.[4]

Individuals and organizations urging amnesty for draft evaders and deserters generally cite the purpose of amnesty as being the restoration of national unity. Traditionally, this healing of social wounds by a restoration of political and civil rights to former enemies of the State has been the purpose of amnesty. Among the more militant resisters, contemporary references to conditional amnesty are sometimes construed as meaningless political sloganeering or as deceitful plots designed to divide the resistance community by proposing the inclusion of draft resisters but not military deserters.

Amnesty effectively wipes the slate clean. As far as the public interest is concerned, once amnesty has been granted, it is as if the criminal act had not been committed. Pardon differs from amnesty in that it is a remission, in whole or in part, of punishment, while

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amnesty obliterates the crime itself. The Supreme Court stated in Burdick vs. United States, 236 US 79 (1915): "The one (amnesty) overlooks offense; the other (pardon) remits punishment." Generally, pardon is extended to individuals while amnesty is offered to categories of offenders. American presidents, however, have commonly used the words "amnesty" and "pardon" interchangeably; hence, that practice will be followed here. Thus, many Presidential "amnesties" were in fact acts of individual pardon.

Article 2, Section 2 of the Constitution confers the authority to pardon upon the President:

> The President . . . shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.[5]

President Washington and several of his successors used this Section as Constitutional authority to issue proclamations of amnesty. Congress also has the authority to amnesty Federal offenders:

> Congress cannot limit the effects of Presidential amnesty. . . . On the other hand, Congress itself, under the necessary and proper clause, may enact amnesty laws remitting penalties incurred under the National Statutes.[6]

Let us turn to a review of amnesty practices from the earliest days of the republic.

AMNESTY UNDER WASHINGTON AND ADAMS

Looking back through American history,

we find that the Executive and the Legislative branches of government have been neither hasty nor generous in exercising the amnesty power. The first presidential pardon in American history covered individuals in western Pennsylvania who were at odds with the Federal government over payment of taxes. President Washington viewed the Whiskey Rebellion as a "contest whether a small portion of the United States shall dictate the whole Union." By a proclamation published 25 September 1794, Washington promised to treat "with the most liberal good faith" those offenders who would henceforth obey the law. His follow-up proclamation of 10 July 1795 extended pardon to those insurrectionists who had followed the terms of his earlier proclamation.[7]

In 1799 Pennsylvania was again the scene of insurrection. The laws pertaining to the valuation of houses and land precipitated the insurrection which became serious enough to require troop intervention. President Adams, by his Proclamation of 21 May 1800, pardoned all insurrectionists except those then under indictment or standing convicted. Adams stated that future prosecutions were unnecessary since "peace, order, and submission to the laws of the United States were restored,... the ignorant, misguided, and misinformed counties [having] returned to a proper sense of their duty."[8]

THOMAS JEFFERSON

Although Washington pardoned participants in the Whiskey Rebellion and Adams issued pardons to certain Pennsylvania insurrectionists, Thomas Jefferson was the first US president to grant a pardon to military deserters. On 15 October 1807 Jefferson offered deserters full pardon in exchange for their surrender to the military and return to duty. Twelve days after signing the proclamation, in the Seventh Annual Message of the President to the Senate and the House of Representatives, Jefferson cited circumstances which "seriously threatened the peace of our country."[9] Thus, it may be conjectured that Jefferson offered the pardons as a means of building up the size of the Army in a time of national peril.

MADISON: AMNESTIES, DESERTERS, AND PIRATES

During his tenure as president, Madison issued amnesty proclamations on four occasions: 7 February 1812, 8 October 1812, 17 June 1814, and 6 February 1815. The first three were granted with the understanding that the deserters had "become sensible of their offense and desirous of returning to duty."[10] To receive pardon, deserters were required to surrender at a military post. These three pardons may have been intended to return deserters to duty so that they could participate in the war with Great Britain.

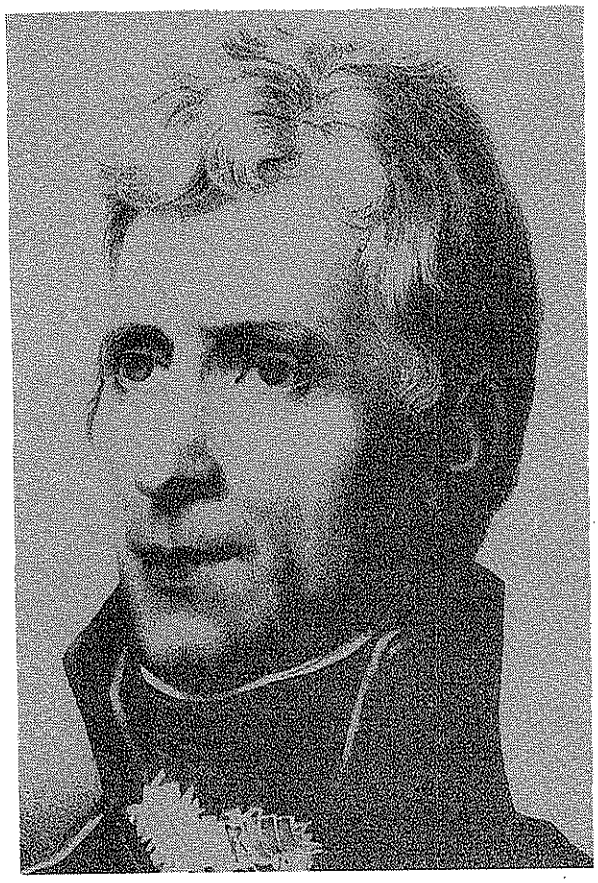
Madison's 1815 Proclamation is unique with respect to the class of offenders pardoned—it is specifically addressed to Jean Lafitte's pirates:

> ... provided, that every person claiming full benefit of this pardon in order to entitle himself thereto shall produce a certificate in writing from the governor of the State of Louisiana stating that such person has aided in the defense of New Orleans and the adjacent country during the invasion thereof as aforesaid.[11]

While most amnesties have dealt with war dissenters, Madison amnestied pirates who came to the aid of their country. Lafitte's men had spurned a cash offer by the British, choosing instead to join with General Jackson at the Battle of New Orleans.

AMNESTY UNDER JACKSON

Probably the most liberal amnesty granted to military deserters in American history was the amnesty extended by President Andrew Jackson in 1830. Jackson, acting through Secretary of War Eaton, declared the amnesty after Congress had repealed the law imposing the death penalty for peacetime desertion. War Department General Order Number 29, issued 12 June 1830, provided that deserters under sentence of death and all deserters remaining unapprehended were to be discharged from the service and barred from future enlistment. Personnel who were under arrest for desertion were to be returned to



US ARMY

Andrew Jackson

duty. An excerpt from the General Order suggests that forgiveness, compassion, and generosity were not the most compelling motives underlying the grant of amnesty to deserters not then under military control:

> It is desirable and highly important that the ranks of the Army should be composed of respectable, not degraded, materials. Those who can be so lost to the obligations of a soldier as to abandon a country which morally they are bound to defend, and which solemnly they have sworn to serve, are unworthy, and should be confided in no more.[12]

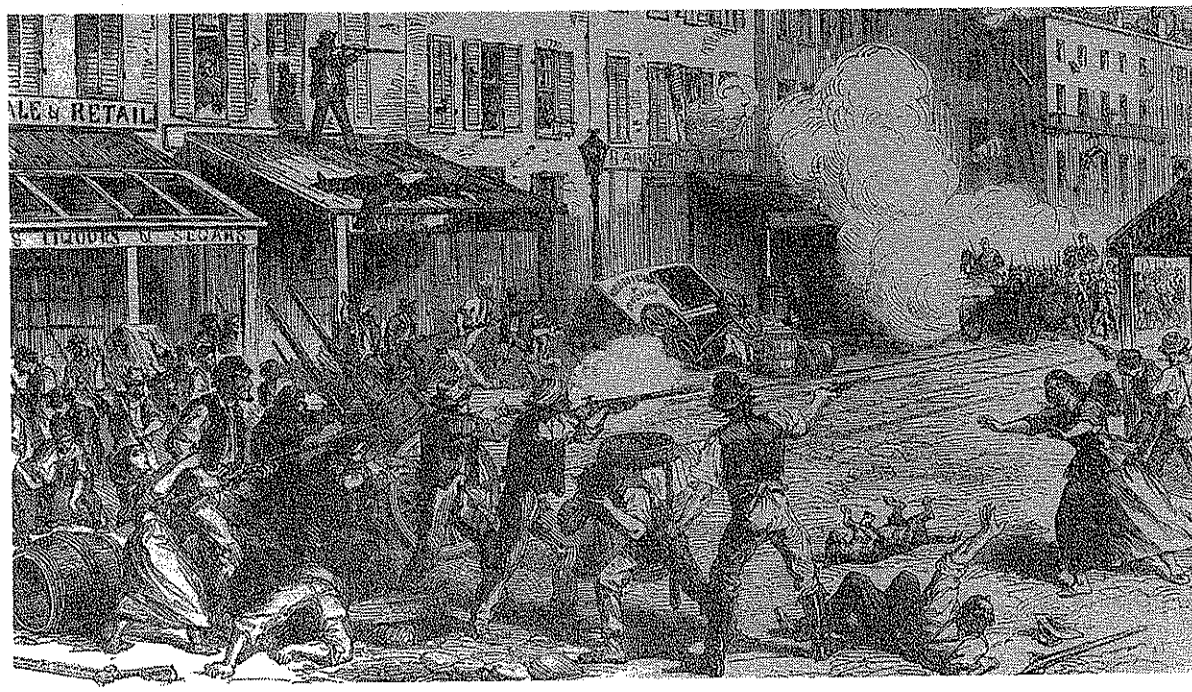
President Jackson's attitude toward the unapprehended deserters does not appear to meet the generally accepted definition of amnesty—that is, forgetfulness of the offense. Nor does his motive appear to meet the generally accepted purpose of amnesty, which is to restore national unity. Rather, the deserters still at large were characterized as unworthy and undeserving of redemption through subsequent military service.

CIVIL WAR AMNESTIES

Current pro-amnesty polemicists frequently cite Civil War amnesties as precedents for a liberal amnesty policy towards the Vietnam-era military dissidents. While there were several amnesties issued during and after the Civil War, they were restrictive and the use of this type today certainly would not satisfy amnesty spokesmen. For example, Confederate leaders remained unamnestied until 1898, having been barred by the Fourteenth Amendment from holding military or civil office.[13] Although never brought to trial, Jefferson Davis was imprisoned at Fortress Monroe from 10 May 1865 to 13 May 1867. Present-day amnesty advocates argue that America cannot afford to force war resisters to remain underground or in self-exile because the country will then be deprived of their potential leadership. Analogously, Jefferson Davis most certainly could have served as a Senator from Mississippi after the Civil War. But it would have been necessary for him to seek restoration of the privilege to hold such office, and he apparently was unwilling to recant and take the necessary oath of allegiance. Davis was still barred from holding office at the time of his death in 1889.[14]

WHILE THERE WERE SEVERAL AMNESTIES ISSUED DURING AND AFTER THE CIVIL WAR, THEY WERE RESTRICTIVE . . .

During the confusion prevailing during the early stages of the war, a great many persons were detained as political prisoners by the Union. Some of those detained had in fact



THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, NEW YORK CITY

New York City Draft Riots, 1863.

aided the Confederacy while others had not; still others had second thoughts about their earlier support of the Confederacy. President Lincoln, acting through Secretary of War Stanton, issued the first Civil War amnesty on 14 February 1862, releasing these individuals provided that they agreed to take an oath of allegiance.[15]

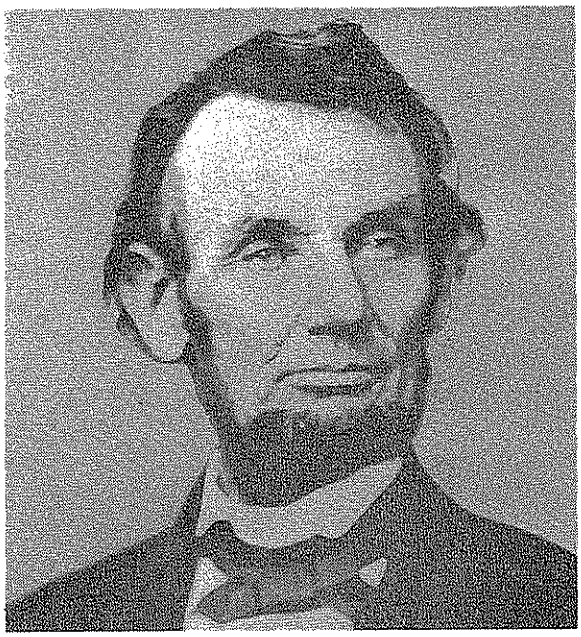
The Confiscation Act of 17 July 1862 contained a section authorizing the President to amnesty persons "who may have participated in the existing rebellion."[16] Such authority, of course, was superfluous inasmuch as Lincoln already possessed such powers by Constitutional fiat. By Presidential Proclamation of 10 March 1863, he allowed deserters to return to their military unit without punishment save forfeiture of pay and allowances for the period of their absence.[17]

In December 1863 Lincoln offered pardon to certain individuals who had participated in the Rebellion. Such individuals could be pardoned only by subscribing to the following oath of allegiance:

> I, do solemnly swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will henceforth faithfully support, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States and Union of the States thereunder. . . .[18]

Lincoln specifically excluded Confederate leaders from eligibility. Most important, the Proclamation provided that any Confederate state could be returned to the Union when subscribers to the oath equalled in number not less than 10 percent of the number of the state's voters in the 1860 Presidential election. Thus, Lincoln's Proclamation appears to have been designed mainly as an instrument to erode support for the Confederate effort by offering conditions under which a seceded state could be restored to the Union. This Proclamation was clarified on 26 March 1864 with the announcement that certain persons (mainly prisoners of war) were not eligible for amnesty.

A War Department General Order issued in February 1864 established conditions under which Confederate deserters could be



US ARMY

President Lincoln.

amnestied. An oath of allegiance was again made a prerequisite to the grant of amnesty. General Grant permitted deserters to proceed to their homes and remain exempt from military service if they took the required oath and if their homes were within Federal lines.[19]

Lincoln acted again by Presidential Proclamation on 11 March 1865, offering pardon to all Union deserters who returned to military duty within 60 days and who served a period of time equal to their enlistment. This pardon may not have been the result of Presidential initiative; more likely it was a response to a law passed by the Congress taking citizenship away from deserters and requiring that the President issue a proclamation offering pardon subject to terms similar to those contained in the 1865 Presidential Proclamation.

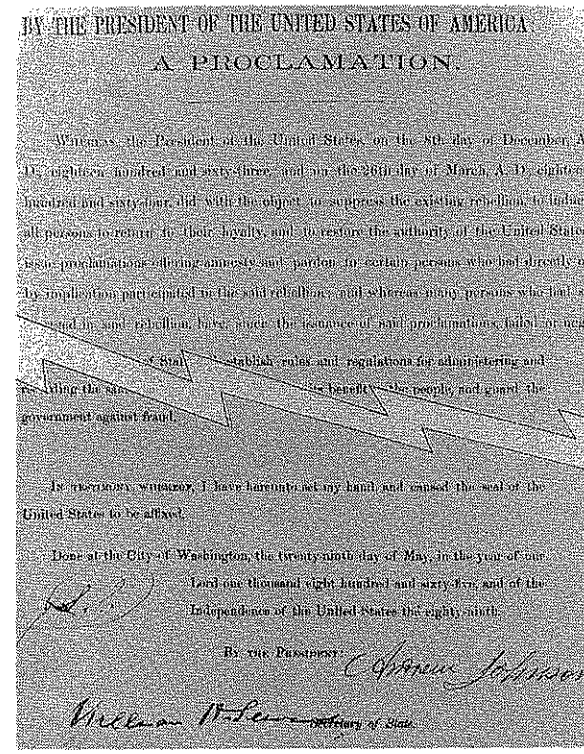
On 29 May 1865, shortly after his elevation to the Presidency, Johnson published the first of his series of amnesties. It applied to persons who had participated in the Rebellion, and an oath of allegiance was required. Of the 14 classes of persons declared ineligible for amnesty, one is of special interest:

> . . . all persons who have been or are absentees from the United States for the purpose of aiding the rebellion.[20]

A promise of conditional amnesty was extended by the War Department on 3 July 1866 to Union Army deserters, provided they surrendered before 15 August 1866.[21]

Although the Civil War ended in the spring of 1866, it was 7 September 1867 before Johnson announced a further amnesty. Once again, an oath of allegiance was a precondition. While Johnson's first amnesty excepted 14 classes of persons from eligibility, few were excluded under the 1867 Proclamation. Principal exclusions were high officials of the Confederacy, persons in confinement or on bail, and individuals involved in the assassination of President Lincoln.[22]

Shortly after the conclusion of his impeachment trial, Johnson discussed a further amnesty with his Cabinet. The idea of a universal amnesty for all rebels was seriously considered but finally rejected. Jefferson Davis and others indicted for treason or felony were excluded from the amnesty



BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

Whereas the President of the United States on the 8th day of December A. D. eighteen hundred and sixty-three and on the 26th day of March A. D. eighteen hundred and sixty-four did with the object to suppress the existing rebellion to induce all persons to return to their loyalty and to restore the authority of the United States issue proclamations offering amnesty and pardon to certain persons who had directly or by implication participated in the said rebellion and whereas many persons who had so acted in said rebellion have since the issuance of said proclamations failed or neglected to

State establish rules and regulations for administering and enforcing the said benefit the people and guard the government against fraud.

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington the twenty ninth day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty five and of the Independence of the United States the eighty ninth.

By the President: Andrew Johnson

William H. Seward Secretary of State

NATIONAL ARCHIVES

Johnson's Amnesty Proclamation of 29 May 1865.

announced 4 July 1868. A political motive can be perceived in this amnesty, since it was issued on the opening day of the Democratic National Convention. However, Southerners apparently resented the restricted scope of the amnesty, for Johnson failed to receive the Democratic nomination.[23]

On Christmas Day 1868, Johnson extended

> . . . to all and to every person who, directly or indirectly, participated in the late insurrection or rebellion a full pardon and amnesty for the offense of treason against the United States or of adhering to their enemies during the late civil war. . . .[24]

With respect to draft dodgers, no action was ever taken granting them amnesty.

By legislation in 1896, Congress enabled former Confederate military officers to seek commissions in the US Armed Forces. The law may have ensued from Congressional fear that differences with Great Britain were about to come to war. Many ex-Confederate officers were in their declining years by this time and probably would have proven of minimal value had a conflict erupted.[25]

In June 1898 President McKinley signed the final amnesty bill for Confederates. This bill, no doubt prompted by the war with Spain, repealed the bar imposed by Section 3 of the Fourteenth Amendment.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY AMNESTIES

The first US amnesty of the twentieth century was President Theodore Roosevelt's amnesty of the Philippine Insurrectionists. At an Independence Day gathering in Pennsylvania in 1902, Roosevelt announced that he had on that day issued a "proclamation of peace and amnesty."[26]

NO GENERAL AMNESTY FOLLOWED WORLD WAR I, WORLD WAR II, OR THE KOREAN WAR.

No general amnesty followed World War I, World War II, or the Korean War. On 15 December 1923 President Coolidge commuted the sentences of all prisoners who had been convicted for opposing the government and the Selective Service during World War I. The pardons were rooted in recommendations submitted to the President by a committee appointed by President Harding before his death in August 1923. The committee, composed of ex-Secretary of War Baker, Bishop Brent, and General Harbord, was formed after President Harding had been subjected to political pressure to release the prisoners. The Coolidge decision, which affected only 31 prisoners, was announced after Presidential consultation with the Attorney General.[27] Senators Pepper and Borah and the American Civil Liberties Union had led the pro-amnesty faction in this battle.[28]

A few months later, on 5 March 1924, President Coolidge, acting upon the advice of his service secretaries, restored citizenship rights to approximately 100 military deserters. However, this action did not cover military personnel who deserted prior to the World War I Armistice, nor did it remit or commute court-martial sentences. Only those who deserted after 11 November 1918 and before 17 November 1921 benefited by the Proclamation. Secretary of the Navy Denby apparently had convinced President Coolidge that loss of citizenship was an "uncommonly harsh and severe" punishment for desertion *after* the fighting had ceased.[29]

In a 23 December 1933 proclamation affecting only those *who had served prison terms* for violating the Draft and Espionage Acts, President Franklin D. Roosevelt restored civil rights to about 1,500 war resisters. There was no reduction of prison terms since all those affected by Roosevelt's "Christmas Amnesty Proclamation" had already completed their sentences. In view of the current large number of self-exiled war resisters, it is interesting to note the effect that the Roosevelt Proclamation had on the family of Mrs. Emma C. Bergdoll. Restoration of citizenship was granted her son Erwin, who had served a

President Roosevelt.

4-year prison sentence for draft-dodging. But another son, Grover, who had fled the United States to avoid the draft, remained outside the pale of amnesty since persons who had evaded indictments or sentences were not within the purview of the Proclamation.[30]

Several thousand former convicts were the beneficiaries of a Christmas Eve Proclamation issued by President Truman in 1945. The President restored citizenship rights to ex-convicts who had served at least one year in the military after 28 July 1941 and were subsequently awarded honorable discharges. Included in this amnesty were over 2,000 Federal prisoners who had been paroled for induction into the Army during World War II.[31] Observe that this amnesty was granted to war supporters, not war resisters!

Although President Truman established an Amnesty Board in 1946, the Board confined itself to recommending individuals by name for pardon. The Board, headed by former Justice Owen J. Roberts, reviewed the cases of 15,805 individuals who had been convicted of violation of the Selective Service Act. The Board recommended pardon for less than 10 percent of that number.

> Most of those who benefited by the proclamation were religious conscientious objectors. Others were Japanese Nisei, draft evaders who subsequently served honorably in the armed forces, and others who proved that their evasion was due to ignorance.[32]

A partial remission of prison sentences was involved in only three cases: the remaining 1520 pardoned had already completed their terms.[33] Interestingly, a *New York Times* editorial commented favorably on the severe action of Truman's Amnesty Board:

> It stated a principle that is fundamental in a democracy, where the majority rules with due regard for the rights of a minority, when it decided that it would not recommend restoration of civil rights to those persons who "thus have set themselves up as wiser and more competent than society to determine their duty to come to the defense of the nation."[34]

America's most recent amnesty came in the midst of the Korean War. On 24 December 1952 as he began to prepare to vacate the White House and return to civilian life, President Truman restored civil rights to all persons convicted of having deserted between 15 August 1945 and 25 June 1950. No pardon, remission, or mitigation of sentence was involved; the sole effect of Truman's action was to restore citizenship. An estimated 8,904 deserters were covered by the amnesty. In his Christmas Message the next day, Truman also announced the restoration of civil rights to Korean War veterans who had been convicted by civilian courts prior to their military service. The McCarren Immigration Act also became effective on that date and Truman's motive for restoring citizenship to this group of offenders may well have been to preclude deportation of veterans who had been naturalized citizens prior to their convictions.[35] There has been no presidential or congressional amnesty since the 1952 Christmas announcements.

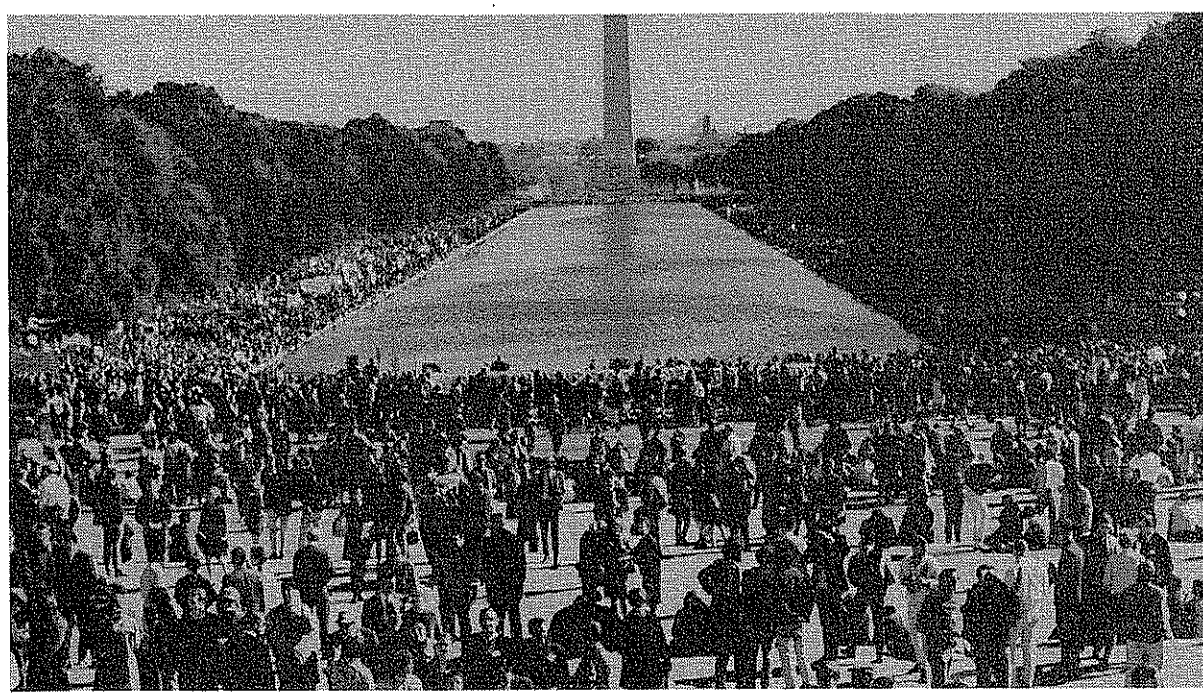
CONCLUSION

This brief historical review of amnesty offers no sanguine expectation to those who desire an immediate, unconditional, and general grant of amnesty to all Vietnam-era Armed Forces deserters and Selective Service violators. In light of the precedents, any attempt to enlist the aid of history to support such a view rests on a slender reed. The most cursory analysis of historical data on American amnesties indicates that present rationales for amnesty represent a departure from, rather than an appeal to, precedent.

Amnesty for military deserters and violators of conscription laws has generally been granted only to those who had been previously convicted and had served their terms. Remission or commutation of sentence has been exceptional rather than customary, and beneficiaries of amnesty have received little more than a restoration of their civil rights. Deserters at liberty have generally been required to return to military authority as a condition precedent to the grant of amnesty, although President Jackson did punitively discharge some deserters and prohibit their ever serving in the military again. Desertion during an armed conflict has traditionally been dealt with as a far more serious offense than desertion in peacetime. Finally, it should be carefully noted that Presidents Madison and Truman granted amnesty for crime as a *reward* to persons who had *served honorably* in the Armed Forces, rather than as a mechanism of forgiveness to those who willfully failed to answer their Country's call.

The issue of amnesty for those who refused military service or fled their assigned posts during the Vietnam era will not, like old soldiers, simply fade away. The emotional impact has seared the consciences of too many at both poles of the issue for that to be a reasonable expectation. Nor will the issue be resolved speedily—amnesty has historically been granted only after prolonged and frequently bitter and divisive debate. But it has generally been the case that the longer an amnesty has been postponed, the more liberal have been its terms.

Amnesty will continue to be sought by political leaders who opposed the American



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Anti-Vietnam Demonstration, Washington, 1967.

involvement in Vietnam, by pacifist groups advocating non-participation in all wars, by civil libertarians who believe that conscription is an unjust erosion of individual rights, and by religious organizations preaching forgiveness. American history can comfort these persons to a degree; some form of amnesty probably will be granted in the unspecified future. But whatever form the amnesty takes, it will be no panacea for its beneficiaries unless there is an abrupt departure from historical trends. Any appeal for an immediate, general, and unconditional grant of amnesty on the grounds of historical precedent is not an appeal to fact. It is a resort to historical myth.

NOTES

1. Numbers 1:2.
2. US Selective Service, Special Monograph No. 2, in *Backgrounds of Selective Service* (Washington: GPO, 1947), I, 89.
3. "Amnesty," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* 1950.
4. *Ibid.*
5. US Congress, Senate, *The Constitution of the United States of America: Analysis and Interpretation,* Document No. 39, 88th Cong., 1st session, 1964, p. 461.
6. "Amnesty," *Encyclopedia Brittanica,* 1968.
7. James D. Richardson, ed., *Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897* (Washington: GPO, 1907), I, 161-62, 181.
8. *Ibid.,* pp. 289-92, 303, 304.
9. *Ibid.,* p. 425.
10. *Ibid.,* pp. 512, 514, 543.
11. *Ibid.,* p. 559.
12. War Department General Order No. 29, 12 June 1830.
13. The Fourteenth Amendment, Section 3: "No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability."
14. Jonathan T. Dorris, *Pardon and Amnesty under Lincoln and Johnson* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of N. C. Press, 1953), p. 387.
15. *Ibid.,* pp. 9-11.
16. *Ibid.,* pp. 6-7.
17. Richardson, VI, 163.
18. Dorris, p. 34.
19. *Ibid.,* p. 63.
20. *Ibid.,* pp. 111-12, 117.
21. John C. Etridge, *Amnesty: A Brief Historical Overview,* Congressional Reference Service (Washington: GPO, 1972), p. 13.
22. Richardson, VI, 547-49.
23. Dorris, pp. 352-55.
24. Richardson, VI, 708.
25. Dorris, p. 386.
26. US, President, *A Compilation of the Messages and Speeches of Theodore Roosevelt, 1901-1905,* ed. Alfred H. Lewis (Washington: Bureau of National Literature and Art, 1906), Supplemental Volume, 45-51.
27. "Coolidge Releases All War Offenders as Christmas Gift," *New York Times,* 16 December 1923, p. 1.
28. William Preston, Jr., *Aliens and Dissenters* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1963), pp. 262-63.
29. "Grants Amnesty to 100 Deserters," *New York Times,* 6 March 1924, p. 3.
30. "Roosevelt Proclamation Restores to Citizenship 1,500 Wartime Violators," *New York Times,* 25 December 1933, p. 1. See also "Proclamation No. 2067," *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America* (Washington: GPO, 1934), XLVIII, Part 2, 1725-26.
31. "Truman Pardons Ex-convicts Who Served with Merit in War," *New York Times,* 25 December 1945, p. 1.
32. Anthony Leviero, "President Grants Pardons to 1,523 Who Escape Draft," *New York Times,* 24 December 1947, p. 1.
33. *Ibid.*
34. "The Duties of Citizenship," *New York Times,* 25 December 1947, p. 20.
35. "Truman Yule Plea," *New York Times,* 25 December 1952, p. 1.