

# Memorial Addresses and Other Tributes

HELD IN THE SENATE  
AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
OF THE UNITED STATES  
TOGETHER WITH MEMORIAL SERVICES  
IN HONOR OF

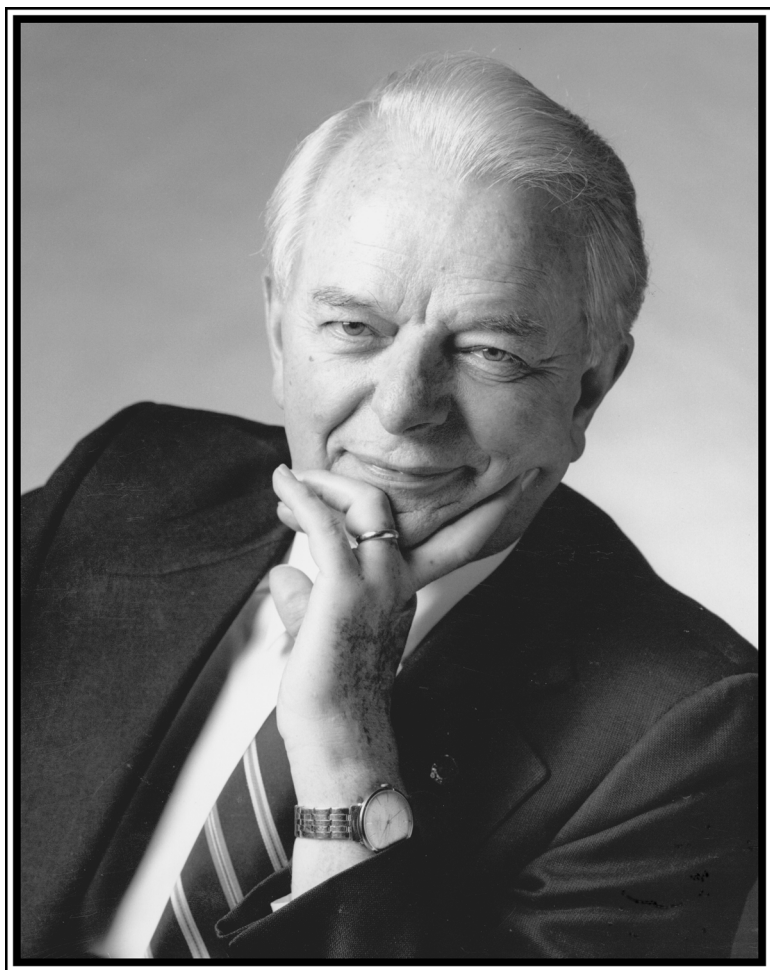
## ROBERT C. BYRD

*Late a Senator from West Virginia*

One Hundred Eleventh Congress  
Second Session







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*Compiled under the direction  
of the  
Joint Committee on Printing*

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## BIOGRAPHY

In the Halls of Congress, ROBERT C. BYRD will be best known for his fierce defense of the Constitution and the institution of the Senate. The *Almanac of American Politics* stated that ROBERT BYRD “may come closer to the kind of senator the Founding Fathers had in mind than any other.” Senators from both parties have paid tribute to ROBERT BYRD’s devotion to the Constitution. He endeavored to make sure that the wisdom of the Constitution’s Framers was not forgotten and that the people’s liberties were protected.

On June 12, 2006, ROBERT BYRD became the longest-serving U.S. Senator in the history of our Nation and, in November 2006, he was elected to an unprecedented ninth full term in the Senate. But it was on November 18, 2009, that Senator BYRD became the longest-serving Member of Congress in the history of our great Republic, surpassing the record of the late Senator Carl Hayden’s service of 20,773 days. Senator Byrd went on to serve 20,996 days, setting a new record of service in the Congress.

During his tenure, which spanned 12 administrations, his colleagues elected him to more leadership positions than any other Senator in history—secretary of the Senate Democratic Conference; Senate majority whip; chairman of the Senate Democratic Steering Committee; chairman of the Senate Democratic Policy Committee; chairman of the Senate Democratic Conference; Senate minority leader; twice as Senate majority leader; President pro tempore emeritus; and President pro tempore—a position third in line of succession to the Presidency, and the second highest ranking official in the U.S. Senate and the highest ranking Senator in the majority party. He was President pro tempore at the time of his death in June 2010.

But the post that gave him the most satisfaction was chairman of the Appropriations Committee, with its power of the purse—a post he held during five Congresses, longer than any other Senator, and which he gave up only in 2009 as his health declined. He continued to serve as the senior member of the powerful Senate Appropriations Committee, and was the chairman of the Senate Appropriations Sub-



committee on Homeland Security. ROBERT BYRD also served on the Senate Budget, Armed Services, and Rules and Administration Committees.

Throughout his career, Senator BYRD cast 18,689 roll call votes—more votes than any other Senator in American history—compiling an amazing 97 percent attendance record in his more than five decades of service in the Senate.

Born CORNELIUS CALVIN SALE, JR., in North Wilkesboro, North Carolina, ROBERT BYRD's natural mother, Ada Kirby Sale, died in the great influenza epidemic of 1918 when he was barely a year old. Her dying wish to her husband Cornelius was to give the baby to his sister Vlurma Sale Byrd and her husband, Titus Dalton Byrd. They renamed the baby ROBERT CARLYLE BYRD after their only son who had died, and raised him in the coal camps of West Virginia where his adopted father was a coal miner.

Growing up in the West Virginia coalfields, ROBERT BYRD not only learned the values that guided him in his life, but that is where he also met his life's love, Erma Ora James. They both attended Mark Twain High School and married shortly after graduation in 1937. For nearly 69 years, the Byrds were inseparable, traveling the hills and hollows of West Virginia and crossing the globe together. Mrs. Byrd passed away on March 25, 2006.

ROBERT BYRD was the valedictorian of his high school class at the age of 16, and after 10 years of classes at night at the American University while serving as a U.S. Senator, Senator BYRD earned his law degree in 1963. He was profoundly self-educated and well read. His Senate speeches sparkled with citations from Shakespeare, the King James Version of the Bible, and the histories of England, Greece, and Rome.

Knowing the importance of education, Senator BYRD helped thousands of young people earn their own college diploma. Through the Scholastic Recognition Award, which the Senator started in 1969, the valedictorian at each West Virginia public and private high school receives a savings bond and a special congratulations from the Senator. Then, in 1985, Senator BYRD launched the first and only Federal merit-based scholarship, the Robert C. Byrd Honors Scholarship Program. Since its inception, tens of thousands of students across the country have helped to pay their tuition bills through this unique initiative.

At an early age, ROBERT BYRD learned to play the fiddle, and he carried it with him everywhere. He played in churches, homes, and hamlets throughout southern West Virginia.

While campaigning for political office he made his fiddle case his briefcase. His skill with the instrument helped to get people's attention on the stump, and eventually led to performances at the Kennedy Center and on national television. Senator BYRD even recorded his own album, *Mountain Fiddler*. And, in October 2008, ROBERT BYRD was on the stage of the Grand Ole Opry as he was presented with the Dr. Perry F. Harris Distinguished Fiddler Award for his fiddle-playing passion.

If his West Virginia values defined Senator BYRD, then the Constitution of the United States gave him a foundation to fight for liberty and freedom. Always close to his heart, the Constitution guided ROBERT BYRD. Its words and wisdom served as the foundation for his fierce defense of principle and of the people's liberties. It did not matter from where the danger came. If the people's freedoms were jeopardized, if the Constitution's delicate balance was threatened, one would find Senator ROBERT BYRD leading the defense. Some considered his finest hour, leading the charge against the invasion of Iraq. He denounced the 2002 congressional resolution authorizing the President to make war on Iraq. It "amounted to a complete evisceration of the Congressional prerogative to declare war," he wrote in *Losing America*.

From his humble beginnings to the halls of power, ROBERT BYRD never forgot where he came from or where he was going. He was a statesman, a patriot, a defender of the Constitution, a proud son of West Virginia, and one of the most important leaders in America.

Senator BYRD was blessed with a loving family, including two daughters, Mrs. Mohammad (Mona Byrd) Fatemi and Mrs. Jon (Marjorie Byrd) Moore; six grandchildren: Erik, Darius, and Fredrik Fatemi; Michael Moore (deceased), Mona Byrd Moore Pearson, and Mary Anne Moore Clarkson; five great granddaughters: Caroline Byrd Fatemi, Kathryn James Fatemi, and Anna Cristina Honora Fatemi; Emma James Clarkson and Hannah Byrd Clarkson; and two great grandsons, Michael Yoo Fatemi and James Matthew Fatemi.

Senator BYRD was the author of five books: *The Senate, 1789-1989*, consisting of four volumes; *The Senate of the Roman Republic: Addresses on the History of Roman Constitutionalism*; *Losing America: Confronting A Reckless and Arrogant Presidency*; *Robert C. Byrd: Child of the Appalachian Coalfields*; and coauthor with Steve Kettmann, *Letter to a New President*.



MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

AND

OTHER TRIBUTES

FOR

ROBERT C. BYRD



# Proceedings in the Senate

MONDAY, *June 28, 2010*

## PRAYER

The Chaplain, Dr. Barry C. Black, offered the following prayer:

Let us pray.

Immortal, invisible God only wise, the fountain of every blessing, we thank You for the life and legacy of Senator ROBERT C. BYRD, our friend and colleague whose death we grieve today. We praise You for his more than five decades of exemplary service to our Nation and the citizens of West Virginia, for the way he carried out his duties with integrity and faithfulness. We are grateful that he knew when to ask the tough questions, and to challenge the status quo.

Lord, You gave him courage to make course corrections both privately and publicly and empowered him to oppose without bitterness, to compromise with wisdom, and to yield without being defeated. I thank You that he was my friend.

Lord, we pray for his loved ones, our Senate family, and all who mourn his passing. May his many contributions to our Nation not be forgotten by this and succeeding generations. May all of us who had the privilege of knowing our Nation's longest serving legislator emulate his passion, patience, and perseverance. Give him a crown of righteousness and permit him to hear You say, "Well done, good and faithful servant."

We pray in Your merciful Name. Amen.

Mr. REID. I ask that the Senate observe a moment of silence for Senator BYRD.

(Moment of silence.)

Mr. President, our Senate family grieves today with the Byrd family over the loss of one of the most dedicated Americans ever to serve this country; one of the most devoted men ever to serve his State; one of the most distinguished Senators ever to serve in the Senate.

ROBERT BYRD's mind was among the greatest the world has ever seen. As a boy, he was called upon, when he was in elementary school, to stand before the class and recite not paragraphs from the assignment of the night before but pages of the night before. He did this from memory.

From his graduation as valedictorian of his high school class at the age of 16 to his death this morning as the Senate's President pro tempore at age 92, he mastered everything he touched with great thoughtfulness and skill. This good man could drive from his home here in Washington to West Virginia and back—it took 8 hours—reciting classic poetry the entire time, and not recite the same poem twice.

I was asked by Senator BYRD to travel to West Virginia to do an exchange with the British Parliament. There were a number of us there, eight or nine Senators, and a like number of British Parliamentarians. I can remember that night so well. We had the music up there he liked the best—bluegrass music—and they played. It was a festive evening.

Then it came time for the program. Senator BYRD said, "I am going to say a few things." And he passed out little notebooks. He had notebooks passed out to everyone there with a little pencil. He wanted to make sure everything was just right; that people, if they had something to write, had something to write on and write with. And he proceeded, standing there without a note, to pronounce the reign of the British monarchs, from the beginning to the end. He would give the dates they served. On some of the more difficult spellings, he would spell the name. And he would, as I indicated, if it was something he really wanted to talk about that they had accomplished that he thought was noteworthy, he would tell us about that. That took about an hour and a half to do that. The British Parliamentarians were stunned. They had never heard anyone who could do anything like that, an American talking about the reign of the British monarchs. Those of us who were Senators, nothing surprised us that he could do from memory.

I can remember when he decided he was no longer going to be the Democratic leader, Senator Dole did an event for him in the Russell Building, and all the Senators were there, Democratic and Republican Senators. He told us a number of things he did not do, and he told us a number of things he did do. For example, he read the *Encyclopedia Britannica* from cover to cover twice. He studied the dictionary. He read that from cover to cover during one of our breaks.

I have told this story on an occasion or two, but to give the depth of this man's memory—I had been to Nevada, and when I came back, he asked me, "What did you do?"

I said, "Senator BYRD, I pulled a book out of my library on the way back. I didn't have anything to read. It was a paperback. I read the *Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*."

And as those of us who can remember him, he looked at me and he held his head back a little bit and his eyes rolled back and he said, *Robinson Crusoe*. He proceeded to tell me—I had just read the book—how long he had been on that island: 28 years, 3 months, 1 week, and 2 days, or whatever it was. I was stunned. I did not know. I went back and pulled the book out to see if he was right, and he was right. He probably had not read that book in 35 or 40 years, but he knew that. What a mind. It was really stunning, the man's memory.

The head of the political science department at the University of Nevada at Las Vegas, Andy Tuttle, taught a graduate course, based on Senator BYRD's lectures on the Roman Empire.

He gave 10 lectures here on the Senate floor on the fall of the Roman Empire. He gave a lecture because he was concerned because of the line-item veto, and he felt the line-item veto would be the beginning of the end of the Senate. He proceeded to give 10 lectures on that on the Senate floor, every one of them from memory. Timed just perfectly. They ended in 1 hour. That is how much time he had been given. The original Roman Emperors served for 1 year. He could do it from memory. He knew who they were, how long they served, knew how to spell their names—truly an unbelievably brilliant man.

He is the only person who earned his law degree while he was a Member of Congress. His thirst for knowledge was simply without equal.

Senator BYRD once observed that the longer he lived, the better he understood how precious the gift of our time on Earth was.

I quote Senator BYRD, "As you get older, you see time running out. It is irretrievable and irreversible. But one should never retire from learning and growth." ROBERT BYRD never retired from anything. He served in the Senate for more than half a century and in the House of Representatives for 6 years before that, and he dedicated every one of those days to strengthening the State and the Nation he loved so dearly. He never once stopped fighting for the good people of West



Virginia and for the principles in our founding documents. He was forever faithful to his constituents, his Constitution, and his country. He fought for what he thought was right, and when he was wrong, he was wise enough to admit it, and he did admit it a few times.

Senator BYRD's ambition was legendary. He took his oath in this Chamber on January 3, 1959, the same day Alaska became our 49th State. He told the *Charleston Gazette* newspaper in that freshman year, "If I live long enough, I'd like to be Chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee." Thirty years later, he was, and then he lived and served for 21 more years. His legislative accomplishments are many, and those achievements fortify his incomparable legacy. But he is perhaps best known in this Chamber as the foremost guardian of the Senate's complex rules, procedures, and customs. He did not concern himself with such precision as a pastime or mere hobby; he did so because of the unyielding respect he had for the Senate—a reverence the Senate always returned to him and now to his memory.

With ROBERT BYRD's passing, America has lost its strongest defender of its most precious traditions. It now falls to each of us to keep that flame burning.

Throughout one of the longest political careers in history, no one in West Virginia ever defeated ROBERT BYRD in a single election. In Washington, his fellow Democrats twice elected him to lead us when we were in the majority and once more when we were in the minority. Having seen both sides, he knew better than most that legislating is the art of compromise. Many years ago, in this Chamber where he served longer than any other Senator, Senator BYRD taught a heartfelt history lesson to guide our future. It was a lesson about both the Constitution and this institution. He said:

This very charter of government under which we live was created in a spirit of compromise and mutual concession. And it is only in that spirit that continuance of this charter of government can be prolonged and sustained.

In his tenure he saw partisanship and bipartisanship, war and peace, recession and recovery. His perspective and legacy are invaluable to the way we carry ourselves as U.S. Senators. It is instructive that the man who served the longest and saw the most concluded we must work together as partners, not partisans, for the good of our States and our country.

In 1996, ROBERT BYRD spoke to a meeting of incoming Senators and reminded them that the Senate is still the an-

chor of the Republic. Senator BYRD was the anchor of the Senate. There will never be another like him.

He was a Member of this Nation's Congress for more than a quarter of the time it has existed, and longer than a quarter of today's sitting Senators and the President of the United States have been alive. His political career spanned countless American advances and achievements. A dozen men called the Oval Office his own while Senator BYRD called the Capitol Building his office—and he would be the first to remind us that those two branches are equal in the eyes of the Constitution. I have heard him say so many times that we work with the President, not under the President.

The nine times the people of his State sent him to the Senate and the more than 18,500 votes he cast here will never be matched.

As the President pro tempore and I, and each of us fortunate enough to be here, have the privilege of knowing first hand, it was an incomparable privilege to serve with him and learn from this giant. By virtue of his endurance, ROBERT BYRD knew and worked with many of the greats of the Senate. Because of his enduring virtue, he will be forever remembered as one of them.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I too wish to say a few words about our departed colleague. The first thing to say is that we are sorry, first and foremost, to the family and also to the staff of Senator BYRD for their loss. The next thing to say is that it is a sad day for the Senate. Everybody who has been here for a while has a few ROBERT BYRD stories. A couple come to mind I thought I would share.

Along with Senator Reid and Senator Dodd, Senator BYRD, in the early part of the decade, responded to my request to come down to the University of Louisville, my alma mater, to speak to the students and to a broader audience. At his age and particularly given the fact that I was a member of the opposition party, there was, frankly, no particular reason for him to do that. But he did and made an extraordinary impression on the students and inconvenienced himself on my behalf, which I always appreciated.

My second—and really my favorite—recollection of Senator BYRD, I found myself a few years ago in a curious position, at variance with virtually everybody on my side of the aisle. I had reflexively, as I think many Members had, responded negatively to a decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in the late 1980s essentially holding that flag burning was a per-

missible First Amendment expression of political speech. The first time that amendment came before the Senate, I voted for it. Then I began to have some pangs of discomfort about my position. Having spent a good portion of my political career focusing on political speech and the First Amendment, I, frankly, decided I was wrong and in subsequent votes have opposed it.

A few years ago, it became clear it was going to be defeated in the Senate by the narrowest of margins. I remembered that Senator BYRD was always carrying around a Constitution in his pocket and had a feeling that upon reflection, he might reach the same conclusion I did. So I lobbied Senator BYRD. I thought initially it would be a futile act, but he reexamined his position. As a result, he too changed his position, and as it turns out, there was not a vote to spare the last time the Senate considered whether it would be appropriate to amend the First Amendment for the first time in the history of the country to kind of carve a niche out of it to make it possible to punish an act we all find despicable. But, nevertheless, the most unfortunate of speech is probably what the First Amendment was all about initially. So Senator BYRD did change his position. There was not a vote to spare, and the amendment was defeated. And from my point of view, the First Amendment was saved on that important occasion.

We will all remember Senator BYRD for a variety of different things. As the majority leader pointed out, he was a unique individual in so many different ways. Those are two of my favorite stories about ROBERT BYRD.

More than anyone else in any of our lifetimes, ROBERT BYRD embodied the Senate. He not only wrote the book on it, he was a living repository of its rules, its customs, and its prerogatives. So it would be a mistake to think that Senator BYRD became synonymous with the Senate simply because he served in it longer than anybody else. Rather, it was a fitting coincidence that a man who cherished and knew this place so well would become its longest serving Member.

Yet it is probably true that he will be remembered above all for his longevity.

Everyone seems to have a different way of communicating just how long a time he spent here. For me, it is enough to note that ROBERT BYRD had already spent nearly 12 years serving in elected office in West Virginia and in the House of Representatives before he was elected to the U.S. Senate during the Eisenhower administration.

Over the years, he would walk the floor with 4 future Presidents, 4 of the 12 he would serve alongside in a 57-year career in Congress. I won't enumerate all the legislative records Senator BYRD held, but I would venture to say that the figure that probably made him proudest of all was the nearly 70 years of marriage he spent with a coal miner's daughter named Erma.

If he was synonymous with the Senate, he was no less synonymous with West Virginia. Here is how popular ROBERT BYRD was in his home State: In the year ROBERT BYRD was first elected to the U.S. Senate, 1958, he won with 59 percent of the vote, a margin that most people around here would consider a landslide. In a record nine Senate elections, it was the smallest margin of victory he would ever get.

Members will offer tributes of their own in the coming days.

I will close with this. Last year, in becoming the longest serving Member of Congress in history, Senator BYRD surpassed another legendary figure, Carl Hayden of Arizona. Hayden was known to many as the "silent Senator," a phrase few would use to describe Senator BYRD.

But what the two men shared was a devotion to the United States and, in particular, to the legislative branch of our Government, which the founders envisioned and established as coequal with the other two.

A few years ago, Senator BYRD's official portrait was unveiled at an event in the Old Senate Chamber. And I think that portrait pretty well sums up the image Senator BYRD wanted to leave of himself. It is the image of a dignified man, in the classical mold, supported by three things: the Bible, the U.S. Constitution, and his wife. A lot of people looked at Senator BYRD's record-long tenure in Congress, his immense knowledge of poetry, history, and the Senate, and wondered where he got the strength. With this painting, he gave us the answer. He showed us the anchors.

As I noted at that ceremony, Senator BYRD once wrote that if the question was whether to be loved or respected, he always chose to be respected. Yet his real accomplishment is that, in the end, he managed to be both.

So I join my colleagues, my fellow Americans, the people of West Virginia, and the Byrd family today in remembering our colleague. We will surely miss him.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from West Virginia.

Mr. ROCKEFELLER. Mr. President, on this day, West Virginia has lost probably its most prominent son and the Senate has lost probably its most able statesman. For myself, I have lost an admired colleague and a treasured friend. More than nine decades of a remarkable life and five decades as an accomplished public servant in the Senate only serve as one form of proof that ROBERT C. BYRD was and always will be an icon, particularly in his own State. A man of great character, faith, and intellect, who rose to the heights of power, yet never forgot where he came from, his story holds a profoundly significant place in both West Virginia and American history. But it was in the coalfields of southern West Virginia where a young ROBERT C. BYRD first gained the skills, the moral character, the toughness, and the shrewdness that would make him a truly great man.

After his mother passed away, he was raised by his aunt and uncle, a coal miner, he movingly called "the most remarkable man I have ever been privileged to know." From them Senator BYRD learned early in life what it meant to be loyal, to have a ferocious work ethic, really almost beyond imagination, and possess a deep faith in God. And it was these values—these innately West Virginia values, I argue—that guided his every action and made him such a unique and strong fighter for our State and who got such joy in doing that fight.

He was proud of West Virginia. He was proud of his ideals. He was proud of the service he could render to the people from whom he came. He believed with all his heart that our breathtaking mountains, our rivers, and our deep valleys, and especially our well-rooted people, who face adversity always and face it with strength and courage, make our State a place like none other in the world.

He loved the music of the mountains and played his fiddle, in fact, very brilliantly. He was a master violin player. He loved to quote the ancients, lending depth to his analysis and observations, with knowledge of history and philosophy to rival any professor. Just as easily as he could quote Cicero from memory, he could sing every verse of "Amazing Grace" from memory, too, and often did.

Everything about Senator BYRD was a testament to his faith in God. This man, who wrote and debated countless laws, lived with 10 clear Commandments in his heart. His aunt and uncle kept the King James Bible in their home and instilled in him an enduring reverence for God. He always remembered that as important as the Senate and our con-

stitutional government might be, there was always a higher law that took precedence.

He started his career humbly by any definition—as a butcher, a welder, other things too—and then campaigned by playing his foot-stomping music, the fiddle, to get elected to the West Virginia Legislature—that is how he did it—the very same body that decades later would deem him the “West Virginian of the 20th Century.”

It was at Mark Twain High School where a lifetime of love first began for ROBERT C. BYRD and his future wife, Erma Ora James. Calling her the “wind beneath this BYRD’s wings,” as he put it, Senator BYRD was never shy to tell you that Erma—a beloved coal miner’s daughter herself—was the reason he reached all of his goals. He believed that with all of his heart. So from the fiddle-playing young man to a history-making American icon, she loved and supported him every step of the way until her passing in 2006.

I know and I observed maybe earlier than some that Senator BYRD lost just a bit when Erma died. Watching him hurting was painful. His wife died from the same disease my mother died from; that is, Alzheimer’s, and we talked about it, especially a few years ago when he was talking more frequently. I always felt bad that I could not give him comfort and that I could not say something to him that would relinquish his pain, which was evident and obvious—very obvious in private. But I could not do that because you cannot do that for diseases like that one. There were not words to describe the difficulty such a devastating loss can bring, and I commend my friend for continuing on so strongly—as he did—for so long.

Erma was his soulmate, his best friend, and trusted counselor. Their marriage was something to behold. My wife Sharon and I loved watching them together. He became a different person. They radiated an extraordinary faith in God, in each other, and in the beautiful family they built together, which in the end was what he loved the most. Indeed, it was the time ROBERT BYRD spent with Erma; their daughters, Mona and Marjorie, their husbands, and their grandchildren and great-grandchildren that brought sheer joy, pure unadulterated joy, to his life. So with sadness in my heart, I also have joy at the thought of my friend united with his precious Erma and with his dear grandson he lost at a young age. We all know, those of us who have been here for several years, the agony he went through at the death of that young man, setting up a shrine in his office. It affected

him deeply. It was interesting that a man who could be so oriented toward policy could be so utterly moved by sadness in his own life and I think in the lives of others.

It was in the Halls of the U.S. Senate where ROBERT C. BYRD became known as the "Soul of the Senate," a fierce defender of the Constitution, a respected historian, and an absolutely fearless legislator. He held, as has been said many times before, more leadership posts than any other Senator, cast more votes than any other Senator, and served longer than any other Senator. And one could go on in many ways in that theme. He literally wrote the authoritative book on the rules and procedures of the Senate. He taught all of us who were freshmen in this body about that in classes which he would conduct standing in the well of the Senate. He loved and he revered this institution. Everybody says that. It is true.

Some people pass through this institution. They experience this institution. He lived this institution. Yet, still, his entire career was fundamentally an act of commitment to the State of West Virginia and its people, a day-in and day-out effort to do the best he possibly could for the people of the Mountain State; always put upon, often looked down upon, even disdained by others who did not understand where they came from, what their lives were like, and, for example, what it was like to be a coal miner. People do not understand West Virginia well. Most people do not go there. Senator BYRD sprung from West Virginia and, yes, was an intensely devoted statesman.

He put himself through law school while also serving in Congress. I know a few others have done that, but I just sort of deny that. I think it is amazing that Senator BYRD did that; therefore, any others who did it do not get my attention.

He understood that people with the fortitude to ask questions and to debate and to dissent one from another makes America stronger. He had that courage himself, standing up time and time again to defend the ideals upon which our Nation was founded. And often those ideas were very different from those of others. No matter with Senator BYRD; he always spoke for what he felt was correct.

As the minority leader has pointed out, the Senator always had the Constitution in his pocket, close to his heart. And he outlasted Presidents and Supreme Court Justices. He served with an absolute insistence on the equality of the three branches of government as envisioned by our Founding Fa-

thers, and he, therefore, helped us as a body be more than our separate parts. He spread the words of our Constitution to young children and his colleagues alike. His patriotism was strong and confident, infusing his every action with deep devotion for our Nation and its people.

A Senator from a State that has sent legions of sons and daughters to war—out of courage, out of love of country, sometimes just out of a need to get work—he supported our troops whether he agreed with their cause or not, fought for our veterans, and worked hard to make sure those who served our country got the respect, the support, the supplies they needed and they deserved.

He also earned the loyalty of West Virginians with a record of support for education and economic opportunity that few Senators, at any time, in any State, in my judgment, could ever match. To him, every school building or education grant was a chance for a better life for some West Virginia child or maybe quite a lot of children. He cared about that, and he helped that become true.

Every overpass, every road represented an opportunity for a more dynamic economy for our cities and towns, which might be taken casually in some places but not in West Virginia because only 4 percent of our land is flat, and unless there is a road or a bridge, you cannot build anything anywhere or virtually do anything anywhere. Every business park or government office meant the possibility of a better job for West Virginians trying to raise their families—people he fought for all his life.

Senator BYRD also believed health care is one of the most important ways to strengthen a community, and his support for medical research resulted in breakthrough medical opportunities. He spread this research all across West Virginia, to West Virginia University, to Marshall University, to institutions of all kinds. He believed in medical research and did more than most of our colleagues even know.

So in a State with rugged terrain, full of people like the family who raised him, doing their best for their family, for their country, for their God, ROBERT C. BYRD decided that somebody needed to do the best for them, and he did so each and every day of his life.

To me, he was a perfect colleague and a reliable friend, a walking example of the kind of America I believe in, and a living testament to the values that made West Virginia my own home forever. It has been my greatest privilege to serve with ROBERT C. BYRD in the U.S. Senate. I respected him



and I fought side by side with him for causes we both believed in, and obviously I am profoundly saddened that he is gone.

So in closing, Mr. President, I think he leaves a void that probably cannot be filled. But I am lifted by the knowledge of his deep and abiding faith and that he is in the hands of the One who inspired these words in "Amazing Grace":

Yea, when this flesh and heart shall fail,  
And mortal life shall cease,  
I shall possess within the veil,  
A life of joy and peace.

I think that gives all of us some comfort. It certainly does me.

So peace and Godspeed, Senator BYRD, and peace to your family, your loyal staff, and to the loving people of West Virginia, who held you high for so long and will continue to do so.

I thank the Chair and yield my time.

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, let me begin by expressing my deep sorrow and my condolences to ROBERT C. BYRD's family. And that family includes, obviously, not only his direct, immediate family but obviously the literally legions of people who worked for ROBERT C. BYRD—worked with him in both the House of Representatives and this body for the more than five decades he served in the U.S. Congress.

I suspect I am one of a handful of people left who remember the day when I was 8 years old, in the gallery of the House of Representatives, watching my father be sworn in as a new Congressman, watching my father and a young 35-year-old West Virginian named ROBERT C. BYRD be sworn in as a Member of the House on January 3, 1953. Six years later, at the age of 14, I was in the gallery of this Chamber when I watched my father and his great friend be sworn in together on January 3, 1959, as Members of the Senate. Two-and-a-half years later, as a 17 year old sitting on the very steps where these young pages sit today, in the summer of 1961, I worked with ROBERT C. BYRD. In fact, with his departure and his death, he is now the last remaining Member of the Senate who was there that day when I first arrived as a page in summer 1961 when all these chairs were filled by 100 Senators. For the last 25 years, I have sat next to him at this very seat to be the recipient of his good counsel, his advice, his humor, his contributions in so many ways to me, as he was to so many others with whom he served during his tenure in the Congress.

So this is a very poignant day, one that begins, in a sense, a sense of bookmarks to me and a sense of public life. It won't be the same for the remaining 6 or 7 months of my tenure here to not have this wonderful human being, ROBERT C. BYRD, as my seatmate in the Senate.

So I rise today to mark the passing and to celebrate the prolific life of ROBERT C. BYRD of West Virginia. As I have said to his family and to his staff, and, of course, to the people of West Virginia, for whom he has been such a champion throughout his public life, ROBERT BYRD loved three things above all else during the 30 years we spent together in this Chamber. He loved his wife Erma, he loved the State of West Virginia, and he loved deeply the Senate. I might say that each in turn loved him back.

Our sadness at his passing is tempered by our joy that he now joins his beloved Erma. What a love story it was. They met in high school. They married in 1937, well before I was even born. They spent nearly 70 years on an incredible journey together, and even after passing a few years ago, his love for her was apparent in everything he did.

In 1946, when ROBERT BYRD first ran for office, West Virginia ranked at the bottom in nearly every economic indicator you could possibly think of. It was a bleak landscape pockmarked by coalfields and populated by hard-working people from hardscrabble backgrounds and communities struggling to make ends meet.

Then a young grocer from the town of Sophia arrived on the scene, asking his neighbors in those communities around Sophia for their votes in his race for the West Virginia House of Delegates. As the *Washington Post* noted in its obituary this morning, ROBERT C. BYRD met nearly every person—I would suspect every person—in his district, campaigning alone, with no one else, talking about the issues he cared about and those that would affect and did affect the people he wanted to represent; and when all else failed, wowing potential voters with his fiddle prowess.

He won that election, as he would every single election—every single election for which he ever ran. The people of West Virginia never could say no to ROBERT C. BYRD, and he could never say no to them. As a State legislator, a Congressman, and as a Senator, ROBERT C. BYRD fought for West Virginians, and our Nation, I might add, at every single turn.

If you travel the State of West Virginia today, you will see his name on schools and bridges and highway signs. You will

perceive his influence when you see the government buildings and research laboratories he brought to West Virginia—investments that contributed to the State, to our national economy, and to our Nation. But don't just look for his name on the sides of buildings or overpasses. Listen for it in the appreciative words of his constituents, his extended family, and of a grateful Nation for his service.

No State has ever had such a deep appreciation for the Senate Appropriations Committee because no State has ever had such an effective appropriator and fighter. ROBERT C. BYRD came to Congress with my father, as I pointed out, in January 1953, and they both arrived in the Senate on the same day as they had in the House, on January 3, 1959. In summer 1961, I mentioned I was a Senate page sitting on the Senate floor. I still remember the eloquent speeches of the freshman Senator from West Virginia.

It is incredible to imagine that he was once a freshman Senator. Even then, he had the same gentlemanly manner; he was kind to pages, as I recall, the same knack for triumphant oratory, and the same respect for the rules and traditions of the Senate. But he soon became a fixture and a mentor to new Senators as well. I expect that over the next few days many Senators will take this floor with a Constitution in their pockets, as I do, that they received from ROBERT C. BYRD. Here is my tattered and rather worn copy signed by ROBERT C. BYRD: "To my friend, Chris Dodd, with great personal esteem. Sincerely, ROBERT C. BYRD." I have carried this with me every day of my life for the last quarter of a century, given to me by my colleague in this Chamber, along, I might add, with a stern but kind lecture about Senate protocol. I have mine right here, as I said. It is a tattered and withered copy after this many years.

For the past quarter of a century I have occupied some prime real estate on the floor of the Senate. This desk right next to me today, adorned with these flowers and this black cape, marks the seat ROBERT C. BYRD sat in for many years. As have all of us, I have been awed by his deep knowledge of this institution and his deeper commitment to preserving its place in our legislative system.

So, in many ways, ROBERT BYRD's story is one of constancy, of preservation, and of tradition. You could define his life by longevity, I suppose—his 69 years of marriage, his more than 51 years of service in the Senate, his 64 years of public service to the people of West Virginia. But he wouldn't have wanted it that way. This country has changed over the

many years in which ROBERT C. BYRD helped to lead it and to shape it, and he grew and changed with it, I might add. His story in so many ways parallels the American story over these many years—the story of a Nation on a long and difficult journey, always trying to seek that more perfect union that our Founders described more than two centuries ago.

He wouldn't have wanted us to forget about the positions and affiliations that marked the early part of his life and career, and he did not as well. We should learn from our mistakes, as he did, draw inspiration from his journey, and credit him, I might add, for being willing to admit wrong and embrace right when he had the opportunity to do so, because, like our country, ROBERT C. BYRD grew wiser as he grew older.

So we can remember him not only as a tremendously effective legislator, not only as a powerful speaker, not only as a parliamentary wizard, but also as a human being who fought for equality with the true sense of urgency of a convert. He was a man unafraid of reflection, a man who voted to make Martin Luther King's birthday a Federal holiday because, as he put it—I remember him saying it so well—"I'm the only one who must vote for this bill."

Here was a man unafraid of progress, a man who, in one of his final acts in the Senate, voted to overturn the "don't ask, don't tell rule" in our military. Here was a man unafraid of conscience, a man who, as the guns of war prepared to fire in 2003, delivered one of history's most courageous and memorable pleas for peace.

So let us not remember ROBERT C. BYRD for how much he stayed the same throughout his life. Let us remember him for how the years changed him, and how he changed America for the better through so many years of his service.

Let us remember him as West Virginia's greatest champion, the Senate's gentlemanly scholar, Erma's husband, and above all, a true friend to each and every one of us who knew and loved him so well.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Tennessee.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. President, in 1981, after a surprising election, the Republican leader, Howard Baker, became the majority leader of the Senate, and the Democratic leader, ROBERT C. BYRD, became the minority leader.

According to Senator Baker, he walked to Senator BYRD's office and said to him, "BOB, I will never know the Senate

rules as well as you do, so I will make you an offer. I will not surprise you if you will never surprise me.”

Senator BYRD looked at Senator Baker and said, “Let me think about it.”

The next morning, Senator BYRD called Senator Baker and said, “It is a deal.” And that is the way they operated the Senate in those 4 years when Senator Baker was the majority leader and Senator BYRD was the minority leader. They operated the Senate during that time under an agreement where Senator BYRD was careful to try to give every Senator the right of amendment. He thought that was very important. In return, Senator BYRD was able to get unanimous consent agreements on amendments that many Senators thought were frivolous or unnecessary or not germane, which permitted him and Senator Baker to have a fairly orderly management of the Senate during that time.

Senator McConnell a few minutes ago talked about the time Senator BYRD reexamined the Constitution and changed his mind on the First Amendment and flag burning. Senator BYRD and Senator Baker during that time both read David McCullough’s book and changed their minds on the Panama Canal Treaty, at great political cost to both of them. I bring this up today because I never saw Senator BYRD, after I was elected to the Senate a few years ago, when he did not ask me about his friend and colleague Howard Baker.

We will miss Senator BYRD’s fiddling and his love of mountain music. He campaigned in Tennessee a long time ago for Albert Gore, Sr., who was running for the Senate and who also played the fiddle. Senator BYRD played the fiddle at the Grand Ole Opry in Nashville and came back to Nashville in October 2008 and sang along with a group of fiddlers who were playing songs at his request. I went over there with him. He knew all the songs and all the fiddlers knew him. A few days later I came to him on the Senate floor and talked to him about an old mountain song called “Wreck on the Highway” that Roy Acuff made famous in the 1930s or 1940s, and Senator BYRD began to sing the song—he knew all the words—so loudly that the staff was afraid the galleries would all notice it.

We will miss his love of U.S. history, not just any U.S. history, but in his words “traditional American history.” He was the sponsor of the Teaching Traditional American History Program, which is part of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. He has provided nearly \$600 million to 1,000

local school districts to improve the professional development of American history teachers. He and the late Senator Kennedy and I were working on a piece of legislation which we have introduced to consolidate all the Federal programs that support the teaching of U.S. history, hoping that our children can grow up learning what it means to be an American.

Senator BYRD is also responsible for the celebration of September 17 as Constitution Day and Citizenship Day.

Senator BYRD had no time for revisionists who didn't believe America was exceptional. He believed this is one country, unified by a common language and a few principles. He did not want our country to become a United Nations, but always to be the United States of America. He wanted us to be proud of where we came from, but prouder to be American.

We will especially miss Senator BYRD's love of and understanding of the Senate. One of the most special occasions I ever experienced was the opportunity as a freshman Senator in 2003 to attend an indoctrination, one might say—or orientation would be the proper description—on what it means to be a Senator. Senator BYRD began by saying, "You are presently occupying what I consider to be hallowed ground."

I wish to ask unanimous consent to have printed in the *Record* following my remarks the remarks of Senator BYRD at the orientation of new Senators on December 3, 1996.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1, next page.)

Mr. ALEXANDER. Senator BYRD served long enough to know that, as he put it, "As long as the Senate retains the power to amend and the power of unlimited debate, the liberties of the people will remain secure." He believed that when he was lecturing Republicans in 2005 who were trying to change the rules when there was a controversy about President Bush's appointees to the Federal judiciary, and he said the same thing to young Democrats who grew impatient this year and wanted to change the rules to limit unlimited amendment and unlimited debate.

Perhaps his last Senate appearance was before the Rules Committee on May 19, 2010, where his opening statement on the filibuster and its consequences warned against a rules change.

I ask unanimous consent to have that statement printed in the *Record* following my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 2, page 24.)

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. President, I was 12 years old when Senator ROBERT BYRD was elected to the House of Representatives. I was a senior in Maryville, TN, when he was elected to the Senate. When I came here as a Senate aide 42 years ago, he had just been elected to his second term and was working his way up the party leadership.

He was an imposing man. He had a wonderful photographic memory. But, after one got to know him especially, he was a kind man.

All of us can be replaced, but it is fair to say the Senate will never be the same place without ROBERT C. BYRD.

I yield the floor.

#### EXHIBIT 1

#### REMARKS BY U.S. SENATOR ROBERT C. BYRD AT THE ORIENTATION OF NEW SENATORS, DECEMBER 3, 1996

Good afternoon and welcome to the U.S. Senate Chamber. You are presently occupying what I consider to be "hallowed ground."

You will shortly join the ranks of a very select group of individuals who have been honored with the title of U.S. Senator since 1789 when the Senate first convened. The Creator willing, you will be here for at least 6 years.

Make no mistake about it, the Office of U.S. Senator is the highest political calling in the land. The Senate can remove from office Presidents, members of the Federal judiciary, and other Federal officials, but only the Senate itself can expel a Senator.

Let us listen for a moment to the words of James Madison on the role of the Senate.

These [reasons for establishing the Senate] were first to protect the people against their rulers: secondly to protect the people against the transient impression into which they themselves might be led [through their representatives in the lower house]. A people deliberating in a temperate moment, and with the experience of other nations before them, on the plan of government most likely to secure their happiness, would first be aware, that those charged with the public happiness, might betray their trust. An obvious precaution against this danger would be to divide the trust between different bodies of men, who might watch and check each other . . . . It would next occur to such a people, that they themselves were liable to temporary errors, through want of information as to their true interest, and that men chosen for a short term [House members], . . . might err from the same cause. This reflection would naturally suggest that the Government be so constituted, as that one of its branches might have an opportunity of acquiring a competent knowledge of the public interests. Another reflection equally becoming a people on such an occasion, would be that they themselves, as well as a numerous body of Representa-

tives, were liable to err also, from fickleness and passion. A *necessary fence against this danger would be to select a portion of enlightened citizens, whose limited number, and firmness might seasonably interpose against impetuous councils.* [emphasis added]

Ladies and gentlemen, you are shortly to become part of that all-important, “necessary fence,” which is the U.S. Senate. Let me give you the words of Vice President Aaron Burr upon his departure from the Senate in 1805. “This house,” said he, “is a sanctuary; a citadel of law, of order, and of liberty; and it is here—it is here, in this exalted refuge; here, if anywhere, will resistance be made to the storms of political phrensy and the silent arts of corruption; and if the Constitution be destined ever to perish by the sacrilegious hand of the demagogue or the usurper, which God avert, its expiring agonies will be witnessed on this floor.” Gladstone referred to the Senate as “that remarkable body—the most remarkable of all the inventions of modern politics.”

This is a very large class of new Senators. There are 15 of you. It has been 16 years since the Senate welcomed a larger group of new Members. Since 1980, the average size class of new members has been approximately 10. Your backgrounds vary. Some of you may have served in the executive branch. Some may have been staffers here on the Hill. Some of you have never held Federal office before. Over half of you have had some service in the House of Representatives.

Let us clearly understand one thing. The Constitution’s Framers never intended for the Senate to function like the House of Representatives. That fact is immediately apparent when one considers the length of a Senate term and the staggered nature of Senate terms. The Senate was intended to be a continuing body. By subjecting only one-third of the Senate’s membership to reelection every 2 years, the Constitution’s Framers ensured that two-thirds of the membership would always carry over from one Congress to the next to give the Senate an enduring stability.

The Senate and, therefore, Senators were intended to take the long view and to be able to resist, if need be, the passions of the often intemperate House. Few, if any, upper Chambers in the history of the Western World have possessed the Senate’s absolute right to unlimited debate and to amend or block legislation passed by a lower House.

Looking back over a period of 208 years, it becomes obvious that the Senate was intended to be significantly different from the House in other ways as well. The constitutional Framers gave the Senate the unique executive powers of providing advice and consent to Presidential nominations and to treaties, and the sole power to try and to remove impeached officers of the government. In the case of treaties, the Senate, with its longer terms, and its ability to develop expertise through the device of being a continuing body, has often performed invaluable service.

I have said that as long as the Senate retains the power to amend and the power of unlimited debate, the liberties of the people will remain secure.

The Senate was intended to be a forum for open and free debate and for the protection of political minorities. I have led the majority and I have led the minority, and I can tell you that there is nothing that makes one fully appreciate the Senate’s special role as the protector of minority interests like being in the minority. Since the Republican Party was created in 1854, the Senate has changed hands 14 times, so each party has had the opportunity to appreciate first hand the Senate’s role as guardian of minority rights. But, almost from its earliest years the Senate has insisted upon its Members’ right to virtually unlimited debate.



When the Senate reluctantly adopted a cloture rule in 1917, it made the closing of debate very difficult to achieve by requiring a super majority and by permitting extended post-cloture debate. This deference to minority views sharply distinguishes the Senate from the majoritarian House of Representatives. The Framers recognized that a minority can be right and that a majority can be wrong. They recognized that the Senate should be a true deliberative body—a forum in which to slow the passions of the House, hold them up to the light, examine them, and, through informed debate, educate the public. The Senate is the proverbial saucer intended to cool the cup of coffee from the House. It is the one place in the whole government where the minority is guaranteed a public airing of its views. Woodrow Wilson observed that the Senate's informing function was as important as its legislating function, and now, with televised Senate debate, its informing function plays an even larger and more critical role in the life of our Nation.

Many a mind has been changed by an impassioned plea from the minority side. Important flaws in otherwise good legislation have been detected by discerning minority Members engaged in thorough debate, and important compromise which has worked to the great benefit of our Nation has been forged by an intransigent Member determined to filibuster until his views were accommodated or at least seriously considered.

The Senate is often soundly castigated for its inefficiency, but in fact, it was never intended to be efficient. Its purpose was and is to examine, consider, protect, and to be a totally independent source of wisdom and judgment on the actions of the lower House and on the executive. As such, the Senate is the central pillar of our constitutional system. I hope that you, as new Members will study the Senate in its institutional context because that is the best way to understand your personal role as a U.S. Senator. Your responsibilities are heavy. Understand them, live up to them, and strive to take the long view as you exercise your duties. This will not always be easy.

The pressures on you will, at times, be enormous. You will have to formulate policies, grapple with issues, serve the constituents in your State, and cope with the media. A Senator's attention today is fractured beyond belief. Committee meetings, breaking news, fundraising, all of these will demand your attention, not to mention personal and family responsibilities. But, somehow, amidst all the noise and confusion, you must find the time to reflect, to study, to read, and, especially, to understand the absolutely critically important institutional role of the Senate.

May I suggest that you start by carefully reading the Constitution and the Federalist Papers. In a few weeks, you will stand on the platform behind me and take an oath to "support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; to bear true faith and allegiance to the same; and take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; and to well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which you are about to enter: So help you God."

Note especially the first 22 words, "I do solemnly swear that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic ..."

In order to live up to that solemn oath, one must clearly understand the deliberately established inherent tensions between the three branches, commonly called the checks and balances, and separation of powers which the Framers so carefully crafted. I carry a copy of the Constitution in my shirt pocket. I have studied it carefully, read and reread its articles, marveled at its genius, its beauty, its symmetry, and its meticulous balance, and learned something new each time that I partook of its timeless wisdom. Nothing will

help you to fully grasp the Senate's critical role in the balance of powers like a thorough reading of the Constitution and the Federalist Papers.

Now I would like to turn for a moment to the human side of the Senate, the relationship among Senators, and the way that even that facet of service here is, to a degree, governed by the Constitution and the Senate's rules.

The requirement for super majority votes in approving treaties, involving cloture, removing impeached Federal officers, and overriding vetoes, plus the need for unanimous consent before the Senate can even proceed in many instances, makes bipartisanship and comity necessary if Members wish to accomplish much of anything. Realize this. The campaign is over. You are here to be a Senator. Not much happens in this body without cooperation between the two parties.

In this now 208-year-old institution, the positions of majority and minority leaders have existed for less than 80 years. Although the positions have evolved significantly within the past half century, still, the only really substantive prerogative the leaders possess is the right of first recognition before any other Member of their respective parties who might wish to speak on the Senate floor. Those of you who have served in the House will now have to forget about such things as the Committee of the Whole, closed rules, and germaneness, except when cloture has been invoked, and become well acquainted with the workings of unanimous consent agreements. Those of you who took the trouble to learn Deschler's Procedure will now need to set that aside and turn in earnest to Riddick's Senate Procedure.

Senators can lose the floor for transgressing the rules. Personal attacks on other Members or other blatantly injudicious comments are unacceptable in the Senate. Again to encourage a cooling of passions, and to promote a calm examination of substance, Senators address each other through the Presiding Officer and in the third person. Civility is essential here for pragmatic reasons as well as for public consumption. It is difficult to project the image of a statesmanlike, intelligent, public servant, attempting to inform the public and examine issues, if one is behaving and speaking in a manner more appropriate to a poolroom brawl than to U.S. Senate debate. You will also find that overly zealous attacks on other Members or on their States are always extremely counterproductive, and that you will usually be repaid in kind.

Let us strive for dignity. When you rise to speak on this Senate floor, you will be following in the tradition of such men as Calhoun, Clay, and Webster. You will be standing in the place of such Senators as Edmund Ross of Kansas and Peter Van Winkle of West Virginia, 1868, who voted against their party to save the institution of the Presidency during the Andrew Johnson impeachment trial.

Debate on the Senate floor demands thought, careful preparation and some familiarity with Senate rules if we are to engage in thoughtful and informed debate. Additionally, informed debate helps the American people have a better understanding of the complicated problems which besiege them in their own lives. Simply put, the Senate cannot inform American citizens without extensive debate on those very issues.

We were not elected to raise money for our own reelections. We were not elected to see how many press releases or TV appearances we could stack up. We were not elected to set up staff empires by serving on every committee in sight. We need to concentrate, focus, debate, inform, and, I hope, engage the public, and thereby forge consensus and direction. Once we engage each other and the public intellectually, the tough choices will be easier.

I thank each of you for your time and attention and I congratulate each of you on your selection to fill a seat in this august body. Service in this body is a supreme honor. It is also a burden and a serious responsibility. Members' lives become open for inspection and are used as examples for other citizens to emulate. A Senator must really be much more than hard working, much more than conscientious, much more than dutiful. A Senator must reach for noble qualities—honor, total dedication, self-discipline, extreme selflessness, exemplary patriotism, sober judgment, and intellectual honesty. The Senate is more important than any one or all of us—more important than I am; more important than the majority and minority leaders; more important than all 100 of us; more important than all of the 1,843 men and women who have served in this body since 1789. Each of us has a solemn responsibility to remember that, and to remember it often.

Let me leave you with the words of the last paragraph of volume II, of *The Senate: 1789–1989*: “Originally consisting of only twenty-two members, the Senate had grown to a membership of ninety-eight by the time I was sworn in as a new senator in January 1959. After two hundred years, it is still the anchor of the Republic, the morning and evening star in the American constitutional constellation. It has had its giants and its little men, its Websters and its Bilbos, its Calhouns and its McCarthys. It has been the stage of high drama, of comedy and of tragedy, and its players have been the great and the near-great, those who think they are great, and those who will never be great. It has weathered the storms of adversity, withstood the barbs of cynics and the attacks of critics, and provided stability and strength to the nation during periods of civil strife and uncertainty, panics and depressions. In war and in peace, it has been the sure refuge and protector of the rights of the states and of a political minority. And, today, the Senate still stands—the great forum of constitutional American liberty!”



## EXHIBIT 2

STATEMENT OF SENATOR ROBERT C. BYRD (D–W.VA.), SENATE RULES AND  
ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE, MAY 19, 2010

### THE FILIBUSTER AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

On September 30, 1788, Pennsylvania became the first State to elect its U.S. Senators, one of whom was William Maclay. In his 1789 journal Senator Maclay wrote, “I gave my opinion in plain language that the confidence of the people was departing from us, owing to our unreasonable delays. The design of the Virginians and of the South Carolina gentlemen was to talk away the time, so that we could not get the bill passed.”

Our Founding Fathers intended the Senate to be a continuing body that allows for open and unlimited debate and the protection of minority rights. Senators have understood this since the Senate first convened.

In his notes of the Constitutional Convention on June 26, 1787, James Madison recorded that the ends to be served by the Senate were “first, to protect the people against their rulers, secondly, to protect the people against the transient impressions into which they themselves might be led . . . They themselves, as well as a numerous body of Representatives, were liable to err also, from fickleness and passion. A necessary fence against this danger would be to select a portion of enlightened citizens, whose limited

number, and firmness might seasonably interpose against impetuous councils." That "fence" was the U.S. Senate.

The right to filibuster anchors this necessary fence. But it is not a right intended to be abused.

During this 111th Congress in particular, the minority has threatened to filibuster almost every matter proposed for Senate consideration. I find this tactic contrary to each Senator's duty to act in good faith.

I share the profound frustration of my constituents and colleagues as we confront this situation. The challenges before our Nation are far too grave, and too numerous, for the Senate to be rendered impotent to address them, and yet be derided for inaction by those causing the delay.

There are many suggestions as to what we should do. I know what we must not do.

We must never, ever, tear down the only wall—the necessary fence—this Nation has against the excesses of the executive branch and the resultant haste and tyranny of the majority.

The path to solving our problem lies in our thoroughly understanding it. Does the difficulty reside in the construct of our rules or in the ease of circumventing them?

A true filibuster is a fight, not a threat or a bluff. For most of the Senate's history, Senators motivated to extend debate had to hold the floor as long as they were physically able. The Senate was either persuaded by the strength of their arguments or unconvinced by either their commitment or their stamina. True filibusters were therefore less frequent, and more commonly discouraged, due to every Senator's understanding that such undertakings required grueling personal sacrifice, exhausting preparation, and a willingness to be criticized for disrupting the Nation's business.

Now, unbelievably, just the whisper of opposition brings the "world's greatest deliberative body" to a grinding halt. Why?

Because this once highly respected institution has become overwhelmingly consumed by a fixation with money and media.

Gone are the days when Senators Richard Russell and Lyndon Johnson, and Speaker Sam Rayburn gathered routinely for working weekends and couldn't wait to get back to their Chambers on Monday morning.

Now every Senator spends hours every day, throughout the year and every year, raising funds for reelection and appearing before cameras and microphones. Now the Senate often works 3-day weeks, with frequent and extended recess periods, so Senators can rush home to fundraisers scheduled months in advance.

Forceful confrontation to a threat to filibuster is undoubtedly the antidote to the malady. Most recently, Senate Majority Leader Reid announced that the Senate would stay in session around the clock and take all procedural steps necessary to bring financial reform legislation before the Senate. As preparations were made and cots rolled out, a deal was struck within hours and the threat of filibuster was withdrawn.

I heartily commend the majority leader for this progress, and I strongly caution my colleagues as some propose to alter the rules to severely limit the ability of a minority to conduct a filibuster. I know what it is to be majority leader, and wake up on a Wednesday morning in November, and find yourself a minority leader.

I also know that current Senate rules provide the means to break a filibuster. I employed them in 1977 to end the post-cloture filibuster of natural gas deregulation legislation. This was the roughest filibuster I have experienced during my 50-plus years in the Senate, and it produced the most bit-

ter feelings. Yet some important new precedents were established in dealing with post-cloture obstruction. In 1987, I successfully used rules VII and VIII to make a non-debatable motion to proceed during the morning hour. No leader has attempted this technique since, but this procedure could be and should be used.

Over the years, I have proposed a variety of improvements to Senate rules to achieve a more sensible balance allowing the majority to function while still protecting minority rights. For example, I have supported eliminating debate on the motion to proceed to a matter (except for changes to Senate rules), or limiting debate to a reasonable time on such motions, with Senators retaining the right to unlimited debate on the matter once before the Senate. I have authored several other proposals in the past, and I look forward to our committee work ahead as we carefully examine other suggested changes. The committee must, however, jealously guard against efforts to change or reinterpret the Senate rules by a simple majority, circumventing rule XXII where a two-thirds majority is required.

As I have said before, the Senate has been the last fortress of minority rights and freedom of speech in this Republic for more than two centuries. I pray that Senators will pause and reflect before ignoring that history and tradition in favor of the political priority of the moment.

**The PRESIDING OFFICER.** The Senator from Pennsylvania.

**Mr. SPECTER.** Mr. President, since hearing this morning about the passing of Senator BYRD—he died shortly after 5 a.m.—I have been reflecting on the man I knew.

Those who have the great privilege to serve in the Senate have occasion to meet and interact with great people. The expression “giant” is used not too frequently about Senators. It certainly would apply to Senator BYRD, but I believe it is insufficient. Searching my own mind for a more apt term, “colossus” might better fit ROBERT BYRD.

His career in the Congress of the United States was extraordinary, really astounding. To think that he was elected in 1952 and was sworn in while Harry Truman was still President of the United States and has served since that time, with many things that happened, during the administrations of President Eisenhower, President Kennedy, President Johnson, President Nixon, President Ford, President Carter, President George H.W. Bush, President Ronald Reagan before, President George W. Bush, President Clinton, and now President Obama.

One of the distinctions he made early on was the fact that in the Senate, we serve with Presidents; we do not serve under Presidents. I think that was a calling card by Senator BYRD as a constitutionalist on the separation of powers. He was a fierce fighter for that separation of powers.

When the line-item veto was passed, he took up the battle to have it declared unconstitutional, as an encroachment on article I powers in the U.S. Congress on appropriations. The bills which we present to the President have a great many provisions, and Senator BYRD was looking upon the factor of the President perhaps taking some provisions he did not like too well in order to take the whole bill. I am sure on Senator BYRD's mind was the largess which came to the State of West Virginia. That is part of our Federal system, part of our democracy, part of our Constitution of the advantage of seniority, where Senator BYRD had been elected and re-elected on so many occasions.

I recall Senator BYRD and his swift action shortly after the 1986 election. I was on the Intelligence Committee at that time. Senator BYRD stepped into the picture to see to it that the witnesses who testified on what was later known as the Iran Contra controversy were placed under oath. He had a sense that there was a problem that had to be investigated by Congress, again, under the doctrine of separation of powers.

I recollect his position on the impeachment proceeding as he stood at this chair and recited the provisions of the Constitution, about the impeachment for high crimes and misdemeanors, and then started to talk about the action of the respondent in the case, President Clinton, and the charges which were levied. He came to the conclusion that the constitutional standard had been met and then voted not guilty—with a sweep on the conclusion, a judgment of a higher principle involved that President Clinton had not lost the capacity to govern, and he ought to stay in office.

I recall in October 2002 we debated the resolution authorizing the use of force for President Bush. The resolution did not say force would be used but gave the President the authority to use force as he decided it appropriate.

I was concerned about that. The scholars who had written on the subject for the most part said it would be an inappropriate delegation of constitutional authority for the Congress to say to the President: You may start a war at some future date.

The starting of a war depended on the facts and circumstances at hand when the decision was made. Senator BYRD and I discussed that at some length and finally concluded there ought to be some flexibility. Both of us voted for that resolution on the ground that empowering the President

without authority, we might have the realistic chance of avoiding a war.

While serving with Senator BYRD on the Appropriations Committee, I recall one year when he chaired the Appropriations Committee—I think in the late 1980s—the allocations made were not in accordance with the budget resolution which had been passed. Some of us on the Appropriations Committee thought we ought to have those allocations in accordance with what Congress had set in the budget resolution. Senator D’Amato, Senator Kasten, and I staged a minor revolution. It did not last too long. The vote was 26 to 3. But we expressed ourselves.

I recall hearing Senator BYRD and participated in a discussion with him on the Senate floor about the right to retain the floor, whether you could yield to someone or whether you had to have an order of consent before you retained your right to the floor. Discussing or debating Senator BYRD on procedural issues was indeed an education. He was always regarded as the foremost expert on Senate procedure and the rules of this body.

His service—most recently in coming in ill, in a wheelchair for a series of cloture votes at 1 a.m.—historians, I think, will write about the passage of the comprehensive health care bill and the cloture votes and passage in the Senate on Christmas Eve early in the morning—finally, we had a concession we would not vote at 11:59 on Christmas but would vote earlier in the day. Even the objectors wanted to leave town. Senator BYRD came here performing his duty, although he certainly was not well and it was a tremendous strain on him. He came and made the 60th vote.

It is a sad occasion to see a black drape on Senator BYRD’s desk and flowers. I am sure in days to come there will be many comments, many eulogies about Senator BYRD. He leaves a great void. But reflecting on the experiences I have had with him, there is much to celebrate in his life. He was a great American, a great Senator. We will all miss him very much.

Mr. BURRIS. Mr. President, early this morning, our country lost an icon and a national treasure. Our friend and colleague, Senator ROBERT C. BYRD, became a legend in his own time. And in many ways, he came to embody the institution of the Senate.

As a leader, and as a guardian of Senate procedure and tradition, Senator BYRD was without equal. For more than

half a century, he helped shape Federal policy, and guided the course of a Nation.

But on the day he was born, in 1917, this unique place in history was far from assured.

Raised in the coal country of West Virginia, few could have predicted that this intelligent but unassuming young man would rise to the very highest levels of our democracy. He was an avid fiddle player, and valedictorian of his high school class. But he could not afford to go to college until many years later. So as a young man, he found work as a meatcutter, a gas station attendant, and a store owner. And the store owner is very dear to me because our family were store owners, and I know how tough that business is. He welded *Liberty* and *Victory* ships during the Second World War, and several years later entered politics at the State level.

That is where ROBERT BYRD found his true calling: public service.

He was first elected to the House of Representatives in 1952, and has served the people of West Virginia in this Chamber since 1959. Over the course of his extraordinary career, he worked alongside 12 Presidents. He served in Congress longer than anyone in American history, cast more than 18,000 votes, and was elected to more leadership positions than any other Senator.

Most recently, he assumed the role of President pro tempore of the Senate, ranking him third in the line of Presidential succession. At every turn, he dedicated himself to the sanctity of our Constitution, and fought to uphold its principles and the weight of Senate tradition.

It is difficult to measure the vast impact he has had on the lives of every single American.

No, he was not right on every issue. His past was not without mistakes and errors in judgment. But it is a credit to Senator BYRD that, over the years, he gained the wisdom to recognize the moments when he strayed from the right path. It is the mark of greatness that he worked hard to overcome these errors and set America on course for a more prosperous, more inclusive future.

In recent years, Senator BYRD raised his voice against the unilateral invasion of Iraq.

He fought to preserve the filibuster, ensuring that the voice of the minority will always have a place in this august Chamber. He offered his support to a young Senator from Il-



linois named Barack Obama, as he fought to become the first African-American President of the United States.

Senator BYRD's historic tenure spanned 12 administrations, thousands of bills, and more than half a century. Thanks to his leadership, and the leadership of others he has inspired and mentored over the years, we live in a very different world today.

The year he launched his first campaign for the House of Representatives, gas cost about 25 cents a gallon, Winston Churchill was Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and I was only 15 years old.

Senator BYRD has left an indelible mark on this Nation, and for that we will be forever grateful.

But today, as we remember and celebrate the contributions he has made, we also offer our condolences to his friends and loved ones in this time of mourning. We offer our sympathies to the people of West Virginia, who have lost a staunch advocate. We offer our fervent hope that a new generation of Americans, Liberal and Conservative; Black and White; from all races and religions and backgrounds, will take up the legacy of patriotism and service that was left to us by Senator BYRD; that today's young people will inherit his fierce loyalty to the Constitution, and recognize their responsibility to confront every challenge we face.

So I ask my colleagues to join with me in honoring the life of our dear friend, Senator ROBERT BYRD.

And I call upon every American to learn from the example set by this son of the West Virginia hills who overcame poverty, lack of education, and the prejudice of his times to become one of the greatest public servants in our history.

Mr. DORGAN. Madam President, today I rise on the floor of the Senate recognizing that we have white roses and a black drape adorning the desk of the late Senator ROBERT C. BYRD.

I had told him personally in the past that when my service is done I will have considered it a great privilege to have served in this body at the same time that ROBERT BYRD served in this body. He was a lot of things. He was smart and tough and honest. Because he legislated and because of his career here, this is a better country, I am convinced of that.

All of us know Senator BYRD grew old here and became someone with health problems in recent years and yet even last week would come to this Chamber and cast his vote. In

recent weeks I had several visits with him on the floor of the Senate.

All of us know as well that he loved his country. He, most of all, loved the Senate. He wrote a four-volume book of history on this body, and I say to anybody listening, if they enjoy history and enjoy knowing anything about the wonderful history of this body, read what Senator BYRD has written. It is extraordinary.

He loved the Constitution of the United States, and he never appeared on the floor of the Senate without having a copy of that Constitution in his suit pocket. He always had a copy of the Constitution with him.

He was also someone who did not just love the history of the Senate but loved Roman history. I recall sitting on the floor of the Senate many years ago when I first came here, listening to Senator BYRD talk about Roman history and the lessons in it for us.

I learned a lot listening to Senator BYRD on the floor of the Senate about a lot of things, including Roman history.

I also learned that he had one of the most extraordinary memories you have ever known. And I thought today—because we are saddened but also mourning the loss of a friend and someone who served this country so well—I would read something he read on the floor of the Senate a couple of times, but he read the preamble to it and then recited it from memory, this great story. He did it because he was talking about a crime that occurred with respect to a dog, an animal. He talked a lot about his dog Billy, that he loved very much, and then he told us the story about a man named Vest, George G. Vest, who was to become a Senator later.

I will read what Senator BYRD said. He said:

At the turn of the century, George G. Vest delivered a deeply touching summation before the jury in the trial involving the killing of a dog, "Old Drum." This occurred, I think, in 1869. There were two brothers-in-law, both of whom had fought in the Union Army. They lived in Johnson County, Missouri. One was named Leonidas Hornsby. The other was named Charles Burden.

Burden owned a dog, and he was named "Old Drum." He was a great hunting dog. Any time that dog barked one could know for sure that it was on the scent of a raccoon or other animal.

Leonidas Hornsby was a farmer who raised livestock and some of his calves and lambs were being killed by animals. He, therefore, swore to shoot any animal, any dog that appeared on his property.

One day there appeared on his property a hound. Someone said, "There's a dog out there in the yard." Hornsby said, "Shoot him."

The dog was killed. Charles Burden, the owner of the dog, was not the kind of man to take something like this lightly. He went to court.

This was Old Drum that was killed.

He won his case and was awarded \$25. Hornsby appealed, and, if I recall, on the appeal there was a reversal, whereupon the owner of the dog decided to employ the best lawyer that he could find in the area.

He employed a lawyer by the name of George Graham Vest. This lawyer gave a summation to the jury.

Senator BYRD recited the summation to the jury, and he did it without a note. It so reminded me of all the things I heard on the floor from Senator BYRD—yes, *The Ambulance Down in the Valley*, a piece of lengthy prose without a note, and this without a note. He recited the summation to the jury by George Vest:

Gentlemen of the jury. The best friend a man has in the world may turn against him and become his enemy. His son or daughter whom he has reared with loving care may prove ungrateful. Those who are nearest and dearest to us, those whom we trust with our happiness and our good name, may become traitors to their faith. The money that a man has he may lose. It flies away from him perhaps when he needs it most. A man's reputation may be sacrificed in a moment of ill-considered action. The people who are prone to fall on their knees to do us honor when success is with us may be the first to throw the stone of malice when failure settles its cloud upon our heads. The one absolutely unselfish friend that a man can have in this selfish world, the one that never deserts him, the one that never proves ungrateful or treacherous, is the dog.

Gentlemen of the jury, a man's dog stands by him in prosperity and in poverty, in health and in sickness. He will sleep on the cold ground when the wintry winds blow and the snow drives fiercely, if only he can be near his master's side. He will kiss the hand that has no food to offer, he will lick the wounds and sores that come in encounter with the roughness of the world. He guards the sleep of his pauper master as if he were a prince.

When all other friends desert, he remains. When riches take wings and reputation falls to pieces, he is as constant in his love as the sun in its journey through the heavens. If fortune drives the master forth an outcast into the world, friendless and homeless, the faithful dog asks no higher privilege than that of accompanying him, to guard him against danger, to fight against his enemies. And when the last scene of all comes, and death takes his master in its embrace and his body is laid in the cold ground, no matter if all other friends pursue their way, there by his graveside will the noble dog be found, his head between his paws and his eyes sad but open, in alert watchfulness, faithful and true, even unto death.

Well, I read this summation to the jury in the case of Old Drum. But Senator BYRD recited it, as he did in all of these similar circumstances, completely from memory.

Senator BYRD came to the floor, and he had a way with words that does not so much exist in the Senate anymore. I was sitting on the floor one day when another Senator came to the floor and said some very disparaging things

about a President of the United States. They referred to the President in a way that was very disparaging. Senator BYRD did not like that, no matter who the President was. He came to the floor, and I am sure the person who was disparaging the President at that point never understood what had happened to him after Senator BYRD was done.

Mr. LEAHY. I remember that.

Mr. DORGAN. But Senator BYRD came to the floor, and he stood up, and he said this, "I have served here long enough to see pygmies strut like Colossus." And he said, very like the fly in Aesop's fable, sitting on an axle of a chariot, "My, what dust I do raise."

And it occurred to me he had just told someone what they had done was unbelievably foolish. I am not sure they understood it. But he wrapped it in such elegant language, as he always did.

In addition to serving at a time early on in his career when things were different, when there was perhaps less anger and less partisanship and committee chairmen and ranking members got together and decided what we needed to do for the country and did it together and came to the floor together, he was also, on the floor of the Senate, someone who knew the rules. He studied the rules because he understood that knowing the rules to this Chamber and how this process works was also important to be successful here.

Aside from that, he was a skillful legislator—very skillful. I watched him walk out of this Chamber from that door and very often stop as a bunch of Senate pages—high school kids who serve in the Senate—would gather around and then he would spend 15, 20 minutes telling them a story about the Senate, about the history of this great place. Too many of us walk back and forth around here, walking very briskly because we are late to go here or there and we are working on a lot of things. Senator BYRD always took time to talk to the pages—not just talk to them but tell them stories about what this great Senate has meant to this great country.

He also loved very much his late wife Erma and talked about her a lot to many of us.

He loved to play the fiddle. Early on when I came to the Senate, if you expressed even the least interest in music, he would get you down to his office and put a tape in his recording device to show us that he played the fiddle on the program *Hee Haw*. He was so proud of that. He was someone

who loved West Virginia, loved his country, and was a friend to all of us.

Today is a very sad day for those of us who see a desk that was occupied by a great U.S. Senator for so many decades, now occupied with a dozen roses and a black cloth, signifying that we have lost this great man. America has lost a great public servant. As one Member of the Senate, I say it has been a great privilege—my great privilege—to serve while Senator BYRD served in this body.

Madam President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. LEAHY. Madam President, I appreciate the words of the Senator from North Dakota. I recall sitting here on the floor, I tell my friend from North Dakota, who may well have been here at that time when Senator BYRD spoke of the pygmies strutting like a Colossus. We both know who he meant and we both know the effect it had, and I thank him for reminding us of that.

I believe all of us who served with him and knew Senator BYRD were saddened by the news of his passing. No Senator came to care more about the Constitution or was a more effective defender of our constitutional government than the senior Senator from West Virginia. How many times did we see him reach into his jacket pocket and hold up the Constitution? He would say, "This is what guides me."

I said in the Judiciary Committee today that many of us carry the Constitution and we can turn to it and read from it. Senator BYRD, if asked, would recite it verbatim from memory from page 1 straight through.

Senator BYRD was a Senator's Senator. During the time before he stopped playing, some of us would be at an event with him where he would play the fiddle. I recall one of those times when he played the fiddle, and now his successor as President pro tempore, Senator Inouye, played the piano, playing compositions only requiring one hand, and the two of them played in the caucus room now named after our late Senator Ted Kennedy. I heard him play in the happy times and the enjoyable times when he would try to bring Senators of both parties together and act like human beings.

I have also sat here with him when he reminded Senators of what the Constitution stood for, what our role was in the Constitution, when he spoke against going to war in Iraq without reason and without a declaration of war. It was one

of the most powerful speeches I have heard him give. In over 36 years of serving with him, I heard many speeches.

Others will speak of his records for time served in the Senate and in Congress and the number of votes he cast. I think of him more as a mentor and a friend. I recall in fall 1974 becoming the Senator-elect and coming down here to talk to Senators and meeting with Senator BYRD and Senator Mansfield, Senator Mansfield being the leader, Senator BYRD the deputy leader. I recall one of the things he told me—both of them did. “Always keep your word.” ROBERT BYRD, ROBERT CARLYLE BYRD, if he gave you his word, you could go to the bank with it, but he would expect the same in return, as he should. That is something all of us should be reminded of and all of us should seek to achieve.

I was honored to sit near him on the Senate floor. Sitting near him in the same room we would engage in many discussions about the Senate and the rules or about the issues of the moment, or about our families. But now I sit here and I look at the flowers on his desk; I look at the drape on that desk. Over the many years I have had the privilege of representing the State of Vermont in this body, I have had to come on the floor of the Senate to see the traditional drapery and the flowers on either side of the aisle when we have lost dear colleagues; more than that, we have lost dear friends. Party is irrelevant. The friendship is what is important. It tugs at your heart and it tugs at your soul to see it. Walking in here and looking down the row where I sit and seeing that, I don’t know when I have felt the tug so strong.

Marcelle and I were privileged to know BOB and Erma, his wonderful Erma. We would see them in the grocery store in Northern Virginia. Our wives would drive in together for Senate matters. I recall sitting with him in his office one day when we spoke of the death of his grandson and how it tore him apart to have lost him in an accident. He had his portrait in his office with a black drapery. We sat there—this man who could be so composed—we sat and held hands while he cried about his grandson. At that time I did not have the privilege of being a grandfather. Today, I think I can more fully understand what he went through. I remember the emotion and the strength of it. This was not just the person whom we saw often as the leader of the Senate, the chairman of a major committee, ready and in control, but a human being mourning somebody very dear to him.

He was a self-educated man. He learned much throughout his life, but then he had much to teach us all. It has been

spoken about how he talked to the pages, but he would talk to anybody about his beloved Senate. He did more than that. He wrote the definitive history of the Senate. We all learned from him. He was a symbol of West Virginia. He was an accomplished legislator. He was an extraordinary American.

As a form of tribute I suspect Senator BYRD himself would appreciate—let me quote from Pericles’ funeral oration from Thucydides’ *History of the Peloponnesian War* about the inherent strength of democracy. Senator BYRD was well familiar with this passage, and with its relevance to our Constitution and our form of government. I heard him use it before. Pericles is said to have spoken this:

Our form of government does not enter into rivalry with the institutions of others. Our government does not copy our neighbors, but is an example to them. It is true that we are called a democracy, for the administration is in the hands of the many and not of the few. But while there exists equal justice to all and alike in their private disputes, the claim of excellence is also recognized; and when a citizen is in any way distinguished, he is preferred to the public service, not as a matter of privilege, but as a reward of merit. Neither is poverty an obstacle, but a man may benefit his country whatever the obscurity of his condition.

Senator BYRD believed in this country. He believed that a youngster who had been adopted, who lived in a house without running water, who had to work for every single thing he obtained, could also rise to the highest positions in this body, a body he loved more than any other institution in our government, save one: the Constitution. The Constitution was his North Star and his lone star. It was what guided him.

Senator BYRD was such an extraordinary man of merit and grit and determination who loved his family. I recall him speaking of his grandchildren and great-grandchildren and he would proudly tell you about each of them. I remember even after he was a widower walking by and leaning over and saying, “How are you?” He would say, “I am fine. How is Marcelle?” And Senators from both sides of the aisle would come just to talk with him.

He drew strength from his deep faith. He took to heart his oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States. The arc of his career in public service is an inspiration to us all, and it will inspire Americans of generations to come.

So, ROBERT, I say goodbye to you, my dear friend. I am not going to forget your friendship. I am not going to forget how you mentored me. But, especially, I will not forget, and I will

always cherish even after I leave this body, your love of the Senate.

Senator BYRD, you are one of a kind.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DURBIN. Madam President, Members of the Senate are coming to the floor today from both sides of the aisle to acknowledge a moment in our history: the passing of ROBERT C. BYRD of West Virginia. Senator BYRD was the longest serving Senator in the history of the United States of America; a man who cast more than 18,000 votes; a man who served as majority leader, as chairman of the Appropriations Committee, as President pro tempore. He was, in fact, the Senate. He embodied the Senate in his life. It was his life.

Each of us, before we can become a Senator, takes a walk down this aisle and goes over to the side here where the Vice President of the United States swears us in. You put your hand on a Bible and you take an oath to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States. You have to say that or you can't be a Senator. For many people, it is a formality. For ROBERT C. BYRD, it was a commitment, a life commitment to a document, the Constitution of the United States. He used to carry one in his pocket every day of his life. That is the kind of commitment most people will not make because they think: Well, maybe I will change my mind. For ROBERT C. BYRD, there was no changing his mind. He was committed to that Constitution.

For him, it was the North Star, it was the guiding light, it was the document that created this Nation, and he had sworn on his Bible to uphold and defend it, and he meant it. That is why he was so extraordinary.

He understood this Constitution because he understood what our government is about. He made a point of saying whenever a new President would come in, even a President of his own party: I will work with the President but as a Senator; I do not work for the President. We are equal to the President because we are an equal branch of government. I will be glad to work with the President, but I have a responsibility as a Senator.

I remember so well in what I consider to be the finest hour I witnessed when it came to ROBERT C. BYRD. It was in October 2002. It was a little over a year after 9/11. President George W. Bush was asking this Senate to vote for a resolution to invade Iraq. At the time, the pressure was building.



Public sentiment was strongly in favor. Remember, there was talk about weapons of mass destruction, nuclear weapons, attacks on our allies and friends, even on the United States if we did not move, and move quickly. There was a prevailing growing sentiment to go to war.

But the Senator from West Virginia stood up, took out his Constitution, and said, "This is a mistake. We should not be going to war."

He proceeded day after day, week after week, and month after month to stand there at that desk and lead the charge against the invasion of Iraq. It was an amazing display of his talent, which was prodigious, and his commitment to this Constitution as he saw it, and the fact that he was politically fearless.

I agreed with him on that issue. I was inspired by him on that issue. I can recall when my wife and I went to a Mass in Old St. Patrick's Church in Chicago, we were in the pew kneeling after Communion. The church was quiet as people were returning from Communion. An older fellow, whom I did not know, stood next to me in the aisle and looked down at me and said in a voice that could be heard across the church, "Stick with BOB BYRD."

I came back and told him that story, and he just howled with laughter. I said, "Senator BYRD, your reach is beyond West Virginia and beyond the Senate. It is in Chicago and across the country. What you are saying is resonating with a lot of people."

In the end, 23 people voted against that war—1 Republican and 22 Democrats. For a while, we were not popular. Over time I think that vote became more respected. ROBERT C. BYRD was our leader, and he used this Constitution as his inspiration.

He had such a sense of history. My favorite story related to about 16 or 18 years ago. I was a Member of the House of Representatives then on the Appropriations Committee, and ROBERT C. BYRD was the chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee. He was a powerful man. We were supposed to meet downstairs in a conference committee, House and Senate, the conferees from both Appropriations Committees, on a transportation bill.

To no one's surprise and without any apology, Senator BYRD had quite a few West Virginia projects in that bill. Congressman Frank Wolf of Virginia, a Republican, sat on the committee on the House side. When he looked at the West Virginia projects, he got upset. He said it publicly in

the *Washington Post* and other places that he had thought Senator BYRD had gone too far.

That was a pretty bold move by Congressman Wolf to make those statements in the minority about the chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee. I could not wait for that conference committee because the two of them would literally be in the same room. In fact, it turned out to be even better. They were not just in the same room, but Senator BYRD's staff had reserved a chair directly across the table from Congressman Wolf.

The place was packed, waiting for this confrontation. Senator BYRD came in last and sat down very quietly in his chair and waited his turn. Congressman Wolf at some point asked for recognition and went after the Byrd West Virginia projects. Frank is a passionate man. I served with him and agreed with him on many issues and disagreed on others. I respected him. He was passionate and committed and made it clear he thought this was unfair and unjust.

Senator BYRD, in his three-piece suit, sat across from him with hands on the table showing no emotion until after 15, 20 minutes, Congressman Wolf was exhausted by his protests about these Byrd projects, at which point Senator BYRD leaned over and said to whomever was presiding at that moment, "May I speak?" And they said, "Of course."

Then he said—and I am going to paraphrase this. I think it is pretty close to what he said. There was no video camera there. I wish there had been. He said, "In 1830, in January of 1830, January 19, 1830, which, if my memory serves me, was a Thursday, Daniel Webster and Mr. Hayne engaged in one of the most famous debates in American history." And off he went.

For the next 15 minutes, without a note, ROBERT C. BYRD tried to explain a very basic principle, and it was this: The Senate is created to give every State the same number of Senators—two Senators. The House is elected by popular vote. A small State such as West Virginia does not have much of a chance in the House of Representatives. It is small in a body of 435 Members. But in the Senate, every State, large and small—Virginia and West Virginia, Illinois, New York, California—each has two Senators.

The point Senator BYRD was making was: If I do not put the projects in in the Senate, we will never get them in in the House. That is what the Great Compromise, the Constitution, and the Senate and the House are all about.

It was a masterful presentation, which led to a compromise, one might expect, at the end of the day in which Senator BYRD did quite well for his State of West Virginia.

Years passed, and I was elected to this body. I came here and I saw Senator BYRD sitting in that seat one day, and I said, "I want to tell you the most famous debate I can ever remember—there was not a camera in the room, and I do not think anyone recorded it." I recalled his debate with Frank Wolf.

I said, "What I remember particularly is when you said, 'January 19, 1830, which was a Thursday, if I recall.'"

He said, "Yes, I think it was a Thursday."

I said, "I don't doubt it was a Thursday, but that little detail was amazing."

He kind of smiled. He did not say anything more. About an hour passed before the next roll call, and he called me over to that desk. He had brought out a perpetual calendar and found January 19, 1830, and said, "Mr. Durbin, it was a Thursday."

I said, "I didn't dispute it, Senator."

It was an example in my mind of a man who understood this Constitution, understood his use of that Constitution for his State—some would say he overused it, but he was fighting for his State every day he was here—his command of history and his command of the moment.

That was ROBERT C. BYRD. They do not make them like that anymore. There just are not many people in our generation who can even claim to be in that position.

I recall it and I remember very well another conversation I had with him. You see, history will show that in his early life, ROBERT C. BYRD was a member of the Ku Klux Klan. Many of his detractors and enemies would bring that up. He would be very open about it, not deny it, but say that he had changed, and his votes reflected it.

I once said to him, "Of all these thousands and thousands of votes you have cast, are there any you would like to do over?"

"Oh, yes," he said. "Three. There was one for an Eisenhower administration appointee which I voted against, and I wish I voted for him. I think that was a mistake." "And," he said, "I was wrong on the civil rights legislation. I voted the wrong way in the 1960s." "And," he said, "I made a mistake and voted for the deregulation of the airline industry which cut off airline service to my State of West Virginia." Those were three.

If you have been in public life or even if you have been on this Earth a while, I think you have learned the value of redemption. ROBERT C. BYRD, in his early life, made a mistake with his membership in the Ku Klux Klan. He was open about it, and he demonstrated in his life that he was wrong and would do better in the future. That is redemption—political redemption—and, in my mind, it was total honesty.

There were so many other facets to this man too. Senator Leahy talked about him playing the fiddle. That is the first time I ever saw him in person. He came to Springfield, Illinois, in 1976, when he was aspiring to run for President of the United States. He stood out from the rest of the crowd because he got up and said a few words about why he wanted to be President. Then he reached in and grabbed his fiddle and started playing it.

I tell you, it brought the house down. I don't remember who else was there. I think Jimmy Carter was there. But I do remember that BOB BYRD was there.

When I came to the Senate, I thought: I cannot wait to see or hear him play that fiddle again. I learned that after his grandson died in an automobile accident, he said, "I will never touch it again, in memory of my grandson." That is the kind of family commitment he made as well. He would sing and occasionally have a Christmas party downstairs, and a few of us would be lucky enough to get invited. He would sing. He was a man who had gone through some life experiences and family experiences that were very meaningful to him.

I remember another day when I was on the floor of the Senate and there was a debate about the future of the National Endowment for the Arts. Senator Ashcroft of Missouri wanted to eliminate the National Endowment for the Arts and take away all its money. I stood up to debate him. I was brand new here, not smart enough to know when to sit down and shut up. I started debating: I thought it was wrong, the arts are important, so forth.

Through the door comes BOB BYRD. He walks in here and asks if he could be recognized. Everything stopped when he had asked for recognition. They said, "Of course."

He said, "I want to tell you what music meant to me. I was an orphan, and I was raised in a loving family. Early in life, they went out and bought me a fiddle. Music has always been a big, important part of my life." Out of nowhere, this man gives this beautiful speech, and then he quotes poetry during the course of the speech.

As one can tell, all of us who served with him are great fans of ROBERT C. BYRD and what he meant to this Senate and what he meant to this Nation. West Virginia has lost a great servant who was so proud of his home State. Time and again that was always the bottom line for him: Is this going to be good for the future of my little State of West Virginia? He fought for them and put them on the map in some regards and some projects. He was respected by his colleagues because of the commitment to the people who honored him by allowing him to serve in the Senate.

There may be a debate as to whether there is a heaven. If there is a heaven and they have a table for the greats in the Senate, I would ask Daniel Webster to pull up a chair for ROBERT C. BYRD of West Virginia.

Madam President, I yield the floor.

Mr. TESTER. Madam President, I have a short speech to give today about a giant of a man. I rise today out of deep respect for our colleague, Senator ROBERT C. BYRD. Sharla and I extend our condolences to the Byrd family and to all the people of West Virginia. We join you in mourning but also in a celebration of his life and his successes as a public servant.

Senator BYRD liked to call me "the Mountain Man," and when somebody from the Mountain State calls you that, it is an incredible compliment.

Senator BYRD and I had a few things in common: We were both from very small towns, we both married our high school sweethearts, and we both made a living at one time as meat-cutters. He must have had an eye for the butchering business because he liked to guess my weight. And wouldn't you know, he always came within 3 pounds. You could say Senator BYRD convinced me to spend a little more time in the gym.

Senator BYRD was elected to Congress 4 years before I was even born, and he always shared his wisdom with those of us who admired it. I am honored to call Senator BYRD a respected teacher and a trusted friend.

I was Presiding Officer on the day the farm bill came before the Senate. Instead of signing the farm bill himself, Senator BYRD let me sign the bill. Although it went unspoken, I know it was because he saw me as the farmer in the Senate. It was truly an honor for me to be able to do that.

Another thing Senator BYRD and I had in common was our upbringing in rural America. He was always proud to fight for folks making a living off the land and in the mountains

and in the woods. He was a powerful advocate, and he represented West Virginia with tireless passion. He valued hard work and common sense. Those values are a matter of survival in America. They are values you take with you as you go to Congress, and Senator BYRD showed us that.

Madam President, we will miss Senator BYRD very much. His work over the decades on the Hill has made the entire country a better place for us and for our kids and grandkids.

Before I came to Capitol Hill 3½ years ago, many folks came up to me and said, "You are going to have an experience of a lifetime. You will meet some incredible people." And I will tell you that one of the most incredible men I have met since I have been here was Senator BYRD.

We miss you.

I yield the floor.

Mr. AKAKA. Madam President, I rise to pay tribute to Senator ROBERT C. BYRD, my mentor, supporter, and good friend.

Senator BYRD was the dean of the Senate, our foremost constitutional scholar. No one in the history of our country served longer in Congress.

For more than a half century, ROBERT C. BYRD kept the Senate in line. He always kept a copy of the Constitution in his jacket pocket, close to his heart. He was meticulous, a master of the rules of this historic institution. Through hard work and dedication, Senator BYRD became an institution himself.

When I joined the Senate 20 years ago, to my great fortune, Senator BYRD took me under his wing. He guided me through procedural rules and taught me how to preside over the floor. I still have the notes he gave me when I was a freshman Senator. He was adamant that the Presiding Officer should always be respectful of the speakers, while maintaining strict adherence to the rules of the Senate.

Senator ROBERT C. BYRD was a patriot who cared for and loved this country, the United States of America. He worked hard for the people of West Virginia, who showed their support for him election after election.

Senator ROBERT C. BYRD was a spiritual man. Each week a number of Senators got together for a morning prayer breakfast. Senator BYRD was a regular participant when he was well. His favorite hymn was "Old Rugged Cross." I enjoyed singing it with him many times.

We shared a love for music and the arts. His fiddle playing was legendary.

He loved his family. He loved his children and grandchildren. He loved his dogs. Closest always was his wife Erma who was always by his side until her death in 2006. They spent many wonderful years together, and now they are together again.

My thoughts and prayers are with the Byrd family.

Senator BYRD, we love you and we miss you.

Thank you very much, Madam President.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania.

Mr. CASEY. Mr. President, I wish to offer a few words in remembrance of Senator BYRD.

We do mourn his passing. We see at his desk today a reminder of his passing. To say that ROBERT BYRD was a towering figure in the history of the Senate does not begin to describe his impact, his influence and, indeed, the memory he leaves behind, the legacy he leaves behind for those of us in the Senate, for his home State of West Virginia, and I know for millions of Americans.

He was a strong advocate for not just his point of view but, more important, for the people of West Virginia. He arrived in the Senate in 1959—before I was born. I was pleased to have the opportunity and honor, the chance to serve with him for a couple of years.

He was a strong advocate. He was also a remarkable orator. Even in the last couple years of his life when some thought he might have been slowing down a little, when he got the microphone, he could deliver a speech like no other. He was a tremendous orator who believed in what he was saying, believed in the traditions of the Senate, but mostly, and most importantly, believed in fighting for the working men and women and the families of West Virginia.

We also knew him as a scholar—a scholar of not just this institution, maybe the leading scholar of all time when it comes to the institution of the Senate, but also as well as a constitutional scholar.

His was a life of commitment, of real fidelity, first and foremost I believe to his family. He spoke often of his wife Erma. In the portrait that is just outside the door, there are three items in his area of control in the picture. He has his hand on the Bible, the Scriptures, he has a copy of the Constitution, and a picture of his beloved wife Erma, about whom he spoke so often.

He was committed and had a life of commitment to his family and his faith. But he was also committed to the people of West Virginia for so many years, so many battles on their behalf and especially the families of West Virginia.

Of course, he also led a life of commitment and fidelity to the Constitution and knew it better than anyone I have ever met and certainly better than some of our more renowned constitutional scholars.

Of course, we know of his commitment to this institution, to the Senate. He loved this institution and wrote volume after volume about the Senate. We know that the multi-volume work he did, the one volume in and of itself—hundreds of pages on the history of the Senate—is a compilation of speeches he gave on the floor of the Senate, some of them written out, but some of them he could give by memory.

We know of his capacity to extemporaneously talk about so many topics, whether it was history or poetry or Scripture or the history of the Senate.

We will miss his scholarship, we will miss his service, and we will miss his fidelity to his country and to his home State. I, along with others here, am honored to have served with him in this body. For me it was 3½ years. To be in his presence, to listen to him, to learn from him is a great gift. We mourn his passing. I do not think any of us will believe there will ever be a Senator quite like him. He served 50 years in this body, in addition to serving the people of West Virginia in the House of Representatives, as well as in the legislature in West Virginia.

We say farewell and God bless and Godspeed to ROBERT BYRD and his memory. We are praying for and thinking this day and I know many future days about his legacy and his family.

SENATE RESOLUTION 572—RELATIVE TO THE DEATH OF THE HONORABLE ROBERT C. BYRD, A SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. REID (for himself, Mr. McConnell, Mr. Rockefeller, Mr. Akaka, Mr. Alexander, Mr. Barrasso, Mr. Baucus, Mr. Bayh, Mr. Begich, Mr. Bennet, Mr. Bennett, Mr. Bingaman, Mr. Bond, Mrs. Boxer, Mr. Brown of Massachusetts, Mr. Brown of Ohio, Mr. Brownback, Mr. Bunning, Mr. Burr, Mr. Burris, Ms. Cantwell, Mr. Cardin, Mr. Carper, Mr. Casey, Mr. Chambliss, Mr. Coburn, Mr. Cochran, Ms. Collins, Mr. Conrad, Mr. Corker, Mr. Cornyn, Mr. Crapo, Mr. DeMint, Mr. Dodd, Mr. Dorgan, Mr. Durbin, Mr. Ensign, Mr. Enzi, Mr. Feingold, Mrs. Feinstein, Mr. Franken, Mrs. Gillibrand,



Mr. Graham, Mr. Grassley, Mr. Gregg, Mrs. Hagan, Mr. Harkin, Mr. Hatch, Mrs. Hutchison, Mr. Inhofe, Mr. Inouye, Mr. Isakson, Mr. Johanns, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Kaufman, Mr. Kerry, Ms. Klobuchar, Mr. Kohl, Mr. Kyl, Ms. Landrieu, Mr. Lautenberg, Mr. Leahy, Mr. LeMieux, Mr. Levin, Mr. Lieberman, Mrs. Lincoln, Mr. Lugar, Mr. McCain, Mrs. McCaskill, Mr. Menendez, Mr. Merkley, Ms. Mikulski, Ms. Murkowski, Mrs. Murray, Mr. Nelson of Nebraska, Mr. Nelson of Florida, Mr. Pryor, Mr. Reed, Mr. Risch, Mr. Roberts, Mr. Sanders, Mr. Schumer, Mr. Sessions, Mrs. Shaheen, Mr. Shelby, Ms. Snowe, Mr. Specter, Ms. Stabenow, Mr. Tester, Mr. Thune, Mr. Udall of Colorado, Mr. Udall of New Mexico, Mr. Vitter, Mr. Voinovich, Mr. Warner, Mr. Webb, Mr. Whitehouse, Mr. Wicker, and Mr. Wyden) submitted the following resolution; which was considered and agreed to:

S. RES. 572

Whereas, the Honorable ROBERT C. BYRD served the people of his beloved state of West Virginia for over 63 years, serving in the West Virginia House of Delegates, the West Virginia Senate, the United States House of Representatives, and the United States Senate;

Whereas, the Honorable ROBERT C. BYRD is the only West Virginian to have served in both Houses of the West Virginia Legislature and in both Houses of the United States Congress;

Whereas, the Honorable ROBERT C. BYRD has served for fifty-one years in the United States Senate and is the longest serving Senator in history, having been elected to nine full terms;

Whereas, the Honorable ROBERT C. BYRD has cast more than 18,680 roll call votes—more than any other Senator in American history;

Whereas, the Honorable ROBERT C. BYRD has served in the Senate leadership as President pro tempore, Majority Leader, Majority Whip, Minority Leader, and Secretary of the Majority Conference;

Whereas, the Honorable ROBERT C. BYRD has served on a Senate committee, the Committee on Appropriations, which he has chaired during five Congresses, longer than any other Senator; and

Whereas, the Honorable ROBERT C. BYRD is the first Senator to have authored a comprehensive history of the United States Senate;

Whereas, the Honorable ROBERT C. BYRD has played an essential role in the development and enactment of an enormous body of national legislative initiatives and policy over many decades; and

Whereas his death has deprived his State and Nation of an outstanding lawmaker and public servant: Now therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of the Honorable ROBERT C. BYRD, Senator from the State of West Virginia.

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit an enrolled copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

*Resolved*, That when the Senate adjourns today, it stand adjourned as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Senator.

Mr. INOUE. Mr. President, my heart is heavy with sadness following the passing of a dear friend, ROBERT C. BYRD, Senator from West Virginia.

We have been friends for nearly 50 years and I am overcome with memories. Nearly 48 years ago Senator BYRD was one of the first to greet me in the Chamber of the U.S. Senate.

Since that first moment of friendship we have worked together on many projects. And since those early days, I have called him "my leader."

He was my mentor. Over the years he provided me countless opportunities and tasked me with positions of critical national oversight while guiding my actions with the temperance he learned as the longest serving Senator in history.

He was a Senator's Senator. His many accomplishments were historic and he fought tirelessly to improve the lives of working families in West Virginia. We shared the belief that we must provide for the people who trust us to represent their communities in Washington.

I owe much to my leader, Senator BYRD. He will forever have my gratitude and respect and I will miss him dearly. My thoughts and prayers are with the Byrd family during this difficult time.

Mr. President, as America mourns, I ask my colleagues to join me in paying tribute to Senator BYRD.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I know several colleagues have come to the floor today to note the passing of a giant among us, ROBERT BYRD. I want to take a moment here to speak straight from the heart about ROBERT BYRD and my experience working with him. As we look at his desk with the flowers there, we of course think back to not too long ago when we lost another giant, Ted Kennedy. I think what distinguishes these two from others is their unbelievable, undying commitment to the people they represented and to this country.

I think, when all is said and done, that is what it is about. It is not about how long you serve. Of course, in the case of both Senator Kennedy and Senator BYRD, it was very long. Senator BYRD made history as the longest serving Senator, and that should be duly noted. But it is well beyond that. It is about this fierce sense of "fight for your people" that they both had.

When I came to the Senate, of course ROBERT C. BYRD was a legend for sure. He always met with the incoming Senators, to give them the rules of the road about procedure,

about how to conduct yourself when you were in the chair, about the dignity of the Senate, and most of all about reverence for the Constitution. As many know and many saw, the image I will always have of ROBERT C. BYRD is of him reaching inside his suit pocket and bringing out the Constitution—which, along with the Bible, was what he cherished most. He taught us that everything we do here comes from the Founders, and he taught us to love and respect the Constitution and he did it in a way that was truly inspiring.

I can tell you, coming from the largest State in the Union, we have our share of problems. We have floods and fires and droughts, we have pests in our agricultural industry, we have problem after problem—earthquakes, need I say that? Every single time we had one of these disasters, Senator Feinstein and I knew we had to go to our colleagues and say: Please understand, California needs the help of the U.S. Government because the damage is so massive. Of course, we all do that whenever our State has a problem, because we are the United States of America.

However, there are times when you do not have an ear that is listening. Senator BYRD, as the chairman of the Appropriations Committee, opened his doors to us, opened his heart to us, opened his experience to us, and was always there for us. I so remember that, time after time.

I went to see him about our water problems. We have lots of water problems. We have cities and suburbs that need the water. We have fishermen who need the water. We have agriculture that needs the water. All the stakeholders have very difficult debates over water. Senator Feinstein and I again have teamed up on this and we have always had a willing listener in ROBERT C. BYRD, who understood and helped us get the stakeholders to the table to find ways to preserve, to conserve, and increase the supply in a smart way for all those stakeholders.

These things are very big to the people of California, who probably have not connected ROBERT BYRD to California. But in all of these cases where we were so in need, he was there for us.

I remember his leadership in trying to bring the troops home from Iraq. Twenty-three of us stood up and said no to that war because we thought it meant taking our eye off Osama bin Laden and what was happening in Afghanistan and turning around and going into Iraq. We worried very much about what would happen with our troops and that it would be a very long war and there was no exit strategy.

Senator BYRD organized us and he opened his office here in the Capitol and said we need to talk about ways that we can bring this war to an end. We need to talk about what is happening to our troops. He cared so much. For me, to have been in his presence and to watch him work has been an amazing experience. So I rise to pay tribute to him.

He has so many wonderful family members who care so much about him. When he lost his wife, it took a huge toll on ROBERT BYRD, and you saw it in his face. A light went out inside. His grandchildren and children stepped up, but that hole in his heart was there. It was evident to all of us. He stayed here through thick and thin, came in—wheeled in, in a wheelchair, fading, suffering, to be in this place that he loved so much; that he respected so much.

I say, and I know, there is not a Member on either side of the aisle who did not respect ROBERT C. BYRD for his brilliance, for his strength, for his fierce representation of his State and, by the way, for his extraordinary life, coming up the way he did. Talk about the American dream—a child of dire poverty, close to the mines. He always fought for those miners. What a legacy he leaves.

I don't have any notes in front of me. I am speaking from the heart today. I will have a more complete statement, but I did want to make my views known today and send my condolences to the family. It is a great loss for everyone.

Mr. CARDIN. Mr. President, I rise with a heavy heart to pay tribute to our friend and colleague who died early this morning, Senator ROBERT C. BYRD, the longest serving Member in the illustrious history of the U.S. Congress, the longest serving Senator, and the only Senator in U.S. history elected to nine full terms. Considering that Senator BYRD won his first election to the West Virginia House of Delegates in 1946, it may be that he was the longest serving elected official in history. His passing is a profound loss to all Americans, to his beloved constituents in West Virginia, and particularly to the institution of the U.S. Senate and those of us who serve here. The Senate had no greater champion than ROBERT BYRD, no one with his understanding of the Senate's unique character, role, promise, history, and parliamentary procedures.

When ROBERT BYRD was elected to the Senate in 1958, after serving in the House for 6 years, he was part of a large, distinguished class that included such future giants as Hugh Scott, Gene McCarthy, Edmund Muskie, and Philip Hart. He surpassed them all.

According to the Senate Historical Office, ROBERT BYRD was the 1,579th person to become a U.S. Senator. Since he was elected to the Senate, another 335 individuals have become U.S. Senators. All in all, ROBERT BYRD served with over 400 other Senators. And I am certain that each one of them held their colleague, as I do, in the highest esteem.

Senator BYRD's modest beginnings in the hardscrabble coalfields of Appalachia are well known. After his mother died during the 1918 flu pandemic, Senator BYRD went to live with an aunt and uncle who adopted him and raised him in a house without running water or electricity. He pumped gas and butchered hogs. During World War II, he was a welder and built cargo ships in Baltimore and Tampa Bay. After the war, he successfully ran for the West Virginia House of Delegates and, 4 years later, the State's senate, before entering Congress in 1953. All in all, he ran for and was elected to office 15 times—not counting primaries—without suffering a single defeat. Suffice it to say that his life is the quintessential American success story. I think every young American should learn about Senator BYRD's life as an example of what hard work and persistence and devotion can accomplish in this country. He understood better than most people the importance of being educated, not just for embarking on a successful career, but as an end to itself. He was well read and could recite from memory long passages from the Bible and from great poets and authors. He was a fine historian, not just of the Founding Fathers and the U.S. Senate, but of ancient Greece and Rome and England.

Senator BYRD married his high school sweetheart, Erma Ora James, shortly after they both graduated from Mark Twain High School—where he was valedictorian—in 1937. He was too poor to afford college right away and wouldn't receive his degree from Marshall University until 60 years later—when he was 77. In between, he did something no other Member of Congress has ever done: he enrolled in law school—at American University—and in 10 years of part-time study while serving as a Member of Congress, he completed his law degree, which President John Kennedy presented to him. Senator BYRD was married to his beloved Erma for nearly 69 years, and was blessed with two daughters, six grandchildren, and seven great-grandchildren.

During his Senate tenure, ROBERT BYRD was elected to more leadership positions than any other Senator in history, including majority and minority leader, whip, and President pro tempore. He cast 18,689 roll call votes. Only 29 other

Senators in the history of the Republic have cast more than 10,000 votes; Strom Thurmond is the only other Senator to cast more than 16,000 votes. Senator BYRD's attendance record over five decades—97 percent—is as impressive as the sheer number of votes he cast.

Senator BYRD's legislative accomplishments, from economic development and transportation to education and health care, are legendary. He steered the Panama Canal Treaty through the Senate and waged a lonely battle against the war in Iraq, leading an unsuccessful filibuster against the resolution granting President George W. Bush broad power to wage a preemptive war against Iraq. He claimed that his vote against the Iraq war resolution was the vote of which he was most proud for having cast over the course of his career. When U.S. military strikes on Iraq commenced on March 19, 2003, he stated:

Today I weep for my country. I have watched the events of recent months with a heavy heart. No more is the image of America one of strong, yet benevolent peacekeeper. The image of America has changed. Around the globe, our friends mistrust us, our word is disputed, our intentions are questioned. Instead of reasoning with those with whom we disagree, we demand obedience or threaten recrimination.

Senator BYRD was unabashedly determined to use his power as a Senator and as the chairman or ranking member of the Appropriations Committee to help lift his State out of grinding poverty. And he delivered for his constituents. It is no surprise, then, that he won 100 percent of the vote of West Virginians in one election—1976—or frequently carried all 55 of West Virginia's counties. And while he fervently supported the coal industry, he recognized the devastating environmental and social impact of mountaintop removal mining techniques and he called for an end to that practice.

In the meantime, he wrote five books, including the definitive history of the U.S. Senate.

Perhaps the highest tribute to Senator BYRD can be found in his biographical section of the *Almanac of American Politics*, which states: "ROBERT BYRD . . . may come closest to the kind of senator the Founding Fathers had in mind than any other." His fealty to the U.S. Senate and to the Constitution has served as an inspiration, a lesson, and a guiding light to all of us who have been privileged to follow him in this Chamber.

In the last 10 months, we have lost two towering figures here in the Senate: Ted Kennedy and ROBERT BYRD—one of the Senate's greatest legislators and without doubt its great-

est defender. Former Senator Paul Sarbanes, whose seat I am privileged to hold, remarked that Senator BYRD liked to say that he never served under any President, but was honored to serve with many Presidents. We can honor these twin giants by carrying on their legacies, by fighting to make America a better place for all Americans, and by defending the Senate's role as a coequal, not subservient, branch of government.

When Senator BYRD became the longest serving Member of Congress last November, I quoted Robert E. Lee in my floor statement. Lee said, "Duty is the most sublime word in our language. Do your duty in all things. You cannot do more. You should never wish to do less." Senator ROBERT C. BYRD has done his duty in all things—to the Senate, to himself, to his family, to his State, to his Nation, and to God.

I am honored to join his and my colleagues here in the Senate, West Virginians, and all Americans in mourning the death, celebrating the life, and paying tribute to this great Senator and this great man.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent the resolution be agreed to, the preamble be agreed to, the motions to reconsider be laid upon the table, with no intervening action or debate.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The resolution (S. Res. 572) was agreed to.

The preamble was agreed to.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 10 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. If there is no further business to come before the Senate, I ask unanimous consent that it adjourn under the provisions of S. Res. 572 as a further mark of respect to the memory of Senator ROBERT C. BYRD.

There being no objection, the Senate, at 7:13 p.m., adjourned until Tuesday, June 29, 2010, at 10 a.m.

TUESDAY, *June 29, 2010*

Mrs. MURRAY. Madam President, I come to the floor this morning to pay my respects to a most amazing man who the Senate Chamber has lost, Senator ROBERT C. BYRD. It certainly is a sad day for the Senate, for all the people of West Virginia who loved this man so much, and for the entire

country, as we mourn the loss of the Nation's longest serving Senator.

ROBERT C. BYRD was a historian, a poet, and he truly was a master of the Senate. We have heard a lot about this remarkable man. A lot of it bears repeating today. He was the longest serving Member in the history of this institution. He had courage. He had humility. He had intelligence. He had a vision that helped lead the Senate for many years. But he also showed us that one can change over time and admit their wrongs and move on and fight for what they believe is right.

His principled stands are what I will remember most about him. I was so proud, back in 2002, to stand with him and a total of 23 Senators who voted against the Iraq war. I will not forget how strong he was, reminding us that as a country we do not have to act out of fear. I was proud to stand with him many times since then, when he would knowingly wink at me and remind us of the 23 who stood tall in the Chamber that day.

His floor speeches were legendary. I remember so many times throughout my tenure with him as he railed on the floor about whatever passion he had at the moment, whether it was his little dog he would tell us a story about or some part of history he wanted to remind us of, always with a point at the end. I remember his compassion as he spoke, and his flailing arms. He always reminded us that we are human beings here. He had a true way with words, and he literally wrote the book on the Senate. Most important, he protected this institution from every attack.

To his very last days here he was weighing in on proposed changes to the filibuster rule, a rule he played a central part in reforming three decades ago.

But the true honor of serving with Senator BYRD came from his personal touch. I personally remember my very first meeting many years ago with Senator BYRD. I came here as a brandnew Senator in 1993. I wanted to serve on the Appropriations Committee, the committee he chaired. It is a very powerful committee. It was a big ask for a freshman Senator coming in. I was told that in order to get that seat, I would have to call him up and ask for a personal meeting. That was pretty intimidating, coming here brand new and asking for a meeting with the chair of the entire Appropriations Committee.

He granted the meeting. I remember walking over to the Capitol to his office and not knowing what to expect. I



couldn't have known what to expect because, when I walked in, I found this warm, wonderful, cordial human being. He regaled me with stories from his youth and talked about being a coal miner's son and the poverty he grew up in. He showed me his fiddle he was so proud of but that he played no more. He recited poetry from memory. I remember sitting in his office and thinking: I can't believe I am sitting here with a part of history. Then, of course, he grilled me on my stance on the balanced budget amendment and the line-item veto before he said, "Yes, I would like you to serve on my committee."

I have been so proud to serve on that committee with him ever since. He taught me so much about protocol, about managing legislation, about the rules of the Senate, about respect. Yes, respect was what I think I learned from him most. He was a taskmaster. He believed passionately in the rules of the Senate, but he also believed in working together for the common good.

In the first year I was here, Senator Hatfield, Republican from Oregon, and Senator BYRD were the chair and ranking member on the Appropriations Committee. Senator BYRD called and asked me to come to lunch in his office with a small group of Senators, with Senator Hatfield and myself and several Democrats and Republicans. I was so honored to be asked, and I came over not knowing what to expect. Senator BYRD and Senator Hatfield, a Republican and Democrat, a chair and a ranking member of the most powerful committee, the Appropriations Committee, sat and talked to us about what they felt was being lost from the Senate and that, as new Members, it was our responsibility to return the Senate to. That was respect and listening to each other. They told us in words about how "one year I might be chair," said Senator BYRD, "but I know full well an election will change things and Senator Hatfield will become chair. So we better work together, and we better respect each other, as we put our bills together. Because you never know when you are going to be in the minority or the majority."

Their words were powerful. But even more powerful was sitting there listening to these two gentlemen, a Republican and Democrat, listen to each other, laugh together, have lunch together, and pass on a lesson to those following us about what we all need to be when we call ourselves U.S. Senators.

Senator BYRD earned many titles over the years: majority whip, majority leader, chairman of the Appropriations Com-

mittee. But I know the title he cherished the most was husband. His love of his family trumped everything else.

I so remember one time my husband, who lives out in the State of Washington—as my colleagues know, I travel home every weekend to be with my family—one weekend my husband came out here to be with me. Why? Because it was our anniversary. I was going to be here voting so he traveled here from Washington State and came into the Capitol. As he was coming in, I met him. Senator BYRD happened to be leaving the Senate Chamber. He saw my husband and he welcomed him and said, “What are you doing out here in the other Washington?” My husband said, “It is our anniversary.” Senator BYRD said, “Well, which anniversary is it?”

Rob said to him, “It is our 32d.” Senator BYRD paused and nodded, and he said, “That is a good start.”

He had been married for 67 years. He was going home to be with his wife. That is a moment I will cherish, because it sets in perspective all that I know about Senator BYRD. He taught by example. He taught by words. He knew humor and how to use it. But most of all, he had respect for every one of us here.

He was a gentleman. He certainly was tough, but he treated everyone with dignity and respect. Everyone here on this floor has been molded by his presence. We have learned so much from him, and he will be missed.

But I know for certain his work and his passion and his spirit will never be gone from this Senate he loved so much, and I know as I walk on this Senate floor, I will try and remember, as he taught me so well, respect of others above all.

Madam President, I yield the floor.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senator from Illinois.

Mr. DURBIN. Thank you very much.

Madam President, yesterday I joined Senator Murray and others in giving my tribute to Senator BYRD, and I will not repeat my remarks. But I look forward to other Members coming to the floor with their own memories and reminiscences of this great man who served this Nation and the State of West Virginia so honorably for so long and the fact that I was honored to serve with him for 14 years in the Senate.

Madam President, I know an issue that was always important to ROBERT BYRD was the working men and women of West Virginia. If there was one thing that innervated him

and inspired him, it was the memory of his youth and growing up in the most impoverished circumstances where he could not attend college and had to go to work straight out of high school. It was not until many years later that he completed college and law degrees as a Member of Congress. It was an extraordinary feat to be able to achieve that. ...

Mr. ISAKSON. Mr. President, I come to my seat today on the floor of the Senate to take a few minutes to share my thoughts on the late Senator ROBERT BYRD and his tragic death a few days ago. I come with a perspective different than those who served with him for decades because this is my first term in the Senate. I was elected in 2004.

In our caucus, which then was in the majority, we were asked to take responsibility for presiding, just as the current Presiding Officer is doing today. The day I picked was Friday mornings, not knowing we would not be here on a lot of Friday mornings except for a normal business session. But I did it on every Friday morning. For 2 years I presided over the Senate from about 10 in the morning until about 12:30 in the afternoon.

Friday morning is the day ROBERT BYRD would come to the floor of the Senate and share and reshare some of his great speeches. I was here to listen to the entire speech on the tribute to mothers on Mother's Day. I heard him, oftentimes, talk so wonderfully about his lovely wife. I heard him talk about the Roman Empire, its rise and its fall. I heard him make speeches on the rules of the Senate, the details that no one in this room could ever come close to.

But, for me, the most important contribution of the Senator from West Virginia was the fact it didn't matter how experienced you were or what your party was, if you had a question on the rules of the Senate, you could go to the seat of Senator BYRD and you could get an answer that you could put in the bank. He loved sharing his knowledge. He loved the institution of the Senate. He never saw it from a partisan standpoint, he always saw it from a traditional and an institutional standpoint.

There will be a lot of great tributes paid to Senator BYRD over the next few days and they will all be well deserved. I certainly share in the sympathy that all extend to his extended family for this tragic loss. But many in this Senate today and many who served in the years since he was first elected have benefited from the wisdom and "gentleman-ness" that ROBERT BYRD represented. He is a tradition in the Senate. He is a tradition in the State of West Virginia. He

will be missed, but I will be forever thankful to ROBERT BYRD for what he took the time to share with me, to help me understand the ways of the Senate. He truly was a Senator's Senator and I extend my sympathy to his family and the people of West Virginia on the tragic loss of this great Senator.

I yield the floor.

Ms. LANDRIEU. Mr. President, as we continue the important work of the Senate this week on a number of important bills, one of them being the small business package that is before this body now, we are always mindful, as we come to the floor with the beautiful flowers on Senator BYRD's desk, of the great loss we are all experiencing. His colleagues here and in his home State of West Virginia, the Nation, and, as you know, many people around the world are mourning the death of a great Senator, a very well-known Senator, a very well-respected Senator, and a very historic figure.

So as we all do our work today, it is with heavy hearts that we work. I told my staff today walking into the building, it seems so empty and particularly quiet, and it is because of the great respect this Senator enjoyed in his life and now enjoys in his death.

But as even Senator BYRD would say if he were here, the work of the Senate, which he loved very much, needs to go on because it is the work of the people in a very special way. . . .

Ms. MIKULSKI. Mr. President, I stand today with my colleagues with a very heavy heart to express my condolences to the Byrd family and to the people of West Virginia for losing a great American patriot. It is a very sad day for America, for West Virginia, and for the Senate.

For all of us who knew Senator BYRD, we knew he had five great loves: this country, the Constitution, the Senate, the people of West Virginia, and his beloved wife Erma.

Senator BYRD was my mentor and my teacher. When I arrived in the Senate, I was the first Democratic woman elected to the Senate in her own right. He took me under his wing and taught me the rules of the Senate.

He said to me, "Senator Mikulski, he or she who knows the rules will rule. And you will know how to do it."

His advice to me—when I asked him how to be successful in the Senate—was this, "Senator Mikulski, stay loyal to the Constitution and stay loyal to your constituents and you will do okay." From the very first day, he wanted me to succeed.

He was so welcoming. He made sure I became a member of the Appropriations Committee, and he helped me learn how to use my position to meet the day-to-day needs of my constituents and the long-term needs of our Nation.

Senator BYRD's career was remarkable. We all know the facts: the longest serving Member of Congress in history, the majority leader in the Senate, chairman of the Appropriations Committee, President pro tempore of the Senate, elected nine times to the Senate. Yet he never, ever forgot where he came from. He represented the people of West Virginia.

Raised in poverty in the coalfields of West Virginia by an aunt and uncle, he was born with four great gifts: a deep faith, a love of learning, a strong work ethic, and the fact that he was born in the United States of America, where someone who was, by all intents and purposes, an orphan, could become a U.S. Senator. He worked as a gas station attendant, a meat butcher, and a welder—I might add, a welder in the Baltimore shipyards. He went to night school for college and law school while he was in the Senate.

Senator BYRD wrote and passed many laws, but most important to him was that he was an appropriator. He used his position to help the people of West Virginia, and he did not apologize for that. He brought jobs, roads, and opportunity to one of the poorest States in the Nation. He did not call it pork; he called it opportunity. And this Senator would certainly agree with him.

But Senator BYRD also voted his conscience and encouraged other Members to do the same. In his more than 18,000 votes, he was most proud of his vote against the Iraq war. He was 1 of 23 Senators, and I joined him in that vote. At that time, it was deeply unpopular. Those of us who voted against the war were vilified. But we did the right thing, though it was not easy.

If you love the Senate, you love BOB BYRD. He often reminded us that the legislative branch is a coequal part of the government. He fought hard against those who wanted to give up Senate prerogatives, such as the line-item veto. No one understood Senate procedure better and no one protected Senate traditions more than Senator BOB BYRD.

He wanted to pass it on. With the new Senators, he gave each one of us a lecture on the Constitution and gave us a copy of the Constitution. He wanted us to know it and to love it in the way he did. He also taught us the decorum of the Senate—yes, the decorum of the Senate—and how,

through our processes and procedures, it was meant to promote civility among us.

To me, as I said, he was a wonderful teacher. I remember going to him when I was ready to offer my first amendment on the floor, and I asked for his advice on how I could present it and how I could not, quite frankly, be rolled. He gave me good, concrete advice. On the day I offered my first amendment, there was Senator BYRD in the background. He was always there. As I said, Senator BYRD always had my back. I was so grateful for having his advice and having his encouragement.

He lived an extraordinary life and left an extraordinary legacy. He stood for citizenship, not partisanship. And maybe that is what we should all do. Follow the Constitution. Stay loyal to our Constitution and our constituents. Use the rules of the Senate to promote civility and good government. Make sure that at the end of the day, we respect the opportunity and greatness of the United States of America.

I mourn the passing of Senator BYRD, but his legacy will live on in the rules and the traditions and the many bills he sponsored.

The people of West Virginia have had great Senators. Senator Rockefeller is a great Senator. And Senator BYRD will always be remembered, that he built a "bridge to somewhere" for all of the people of West Virginia.

Mr. ENZI. Mr. President, I am here today to pay respects to Senator BYRD, whose desk is now adorned with a black cloth and flowers. I know we will all long remember Monday as the day we received some very sad news, for on that day, as the morning began, we each learned in our own way that our good friend and colleague ROBERT BYRD had passed away just a few hours earlier. It should not have been a sudden shock. We all had time to prepare for this moment. We knew he had been having a period of ill health, but it still seemed as if he would be here forever. That is the kind of man ROBERT BYRD was.

A man of great gifts, he loved the written word and could recite his favorite poems from memory—at length. It was amazing how many speeches, reflections, and famous quotations were there at his command, in his quiver, ever ready and waiting for him to recite so he could emphasize an important point about an issue that needed to be made. That is the kind of man ROBERT BYRD was.

While it is true he was the longest serving Member of Congress in history, he was so much more than that. He was the

historian of the Senate who knew more about our roots as a legislative body than anyone else. He was a master legislative craftsman, and whenever he spoke, we all listened carefully to see what he had to say about the matter we had taken up for deliberation. That is the kind of man ROBERT BYRD was.

No one had more respect and regard for the Senate and our legislative traditions and procedures than he did. He knew the rules, he knew why they were crafted that way, and he knew how to make good use of them to further the agenda he believed to be in the best interests of the people of our Nation. Once again, that is the kind of man ROBERT BYRD was. That is why it is so difficult to sum up his life in just a few well-chosen words.

There is no greater tribute we can pay to ROBERT BYRD than for the spirit of friendship and camaraderie, which were staples of his Senate service, to bring us all to the Senate floor to express our regrets and send our condolences to his family. It will also give us a chance to share our memories of someone we will never forget.

I will always remember the orientation he organized for the incoming class of new Senators each session for as long as he was able. Besides a strong historical welcome, he presented each of us with one volume of his four-volume history of the Senate. If we read it and were able to answer questions about it, then—and only then—would we get the other three volumes. I remember asking him how he wrote them. He said he presented all of it as a series of floor speeches delivered without any notes, with most corrections made simply to clear up what the floor reporters thought they heard. He had a photographic memory, and that made it all possible. Perhaps it came from his years of study of the violin. In any event, it made him a better speaker because he spoke slowly and deliberately, carefully editing his sentences as he spoke. His style created a natural bond between himself and the listener, and that is what made him such a styled and gifted communicator.

It may be a cliché, but he was a southern gentleman through and through. He had no tolerance for any rude or impolite conduct on the floor. He instructed and expected all of us to be courteous and respectful—not because of politics but because of the great institution of which we are a part. He knew what a great honor and a privilege it is to serve in the Senate, and he expected everyone else to realize it as well and to act accordingly.

When you presided over the Senate, he expected you to pay attention to each speaker. Sometimes, the Presiding Officer is the only one in the Chamber. There was a time when there was a telephone under the Presiding Officer's desk. As the story goes, Senator BYRD was speaking when the phone under the desk rang. When the Presiding Officer answered it, Senator BYRD made sure to make him aware of the importance of courtesy in such a situation. The Presiding Officer then said, "Senator BYRD, the phone is for you." That is when the phone was taken out and a rule went into effect that no electronic devices were to be used on the Senate floor.

Then there were his special speeches. He always commemorated each holiday the evening before a recess would begin. Each speech was very poetic and, in fact, usually had some poem he had memorized years before that would come to mind and be recited from memory. He was good at it, so good that we looked forward to his poetic observations on the passing of time.

That unique speaking style of his also helped him to build a good relationship with our pages. His "going away" speech for each graduating class often left many of them in tears. Their fondness for him only grew when they learned that if the Senate was in session after 10 p.m., they had no early morning classes the next day. They were always delighted, therefore, when the hour grew late and Senator BYRD rose to speak. They knew he could easily add the 10 or 15 or even 30 minutes needed to get them past 10 o'clock and a welcome reprieve from the early morning classes.

My favorite speech Senator BYRD gave happened when I was presiding. Over the previous weekend, he had visited some of his grandkids and asked about their studies. He was a firm believer in education and was an example of lifelong learning himself. One of his grandkids had shared a math experience with him. He was so surprised, he asked to see the math book. He brought the book to the floor to read parts of it to us. He was distressed at how math had migrated into a social textbook. He pointed out that you had to get to page 187 to find anything that resembled the math he had learned. The parts prior to that were social discourse. Anyone who heard the speech would remember his indignation.

I remember being at an interparliamentary trip held in West Virginia hosting the British Parliament. We went to a mountain retreat for dinner. Senator BYRD welcomed them



and then got out his violin and shared some fiddle music he thought was appropriate for the occasion. He was very good.

Senator BYRD was an expert on the rules of the Senate. At our orientation, he encouraged us to learn the rules. Because of his encouragement and as a way to learn the rules, I volunteered often to chair the Senate floor. Following his instructions, I brought a list of questions with me since during the quorum calls you can ask questions of the captive-audience Parliamentarian.

I once saw a Senator come to the floor to debate an amendment, and Senator BYRD was there to debate against it. The Senator wanted to revise his amendment. For half an hour, the Senator tried different tactics to change his amendment, and Senator BYRD thwarted every attempt. The Senator was frustrated, asked for a quorum call, and left the floor.

At that point, I asked the Parliamentarian if there was any way the Senator could have changed his amendment. The Parliamentarian explained that all he had to do was declare his right to revise his amendment. I asked why the Parliamentarian did not tell him that. What I learned is the Parliamentarian can only give advice when asked. My first stop at the Senate floor often is at the Parliamentarian as a result.

During much of Senator BYRD's career, he was either the chairman of the Appropriations Committee or the ranking member. He was very good about taking care of orphan miners. Those are primarily coal miners whose companies have gone out of business owing benefits. After a couple of lessons from the Senator, I worked with him to take care of the orphan miner health problem in a bill that speeded up mine reclamation in many States, extended an expiring tax on coal companies with their guarded permission, and then released impounded trust fund money promised by law to the States impacted, to produce the Nation's energy, as well as take care of the orphan miners.

At another time, Senator Isakson and I worked with Senators BYRD, Rockefeller, and Kennedy to make the first changes in mine safety law in 28 years. He was very proud of the difference he was able to make in the lives of coal miners back home, and he never forgot them whenever we were debating an issue that might have an impact on their lives.

In the days and weeks to come, I can think of no greater compliment we could pay another Senator or greater tribute we can pay to Senator BYRD than to watch someone in action

on the Senate floor who develops and implements a well-drawn strategy and say: That is the way ROBERT BYRD would have done it.

For my part, I will always remember the great love Senator BYRD had for our Constitution. I do not think anyone knew it better or more detailed than he did. When I was mayor of Gillette, I began a habit of carrying around a copy of the Constitution with me. I discovered that a lot of us knew what it said but not too many of us had a grasp for the details. It had a lot of meaning for me right from the start because it represents the blueprint from which our Nation and system of government were constructed. Then when I came to the Senate, I came to know the Constitution in a completely different way. It was now my job description, as Senator BYRD put it. So I always kept it handy.

I have no doubt that Senator BYRD had a similar reaction years before my own. I am sure he knew the better he understood our Constitution and the procedures of the Senate, the more effective he would be as a Senator. He knew the importance of understanding the rules of our legislative process in every detail. The better he became at mastering the process by which our laws were made, the better he knew he would be at producing the outcome he was committed to achieving for the people of West Virginia and the Nation. I am sure that is why he always carried a copy with him.

The line-item veto was passed before I got to the Senate, but Senator BYRD had sued to have it stricken. Most of his Senate career had been as chairman of the Appropriations Committee or the ranking member. He pointed out that Congress, according to the Constitution, is supposed to make spending decisions, not the President. He always pointed out that we do not work for the President of the United States; we work with the President as a separate but equal branch of government. He would guard us against infringement by the President using the third branch of government, and he was successful.

Although his life was marked by many triumphs, he was not without his personal tragedies. I have always believed that the work we do begins at home, and that is why I will never forget the strength of his marriage and what a tremendous loss it was for him when his wife passed away. No one knew him better than she did, and without her by his side life became ever more difficult. His health began to fail.

I remember going to his wife's funeral. It was very well done. When my wife and I were on our way home, we com-

mented that the endearing and astounding thing about the funeral was that it was about her. He made sure her achievements, her family, her efforts and successes were the focus. As famous as Senator BYRD was, the comments that were made that day were about her and not about him. That says a lot about the relationship they had.

Although his health was declining, he was here as often as he was able, an active part of the day-to-day workings of the Senate. He would not and could not take it easy, no matter what anyone told him. His heart was in the Senate; his soul was in West Virginia. To stop what he loved to do was for him and the people back home unthinkable.

One of Senator BYRD's favorite quotations comes to mind today. He loved the Bible and quoted from it often. When going through a difficult time in his life, he remembered the words from the Book of Ecclesiastes: "To everything there is a season and a time for every purpose under heaven." Now Senator BYRD has come to another time, as he has reached the end of his seasons on God's green Earth. He will be greatly missed, and he will never be forgotten.

I cannot conclude my remarks without paying a final tribute to Senator BYRD by recalling his love of poetry and the written word. We can all remember the way he would enjoy sharing a favorite verse with us, much like this one. Although the author is unknown, I am certain Senator BYRD would not only recall it but know it well:

Life is but a stopping place,  
A pause in what's to be,  
A resting place along the road,  
To sweet eternity.

We all have different journeys,  
Different paths along the way,  
We all were meant to learn some things,  
But never meant to stay.

Our destination is a place,  
Far greater than we know.  
For some the journey's quicker,  
For some the journey's slow.

And when the journey finally ends,  
We'll claim a great reward,  
And find an everlasting peace,  
Together with the Lord.

My wife Diana joins in sending our heartfelt sympathy to his family and many friends and for all the people who worked for him and with him over the years. We will miss him—the knowledge he had, the institutional memory he

had, the experiences and history he had been a part of and in many instances was the main participant—the leader. Probably only once in the history of a country does someone like this come along. If he were here, he would deny it but be pleased if we noted the similarity of what he had done to what had been done in the ancient Roman Senate about which he often talked.

In the end for Senator BYRD it was never about how much time he spent in the Senate or on Earth but how well he used the time he was given.

I yield the floor.

Mr. CONRAD. Mr. President, I rise to talk about the loss of our senior colleague, Senator ROBERT C. BYRD. I had the privilege and honor of serving with Senator BYRD for over 24 years in the Senate. I believe this body has lost a giant.

For more than five decades, ROBERT C. BYRD served his country, fought to protect the institution of the Senate, and worked tirelessly for the people of West Virginia. The people of West Virginia were never very far from the mind of ROBERT C. BYRD. I know because I worked with him every day for 24 years. Senator BYRD and his passing leave a tremendous void for this body and for the Nation. He will be greatly missed.

Senator BYRD was a great man, an exceptional person, somebody who had lost his parents and, through sheer will, made himself into a great man. He was a legend in the Senate, the longest serving Senator in the history of the United States and the longest serving lawmaker in congressional history. The people of West Virginia elected him to the Senate an amazing nine times and three times before that to the House of Representatives. He served in almost every leadership post in the Senate, including twice as majority leader and for almost two decades as chairman of the Appropriations Committee. He took an incredible 18,500+ votes, a record which will never be broken. At least that is my forecast. I do not know how anybody will ever break a record of more than 18,500 votes.

Senator BYRD may be remembered most as the protector of the institution of the Senate. This is an institution he loved. More than that, this is an institution he revered as part of the constitutional structure of this country. He believed it had a special place in defending the Constitution of the United States. He believed it played a special role in preventing unwise legislation from becoming law, and he believed it deeply.

He knew more about Senate history and Senate rules and procedures than any other Member, and he used that knowledge skillfully to defend this institution and to ensure it continued to function in a manner consistent with what the Founding Fathers intended. Senator BYRD did not come to those beliefs lightly. He came to those beliefs after the most thorough and very rigorous study of our history. He was a master orator. How many of us can remember Senator BYRD coming to this floor and having Members come to the floor to listen to him because very often his speeches were a history lesson—and not just drawn from American history but from world history, going back to the Roman Empire? When he was in really high excitement, he loved to go through the various Roman emperors and what brought them down, what led to the decline of the Roman Empire, and what lessons we could draw from that.

His speeches were riddled with quotes from great leaders, references to American history and law, and descriptions of that ancient Roman Senate—much of it from memory. How many times did I hear Senator BYRD stand in that spot or in the leader's spot and recite from memory a lengthy poem or a speech from history? What a remarkable man. The extent and the breadth of his knowledge was truly amazing.

Senator BYRD was also an expert on budget matters. In fact, he was one of the principal authors of the 1974 Budget Act which established the congressional budget process. He created and vigorously defended the Byrd rule, which bears his name—a budget rule designed to stop the abuse of the fast-track reconciliation process.

Let me just remind my colleagues of something Senator BYRD did during the Clinton administration when the administration had a health care proposal that was bogged down. It could not pass because it would require 60 votes in the Senate, and there were not 60 votes to be had. The administration wanted to use the reconciliation process, the fast-track process that allows legislation to be passed with only a simple majority. Senator BYRD said no, under no circumstances would he permit that to happen because he believed that was a violation of the whole basis of the reconciliation process which he had been involved in and which he had helped design and which was put in law solely for deficit reduction, in his view. He believed any other use was an abuse of the process—the process of reconciliation. So he said no to the President of his own party on that President's No. 1 domestic priority.

There is a lesson in that for all of us. When we were in the midst of the consideration of using the reconciliation process for that purpose during the Clinton administration years, Senator BYRD told me, as a member of the Budget Committee, "Senator, always remember partisanship can go too far. Our obligation, our first obligation, is to the Nation and to this institution. If that means we have to disagree with the President of our own party, so be it."

I hope colleagues learn from that lesson as well. Partisanship can go too far.

As the Budget Committee chairman, I had the privilege and honor of working particularly close with Senator BYRD after he joined the committee in 2001. The original idea of the Budget Committee was that the chairman of the Finance Committee would serve there, the chairman of the Appropriations Committee would serve there, and the chairmen of other relevant major committees would serve there so that the Budget Committee would put together the priorities of the United States. Senator BYRD had an acute understanding of that history.

But also Senator BYRD never forgot who sent him to Washington. He tenaciously fought for West Virginia throughout his career and ensured his small, rural State had a powerful voice in the Halls of the Capitol. He never forgot where he came from. I remember well his exchange at a Budget Committee hearing in 2002 with then-Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill, and Senator BYRD proudly and emotionally described his own humble upbringing because Senator BYRD came from very straightened circumstances. He came from a very modest background. He was an orphan. In fact, he carried a name which was not his birth name. His birth name was a different name than ROBERT C. BYRD. But when relatives took him in, they gave him their family name.

ROBERT C. BYRD remembered those earliest days. He remembered what it was to struggle. He remembered what it was to have very little. He remembered what it was to wonder where your next meal was coming from and whether you were going to have a roof over your head. Senator BYRD remembered, and he was faithful to those memories.

Senator BYRD loved his wife Erma. He loved his daughters Mona and Marjorie and his grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

I want to say to the members of the family, Senator BYRD was intensely proud of you. I hope the children and grandchildren will get that message, that Senator BYRD was in-

tensely proud of each and every one of you. He spoke about you often and in loving terms, and you should know that.

Of course, we all know he loved his little dog Billy, and he loved his dog Trouble. In fact, I think he had multiple dogs named Trouble.

Senator BYRD loved West Virginia, he loved this institution, and he loved our country. I am deeply saddened by the passing of Senator BYRD. His immense knowledge and his spirit will be missed. His values will be missed. But I am comforted in knowing that our friend ROBERT is now reunited with his beloved wife Erma. I know his legacy will live on in this body and this Nation forever.

I thank the Chair and yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Arizona is recognized.

Mr. KYL. Mr. President, during a recordbreaking six decades of public service, Senator BYRD served this Nation with diligence and spirit. As a legislator, Senator BYRD had many notable qualities, particularly his legendary oratory skills and his masterful knowledge of Senate procedure. Having authored a four-volume history of this Chamber, he understood its nuances and intricacies, and he was an articulate spokesman for protecting procedural rules.

Senator BYRD kept a copy of the Constitution in his pocket, and he could recite it from memory. He was always first to remind us that the Framers intended the Senate to be different from the House of Representatives and to stand as a bastion of individual and minority rights. He celebrated these distinctions serving as they do the fundamental principle of checks and balances within the legislative branch.

At a recent Rules Committee hearing, Senator BYRD said:

The Senate is the only place in government where the rights of a numerical minority are so protected. The Senate is a forum of the States, where regardless of size or population, all States have an equal voice. . . . Without the protection of unlimited debate, small States like West Virginia might be trampled. Extended deliberation and debate—when employed judiciously—protect every Senator, and the interests of their constituency, and are essential to the protection of the liberties of a free people.

Senator BYRD's insights, expertise, and constitutional scholarship will truly be missed. They are a great part of his legacy, one that I hope will be honored for generations.

On a personal note, I will mention that while Senator BYRD and I did not share a perspective on many matters of public policy, we had a common appreciation for bluegrass music. I always enjoyed talking with him about that subject.

He was a talented fiddler, playing on stage, on television, and while campaigning for office. He even recorded an album entitled *Mountain Fiddler*. He gave me a copy, and I was very impressed with his skill.

ROBERT BYRD's knowledge, his hard work, his high spirit, and dedication to the people of West Virginia will always be remembered. My wife Caryll and I extend our thoughts and prayers to his family.

Mr. BAUCUS. Mr. President, I, too, wish to say some words on the passing of our good friend and former leader, ROBERT C. BYRD.

It is difficult to sum up in words the thoughts and feelings one has for a departed friend whom one has known so long. I had the pleasure of serving with Senator BYRD my entire career in the Senate. I knew, I liked, and I respected ROBERT C. BYRD for more than 30 years.

It is doubly difficult to put into words thoughts that adequately reflect such a presence in the Senate. ROBERT C. BYRD was a singular Senator. He was a Senator's Senator. There was no title he prized more than that of "Senator."

When I came to the Senate, ROBERT C. BYRD had succeeded my mentor, Mike Mansfield, as majority leader. As ROBERT BYRD was fond of noting, he served as majority leader and then minority leader and then back as majority leader. He saw the leadership of the Senate from both sides, and his experience seasoned his leadership.

As proud as he was to earn the title of "Senator," he was even more proud that as a Senator he represented the people of his State. I deeply believe that is one of the finest things one can say about a fellow Senator. For more than 50 years, he was a strong voice for the people of West Virginia.

ROBERT BYRD was a strong voice for democracy. He knew the rules of the Senate better than any person alive. He fought to preserve the traditions and customs of what he truly believed is the world's greatest deliberative body.

As my colleagues know, ROBERT BYRD cast more votes than any other Senator in the history of our Republic. I can recall when he cast his 18,000th vote. That vote just happened to have been on a motion to invoke cloture on an amendment offered by this Senator. The Senate did not invoke cloture that day. That is the way the Senate's rules often work. No matter the outcome, Senator BYRD was foremost in the defense of those rules. And Senator BYRD was foremost in the defense of the Constitution of the United States.



Senator BYRD was a student of history more than any other Senator. Those of us who were here will not soon forget Senator BYRD's series of addresses on the history of the Senate. And those of us who were here will not soon forget his series of addresses on the Senate of the Roman Republic. He knew that Senate too.

Senator BYRD was a teacher. I can recall meeting with Senator BYRD on a highway bill. He and I both long believed passionately in the importance of our Nation's highways. At this one occasion, I recall being impatient about enacting the highway bill on which we were working. I can also recall the sage advice Senator BYRD gave me about the process, about the procedures, and about the personalities of how to get that bill through the Senate. As I look back on that meeting, I think of all the occasions Senator BYRD took the time to teach others of us about the Senate. He taught his fellow Senators. He taught visiting dignitaries from other countries.

I might add parenthetically that it was not too many years ago when he was visiting Great Britain with some Senators and meeting with some Parliamentarians in Great Britain, and the subject of British monarchs came up, and it was only Senator BYRD who knew them all. He stood up, and he gave the name of every British monarch and the dates they served, up to the present. No other person in the room, including the members of the British Parliament, could do so. ROBERT C. BYRD did.

He taught class after class of Senate pages.

ROBERT BYRD will leave a legacy in the laws of the United States. He will leave a legacy in the rules and precedents of the Senate, and he will leave a living legacy in all the people who learned about the Senate at the knee of this great master.

ROBERT BYRD was an orator. One might say he was the last of a breed. He spoke in a style that recalled his roots before microphones and amplification. He spoke memorably. He spoke like orators used to speak.

Many of us recall celebrated speeches of ROBERT C. BYRD. I will read an extended quotation from one speech that sums up ROBERT BYRD's strong feelings for the Constitution and the Senate he loved so well.

On October 13, 1989, many of us gathered to hear ROBERT C. BYRD speak. This is what he said:

Mr. President, I close by saying, as I began, that human ingenuity can always find a way to circumvent a process . . . . But I have regained my

faith. We are told in the Scriptures: "Remove not the ancient landmark, which thy fathers have set."

The Constitution is the old landmark which they have set. And if we do not rise to the call of the moment and take a stand, take a strong stand against our own personal interests or against party interests, and stand for the Constitution, then how might we face our children and grandchildren when they ask of us as Caesar did to the centurion, "How do we fare today?" And the centurion replied, "You will be victorious. As for myself, whether I live or die, tonight I shall have earned the praise of Caesar."

And ROBERT C. BYRD concluded:

As [Aaron] Burr bade goodbye to the Senate over which he had presided for 4 years, this is what he said. And I close with his words because I think they may well have been written for a moment like this. He said, "This House is a sanctuary; a citadel of law, of order, and of liberty, and it is here—it is here—in this exalted refuge—here, if anywhere, will resistance be made to the storms of political phrensy and the silent arts of corruption; and if the Constitution be destined ever to perish by the sacrilegious hands of the demagogue or the usurper, which God averts, its expiring agonies will be witnessed on this floor."

So today, Mr. President, I will close my words for my friend, ROBERT C. BYRD, noting that in life he was victorious. As for myself, whether I succeed or not, whether I live or die, today I can count no greater praise than to say I served with ROBERT C. BYRD.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas is recognized.

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Mr. President, I think the remarks that were given by my colleague from Montana about Senator BYRD were certainly appropriate, and I know anytime we lose one of our Members who has been sitting with us for so long, there is a void to fill.

What I appreciated about Senator BYRD is how much he respected the Senate itself and protected the rights of the Senate against anyone who he believed overstepped the rights of the Senate and the decorum and protocol of the Senate. He was truly a defender of this body. He loved it, and I think we all respected him for that.

Mr. BOND. Mr. President, I rise to say a few words about our departed colleague.

This week the Senate lost its longest serving Member not only of the Senate but of the Congress. More than that, the Nation lost a true servant of the people.

From humble beginnings, Senator BYRD was, first and foremost, a champion for the people of West Virginia. Throughout his many years of service, there has been no

greater student, teacher, and protector of the Senate institution. Senator BYRD was not only a guardian of the Senate institution, he was a guardian of the rights our Nation holds dear, which is why his most constant companion was the Constitution of the United States in his pocket.

I had the opportunity, when I first arrived in the Senate in 1990, to work on the acid rain trading provisions in the Clean Air Act. It was known as the Byrd-Bond amendment. We called it the Bond-Byrd amendment back in Missouri. The acid rain trading system has worked because there was technology available. The cost enabled the equitable sharing of the major utilities which had to install expensive equipment that provided more benefit than they needed so they could sell off the other parts of their credits to smaller companies that could not afford to install expensive equipment. That was just a small success for Senator BYRD.

He was a true champion. He will be missed on the Senate floor. My thoughts and prayers are with Senator BYRD's family, his staff, and the people of West Virginia.

Mr. LEMIEUX. Mr. President, I see the roses on the desk of our colleague from West Virginia, as I did in the Armed Services Committee meeting I left a few minutes ago and will return to shortly. It makes me think that what we do here on a day-to-day basis seems very small compared to the legacy Senator BYRD has left us over his many years as the longest serving Member of Congress. We will do our best in the time we have to honor his legacy and thank him today and every day going forward for what he has done for this institution. He kept the flame. He understood the importance of this body constitutionally, and he understood that the rules and procedures of this body were its lifeblood and really understood them and recognized them more than anyone else who has served in this Chamber and spent his life's work protecting them and memorializing them. To him, we owe a great commendation.

Ms. STABENOW. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to a great Senator and a friend and mentor of mine, Senator ROBERT C. BYRD. When I look at his desk, a place from which he spoke such powerful words so many times, it is hard to believe he will not be on the floor of the Senate speaking powerfully about what he believed in—the people of West Virginia and the great issues of our day. He will be sorely missed.

He was orphaned as a child and grew up poor. He often told us about his foster father, who was a coal miner, who had to work hard to scrape together food and shelter for their family. He always spoke of working men and women and those who were working hard and having a hard time making ends meet. I know his heart was always with them.

From a young age, Senator BYRD learned the importance of hard work, dedication, and perseverance—skills that would serve him well throughout his long and very distinguished life.

After graduating from high school at the top of his class in 1934, he married his high school sweetheart Erma. Many of us knew her, and those who didn't knew of her because he would speak continually about the love of his life, his sweetheart Erma. After school, he went on to work at a number of odd jobs. He worked as a butcher during the Great Depression, earning less than \$15 a week. He worked as a gas station attendant. During World War II, he was a welder in a shipyard in Baltimore. But he never forgot his childhood and where he came from. He knew how education had transformed his own life, and he never stopped trying to give every American that same opportunity.

After high school he couldn't afford to go to college. But after he was elected to the House of Representatives in 1952, he put himself through law school—the only Member of Congress ever to do that while in office. He joked that Erma put three children through school—himself and their two daughters.

His wife was the most important person in the world to him, and I know he was deeply saddened when Erma died in 2006, as were all of us who served in the Senate with him at that time.

He was a great mentor, a great friend, a great advocate for working families of Michigan and of America. I was proud to join with him many times as we fought for American workers, whether they were mine workers in West Virginia or auto workers in Michigan.

He loved West Virginia, the people and the landscape. One of his favorite Bible verses was from Psalms: "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help." In my office I proudly display a painting that Senator BYRD gave to me, which he painted himself while working in Baltimore so he could remember those hills and mountains of his childhood. Today, when I see that painting, I remember that Senator who gave so much for the people of West Virginia

and the people of America. I was proud to stand with him as one of the 23—as he reminded me frequently—the 23 who opposed the original war in Iraq and stood up for our men and women who have bravely served us around the world as well.

Senator ROBERT C. BYRD—the Senate is a better place because of him and he will be sorely missed.

Mr. NELSON of Florida. Mr. President, 10 years ago I gave my maiden speech on the floor of the Senate. I was at a desk on the far side of the Chamber. In the course of that speech, I happened to mention that it was my maiden speech. I had been here about a month. I went on. I can even remember the subject. It was the deficit, since we were in a unique position that we actually had a surplus in the Federal Government and I did not want to see that surplus piddled away. I started talking about the budget and why it was necessary to keep the surplus, to utilize the surplus to pay down the national debt over a 10-year period.

Some minutes later, after I had said this was my maiden speech, all of a sudden the doors to the Chamber flung open and in came Senator ROBERT BYRD. As I was giving this first speech on the floor of the Senate, the greatest deliberative body in the world, he went over to his desk—the one that is draped with black cloth, and upon it sits the vase of flowers to note his passing—he sat there and he looked at me and listened to the rest of that oration.

As I concluded, the Senator from West Virginia rose and said, “Will the Senator from Florida yield?”

And I said, “Of course I yield.”

He proceeded, off the top of his head, from that incredible, detailed memory, to lay out the history of maiden speeches on the floor of the Senate. He had been back in his office, and he had heard me, in the course of the audio from the television, say this was my maiden speech. He came up and went into this long discourse about the importance of maiden speeches and who were the ones who had given them and how long into their service as a new Senator they had waited to give them.

Later on, as we were debating that budget, the great orator from West Virginia took the floor and began talking about a tax cut the Senate was considering; a tax cut he voted against, and so did this Senator from Florida. The Senator from West Virginia talked about this tax cut that was going to be a staggering \$1.6 trillion. This is what the great senior Senator from West Virginia said. “That is \$1,600 for

every minute since Jesus Christ was born,” Senator BYRD declared. He went on to say, “If we go for this big tax cut ... that money ... is gone.”

We all like tax cuts, but what we have to have is a balance of tax cuts and spending cuts, given the position then that we had a surplus, and how to responsibly use that surplus to pay down the national debt. What we have is a reversal of that. We, of course, have a huge deficit because the revenues are not coming in to match the expenditures and, thus, additional problems that have accrued from not listening to the Senator who sat in that black-draped desk. No one else spoke like Senator BYRD or was as original as he was.

As we mark the passing of our dear colleague who, it has been said many times, was the longest serving Federal lawmaker since the founding of the Republic, as we mourn his passing, many will remember the Senator from West Virginia by the numbers and by the records he set. He made history. He brought depth and grace to the Senate. He is forever enshrined as a major part of its history.

I can tell you that 10 years ago, we freshmen had the blessing of being tutored—no, more than tutored; we were students, we were pupils of the master teacher. He taught us the rules, so important to the conduct of business in this body. But he taught us something more. He taught us decorum. He taught us how to preside as the Presiding Officer. He taught us to be respectful, that when you are presiding, you absolutely listen to the speaker. He taught us so much.

He was elected to no fewer than nine terms in the Senate. He served first in the House for 6 years. He had cast over 18,000 votes. He presided over both the longest session of the Senate and the shortest. We had no fewer than 12 Presidents since he first took office.

But the numbers do not tell the full story. ROBERT BYRD was one of the greatest advocates for just plain folks and especially if they came from West Virginia. He gave them his all, after his first and foremost love, his devotion to his wife Erma. In the spirit of Thomas Jefferson, ROBERT BYRD always put public service ahead of personal fortune.

On my desk in my Senate office, as I would suspect on many other Senators’ desks, are copies of Senator BYRD’s addresses on the history of the Senate—more than 100 of those speeches delivered over a 10-year period. Those are the only books that are set on my personal desk with book ends of two American eagles. That study has been called the most ambitious study of the Senate ever undertaken. Every day,

those books remind me of the living history of this institution and its vital role in our democracy.

Senator BYRD made rare and noble contributions to his family, his friends, his State, his country, and to this Senate. He was, in a living person, the walking history book of the Senate, which he could recite. Now, as he has gone on to the ages, he will be known as the historian of the Senate. And now forever for history, he will be one of the major parts of the Senate's history.

We mourn his passing, we miss him personally, we grieve for his family, and we are thankful there was a public servant who surely the Lord would say: Well done, thy good and faithful servant.

Mr. UDALL of New Mexico. Mr. President, I rise today to join my colleagues as we mourn the death and celebrate the life of a man who touched all of ours; a man who loved his country, loved the Senate, and dedicated his life to preserving its traditions; a man who above all cherished his State and who every day considered it his highest honor to represent her people.

On Monday morning, Senator ROBERT BYRD took his rightful place in our history books as a titan of the Senate. On Thursday we will honor him as his body lies in state in this Chamber where he served longer than any other Senator in our history. Today, we grieve his loss with his family and with the entire country.

My family's history with Senator BYRD goes back many years. My father, before he became Secretary of the Interior, served with Senator BYRD, then Congressman BYRD, in the House of Representatives. A half century later, my father's honor became my own. I am proud to have had the privilege of serving in this Chamber with Senator BYRD, of experiencing first hand his distinguished service and remarkable career.

Senator BYRD will be remembered for many things. He will be remembered for his historic length of service; for his rise from humble roots to the pinnacles of political power; for his encyclopedic knowledge of Senate rules and procedure; and for his love of his wife of 68 years, Erma.

What I will remember Senator BYRD for is his willingness to stand up and fight for what he believed in. Two of the most pressing issues of the past decade are perfect examples—the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. From the very beginning, Senator BYRD was a voice of opposition to the Iraq war. He delivered what will become one of his most memo-

rable speeches in the days leading up to the Senate's vote to authorize its funding. He spoke out against a war at a time when any opposition to the President's path meant putting his own political future in jeopardy. But he did not waiver.

Here is part of what he said:

No one supports Saddam Hussein. If he were to disappear tomorrow, no one would shed a tear around the world. I would not. My handkerchief would remain dry. But the principle of one government deciding to eliminate another government, using force to do so, and taking that action in spite of world disapproval is a very disquieting thing. I am concerned that it has the effect of destabilizing the world community of nations. I am concerned that it fosters a climate of suspicion and mistrust in U.S. relations with other nations. The United States is not a rogue nation, given to unilateral action in the face of worldwide opprobrium.

Eight years and thousands of American lives lost later, his words read as prophetic.

But he didn't stop there. Last year—this time with his party holding the reins of power in both the White House and the Congress—he did the same thing. Seven years had passed, and Senator BYRD was older and more fragile than ever before. None of that stopped him from getting to the Senate floor that day. How did I know this? I had a front row seat as the Presiding Officer of the Senate that day.

This time, he questioned the proposed buildup of troops in Afghanistan—a proposal I myself had questioned many times as well. Here is what Senator BYRD said:

I have become deeply concerned that in the 8 years since the September 11 attacks, the reason for the U.S. military mission in Afghanistan has become lost, consumed in some broader scheme of nation-building which has clouded our purpose and obscured our reasoning.

He continued:

... President Obama and the Congress must reassess and refocus on our original and most important objective—namely emasculating a terrorist network that has proved its ability to inflict harm on the United States.

Time will tell if Senator BYRD's concerns about Afghanistan prove as prescient as those he expressed about Iraq almost a decade ago. Time also will tell if we heed those concerns.

What is clear is that Senator BYRD understood the importance of asking the tough questions, regardless of their impact on himself personally or professionally. In this regard, we could all learn a little bit from Senator BYRD.

I know my Senate colleagues will agree with me when I say this institution, this country, this democracy lost a powerful advocate this week, and all of us in this Chamber lost a good friend.



Today I join with my colleagues in expressing my deepest sympathy to Senator BYRD's family for their loss and remembering a man whose legend and legacy will endure beyond us all.

Mr. KAUFMAN. Mr. President, I wish to spend a few minutes talking about a truly great Federal employee, and that is Senator ROBERT C. BYRD.

He personified all the things I try to talk about once a week, because ROBERT BYRD was a Federal employee. ROBERT BYRD was a creature of the U.S. Senate. ROBERT BYRD had his family, and he was a great family man, but the Senate was also his family, and he cared about everybody here.

I remember the first time I ever had contact with Senator BYRD was in 1972. On election day in 1972, Joe Biden, a 29-year-old candidate for the U.S. Senate, was elected to the Senate running against one of the most popular officials we ever had in the State of Delaware, a wonderful public servant and Federal employee, Caleb Boggs, who had been a Congressman and Governor before he became a Senator.

Just 6 weeks later, on December 18, when his wife and two sons and daughter were bringing their Christmas tree home, the car was hit by a tractor trailer and Senator Biden's wife and daughter were killed.

Shortly after that, my church, St. Mary Magdalen in Wilmington, Delaware, had a memorial service for his wife and daughter. I will never forget, it was a dark night. It was in December. It was just an ugly night out. The church was full, and it was a very moving ceremony. After it was over, I found out that Senator ROBERT BYRD had driven himself to Wilmington, Delaware, come into the church, stood in the back of the church for the entire service, and then turned around and drove home. And there are hundreds of stories like that where ROBERT BYRD demonstrated his great love for the Senate and for the people of the Senate.

There are traditions he instilled in the Senate and traditions he kept alive in the Senate. I remember when he was majority leader, I will tell you what, there were lots of things that just never happened because Senator BYRD was going to make sure we stuck to the traditions of the Senate. So I wish to recognize Senator ROBERT BYRD as a great Federal employee.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, I join all Americans in mourning the passing of Senator ROBERT C. BYRD. For more than five decades, Senator ROBERT BYRD served his home

State, his beloved West Virginia, with a dedication that is unsurpassed in our Nation's history.

Senator BYRD was legendary for that commitment to his State, for his outstanding service as both the Senate's majority and minority leader, and for his staunch defense of the U.S. Constitution throughout his many years of public service.

When I arrived in the Senate, Senator BYRD was in the midst of his sixth term, President pro tempore of the Senate, chairman of the Appropriations Committee and already a giant of the institution. It was an honor to work beside him in this body.

Senator BYRD was the longest serving Member of Congress in our Nation's history, elected to an unprecedented ninth term in the Senate in 2006. It was a long road from his humble beginnings in rural West Virginia to his long and distinguished service here. Along the way, Senator BYRD's life was characterized by hard work and a steely determination.

And of all the things he was determined to do, perhaps the most significant was his determination to get an education. Senator BYRD prized education, and fought to get one for himself despite difficult odds. That long effort culminated in Senator BYRD earning his law degree, after 10 years of night classes as he served in Congress by day. He was 46 years old when he graduated, and President John F. Kennedy presented him with the diploma.

He shared that love of learning as a champion of continuing education, and through the establishment of the Robert C. Byrd Honors Scholarship Program, which provides scholarships to high school seniors who show promise of continued excellence in postsecondary education.

Senator BYRD was dedicated to the Senate and served an invaluable role as a historian of the institution. He wrote a distinguished multivolume history of the Senate, and also authored several other books. In fact when I drafted my proposed constitutional amendment on Senate vacancies, I consulted one of his volumes on Senate history. He had written a chapter on the 17th Amendment to the Constitution that was very helpful in putting the issue of Senate vacancies in a historical context.

As a student of Senate history, both the U.S. Senate and the Roman Senate, he was also a passionate defender of the powers of the legislative branch. One would expect no less of a man so devoted to our Constitution. Senator BYRD was eloquent as he spoke about the need to stand up for our Con-

stitution and its principles here in the Senate, and faithfully carried a copy of the Constitution with him every day. He was very proud of his efforts to encourage students to learn more about this document and our great democracy.

In Senator BYRD's lifetime of leadership, he worked on many important issues. As the Senate's majority leader, he helped to lead the fight against the undue influence of money in politics in an effort with then-Senator David Boren of Oklahoma. Together they sponsored campaign finance legislation and worked to pass it in what has been described as "one of the most extraordinary exhibitions of perseverance on the Senate floor, as BYRD led the Senate through eight unsuccessful votes to end a filibuster." While that legislation stalled, it was one of the efforts that paved the way for later reforms, and I am grateful for his efforts.

I respected him for that, and for so many of the principled stands he took during our service together, including his opposition to the Iraq war. He brought tremendous wisdom and insight to our work here and I know how much those gifts will be missed.

ROBERT C. BYRD was a man who sought to learn every day of his life, and in turn taught all of us a great deal. He taught us about our Nation's history, about the people he represented, and about the institution of the Senate he loved. While Senator BYRD's passing is a loss for the Nation, his legacy of innumerable achievements will live on for many years to come. My thoughts are with his family and many friends today.

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. President, on Monday we lost a colleague and dear friend with the passing of Senator ROBERT C. BYRD. My deepest sympathy goes out to his family, friends, dedicated staff, and the people of West Virginia. Senator BYRD was truly a giant among Senators. His presence will be greatly missed.

Few have had the command of history that Senator BYRD possessed, and I suspect none have matched his knowledge of the U.S. Constitution and the Senate in which he served. Senator BYRD never passed up the opportunity to give a history lesson, delivering impassioned speeches peppered with poetry, lessons from ancient Rome, and his unique understanding of the workings of this Chamber. He also never forgot to remind us of the importance of Mother's Day, the beauty of the first day of spring, or how devoted he was to his beloved wife Erma.

Senator BYRD held fiercely to his beliefs. Yet, he had the humility and wisdom to change beliefs he realized were wrong. History will remember Senator BYRD, not only for his numerous records of service, but for his unwavering commitment to education, public infrastructure, and the State of West Virginia.

This year, 19 outstanding high school students from my home State of South Dakota joined the ranks of thousands of Robert C. Byrd Honors Scholarship recipients that are furthering their education, in part because of Senator BYRD's belief in the value of higher education. He embodied that belief in his own life, earning a law degree while serving in Congress and striving to continue learning each day.

Senator BYRD also understood the value of investing in the small, sometimes overlooked communities of his State. Where others saw "pork," he saw jobs, opportunities, and hope for hard-working Americans. He understood—better than most—that without roads, clean water, and reliable utilities, rural communities will struggle to reach their full potential.

Though he would later "walk with Kings, meet Prime Ministers and debate with Presidents," Senator BYRD never forgot his roots in the hills of West Virginia. West Virginia lost a true champion, but his mark on the State will last far longer than even his half century in Congress.

I am honored to have served with Senator BYRD. This institution is a better place for his time here.

SENATE RESOLUTION 574—RELATIVE TO THE MEMORIAL OBSERVANCES OF THE HONORABLE ROBERT C. BYRD, LATE A SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. REID (for himself and Mr. McConnell) submitted the following resolution; which was considered and agreed to:

S. RES. 574

Whereas, The Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of the Honorable ROBERT C. BYRD, late a Senator from the State of West Virginia: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the memorial observances of the Honorable ROBERT C. BYRD, late a Senator from the State of West Virginia be held in the Senate Chamber on Thursday, July 1, 2010, beginning at 10:00 a.m., and that the Senate attend the same.

*Resolved*, That paragraph 1 of Rule IV of the Rules for the Regulation of the Senate Wing of the United States Capitol (prohibiting the taking of pictures in the Senate Chamber) be temporarily suspended for the sole and specific purpose of permitting the Senate Photographic Studio to photograph this memorial observance.

*Resolved*, That the Sergeant at Arms be directed to make necessary and appropriate arrangements in connection with the memorial observances in the Senate Chamber.

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives, transmit an enrolled copy thereof to the family of the deceased, and invite the House of Representatives and the family of the deceased to attend the memorial observances in the Senate Chamber.

*Resolved*, That invitations be extended to the President of the United States, the Vice President of the United States, and the members of the Cabinet, the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, the Diplomatic Corps (through the Secretary of State), the Chief of Staff of the Army, the Chief of Naval Operations of the Navy, the Major General Commandant of the Marine Corps, the Chief of Staff of the Air Force, and the Commandant of the Coast Guard to attend the memorial observances in the Senate Chamber.

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 65—PROVIDING FOR THE USE OF THE CATAFALQUE SITUATED IN THE EXHIBITION HALL OF THE CAPITOL VISITOR CENTER IN CONNECTION WITH MEMORIAL SERVICES TO BE CONDUCTED IN THE U.S. SENATE CHAMBER FOR THE HONORABLE ROBERT C. BYRD, LATE A SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF WEST VIRGINIA

Mr. REID (for himself and Mr. McConnell) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was considered and agreed to:

S. CON. RES. 65

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring)*, That the Architect of the Capitol is authorized and directed to transfer the catafalque which is situated in the Exhibition Hall of the Capitol Visitor Center to the Senate Chamber so that such catafalque may be used in connection with services to be conducted there for the Honorable ROBERT C. BYRD, late a Senator from the State of West Virginia.

ORDER FOR PRINTING OF TRIBUTES

Mr. REID. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that tributes to ROBERT C. BYRD, late a Senator from West Virginia, be printed as a Senate document, and that Members have until 12 noon, Friday, August 6, 2010, to submit said tributes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

WEDNESDAY, *June 30, 2010*

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, it is with deep sadness that I rise to honor my colleague and friend, Senator ROBERT

C. BYRD. I look at the simple eloquence of the roses and the black felt on his desk, and he rises above that and hovers above us in just about everything we do.

The admiration that all of us in this body have for Senator BYRD is genuine and palpable. We miss him dearly, and I know I speak for the entire Senate when I say our thoughts and prayers are with Senator BYRD's family as they mourn his passing.

Mr. President, no one loved the Senate more than ROBERT BYRD. He devoted his life to this august institution and, in doing so, became an institution himself. He is a legend—a man who embodied the best ideals of this body. It is fitting that on this day we remember Senator BYRD the Senate is undertaking one of its most important constitutionally mandated responsibilities: the confirmation hearings for a Supreme Court Associate Justice.

Senator BYRD would remind us that we are in a process where the first branch of government is giving its advice and consent to a selection from the second branch of government in choosing someone to sit on the highest part of the third branch of government.

He loved the Constitution, he loved the Senate, he loved America, and he came from the bosom of America.

I am struck by the history of this moment. We read about the great Senators who served in this body—the Websters and the Clays, the LaFollettes and the Wagners. Well, I cannot help but feel privileged to have served, in my brief time—certainly compared to the Senators here—with a legend, with a man whose name will go down in history beside those men as one of the great men in this body and one of the great men in history.

On Thursday, Mr. President, Senator BYRD will make one final visit to this Senate Chamber that he so loved. There could be no more appropriate way for us to say goodbye to him and honor him than to yield the Senate floor to him for one last time.

People asked, why not the Rotunda? It was not that he did not deserve tribute in the Rotunda, and, for sure, tens of thousands would have lined up. But this is the body he loved, and this is the body where his final day here should be.

I would like to share a few brief thoughts and reflect on Senator BYRD's service to the people of West Virginia and the Nation.

The most important thing we should all remember about ROBERT BYRD is his life story, for it embodies America, the best of America. It embodies the American dream. Because of his intelligence, his indefatigable energy, and up-by-the-bootstraps determination, he rose from a childhood marred by abject poverty to being three heartbeats away from the Presidency.

He made mistakes in his earlier career, which he freely admitted later. Who has not? But he just grew and grew and grew. That is what great men do: they grow larger and stronger and better as they go through life. That could certainly be said of Senator BYRD.

Unlike many of the great men who preceded him, Senator BYRD did not grow up as a member of a privileged class. He was an orphan, raised in the Appalachian coal towns of West Virginia. He graduated from high school at 16 as the valedictorian, but like so many Americans of his day, he was too poor and could not afford college.

So as a young Member of Congress, he worked his way through law school, and, at age 46, he earned the diploma—with honors—that had eluded him in his youth.

I remember his love of West Virginia. When I was new in this body, just learning it—and part of the way I learned it was by going to Senator BYRD's class on the rules of the Senate; legendary to each freshman class of his time—but one day I was just seated at my desk, and Senator BYRD rose to speak. It was a Friday afternoon. I believe it was in the springtime. Business was finished and everyone was rushing home. As you know, Mr. President, I usually rush home. I love to be in New York. But as I was getting ready to leave, Senator BYRD rose, and his speech captivated me.

For 45 minutes he gave a speech on the beauty of West Virginia in the springtime. The theme of the speech was to urge visitors from other States to come experience it. It was an amazing speech. It was almost like poetry. I am sure Senator BYRD probably did not have to sit and spend days preparing it. It just flowed off his lips, his love of West Virginia, combined with his eloquence. It is one of the speeches I will always remember in the Senate, and I am just lucky and glad I was here for that moment.

Then, speaking of my State of New York, Senator BYRD did not just touch West Virginia, he touched every State. Because he was here for so long, of course, he had such power but cared about each of the Members and their States.

The most striking moment I had with Senator BYRD occurred in the wake of 9/11. It was the day after that Senator Clinton and I went up to New York, and we saw the devastation. We could smell death in the air, see the anguished looks of people holding signs: Have you seen my husband? Have you seen my wife? The towers were gone, but people did not know who had survived and who had not. Most did not, of course.

Then the next call we got, as we came back, was from Senator BYRD. Senator BYRD said, "Please come to my office." We went to his office on the first floor of the Capitol. He came to Senator Clinton and I and said, "Chuck, Hillary, I want you to consider me the third Senator from the great State of New York."

We knew we needed help, and we needed it fast. Even before we went to visit President Bush and asked him for the help that New York needed, Senator BYRD, on his own, invited us over and pledged his help. Like always, he lived up to his word, not just in the next days or weeks or months, but years. I would go to him 3, 4 years later and say there is still this part of the promise made to New York that hasn't been fulfilled. There he was, and he did it. Without a doubt, the dear city I love, New York City, would not have been able to recover as quickly or as well without that man from the coalfields of West Virginia, Senator ROBERT C. BYRD, helping us. He showed a level of selflessness that is rarely seen, and I think I can speak on behalf of Secretary Clinton and the people of New York in telling Senator BYRD how grateful we are to him.

We all have so many memories of Senator BYRD, so many things. We only served together a little less than 12 years, 11½ years, but he was like a jewel. He had so many different facets that every one of us was touched by him in many ways.

So I relate my last strong memory of Senator BYRD. The Presiding Officer remembers as well because it was at a hearing of the Rules Committee where we are now having a series of hearings under the suggestion of the Presiding Officer and leadership to decide whether we should reform the filibuster rule and what we should do about it. Senator BYRD, frail at that point, about a month ago, came to our hearing room. He sat next to me and then gave one of the best orations I have heard in a committee. He was 92. He turned the pages of his speech himself. That wasn't so easy for him. It was clearly—knowing the way he thought and his



way of speaking—written completely by him. It was an amazing statement. It was impassioned, erudite, balanced, and, as the Presiding Officer remembers, it electrified the room. It was an amazing tour de force. The man cared so much about the Senate. Despite the fact he was ailing, there he was because he loved the Senate. His remarks, if my colleagues read them, were balanced. He understood the problems, but he understood the traditions, and he tried, as usual, to weave the two together.

There are few Senators who could do that, in the more than 200-year history of this body, the way he could. There are also few Senators in this body who fought as hard for their States as Senator BYRD did. I certainly admire the people who are here who become national leaders but never forget where they came from. There is a tendency among some who come to Washington to sort of forget where they came from. Not Senator BYRD. All across West Virginia, men and women are able to realize the American dream because he fought for them. He was unrelenting and unapologetic in his desire to improve the lives of West Virginians by making generous investments in infrastructure and research. He brought that State into the future and afforded generations of West Virginians good-paying jobs, allowing them to provide for their families and have the dignity all Americans deserve.

Some of the more elite parts of the media would make fun of what he did, but I thought our colleague, Senator Rockefeller, said it best. I am paraphrasing; I read this in the newspaper. He said Senator BYRD realized that until you get a road and a water system to these isolated towns, you couldn't open the door of the future for them, and he knew that. Senator BYRD relentlessly, in town after town after town, did that. He fought to increase access to health care and ensure the people had the right to vote, and he made sure every child in West Virginia had the right to live up to his God-given potential through a quality education.

Every one of us could go on and on about Senator BYRD's accomplishments, but I think what is even more important than accomplishments is who he was as a person. He was someone who knew where he stood but showed a profound willingness to evolve, and that is a sign of extraordinary character. It is all too easy for an elected official to plug his ears and say: Sorry, that is my position; that is the way it has always been, and that is the way it will always be. Not

Senator BYRD. He was unafraid to take new arguments into consideration and expand his world view accordingly.

What also struck me about him was his fundamental humility, the best example of which is probably his relationship with my dear friend and mentor, Ted Kennedy, another legend in this body who is so sorely missed. Ted somewhat unexpectedly ran against Senator BYRD to be the Democratic whip in 1969. Senator Kennedy won. Two years later there was a rematch and Senator BYRD became the whip. One would think after this kind of animus that the two of them would never come together, but in their lives in the Senate they established a deep meaningful bond, a tribute to both of them.

Senator Kennedy would tell me stories about Senator BYRD and some of the things he had done, serious and humorous. To me it is so profound that within a year we have lost the two giants among whom I was proud and lucky to serve.

I will never forget when Senator BYRD, sick as he was, was outside the steps of the Capitol to salute Ted Kennedy after he passed earlier this year. It was Senator BYRD who provided the crucial vote to fulfill Ted Kennedy's lifelong passion: comprehensive health care reform. As every Senator sat at their desk for the final passage vote, the clerk called the roll. When Senator BYRD's name was called, he raised his voice as loud as he could and declared, "Madam President, this is for my friend Ted Kennedy. Aye!"

Those two friends, those two legends today are together again in heaven, and I would love to be able to hear the conversations and reminiscences between them.

ROBERT BYRD will be remembered forever. He will be remembered as a man who loved this institution and guarded its history. He will be remembered as a man who always stood up for his State. He is a man who will be remembered as someone who lived the American dream and fought to make that dream a reality for countless others. Perhaps most of all, he will be remembered as a loving father, grandfather, and husband.

Today the Senate mourns, the people of West Virginia mourn, the Nation mourns.

Mr. BROWNBACK. Mr. President, I rise to speak about Senator BYRD, as many of my colleagues have, and make a few comments about an extraordinary individual. Just the sheer numbers are very impressive. He was married for 68 years, elected to 9 terms, had more than 20,000 days of serv-

ice in the Senate, approaching 19,000 roll call votes cast, and had a 97 percent attendance record.

Senator BYRD was the majority leader from 1977 to 1980, and again from 1987 to 1988. He was President pro tempore four different times when his party was in the majority. The Senator from West Virginia was known for his defense of the Constitution and the institutional prerogatives of the Senate. He was the author of five books, and he was an avid fiddler. The first place I ever saw Senator BYRD was playing the fiddle on television. Boy, he could play. It was impressive to see somebody of his stature playing an instrument so brilliantly.

In his biographical statement on his Web site, I found a statement that I want to expand and build off of. It says:

In every corner of West Virginia, the people of the Mountain State know that there is one man on whom they can always depend: U.S. Senator ROBERT C. BYRD. He has always remained true to his faith and his family, while working to build a better future for his State and his country.

His remaining true to his faith and family was at the core of Senator BYRD and his longevity, and at the core of his service.

While he spoke often and wrote well about the institutional prerogatives of the Senate better than anybody in the history of this body, it is that his life centered around his core, remaining true to his faith and his family. He was married for 68 years to his spouse, Erma, who stayed by his side constantly, and of whom he would speak often.

Senator BYRD and I would speak about his faith on the floor frequently. He was a man of deep faith and a man of strong convictions, and that was his centerpiece. He would often speak on this floor about his faith.

I think what you saw in Senator BYRD in that statement about his faith and his family is a cultural requirement for the United States. This is a nation of strong faith, a nation that values family. At the core of this country is that cultural need and necessity, and the leaders of the country need to have at their core a strong bearing within them, and that is a part of their service. That was a big part of Senator BYRD's service. His comments reflected the way he lived. Often people say that the way you live speaks louder than any words you say. That is what I found with Senator BYRD. The way he lived was speaking louder than any words.

It was the Senator's commitment within his family and his willingness to live that and his faith that spoke louder than any of his words. When we would talk about these things, you could see that they were at the depth of his soul and

being. Whether we agreed or disagreed on a number of things—and there were many disagreements I had with him on policy issues, no question about that—you could never challenge his core convictions. His faith and commitment to his family were things that were obvious by the way he lived. You could have this sort of gentlemanly debate about topics that would come up, but you could never question or challenge the character and heart and soul of that.

What I found most endearing was Senator BYRD's commitment to faith and family. He will be greatly missed in this body. His treatise on the Senate that he gave to all new Members—and to me as a new Member coming into the Senate—I started it and got through a portion, not all of it, but it was excellently written, well presented, and certainly a good education as to what we should do in preserving the constitutional integrity that the Founders intended for this body to be. He, of course, was the greatest defender of it.

Others have spoken more eloquently about Senator BYRD, but I don't think any eloquence could match the eloquence with which he lived his life—particularly toward his faith and his family. That is what we should recognize the most.

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, with the passing of our colleague, ROBERT BYRD, a mighty oak in the forest of Senate history has fallen. There are flowers on his desk, but there is a tremendous void in our midst.

As we all know, Senator BYRD was the longest serving Senator in the history of this body. But what was most remarkable about ROBERT C. BYRD was not his longevity but his unique stature and accomplishment in the Senate. No individual in our long history has been a more tenacious champion of the traditions, prerogatives, and rules of this body.

Senator BYRD was very fond of noting how many Presidents he had served under. He always answered, "None." As he explained it, he had never served under any President but he had served with 12 Presidents as a proud member of a separate and coequal branch of government.

Likewise, no individual has had greater reverence for the Constitution and for our Founders' vision for an assertive, independent legislative branch. As the *Almanac of American Politics* says in its profile of Senator BYRD: "He may come closer to the kind of Senator the Founding Fathers had in mind than any other." For so many years, if anyone on the Senate floor needed to look up something in the Constitution, we knew where to turn. Senator BYRD always carried a copy in his left breast pocket, directly over his heart.

It was Senator BYRD's reverence for the Constitution that led to what I consider to be arguably his finest hour in the Senate—his outspoken opposition to the rush to war in Iraq in 2002 and his fierce warning to his fellow Senators that we would regret surrendering our power on this war to the President. Senator BYRD's speeches at that time opposing the invasion became a sensation around this country and on the Internet. A white-haired Senator, well into his eighties, became an icon and a folk hero to young people in universities all across America. Why? Because when President Bush was at the peak of his popularity and power, Senator BYRD dared to say that the emperor—any President—has no clothes when it comes to declaring war. Senator BYRD said the reason given for the invasion—Iraq's alleged weapons of mass destruction—was trumped up, and he predicted the war would be a colossal mistake.

I remember those impassioned speeches he gave at that time. If only we had taken the advice of the wise Senator from West Virginia, how many young American lives—over 3,000—would not have been lost, perhaps 10 times that many injured, carrying the wounds and scars of that war for the remainder of their lives, not to mention the nearly \$1 trillion spent out of our Treasury for that war in Iraq.

Later, in his outstanding book, *Losing America*—I recommend this book to every young person. I see our pages sitting here. Pick up that book by ROBERT C. BYRD. It is called *Losing America*. He just wrote it about 5 or 6 years ago. It became an instant bestseller. It is a great book. In that book, *Losing America*, Senator BYRD decried the Senate's willingness to cave in to the President. He did not care about whether the President was a Democrat or Republican. He said cave in to any President—it is readiness, as he put it, “to salute the emperor.” He referred back to his earlier book he had written on the Roman Senate, noting that it was “the progressive decline of the already supine [Roman] Senate” that led to the decline of the Roman Republic, and he warned that the same could happen in America.

I have always had a special affinity for Senator BYRD because we were both the sons of coal miners, both raised in humble circumstances. I will miss seeing ROBERT BYRD at his desk or in the well and going up to express my best wishes and converse with him. He would always grab my hand; he would look at me and say, “We have coal miners' blood running in our veins.” We were the only two sons of coal

miners to serve in the Senate, at least at this time. He always said that to me. I am going to miss that.

In reading about the Senator's early years—lifting himself out of poverty before running for the West Virginia Legislature in 1946—I was reminded of Thomas Edison's remark that "opportunity is missed by most people because it is dressed in overalls and looks like work." In his early days, ROBERT BYRD was dressed in overalls, and he worked. But he made his opportunities. He made his own opportunities with that relentless work, his self-education, and striving always.

I will always appreciate the way he tutored me in the ways of the Senate when I arrived in this body in 1985. I was assigned to the Appropriations Committee, one of the few freshman Senators to ever get that assignment. I will not go into how all that happened, but I can remember going to visit Senator BYRD—who then, of course, was the ranking minority member, when I first came to the Senate, on the Appropriations Committee—to ask for his guidance and his willingness to work with me and to instruct me on how to be a good member of the committee. For the next 25 years, he was either the chair of the committee or the ranking member. So I was privileged to learn at the elbow of a master appropriator and legislator.

During his more than 58 years in Congress, Senator BYRD witnessed astonishing changes, when you think about it. Our population during his service grew by more than 125 million. He served for 25 percent of the time we have been a republic. There has been an explosion of new technologies. America grew more prosperous, more diverse, more powerful. But across those nearly six decades of rapid change, there was one constant: Senator BYRD's tireless service to his country; his passion for bringing new opportunities to the people of West Virginia; his dedication to this branch of government, the U.S. Congress, and to this Chamber, the U.S. Senate.

ROBERT BYRD was a person of many accomplishments with a rich legacy. In my brief time today, I wish to speak of one area of his advocacy which I have had ample opportunity to observe in my capacity both as the longtime chair or ranking member of the Appropriations Subcommittee for Education and as a longtime member and now chair of the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

During all these years, Senator BYRD was passionately committed to improving public education in the United

States and expanding access to higher education, especially for those of modest means.

As we all know, as I said, he was raised in the hard-scrabble coalfields of southern West Virginia. His family was poor, but they were rich in faith and values. His adoptive parents nurtured in ROBERT BYRD a lifelong passion for education and learning. He was valedictorian of his high school class but too poor, too underprivileged to go to college right away. Again, keep in mind, those were the days before Pell grants and guaranteed loans or even Byrd scholarships. He worked as a shipyard welder, later as a butcher in a coal company town. It took him 12 years to save up enough money to start college. As we all know, he was a U.S. Senator when he earned his law degree. No other Member before or since has ever started and finished law school while a Member of Congress.

But degrees do not begin to tell the story of the education of ROBERT C. BYRD. He was the ultimate lifetime learner. As I told him once, it was as though he had been enrolled during the last seven decades in the Robert C. Byrd School of Continuing Education. That always brought a smile on that one. I guarantee no one could ever get a better, more thorough education at any one of our universities.

Senator BYRD's erudition bore fruit in no less than nine books that he wrote and published over the last two decades. We know he wrote the book on the Senate, a masterful, four-volume history of this institution that has become a classic. What my colleagues may not know is he also authored a highly respected history of the Roman Senate.

There are some who joked—and I am sure he would not mind me saying this because we said it to him many times in the past—there are some who think ROBERT C. BYRD served in the Roman Senate. I can tell you, that part of the BYRD legacy and legend just is not so. We always said that. It always brought a smile, and he always chuckled when we talked about that. He was an expert on the Roman Senate. He knew it, and he knew who served in the Roman Senate and how it worked to bring down the Roman Empire.

I have talked at length about Senator BYRD's education because this explains why he was so passionate about ensuring every American has access to a quality public education, both K-12 and higher education. Coming from a poor background, Senator BYRD believed that a cardinal responsibility of government is to provide a ladder of opportunity so that everyone, no matter how humble a background, has a shot

at the American dream. Obviously, the most important rungs on that ladder of opportunity involve education, beginning with quality public schools, including access to college and other forms of higher education.

During my quarter century now in this body, no one has fought harder for public education than Senator ROBERT BYRD. As longtime chairman, ranking member and, most recently, the senior member of the Appropriations Committee, he was the champion of education at every turn—fighting to reduce class sizes, improve teacher training, bringing new technologies into the classroom, boosting access to higher education.

In 1985, my first year here in the Senate, he created the only national merit-based college scholarship program funded through the U.S. Department of Education. Congress later named it in his honor. The Robert C. Byrd Honors Scholarship Program is a federally funded, State-administered scholarship program that rewards high school seniors who have exhibited exceptional academic excellence. Currently, there are more than 25,000 Byrd scholars across the United States eligible for a \$6,000 grant during 4 years in college.

I can remember speaking with him about this and the funding of it, and he reminisced more than once with me about how he was valedictorian of his class, and that he so wanted to go on to higher education but, because of his economic circumstances and where he lived, it wasn't available. So he wanted to make sure that young men and women today who exhibit that great excellence in academic performance were not denied the opportunity to go to college simply because of the circumstances of their birth.

Senator BYRD has something in common with Winston Churchill. Both were prolific writers, and both were major players in the events they chronicled in their writings.

Senator BYRD was also a great student of literature, and he loved to recite long poems from memory. I could never understand how he could remember all of the poetry he would recite here on the floor, in a committee meeting, or sometimes in a meeting when a subject would come up and he would remember a poem that perfectly fit the temper of what people were talking about.

I am sure Senator BYRD knew *The Canterbury Tales*, a lot of it probably by heart. In *The Canterbury Tales*, describing the Clerk of Oxford, Chaucer might just as well have been describing ROBERT C. BYRD. Chaucer wrote: "Filled with



moral virtue was his speech; And gladly would he learn and gladly teach.”

Senator BYRD’s speeches were a wonder to behold, full of eloquence and erudition and moral virtue. Senator BYRD never stopped learning and he never stopped teaching. Americans for generations to come will continue to learn from his writings and his example.

Senator ROBERT C. BYRD was a great Senator, a great American, a loving and wonderful family man. He has both written our Nation’s history and has left his mark on it. The United States of America has lost a patriotic son. We have lost a wonderful friend and a mentor. Tomorrow, here in the hallowed Chamber of the U.S. Senate, which he so loved and served for so many years, ROBERT C. BYRD will lie in state. We would do well to honor his memory by making a renewed commitment to making the U.S. Senate work and to work for all of the people of this country. May he rest in peace with his beloved Erma, and may the Senate always remember and honor his lifetime of service.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware is recognized.

Mr. KAUFMAN. Mr. President, I spoke about Senator BYRD yesterday. One of the ways you measure anyone is by their friends. The manner in which Senator Harkin just spoke about Senator BYRD shows what a great man Senator BYRD was, to have a friend as thoughtful and as caring as Senator Harkin. They are both a credit to the Senate. . . .

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I rise today to join my colleagues in mourning the loss of one of the Senate’s legendary Members—ROBERT C. BYRD, the honorable senior Senator from the great State of West Virginia.

It wasn’t too long ago that I looked right over there and I saw a desk draped in black with roses and it was one titan of the Senate—Senator Ted Kennedy. Today, I look down here and I see a desk draped in black with white roses and it is a second titan of the Senate.

I had the privilege of serving with Senator BYRD on the Appropriations Committee for some 16 years. I have had occasion to watch him. He could be very tough, he could be very caring, and he could have that twinkle in his eye. He could depart from the present text into Greek tragedy; into old Roman speaking. He had an incredibly curious mind. I think he is going to be greatly missed from this body.

I think of him representing the State of West Virginia in the Senate for more than 51 years and serving 6 years in the House of Representatives. During all those 57 years, he served with the kind of devotion and passion that he showed in his last year here in the Senate, when he was very troubled by declining health. He has truly left an indelible imprint on the State of West Virginia and on this body. No one has ever shown more determination or greater love for the U.S. Senate than ROBERT C. BYRD. His tenure has been legendary.

He held a number of key leadership positions, including secretary of the Senate Democratic Caucus, Senate majority whip, twice as Senate majority leader, the Senate's minority leader, and three times as chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee.

During the period of 1989 to 2010, Senator BYRD was President pro tempore of the Senate—the most senior Democrat and third in the line of Presidential succession; also as President pro tempore emeritus when the Democrats were in the minority.

Senator BYRD cast more roll call votes than any other Member of this institution—18,689 in total. That is truly remarkable. Just think about how many of this Nation's laws he helped shape.

He was a veritable expert on the inner workings of the Senate. There was no one who was more well versed in this institution's intricate rules, protocols, and customs than ROBERT BYRD. He literally wrote one of the most comprehensive books on the Senate. He knew Riddick's *Rules of Procedure*, virtually all 1,600 pages.

Many of us in the Senate have also spoken of his ardent devotion and consummate knowledge of the Constitution of the United States. His well-worn, treasured copy of this document was kept in his vest pocket, and year after year I would see him pull it out. The only thing that would change is that his hand, as the years went on, shook a little bit more. But his devotion to that document did not.

He was a staunch defender of the prerogatives of the three equal branches of government, and he was very quick to note that he served alongside, not under, 12 Presidents.

When he first joined the House of Representatives in 1953, Harry S. Truman was President. His tenure in Congress then followed alongside the Presidencies of Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, Richard M. Nixon, Gerald R. Ford, Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan,

George H.W. Bush, William J. Clinton, George W. Bush, and finally Barack Obama. That is an amazing list of people to have served with.

BOB BYRD was not only one of the Senate's famous power brokers, but I think his fondness for classical history, music, and poetry has impacted every one of us. As I said, he frequently interspersed his Senate remarks with passages from ancient Roman history, philosophy, and often poetic verse. It used to amaze me how, late at night, he could move from his set text and repeat some poem, word for word, verse after verse.

The nine decades of ROBERT BYRD's lifetime witnessed great change both at the personal level and at the national level. He lived to see and strongly support the inauguration of our country's first African-American President—something I know meant a great deal to him. He was not always on the right side of the civil rights issue at every stage of his life, but he became a champion for equality, a lion for progress. His transformation was truly inspirational.

Senator BYRD was born into very humble beginnings in 1917. He grew up during the Great Depression. He was the adopted son of a coal mining family in a small town in southern West Virginia. He was the valedictorian of his high school class but was not able to afford college at the time. This impoverished childhood might have hindered others, might have stopped a weaker person, but not the indomitable ROBERT BYRD. His inner thirst for knowledge propelled him throughout his epic career. In fact, he managed to find time during his tenure in the Senate to finally fulfill his bachelor's degree from Marshall University in 1994, at the tender age of 77. That shows something, I think. He previously received a law degree from American University's Washington College of Law in 1963.

The loss of his beloved wife Erma Byrd in 2006, I think, was a dramatic blow to him. I had occasion to talk with him during that time, and there was no question that this was a great love, that it was an enduring love, and that it was a lifetime commitment. I discussed with him how he provided, day after day, week after week, and month after month, the personal care to his wife as she became more infirm and came toward the end of her life. This truly was a major gift of love. . . .

Once again, I offer my sincerest condolences to his two daughters Mona Fatemi and Marjorie Moore, his grand-

children and great-grandchildren, and to the people of West Virginia.

This Nation—not only West Virginia, but all of us—owe Senator ROBERT BYRD a great debt of gratitude for his service.

I know I will very much miss that indomitable spirit, that insightful guidance, and the intense commitment to the Senate.

This man will be missed.

I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Delaware is recognized.

Mr. CARPER. Mr. President, I am pleased to follow my colleague, Senator Feinstein, in tribute to ROBERT BYRD, whom I always called “Leader” and who always called me “Governor.” He was our leader. He was a leader for a long time and will always be that in a very real sense to many of us.

I was born in Beckley, West Virginia, just about a dozen miles or so from a community called Sophia, which is where ROBERT and Erma Byrd once ran a little mom-and-pop supermarket back in the late 1930s, early 1940s. I think he was the butcher. He ran that supermarket and later on, I think in World War II, he was a welder during the war. As we know, in the late 1940s he had the opportunity to run for the West Virginia Legislature and ran. He was a great fiddler and went around his community, his district, playing the fiddle. He always called himself a hillbilly.

Ironically, I was down in the central part of our State just about a month ago and had a chance to attend a picnic for senior citizens, a cookout. A lot of people were there. I was sitting at different tables and walking around. I was sitting at this one table, and I learned this lady sitting to my left was from West Virginia.

I said, “Where are you from?”

She said, “Sophia.”

I said, “That’s right outside of Beckley, where I was born.”

She said, “Yes, I knew ROBERT and Erma Byrd when they ran that mom-and-pop supermarket.”

I said, “You’re kidding.”

She said, “No, I did.”

I asked her to share some thoughts with me about it, and she did.

Two weeks later I was back in the Senate and Senator BYRD was coming in in a wheelchair. In the last part of his life he lost the ability to walk. He never lost his voice, never lost his mind either. But he came in, and I stopped to say hello to him, see how he was doing, and I said, "Leader, I just met a woman over in Delaware the other day who knew you from your little supermarket in Sophia, West Virginia."

I told him about it, and he smiled. He said, "Do you remember her name?"

Ironically, I could not remember it. But if I had, he would have. He was amazing.

Some people think the reason he got elected to office so many times, in the State legislature and the U.S. House of Representatives and in the Senate, was because he was so good at, frankly, looking out for West Virginia economically, making sure they were not left behind. He was also a pretty good politician.

He was also good at names. I remember once, when we had a funeral for my mom who died about 4 years ago, and we had a celebration of her life just outside of Beckley. We had it in the home, a very large home of a family that had 19 kids. One of them married my cousin, Dan Patton. Some people have a diningroom; they had like a banquet hall for their meals. We were all gathered in this banquet hall, paying tribute to my mom, reflecting on her memory, and I was walking around the house afterward, and I came across a *Congressional Record* tribute on the wall of this house. It was a tribute from ROBERT BYRD honoring this family. I was just blown away. I couldn't wait to get back to the Senate the next week and say to Senator BYRD, "You will never guess whose house I was in."

I told him the name of the house, the family, and he said, "I remember that guy. He is a barber. They have 19 kids."

This guy was just amazing. I used to call him on his birthday. I used to call him not just on his birthday but when he and Erma had an anniversary. I would call him on Christmas and other special occasions just to see how he was doing and let him know I was thinking about him.

I think it was his 90th birthday, and I called him and I said, "Leader, I think it is your birthday today."

He said, "Yes, it is."

I said, "How old are you, anyway?"

I knew.

He said, "Well, I'm 90."

I said, "I just hope when I am 90 I can just sit up and take nourishment."

"Mr. President," he said, "I hope you can, too."

He was amazing.

He and Joe Biden share the same birthday. Sometimes I would call Senator BYRD on his birthday and say, "Leader?" He said, "Governor, is that you?"

I said, "That's me. I always get this confused, who is older, you or Biden?"

He said, "I still got him by a couple of years, but he is catching up on me."

I guess now he will really have a chance to catch up.

I came here as a freshman Senator. I had been in the House, and a Governor before. I came in as a freshman in 2001. I was about the age of the pages down here. I remember Senator BYRD really took a bunch of us under his wing. He became sort of my mentor. I think the fact we had this West Virginia connection made it even more special for me, and I think maybe for him.

He taught us how to preside. He explained to us the rules of the Senate. He knew the rules better than anybody else and he was able to work the rules, use the rules to get things done—or not, to keep things from getting done. Boy, he was good. He taught us how to behave in the Senate, and he did that—not just for us but for people who had been here for 20, 30, 40 years. If they were acting up, making too much noise on the Senate floor, he would stop them dead in their tracks.

He once said to me the most important role for the Presiding Officer is to keep order. That is what he said. He said, "If you can keep order, the rest is pretty easy." I always remembered that.

He presented to me my Golden Gavel. The Presiding Officer has a Golden Gavel. You get it after presiding so many hours in the Senate. But I was very honored to receive mine from Senator BYRD.

When I got here in 2001 I think he was 83, an age when most people are ready to sit back and take it easy. He was just picking up speed. As Senator Feinstein said, he could take to the Senate floor without a note, give a speech on just about any subject, throw in all kinds of anecdotes with respect to ancient Rome and Greek mythology, recite poems and stuff.

I once said to him, "How do you remember all those poems?"

He would say, "I just make them up."

He was just kidding. He actually was able to remember them. I sometimes have a hard time remembering where I am supposed to be for my next meeting.

He was from West Virginia, the southern part of West Virginia. As others have said, his views on race as a younger man and as a new person in the Senate were not the same views that he left with. He matured, grew up.

He once said to me, "The worst vote I ever cast, I actually voted against and spoke against the Civil Rights Act of 1964."

I think he sort of went to his grave regretting that. But I think he went to his grave having atoned, if you will, for that sin. He changed his views with respect to race. In part it was a matter of conscience—he was a person of deep faith—but I think also probably he changed, in part, because of the prodding and cajoling of, among others, one of his best friends, Senator Ted Kennedy.

As I said earlier, I loved to call him on special days. I would almost always call him when I was back in West Virginia, call him on my cell phone, call him at his home in McLean. It wasn't his birthday or anything and I would call him.

I would say, "Leader?"

He would say, "Is that you, Governor?"

I would say, "Yes, I am driving down to West Virginia on the Virginia Turnpike heading toward Beckley."

He would say, "No kidding."

I said, "I am trying to remember which exit to get off of. The first one is Harper Road, then there is another one. The third one, I can't remember that. What is that?"

He would say, "That's my road, the Robert C. Byrd Drive exit."

I would always have a good time with him for that. Others have spoken about all the leadership roles he played here, all the votes he cast, all that he did. He did so much for West Virginia. I love to go back to West Virginia. I think the friendliest people I have ever met in my life are from West Virginia. It is kind of a hardscrabble place. They have come a long ways, in no small part because of his enormous help. He has been accused of trying to hijack Washington and move it to West Virginia and bring in all kinds of Federal agencies and jobs.

He was really trying to make sure West Virginia did not get left out, and I think thanks to his intervention, they did not.

He made life a lot better for the folks who live in West Virginia today, and who lived there for the last 58 years. He also made life better for a generation of Americans, maybe a couple of generations of Americans, in looking back, and maybe even looking forward as well. He is going to make their life better, looking forward, for the people in this country who need health care, the people in this country who need a decent place to live, a chance to buy a home, a chance to get an education, the opportunity to improve their station in life.

More than anybody I know, for a guy who was born, orphaned in North Carolina as an infant, who was traded off by his mom in her last will and testament—she wanted him to be raised by her sister who lived in West Virginia, and her sister took this young man in. His name was not ROBERT BYRD. But she took in her nephew. She and her husband raised ROBERT BYRD in tough situations, hardscrabble situations, and he sort of raised himself by the bootstraps and worked hard all of his life to make something of himself and to serve as a model for us in the end, and a model for our country.

I yield the floor.

Mr. DODD. . . . As someone who has spent three decades of my life at this very desk—and it is the only desk I have ever sat at since the day I arrived. This desk was planted over in that far corner as the 100th Senator in the body up until I—some 20 years ago when, through seniority, you get to move your desk around. I ended up in this seat, this spot about 20 years ago, next to this remarkable man whose life we are going to celebrate and are celebrating those days, ROBERT C. BYRD. He has been my seatmate for the last two decades.

As I said the other day, I was an 8-year-old child sitting in the galleries of the other body watching my father, on January 3, 1953, and a 35-year-old new Congressman from West Virginia be sworn in as newly minted Members of Congress. Some 6 years later, I sat in that gallery up here, in the family gallery, watching my father be sworn in as a Senator from Connecticut, along with a new Senator from West Virginia named ROBERT C. BYRD, never imagining, as a 8-year-old or as a 14-year-old, that I would spend 20 years of



my life at a desk next to the man who has served longer than any other human being in the history of our Nation.

Process meant a lot to ROBERT C. BYRD. The Constitution meant a great deal. I carry with me, and every day I have for 20 years, the Constitution that ROBERT C. BYRD gave me and autographed to me. It is rather threadbare and worn today, but he revered this document. He could absolutely quote it verbatim. He gave me a copy, as he did to all new Members when they arrive, and the importance of understanding the role of this body in our constitutional framework.

He was such a great advocate of the civility and the respect for each other as we try to fashion answers to our Nation's problems. We have been through two major bills in the last Congress. There have been a lot of other bills to consider, but the health care debate and the financial reform debate, I would argue, are the two largest in this Congress, and they are two models of how an institution can operate. . . .

Briefly, cloture is a method by which you end a filibuster. In this Chamber, under our rules, we respect the rights of the minority, including a minority of one.

Members can talk as long as they can stand up, under most circumstances, and continue. ROBERT C. BYRD, in fact, held one of the records. It wasn't the record—Strom Thurmond holds the record, a former Senator I served with from South Carolina—but ROBERT C. BYRD conducted a filibuster for more than 14 hours.

Mr. COCHRAN. Mr. President, the Senate has lost its most talented, dedicated, and best-informed Member about the precedents, rules, and customs of the Senate, when the distinguished President pro tempore, ROBERT BYRD, passed away to join his beloved wife Erma in the heaven he was confident existed for those who were true believers.

I had the good fortune to work closely with ROBERT BYRD as a fellow member of the Appropriations Committee for 30 years. I served as the ranking minority member when he was chairman and as chairman when he was the ranking minority member. I preferred being chairman. I thoroughly enjoyed the opportunities to conduct the hearings, schedule the committee markups, and negotiate with our House colleagues to formulate and pass the bills that funded the departments of the executive branch, the judiciary, and the Congress.

One of the highlights of my experience with ROBERT BYRD was a trip we took to several European capitals. He was comfortable discussing our mutual interests and differences with the leaders of other nations. His mastery of European history and politics was as impressive as his well-informed understanding of American history and politics.

On one leg of our trip, Senator BYRD asked my wife Rose to come sit by him. He wanted to dictate something to her. He started a recitation with names that were not familiar to me, but eventually Rose realized that he was reciting from memory the names of the monarchs of Great Britain, the United Kingdom as we know it, and in the order in which each had served throughout the entire history of that great country. It was an unbelievable performance, reflecting an awesome ability of recall, and a reverential appreciation of a nation which has been our closest ally in recent history.

ROBERT BYRD was not only my friend, but a mentor, an example of dedicated, disciplined, and determined leadership. I will miss him, but I will always remember his legacy of seriousness of purpose, and his love for the Senate, its role in the legislative process, its powers of advise and consent, and its continuity that has helped make our government the most respected in the world.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, I want to take a few moments to talk today about one of the best teachers I have ever known: Senator ROBERT C. BYRD.

The man we lost this week is known for many things: as the longest serving Member of Congress in the Nation's history; as an accomplished legislator; as an author and historian; as a self-made man who reached exalted heights, yet never forgot the coal miners and the families of the mountain home community from which he came. I think of him as a teacher, one who began teaching me from the moment I came to the U.S. Senate, and one whose lessons I sought right up to the time he was taken from us this week.

Serving as a new Senator in the majority means, among other things, hours spent in this Chamber, presiding over the Senate. I was fortunate that for many of my early years here, I spent much of that time in the Presiding Officer's chair listening to Senator BYRD speak on the history of this body, its traditions and practices, and its historic debt to another great body that played a major role in mankind's march toward democratic government, the Roman senate.

I was learning from him two decades later, when Senator BYRD led a small group of us who filed a lawsuit and later

a legal brief challenging a law we believed to be unconstitutional: the law granting the President the so-called line-item veto. He, like I and many others, saw this law as bending the Constitution in ways that usurped Congress' constitutional authority and responsibility. In 1998, the U.S. Supreme Court agreed. The majority in that case, citing its "profound importance," concluded that the line-item veto "may or may not be desirable," but that it was surely not consistent with "the procedures designed by the Framers of article I, section 7 of the Constitution" the so-called Presentment Clause.

I remember standing next to Senator BYRD at a press conference celebrating that victory for the Constitution, as he pulled out of his pocket the copy of that great founding document he always carried with him. A copy of the Constitution that sits today on my desk, in front of me at all times, was inscribed to me by Senator ROBERT C. BYRD.

I had hoped to visit with him this week to again listen and learn. In February, Senator BYRD sent all of us, his Senate colleagues, a letter setting out his position on preserving the ability to engage in extended debate in the Senate. It was yet another powerful defense of both the enduring traditions of the Senate, and the need for thoughtfulness in invoking those traditions. Senator BYRD's letter sparked some thoughts of my own, and last week, I discussed with his staff scheduling a meeting with him this week to get his take. Once again, I was in need of the insight and wisdom of Senator ROBERT BYRD.

How I wish he were here today to continue teaching us. While that was not to be, the lessons of Senator BYRD's life and long service will endure.

His career is a testament to hard work and determination. This is a man who spent 10 years in night school classes to earn his law degree, who when he focused on an issue he did so with uncommon intensity. We can all learn from his commitment and grit.

Like any good teacher, Senator BYRD never stopped trying to learn. He was a man of strong convictions who knew the value of admitting when he was in error. He acknowledged that earlier in his life, he had taken positions and held opinions on the subject of civil rights that he later regretted. When he shared those regrets, he created a powerful teachable moment. We can all learn from his willingness to learn and grow to the very end of his life.

He was tireless in his defense of the role the Constitution assigns to the Congress, and specifically the Senate, in our democracy. In his letter to us in February, he wrote: "The Senate is the only place in government where the rights of a numerical minority are so protected." He called those protections "essential to the protection of the liberties of a free people."

Whether it was Congress' constitutional obligations to render judgments on matters of war and peace or to exercise the power of the purse, Senator BYRD was a relentless fighter for the role the Founding Fathers carefully set out for us. He was not defending Senate authority for its own sake. His passion was not for Senate prerogatives for their own sake, but for the brilliantly conceived constitutional balance of powers essential to our freedoms. He passionately believed that we must not yield one ounce of the authority that the Constitution entrusts to the peoples' elected representatives. We can all learn from the conviction, the dedication, and the intellectual power he brought to that cause, to the end of making it our cause. Let the mission he so eloquently espoused be our mission, though our power to persuade be far less than Senator BYRD's.

ROBERT BYRD had many loves—his late, beloved wife Erma, West Virginia and its people, his God, and the Constitution of the Nation he cherished. But the Senate is his special legacy. For more than two centuries we have kept our traditions intact: our unique respect for extended debate and minority rights, and for the legislative authority that the Constitution places in our hands to exercise and defend. These traditions are maintained because of Senators like ROBERT BYRD, Senators who live them and fight for them. I learned more about these weighty issues from this great teacher than from anyone or anything in my years in the Senate.

ROBERT BYRD is no longer with us, teaching us, leading us. But the lessons of ROBERT BYRD's life and career will endure, guiding all of us now occupying these desks, and Senators who will occupy these desks for ages to come.

Mr. KERRY. Mr. President, the Senate, in its 223-year history, has never had a greater champion than ROBERT BYRD. West Virginia, in its 147-year history, has never had a more powerful advocate or public servant than ROBERT BYRD.

Like so many Senators elected before and after me, I learned very quickly how passionate ROBERT BYRD was about this institution, its roots in the Constitution. As all of

us remember, he had that dog-eared copy of the Constitution he carried in the front pocket of his suit, and sometimes in the caucus or other times on the floor, he would pull it out to help reinforce a point he was making, even though we all knew he could recite the Constitution by memory. But he consulted it often without hesitation. In its words, he reminded us that he always found wisdom, truth, and excitement—the same excitement he felt as a young boy in Wolf Creek Hollow, reading by kerosene lamp about the heroes of the American Revolution and the birth of our Nation. Those words literally guided him through the 57 years he spent in Washington as a Member of the Congress and as a Senator.

It is fair to say that no one knew the Senate—its history, its traditions, and its precedents—better than ROBERT BYRD. It is all there in the four-volume collection of his speeches on the Senate, which we were all privileged to receive from him.

Every freshman Senator got a personal crash course on the Senate's history from ROBERT BYRD himself. I was one of five Democratic freshmen elected in 1984. The class of 1984 was privileged to share some lofty hopes and goals. Four of the five of us eventually ran for President: Al Gore, Paul Simon, Tom Harkin, and myself. All of us can tell you that we arrived in the Senate with a thirst for action and an impatience for delay. Then-Minority Leader ROBERT BYRD didn't discourage any of that. In fact, he encouraged it, and he helped all of us with our committee assignments so we could push the list of our policy ideas that we exuberantly believed we could and would pass into law. But in meetings with us individually, he also helped each of us to see the bigger picture, to impress upon us the fact that one of our most important responsibilities as Senators was to be caretakers of this institution—an institution he regarded as both the morning star and the evening star of the American constitutional constellation.

To ROBERT BYRD, the Senate was, as he said, “the last bastion of minority rights, where a minority can be heard, where a minority can stand on its feet, one individual if necessary, and speak until he falls into the dust.” Indeed, earlier this year, when many of us felt frustration over the Senate's rules governing filibusters—specifically, the requirement of 60 votes to cut off debate—ROBERT BYRD cautioned against amending the rules to facilitate expeditious action by a simple majority. In a letter sent to all of us, he observed that:

The occasional abuse of the rules has been, at times, a painful side effect of what is otherwise the Senate's greatest purpose—the right to extended, or even unlimited, debate. The Senate is the only place in government where the rights of a numerical minority are still protected.

He added:

Majorities change with elections. A minority can be right, and minority views can certainly improve legislation . . . . Extended deliberations and debate—when employed judiciously—protect every Senator, and the interests of their constituency, and are essential to the protection of the liberties of a free people.

ROBERT BYRD also impressed upon us the fact that we did not serve “under” any President; that as a separate but equal branch of government, we served “with” Presidents, acted as a check on the Executive’s power. ROBERT BYRD was the longest serving Member of Congress in all of our Nation’s history, and as such he served with 12 Presidents.

At no time in his career was ROBERT BYRD’s defense of legislative prerogatives more pronounced and more eloquent than in arguing against granting the Bush administration’s broad power to wage preemptive war against Iraq. He chided the Senate for standing “passively mute . . . paralyzed by our own uncertainty,” ceding its war powers to President Bush.

ROBERT BYRD was, as we all know, a lot more than the guardian of the Senate. He was a major figure in the great panorama of American history over more than half a century. He was a thinker—thinking and reevaluating more in his eighties and nineties than many Senators do in a lifetime. He was an ardent supporter of the Vietnam war but surprised many with his fierce opposition to President Bush’s invasion of Iraq. He was a protector of West Virginia’s coal industry but came to accept the mounting scientific data of global warming and took part in finding a solution. To do otherwise, he said, would be “to stick our heads in the sand.”

ROBERT BYRD cast more than 18,500 votes in the Senate—a record that will never be equaled. His last vote was June 17 against a Republican proposal to prevent the extension of unemployment benefits. Earlier this year, even with his health failing, he cast one of the most historic votes of his career in support of legislation to expand health care to all Americans—the life work of his old and departed friend Ted Kennedy.

Whether he voted with you or against you, it was never hard ideology with ROBERT BYRD. He had no use for narrow partisanship that trades on attack and values only victory. I learned that as a candidate for President in 2004 when Senator BYRD came to my defense after opponents aimed re-

ligious smears at me. I was forever grateful to him for doing that.

It all began one Sunday when Senator BYRD was home in West Virginia and found that a brochure had been inserted in a church bulletin saying that if elected President, I would ban the Bible. Senator BYRD exploded. "No one side has the market on Christianity or belief in God," said this born-again Baptist. Later at a rally in Beckley, he accused my opponents of having "improperly hijacked the issue of faith" and said that the suggestion that I intended to ban the Bible was "trash and a lie."

But Senator BYRD was not done. He also went to the Senate floor to denounce this kind of politics:

Paid henchmen who talk about Democratic politicians who are eager to ban the Bible obviously think that West Virginians are gullible, ignorant fools. They must think that West Virginians just bounced off the turnip truck. But the people of West Virginia are smarter than that. We are not country bumpkins who will swallow whatever garbage some high-priced political consultant makes up.

That was ROBERT BYRD telling it the way he thought.

Anytime Senator BYRD spoke, any of us who had the privilege of serving with him remember his speeches were filled with as many Bible references as historical references. When the Senator spoke, the Senate came to a halt. Senators would lean forward and listen, as they did not necessarily do otherwise, and learn.

It is fitting that this teacher in the Senate, this guardian of the Senate, will lie in state in this Chamber on the floor of the institution he revered and which also had so much respect for him. He is as much a part of this Chamber in many ways as the historic desks or galleries or the busts of Senate presidents.

He ran for public office 15 times, and he never lost. He was first elected to the West Virginia Legislature in 1946 and served three terms in the House of Representatives before his election to the Senate. It is no wonder that he was such a keen observer of politics.

I remember when I decided to run in 2004, I went to talk with Senator BYRD. His advice, in fact, was among the first I sought. He advised me to "go to West Virginia," "get a little coal dust" on my hands and face and "live in spirit with the working people." In keeping with his advice, I did just that. What a great experience it was.

He was deeply proud of West Virginia and its people. He proudly defended his work to invest Federal dollars in his

State, the kind of spending that some people deride as pork. ROBERT BYRD knew it was something else. It was opportunity for his people. He took pride in the way that Federal funding helped to lift the economy of West Virginia, one of the “rock bottomest of States,” as he put it. He breathed new life into so many communities across that State with funding for highways, hospitals, universities, research institutes, scholarships, and housing—all the time giving people the opportunities that he knew so many West Virginians of his generation never had. “You take those things away, imagine, it would be blank,” he once said.

ROBERT BYRD’s journey was, in many ways, America’s journey. He came of age in an America segregated by race. But like America, he changed, even repenting, and he made amends. Not only did he come to regret his segregationist past, but he became an ardent advocate of all kinds of civil rights legislation, including a national holiday honoring Dr. Martin Luther King. And in the end, ROBERT BYRD endorsed Barack Obama for President. “I have lived with the weight of my own youthful mistakes my whole life, like a millstone around my neck,” he wrote in 2008. “And I accept that those mistakes will forever be mentioned when people talk about me. I believe I have learned from those mistakes. I know I’ve tried very hard to do so.”

That is the expression of a man with a big heart and a big mind.

The moments that define most men’s lives are few. Not so with ROBERT BYRD. He devoted his life to Erma and his family and to public service, compiling an extraordinary record of accomplishment and service in more than half a century in Congress. His mastery of Senate rules and parliamentary procedure was legendary. His devotion to his colleagues and to this institution was unequalled. And his contributions to his State and to the Nation were monumental.

ROBERT BYRD spent most of his life making sure the Senate remained what the Founding Fathers intended it to be: a citadel of law, of order, of liberty, the anchor of the Republic. And in doing so, he takes his place among the giants of the Senate, such as Daniel Webster, John C. Calhoun and, of course, his and our dear friend Ted Kennedy.

May ROBERT BYRD rest in peace.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. President, I rise to celebrate the life and career of Senator ROBERT C. BYRD. I have been in the body now since 2002, and Senator BYRD will go down in history as not only the longest serving Senator to date—maybe



forever—but also as one of the most effective Members of the Senate.

He was tough. During his prime, they tell me, there was no tougher opponent and no better ally than to have Senator BYRD on your side. And when he was on the other side, you had a long day ahead of you.

He talked about his early life. He is a human being, like the rest of us. I think what he was able to do for his people in West Virginia, and the country as a whole, will stand the test of time, and he will be viewed for many things, not just one. That is the way it should be for all of us.

I had the pleasure of getting to know him when I first came to the Senate and I walked into one hell of a fight over judges. The Senate was in full battle over the filibustering of judges. The Senate had gone down a road it had never gone down before—an open resistance to the judicial nominations of President Bush across the board. The body was about to explode. There were 55 Republicans at the time, and we all believed that what our Democratic colleagues were doing was unprecedented, unnecessary, and, quite frankly, dangerous to the judiciary. I am sure they had their view, too, and everybody has a reason for what they do around here.

The Gang of 14—affectionately known by some, and discussed by others—was formed during that major historical moment in the Senate. I remember talking to some observers of the Senate who were telling me that if the rules were changed to allow a simple majority vote for the confirmation of judges, that would take the Senate down a road it had never gone down before, and where it would stop, nobody knew. At the same time, there was another constitutional concept that meant a lot to me and to others, and that is that people deserve a vote when they are nominated by the President.

Well, Senator BYRD and 13 other Senators—and he was a big leader in this—came up with the compromise called “extraordinary circumstances.” We agreed that we would not filibuster judges unless there was an extraordinary circumstance. We understood that elections had consequences. What we had in mind was that we would reserve our right to filibuster only if the person did not meet the qualification test. I believe the advise and consent role of the Senate has to be recognized, and I respect elections but not a blank check. So there is always the ability of any Senator here, or

a group of Senators, to stand up and to object—one party versus the other—if you believe the person is not qualified.

The second issue we dealt with was that we all reserved unto ourselves the ability to object if we thought the person was an activist judge—a political person who was going to be put on the bench and the robe used to carry out the political agenda rather than to interpret the law.

The law meant a lot to Senator BYRD—the Constitution did. One of my cherished possessions is a copy of the Constitution signed by him, given to all the members of the Gang of 14. That is just one example of where very late in life he made a huge impact on the Senate. As history records that moment, I daresay it is probably one of his finest hours. Because the consequences of not resolving that dispute the way we did could have changed the Senate rules forever, and I think the judiciary for the worse. So we have a lot to celebrate.

His family, I know, mourns the loss of their loved one; the people of West Virginia, their best champion has passed. But we all pass. It is what we leave behind that counts, and I think he has left a lot behind and something both Republicans and Democrats can be proud of. Even though you disagreed with him, as I did on many occasions, I had nothing but respect for the man. He was a true guardian of the Senate and what it stands for.

I don't think we will ever find anybody who loved the institution more than Senator BYRD. He will be missed. But the best way we can honor his memory is to try to follow in his footsteps when it comes to making sure the constitutional role of the Senate is adhered to, and that we understand the Senate is not the House, the Senate is not the executive branch, the Senate is something special, and let us keep it that way.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, I rise to pay tribute to an extraordinary Senator—ROBERT BYRD of West Virginia. Chairman BYRD was the longest serving Senator in the history of this country. He served with extraordinary distinction not only on behalf of the people of West Virginia but on behalf of all of us.

The great lesson of his life is that through constant self-improvement, through constant education, not only can one rise to great heights but one can also contribute to one's country and community.

Senator BYRD was born in very humble circumstances. At his birth, I do not think anyone would have predicted he

would become the longest serving Senator in the history of the United States. In fact, tragically, within a year of his birth, his mother passed away, and he went to live with his mother's sister. But in those difficult circumstances in West Virginia, he rose above it through tenacious effort, through hard work.

Through his life's path, he had an extraordinary companion, the love of his life—Erma. Together they not only had a family but they built a life of service to others. I know how dear his dear Erma was to Senator BYRD.

Their children, Mona, Marjorie, their sons-in-law, their grandchildren, and their great-grandchildren all at this moment are reflecting on the wonderful person ROBERT BYRD was, how much he meant to them, and also I hope recognizing how much he meant to all of us. In this very difficult moment, I am sure his memory and his example will sustain them as it sustains all of us.

Senator BYRD, from these humble circumstances through hard work in shipyards, in the coalfields of West Virginia, rose up. He rose up because of his incredible talent, not only intellectual talent, but I had the great good fortune once to hear him play the fiddle. Anyone who can play a fiddle like that has great hope of employment, at least in the musical world. But he went beyond that.

Again the lesson Senator BYRD teaches us all is constant striving. He was someone who received his law degree while a Member of Congress, the first and perhaps only person to go to law school while he was also serving the people of West Virginia and the Congress.

He wrote what is regarded as the foremost history of the Senate, not only this Senate but also the Roman Senate. He did that because he was committed to finding out about history, about life, about human challenges, about great human endeavors, and using that knowledge to help others.

He was someone whom we all revered. When I arrived in the Senate, he was gracious and kind and helpful. I can always remember he would greet me as "my captain." He had a deep affection for those who served, even someone as myself who did not serve at the same level of distinction as Dan Inouye, John Kerry, John McCain, and others. He is someone who helped and supported me, and I appreciated very much his kindness.

I also appreciate the passion he brought in defense of the Constitution of the United States and the passion he brought

to ensure the Senate and the Congress played its rightful role in the deliberations of this government.

He would say quite often that he had not served under numerous Presidents; he had served with them as a Senator, in the legislature, a coequal branch of government. He fought not simply for personal prerogatives, he fought for principle, that this government would be based on, as our Founding Fathers designed it, the interplay between the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. His passion for the Constitution was evident and obvious.

He also was passionate in the last few years about the foreign policy of the United States. He spoke with eloquence and with passion against our engagement in Iraq. He saw it, as now it is becoming clearer and clearer, as a strategic distraction from the true challenge, which was to defeat our opponents, Al Qaeda and their affiliated terrorist groups, and to do that to protect this country.

He was a remarkable man, born of humble origin, self-educated, unceasingly educating himself and always seeking to better and improve himself. I would suspect in his last few days he was still striving to learn more.

I simply close by thanking him for his service, thanking his family for supporting him in his service, and thanking the people of West Virginia for their wisdom in sending ROBERT BYRD to the U.S. Congress and the U.S. Senate.

Ms. LANDRIEU. Mr. President, I come to the floor this afternoon to speak on a couple of different subjects. Briefly I wish to say a few words about our extraordinary and great colleague who has left the Senate and left this world, but his spirit will be here for many years to come and his presence will be felt here for decades, if literally not centuries, and the extraordinary contribution that Senator ROBERT BYRD of West Virginia has made to the Congress, to the Senate, to our country, and to the world.

My colleague, the Senator from Rhode Island, gave a beautiful tribute a few minutes ago. I was in the Chamber and listened to what he said. I wish to add that not only did ROBERT BYRD rise up through educating himself—in these days that is almost a foreign concept to so many people. You go to school, you get a degree—but he did all of that and more. He read so much. He was so curious about so many aspects of life, not just politics, not just government, but industry, art, and music that literally he was one of the most inspirational human beings I have ever had the pleasure to know or ever read about in that sense.

Senator Reed said he lifted himself from literally an orphan status in one of the poorest communities in the world, West Virginia. Parts of it are much like a few parts of our country that are extraordinarily poor, even by world standards.

He came from a very humble, orphaned beginning with virtually no chance at anything much, and ended up, we know, sitting at that desk, which is one of the great desks of honor in this Chamber. As people who work here know, the longer one is here, the closer one gets to the center aisle. Since he held up the center aisle literally with his presence every day, one cannot get any more senior than that desk. We look at it now these days and are reminded of him.

He lifted himself, he lifted his family, but I would say in that earnest curious way, he lifted an entire State and an entire Nation. There are not many individuals who can say that their life actually did that. But ROBERT BYRD is one of them. West Virginia today is lifted so much higher. The children of West Virginia, the families of West Virginia, the communities of West Virginia literally were lifted by the strength—the spiritual and intellectual strength—and courage and tenacity of a man for whom there is no peer in this room relative to that, or our Nation across decades, through many of the great trials of this Nation. He lifted this Nation to a better place and was such a strong man and such a great man that he would even admit when he made some very bad mistakes, which raises him even higher in my eyes.

He said toward the end of his life many times that his stand on civil rights was not right. He apologized profusely for being on the wrong side of history on that issue. He did not make many mistakes such as that. But he was such a great man that he admitted when he did.

Senator Reed recalled that he always called him “captain,” but Senator BYRD had a way of referring to each of us in a special way. He would always say to me, “How are you today, Senator, and how is that fine father of yours, Moon Landrieu?” It would always make me feel so wonderful that he would say he was such a great mayor. “How is Moon today and how is Verna?” Can you imagine a gentleman with so much on his mind that he would always remember the parents I have and that we both admire so much? It was a special way about him.

Finally, when Katrina happened and all of us on the gulf coast were devastated—frankly, I could not find a great deal of comfort at the level of the administration that was in

power. I never thought they quite understood the depths of the destruction that occurred. It worried me then and it still troubles me to this day. But the first meeting I had with Senator BYRD, when I was trying to explain to him how devastating this situation was—because it wasn't a hurricane, it was a flood and the Federal levees had collapsed—he just sort of put his hand out and said, "Senator, have a seat." He said, "I do understand, and I am going to work with you. I am going to help you. I am going to be here for the people of Louisiana and the gulf coast as we try to get this right."

Mr. President, we were shortchanged by other Members of Congress and by the White House. They never quite understood. When the first allocation of funding was given out, it was just an arbitrary number thrown out that we were going to take \$10 billion and help the gulf coast, but no State could get more than \$5.4 billion. Well, when you looked at the facts at the time, the numbers were so disproportionate to the injury that Louisiana and our people had suffered, had you done it on just a disaster basis—which we should have done in calculating it—we should have gotten \$15 billion relative to that distribution.

When I brought those numbers to Senator BYRD, he said, "We are going to work on it." And you know what, Mr. President, he did. Unbelievable as it might be to the people in this Chamber, because he was a very powerful chairman of the Appropriations Committee, he could actually do it, and he did.

I didn't have to explain that much or beg that much. I just had to present the data to him that showed this is how many houses were destroyed, this is how many homes were lost, this is what the President gave to  $x$ ,  $y$ , and  $z$ ; what do you think, Senator BYRD? Is what we are asking fair for us? And he said, "Absolutely." So he gave us literally billions of dollars.

Today, St. Bernard Parish, the city of New Orleans, and parishes all in the southern part of the State are recovering because of one person, Senator BYRD, the chair of the Appropriations Committee, who said, "We are not going to leave you at your hour of greatest need."

I will never forget, and my State will never forget, the generosity and the courage it took for him to stand with us through that difficult time. So I wanted to, in a small way, add my voice to the many tributes that Senator BYRD has received, and those are the most important ones that I wanted to share today.

Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, this is not my regular seat in the Senate, but I came here to stand near the place that Senator ROBERT C. BYRD occupied. His absence is noted by the flowers and the black cloth that covers his desk.

There is so much to say about ROBERT C. BYRD that to have a serious discussion about who and what he was would take far more time than we have available. He was an unusual man, brilliant, genius, credited with encyclopedic knowledge.

When I came to the Senate in 1983, I was not a young man. I am now an older man. When I came, I wanted to meet Senator BYRD. I came from the business world. I was chairman and CEO of a significant corporation that carried substantial esteem and respect for the record compiled by the three of us boys from poor working-class families in Paterson, New Jersey, an industrial city that had its origins as an industrial place at the time of Alexander Hamilton.

I was privileged to meet a lot of people who could be described as lofty and holding positions of importance. When I went in to Senator BYRD's office to introduce myself—I had met him a couple of times before I was elected to the Senate seat from New Jersey—it was with great awe and respect that I sat in front of this individual who had given so much to our country, who taxed our wits and made us think more deeply about our responsibilities than sometimes we have. He was a tower of knowledge and strength.

I introduced myself to him, and we had a nice chat for a while. He asked me about my background. I talked about my life and my experiences, which are not anything like the depth of Senator ROBERT BYRD's background. I came from a poor family. I served in the Army. I received my education at Columbia University because I was able to use the scholarship that was given to soldiers who had served in the military.

As I listened to ROBERT BYRD, what he had accomplished in his lifetime dwarfed anything I had ever seen. He was a man born into poverty, orphaned at an early stage in life, and turned over to relatives to be brought up. He taught himself how to play the violin and attended law school part time at night for years, finally getting his law degree from the university. He was an incredible figure in our time.

We feel his absence already. In his latest years, he was not fortunate enough to have the kind of health he had as a younger man, but he always had the respect of everybody who knew him.

When we look at his history, if one has time to go to the computer and get a biography that is held in Wikipedia and see the more than 30 pages' worth of his accomplishments and history, it was a privilege and an honor for those of us who knew him when we look at the positions he held. He had elegance. He had grace. He had resilience. He was tough. He had a meticulous grasp of history.

I came out of the computer business. I used to tease ROBERT C. BYRD. I called him "my human computer." He had so much knowledge that, frankly, I think it competed very ably with the computers in the early 1980s when I came to the Senate.

When I visited him in his office, he asked me if I knew the history of the monarchs of the British Empire. I said I did not know much about them. I knew the recent one, the sitting monarch at the time. He proceeded for more than 1 hour to give me the history of the monarchs of the British Empire, starting with William the Conqueror, 1066, and recalling everybody who was King or Queen of England, of the British Empire. He talked about how long they served, the precise dates they served, whether they died by the hand of an assassin, whether they died from a disease, whether they died from an accident. He knew all of that detail. I was sitting in total bewilderment as to how one could capture and remember so much of that information.

When I asked to be excused because I had some other business, he was ready to give me the history of the Roman Senate. He did this not like most of us, with notes. He had it in his brain while he recalled everything he learned and did, the number of votes, where he cast them, and on what issue. It was remarkable.

He served at a period of time when we had some of the most remarkable people this body has seen. Not to suggest we do not have talent equal to the stature of some of those who served then. It is worthy of mention that he was the majority leader in the Senate from January 1977 to January 1981 and again from 1987 to 1989, a relatively short period. He preceded and served with people such as Howard Baker on the Republican side, Bob Dole, Mike Mansfield, and George Mitchell. He was an equal with those powerhouses and stood as one of them. He stood out.

He revered this Senate and the process with which we then operated. We are far less committed to process. BOB BYRD insisted we have the time, respect, courtesy, and prop-



er addressing of individuals, giving it a certain loftiness that we otherwise would not have had.

Nobody knew more about this body than ROBERT C. BYRD. He was this Chamber's protector. He protected the Senate's rules, the Senate's integrity, and he protected the Senate's civility. He taught each and every one of us how the Senate works—the ins, the outs. It is hard to imagine serving a single day without him. He had such respect for the management of this country of ours.

We should be inspired by ROBERT C. BYRD's legacy to become more cooperative and more civil in the days ahead. We ought to reflect on those values tomorrow as we view Senator BYRD's casket lying in repose in this Chamber that he loved so dearly. He loved it so much that he reminded all of us from time to time—he would pick up on a phrase. Someone talked about serving under this President or that President. He said, "Sir, never, never under. We serve with the President of the United States. We never serve under them. We are a body of equal importance." And he knew that from every possible position of responsibility he held.

What we should do as a Senate is accept the best that ROBERT C. BYRD brought to us, to share the image he brought to all of us and to the stature of this body.

ROBERT C. BYRD's journey in life was simply remarkable. He was born into deep poverty, growing up without the comforts that many of us take for granted, such as running water, and setting an example for all Americans of what you might be if you make the effort and you have the dedication to a higher purpose.

Although he was high school valedictorian at the age of 16, he had to skip college because he did not have the means to pay for it. He overcame that obstacle by becoming a self-taught man and a student of history. How did he learn to play the violin all by himself, and learn what he did about education and law?

He served half a century—51 years—in the Senate, holding every critical position, including, as I mentioned, majority leader and minority leader, and President pro tempore. In that position he was third in line for the Presidency of the United States.

Still, he never forgot where he came from and his duty to help everyday people. He pleaded their case, particularly his beloved West Virginians, as well as those across the country.

I had the privilege to serve with Senator BYRD when he was chairman of the Appropriations Committee. Some like to

make light of his position to fund projects in West Virginia, but there was nothing cynical about his life's cause to stamp out poverty in his home State and in this country. Senator BYRD called bringing Federal dollars back to his State one of his greatest achievements. He understood that a new school meant a child would have a better chance for a future. A new sewage system meant that families might have clean water—unaccustomed as they were to that in lots of places in his home State. A new highway meant that farmers and companies could bring their product and their produce to market in hours.

I will use the expression that he “elegantized” the beauty of the deeds of working people and brought meaning to the purpose of their lives and their work.

He was a forward-looking man. He, working with all of us, recognized the importance of an appropriate infrastructure—the importance of Amtrak, of the railroad that serves so many millions of Americans every year. He was a voice for stronger rail service, knowing that could get people more reliable travel so they would not be stuck in massive traffic jams when they had to get someplace. It was an important part of an agenda that he had that was so broad.

Years ago, when Amtrak—a favorite part of my view of what has to happen with our infrastructure—was under siege, we worked side by side to protect America's premier rail network from being defunded. In 2007, when the Amtrak law I authored was on this floor, we faced a difficult vote to defeat a killer amendment. I remember standing here as they were counting the yeas and nays, and Senator BYRD had occasion to let his simple yes or no ring out across this place. He put a stamp on that, and that meant that he didn't like it or he did like it.

He wanted everybody in this place to remember that he was chairman of the Appropriations Committee. He remembered when people voted with him and when they didn't. He couldn't stand the hypocrisy of people who would say, “Oh, these earmarks are terrible,” and then they would put them in their list. He would remember it. It was not a good thing, to meet with ROBERT C. BYRD's disapproval, when you wanted something; especially after so hypocritically voting against something and then wanting that very thing for your own State.

We have an obligation to honor the legacy of this giant of an individual, this giant of a Senator, this giant of a public servant, and that means never losing sight of the millions of

Americans out there who don't know whether they will have a home now or have a job, or whether they will be able to afford electricity or food or a roof to sleep under, or a way to take care of their children. But he reminded us on a constant basis what our commitment was.

It also means, I think in reflection, that we should be renewing our commitment, as hard as it is—and it is easy to kind of pontificate here—to working together. But let us look at what is happening. Let us look at what has been happening now. I don't think this is an appropriate time to voice lots of criticism, but when we see how difficult it is to move positive things through this institution, it is hard to understand, because the fundamentals that ROBERT C. BYRD brought to his work were that we were here to serve the public. That was the mission.

Rather than standing in the way of permitting things to be considered—things of value—perhaps we ought to have a Byrd lecture to the Senate-at-large every now and then and let someone who knew him or studied him talk about what he brought to the Senate, in addition to extraordinary leadership; someone who could talk about the degree of collegiality that is necessary for us to consider things—serious things—and to get them done.

Senator BYRD recently said—and he said this on a regular basis, “The world has changed. But our responsibilities, our duties as Senators have not changed. We have a responsibility, a duty to the people to make our country a better place.”

It would be fitting if in the shadow of his passing that we could take a sledgehammer to partisan gridlock, put the unnecessary rancor aside and start functioning in a deliberative fashion once again.

I thank you, Senator ROBERT C. BYRD, for what you gave to us and gave to this country. All of it will not be recognized in these moments. But as history is reviewed, people will remember—I hope they do—that even when he made a mistake, a serious mistake in his early days—when he was not eager to support desegregation; that he should not have abided with segregationists; that this country belonged to all the people and no one should be discriminated against—that one can be forgiven with good deeds after some bad ones. And he redeemed himself so nobly, so wonderfully.

So we say, as we have been saying for these days, thank you, ROBERT C BYRD. We loved being with you, and we will miss you.

Mr. WEBB. Mr. President, I have not yet had the opportunity on the floor to express my regret for the passing of Senator ROBERT BYRD and my incredible respect for the service he gave our country.

I was only able to serve with Senator BYRD at the twilight of his career. I knew him in my capacities as Assistant Secretary and then Secretary of the Navy years ago, and I admired him for many years as an individual of fierce intellect. He was a strong proponent of the balance of power, particularly protective of the powers of the U.S. Congress as they relate to the executive branch, which is an area I have also focused on over the years.

Senator BYRD had great love for the people of Appalachia. He was their greatest champion. He was a self-made man in every sense of the word—self-made economically, born an orphan, and self-made in terms of his own education.

I recall that when I was Secretary of the Navy, I had the authority to name various combatants, and I named a submarine the *USS West Virginia*. When I made the statement about why I named it that, I pointed out that West Virginia, in every war in the 20th century, ranked either first or second in terms of its casualty rate. He was someone who never forgot the contributions of the people of that much-maligned State to the well-being and greatness of our country. He left his mark on all of us, and I would be remiss if I didn't express my regret in his passing.

Mr. WHITEHOUSE. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to our departed Senate dean, ROBERT C. BYRD of West Virginia. Senator BYRD served in this Chamber longer than any Senator in history, more than 51 years. Combined with 6 prior years in the House of Representatives, Senator BYRD's service spanned nearly a quarter of the history of the Republic, from the Truman administration to the Obama one, longer than the span of my life.

To serve with Senator BYRD, as was my privilege for too short a time, was to serve with a giant of the Senate, an apotheosis of a long-ago age when oratory was an art. How fortunate I was to sit on the Budget Committee several chairs away from the man who wrote the Budget Act. I will never forget a Budget Committee hearing last year at which, with 35 years of hindsight, Senator BYRD reviewed the very budget process that he had designed. On that February morning, Senator BYRD delighted in describing his crafting of the budget process and its implementation and evolution over three and a half decades.

Tomorrow, for the first time since 1959 when ROBERT C. BYRD was a 40-year-old first-year Senator, a departed Member of this body will lie in repose in its Chamber. The tribute will surely be fitting, as the Senate's most senior Member occupies the floor one final time.

The man will be missed, but his legacy will continue to guide this institution for generations to come, and the institution to whose principles and welfare he dedicated his life, the U.S. Senate, will endure with his lasting imprint upon it.

MONDAY, *July 12, 2010*

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, on Monday evening I came to the floor and spoke from the heart about my friend Senator ROBERT BYRD. I wanted to take the opportunity to submit a more comprehensive statement about Senator BYRD and his legacy.

As I looked at his empty desk with flowers on it, I thought back to last summer when we lost another giant, Senator Ted Kennedy. And what distinguishes Senator BYRD, like Senator Kennedy, from others was his unbelievable, never-ending commitment to the people he represented and to this country.

It was never a question of Senator BYRD's length of service—though his was exceptional—but rather his fierce sense of fighting for West Virginians. As he told the *New York Times* in 2005, "I'm proud I gave hope to my people."

Senator BYRD was, of course, the Nation's longest serving Senator. And he was a legend, for sure. When I came here, I learned first hand that he always met with the incoming Senators, to give them an introduction to the rules of the road, the procedures and dignity of the Senate, and to share his reverence for the Constitution. The image that I will always have of ROBERT C. BYRD is him reaching inside his suit pocket and bringing out the Constitution, which along with the Bible was what he cherished most.

Senator BYRD was a giant in the Senate and a champion for America's working families. We will miss his eloquence, his sharp intellect, and his passionate oratory.

He was one of our Nation's foremost historians of the Senate. He literally wrote the book on the Senate, a four-volume history. And he was not only an expert on the rules of the

Senate, he was a fierce defender of its traditions and its role in our democracy.

Senator BYRD fought to make sure every American had a chance to live the American dream because he lived the American dream.

He grew up in coal country in southern West Virginia, the youngest of five children. His mother died before he was a year old, and he was raised by his aunt and uncle on a farm with no telephone, electricity, or running water.

He went on to graduate first in his high school class and married his high school sweetheart, Erma, to whom he was devoted throughout their 68 years of marriage until her death in 2006. To support his wife and two daughters in the early years, he worked as a gas station attendant, a grocery store clerk and as a welder in a shipyard during World War II.

A naturally gifted speaker, he was elected to the West Virginia House of Delegates in 1946 and to the West Virginia Senate in 1950. He won a seat in Congress in 1952 and his U.S. Senate seat 6 years later. He had such a passion for education that he remains the only American ever to earn a law degree while serving in Congress. President John F. Kennedy presented it to him at American University in 1963.

His career in Congress spanned 12 Presidents, and he cast more than 18,500 votes in the Senate. He was Senate majority leader, chairman of the Appropriations Committee and President pro tempore of the Senate. He fought every day to make life better for the people of West Virginia and for all Americans.

I can tell you, Mr. President, coming from the largest State in the Union, we have had our share of problems. We have had floods and fires and droughts and pests. And every single time, after every earthquake or storm or other disaster, Senator Feinstein and I came to our colleagues to say that California needed the help of the U.S. Government.

Every time we needed assistance, Senator BYRD, as the chairman of the Appropriations Committee, opened his doors and his heart to us, sharing his experiences and helping us in all of these cases when we were so in need. I am sure many of my colleagues can recount similar experiences. He was always there for us.

And I remember so well his leadership in trying to bring the troops home from Iraq. Twenty-three of us had stood up and said no to that war, and afterward we worried very

much about what would happen with our troops in what was shaping up to be a long war with no exit strategy. Opening up his office here in the Capitol, Senator BYRD organized us, saying, “We need to talk about ways that we can bring this war to an end.”

He cared so much about everything he did here, from working to create opportunity for West Virginians and all Americans to maintaining the traditions and the dignity of the Senate. And for me, just to have been in his presence and to watch him work has really been an amazing experience, and so I am proud to pay tribute to him today.

Senator BYRD stayed here through thick and thin, with a cane or a wheelchair, through the sheer force of will, suffering to be in this place that he loved so much and that he respected so much. There isn’t a Member on either side of the aisle that didn’t respect Senator BYRD for his intelligence, his strength, his extraordinary biography, and his dedication to the people of his State.

What a legacy he leaves. It is a great loss for his family, for all of us in the Senate, for the people of his beloved State of West Virginia and for all Americans. I extend my deepest condolences to his family.

TUESDAY, *July 13, 2010*

ORDER FOR PRINTING OF SENATE PRAYER

Mr. REID. Madam President, I ask unanimous consent that the prayer delivered by our Senate Chaplain on Thursday, July 1, when the Senate gathered to remember Senator ROBERT C. BYRD, be printed in the *Record* and as a part of the memorial book of Senate tributes.

There being no objection, the prayer was ordered to be printed in the *Record*, as follows:

[The Chaplain’s prayer may be found on page 172.]

Ms. SNOWE. Mr. President, I join with my colleagues today to express my profound and heartfelt sadness on the passing of Senator ROBERT C. BYRD, as the U.S. Senate, the people of West Virginia, and our entire Nation mourn the loss of a giant of public service—a distinguished, iconic legislator whose life and legacy will forever be synonymous with the greatest deliberative body the world has ever known.

Senator BYRD’s counsel, wisdom, and knowledge of the Senate was unmatched and awe inspiring. As the longest

serving Member of Congress and a former majority and minority leader of the Senate, Senator BYRD was time and again the conscience and champion of Congress and a vigorous and stalwart sentinel of the first branch of our government. Protector, steward, advocate, and guardian—these descriptions only begin to convey Senator BYRD's lifelong commitment to the Senate in which he served for a record 51 years and an unprecedented nine terms.

No one fought more to ensure the preservation of the U.S. Senate and its constitutional prerogatives than Senator BYRD. No one was more masterful in comprehending and harnessing the powers of parliamentary procedure in the upper Chamber. No one was fiercer in battling against any encroachments that would dilute or diminish the role of Congress as a coequal branch of government. And no one possessed greater command of Senate history and used it to better effect than Senator BYRD, who himself authored a four-volume history of the Senate.

The same zeal with which Senator BYRD demonstrated his allegiance to the legislative branch was every bit as evident in his unshakable dedication to the U.S. Constitution itself—a pocket-sized copy of which he carried at all times. In fact, like many of my colleagues, I will never forget as a member of the “Gang of 14,” which was forged at a time when the very institution of the Senate was caught in the crosshairs of a struggle over judicial nominations, how each of us received a copy of the Constitution from Senator BYRD. With one symbolic gesture as only he could, Senator BYRD spoke volumes about the historic imperative that was ours to seize if we were to jettison the partisanship that threatened our Chamber.

Senator BYRD's reverence for history stemmed of course from the premium he placed on education, and as much as anyone who ever occupied a seat in the Senate, Senator BYRD exemplified the American story of the self-made individual. During his remarkable trajectory from humble beginnings in the southern coalfields of West Virginia, Senator BYRD was an ardent believer in learning not only as the great equalizer in American life, but as a catalyst for personal and professional success. A self-educated man, Senator BYRD's knowledge of Shakespeare, the Holy Bible, and the pillars of thought from Ancient Greece and Rome formed the basis of an eloquence and service that will reverberate not only in the hallowed Halls of Congress, but also throughout



his beloved home State—which he served so passionately—for generations to come.

Indeed, his roots in West Virginia were ever-present and the indispensable lifeblood that spurred him to political and legislative heights that were the capstone of his landmark tenure in public service. Indisputably, he never forgot where he came from, and in fact, always remembered he stood on the shoulders of every West Virginian who sent him back to the U.S. Senate term after term. And as much as Senator BYRD revered Congress, the Constitution, and his fellow West Virginians, nowhere was his devotion greater than with his beloved Erma, his wife of nearly 69 years, and they now are finally together in their eternal resting place.

As a Senator from Maine, it is only fitting that I pay tribute to Senator BYRD by citing the opening lines by the immortal American poet and son of Maine, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, that I so often heard him quote from memory on the Senate floor:

Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State! Sail on, O Union, strong and great!  
Humanity with all its fears, With all the hopes of future years ...

Our Ship of State sails better for Senator BYRD's having lived, served, and led. But today, our Ship of State sails at a slower pace as we pause to pay our respects and mourn the loss of a man whose like we will never see again. The Senate will not be the same without the Senator from West Virginia, ROBERT C. BYRD.

Ms. MURKOWSKI. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to my friend and dear colleague, Senator ROBERT C. BYRD, who left us on Monday, June 28, 2010, at the age of 92. Senator BYRD was the longest serving Member of the Senate. It is noteworthy that he was sworn in as a U.S. Senator on January 3, 1959, the same day Alaska was admitted as the 49th State.

How does one do justice to a life as full, as human, as authentic, as uniquely American as that of Senator BYRD's in just a few minutes? Born in poverty, a self-described foster son of an impoverished coal miner, a product of a two-room schoolhouse, he went on to walk with Kings, to meet with Prime Ministers, and to debate with Presidents. Only in America could one come so far from so little. His is a textbook case of American exceptionalism.

ROBERT C. BYRD was a man of principle who was unwavering in his priorities. The Lord came first, his family second, and then the business of West Virginia and the Nation. Sen-

ator BYRD was remarkable in that he could juggle all of these obligations with apparent ease.

He was a man who carried the Constitution in his breast pocket, closest to his heart. A fierce protector of the prerogatives of the Senate, he frequently recalled that the Congress is mentioned in the Constitution before the Executive. He once remarked, "I am not the President's man. I am a Senate man."

So many of our colleagues take delight in this quote from the *Almanac of American Politics* and it bears repeating. The *Almanac* described Senator BYRD as the one among us who "may come closer to the kind of senator the Founding Fathers had in mind than any other."

On the occasion of his 90th birthday, Senator Ted Stevens referred to Senator BYRD as a "symbol of the Senate," adding that, "No man has taught the Senate more than ROBERT C. BYRD."

Senator BYRD made it his personal responsibility to educate new Senators in the history and traditions of the Senate and to mentor us along. He made a real difference in my orientation to the Senate. His statesmanship was an inspiration to me. It was an inspiration to all of us.

As contentious as our debates may seem, as partisan as we often seem to the American public, the Senate prefers to regard itself as a family. Yes, a family that fights, but a family nonetheless.

Senator Stevens once observed, "As part of the Senate family, Senator BYRD is not only a gentleman, he has been a person who has reached out to us in personal times as well."

I came to know that well after I injured my leg in a skiing accident last year. For a period of time I had to navigate the Senate floor in a wheelchair. The Senate floor is not exactly wheelchair friendly, but Senator BYRD had adapted to the challenge. One day, as we were going to the floor to vote, our wheelchairs met and we reached out to hold hands as we wheeled our chairs to the well of the Senate.

Like Ted, I loved ROBERT C. BYRD. Yet I regret that I never had the opportunity to enjoy the close friendship that my colleague Ted Stevens did.

Yes, they had their spats, but Senator Stevens and Senator BYRD regarded each other as family. Senator Stevens' daughter Lily referred to Senator BYRD as an uncle. Senator BYRD published in the *Congressional Record* excerpts from

Lily's senior thesis from Stanford, *The Message of the Dome: The United States Capitol in the Popular Media*.

Senator Stevens began working with Senator BYRD in 1968. In 1972, they joined each other on the Senate Appropriations Committee. Both served as President pro tempore of the Senate, a position reserved for the most senior Member of the Senate in the majority party. Yet as Senator BYRD liked to note, Ted was a relative youngster.

Working together on a bipartisan basis, Ted Stevens helped ROBERT BYRD lift West Virginia out of poverty. And Senator BYRD demonstrated great empathy for Senator Stevens' crusade to end the third-world conditions that plague Alaska's Native people in the more than 230 traditional villages of rural Alaska. Like the West Virginia of ROBERT BYRD's childhood, rural Alaska lacked the sorts of infrastructure that the rest of America takes for granted—lack of road infrastructure, lack of basic sanitation facilities, unreliable electricity, and unemployment.

This may explain why Senator BYRD was greatly sympathetic to Senator Stevens' crusade to bring indoor plumbing to rural Alaska, to eliminate the honey bucket. Alaska's Denali Commission was modeled closely after the Appalachian Regional Commission, which Senator BYRD championed for decades.

Ted Stevens and ROBERT BYRD worked together to make things better for the people of rural Alaska. Our Native people deeply appreciate the Alaska legacy of ROBERT C. BYRD.

On the occasion of Senator Stevens' farewell from the Senate in 2008, a tearful ROBERT C. BYRD came to the Senate floor and said this:

Politics is a rough business, with lots of highs and lots of lows. After a long time in politics, I come to understand that the point of it all is helping people. Thank God we will be judged in the next world by the good we do in this world.

On Monday, our dear friend, Senator BYRD, joined his beloved wife Erma in heaven, where he will be judged by all of the good he has done for his Lord, his family, the people of West Virginia, and the Nation. I will miss him greatly.

On behalf of Alaska's people, I extend my condolences to Senator BYRD's daughters Mona and Marjorie, his six grandchildren and seven great-grandchildren, to the people of West Virginia, and to all who knew and loved this great American.

Ms. LANDRIEU. Mr. President, I rise today to honor the memory of one of the Senate's giants, ROBERT C. BYRD. My family and I were saddened to learn of his passing on Monday morning at the age of 92. I will remember Senator BYRD as a fierce defender of the Constitution, master of Senate procedure and a proud fighter for West Virginia and its rural heritage. Senator BYRD was more than just a colleague, he was a mentor. He taught me—and everyone who had the honor of serving with him—never to apologize for standing up for your State.

During more than a half century of service in Congress, Senator BYRD gave a voice to those who would not have been heard otherwise. There are times when it is easy to get caught up in the petty bickering and partisan squabbles that seem to be increasingly plaguing this Chamber. But, we would all do well to follow the example Senator BYRD set for all of us during his legendary Senate career and never lose sight of the fact that we are sent here to fight for those in our home States and across the country who cannot fight for themselves.

Senator BYRD's work on behalf of his constituents is well known. West Virginians knew they could count on their senior Senator to come here to Washington and deliver for them. They were not alone. I will never forget how helpful Senator BYRD was to my State. Louisiana lost a true friend. Through storms and floods, Senator BYRD made sure that promises made to the gulf coast, particularly to Louisiana, were not broken. He kept an eye on the fair and just distribution of funds to Gulf Coast States, and I and everyone I represent will always be grateful for his dedication to our recovery.

One critical example is his effort to provide funding for Louisiana's Road Home Program. Road Home, which is the largest single housing recovery program in U.S. history, was designed to provide compensation to Louisiana homeowners whose houses were destroyed by Hurricane Katrina or Rita. In late 2007, as Louisiana faced a daunting program shortfall, it was Senator BYRD who stepped up to help me secure \$3 billion to keep this rebuilding program going.

A year later, Senator BYRD once again stood up for the people of Louisiana, when he worked with me to include \$8.7 billion for gulf coast hurricane recovery and protection in the emergency supplemental spending bill for Iraq and Afghani-

stan. The funding provided for levees, criminal justice needs, health care and housing for low-income hurricane survivors.

Senator BYRD once said, "The people of Louisiana have the strength and the spirit to rebuild their homes and their communities. We owe them the support to get the job done." He did not just pay lipservice to the gulf coast. He delivered for us time and again, because he understood the importance of standing up for those who were hit so hard by the tragic storms that battered the Louisiana coast.

Senator BYRD was not just a colleague who put his weight behind fighting for the gulf coast region. He was also a walking encyclopedia of Senate history, and he was always willing to impart his vast knowledge to anyone who wanted to learn about the legends that walked these Halls for more than two centuries before us.

When I was first sworn in as a U.S. Senator, back in 1997, my entire family came to Washington for the event. After it was over, I asked Senator BYRD if he would give my family—both adults and children—a history lesson on the Senate. He graciously obliged, and for 2 full hours spoke eloquently and expertly on the history of this great body. His lecture left a lasting impression on every single member of the Landrieu family, and it is a memory we will always cherish.

Senator BYRD spoke with such passion about John C. Calhoun, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Rebecca Felton, Everett Dirksen and the many other historical figures who shaped the Senate. It is only appropriate that he will forever be mentioned in the same breath with these men and women he so truly admired. And, it makes me proud to have had the opportunity to serve with a man who left such an indelible mark on this Chamber.

As we reflect on Senator BYRD's remarkable life and career, our prayers are with the Byrd family. But we all take comfort in knowing that while he leaves behind one of his great loves—the Senate—he is finally going home to be with his greatest love—Erma.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. President, Senator Pete Domenici from New Mexico served in this body for 36 years. During that time, he was the first Republican chairman of the Budget Committee and later chaired the Energy Committee where, more than almost anyone, he helped spur the revival of interest in nuclear energy. He was truly one of the most consequential Senators of the last half century. As we mourn the loss of another very consequential Member of this Chamber, Senator ROBERT BYRD of West Virginia, I thought it was

appropriate to share Senator Domenici's thoughts on the passing of Senator BYRD.

I ask unanimous consent that Senator Domenici's statement be printed in the *Record*.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the *Record*, as follows:

STATEMENT OF SENATOR PETE DOMENICI ON THE PASSING OF SENATOR  
ROBERT C. BYRD

I'm sorry I can't be at Senator ROBERT BYRD's memorial service in person because I'm celebrating the first family reunion with my eight children—and their children—from across the country. My wife will join me at this event, and I will be prevented from attending the ceremony for my great friend, ROBERT BYRD.

I worked with Senator BYRD for my entire 36 years in the Senate. Above all else, I found him a man that one could trust implicitly. He and I both served on the Senate Appropriations Committee for many years, where he was a strong advocate for his home State. He and I both supported local projects for our States and believed that "earmarks" were not only legitimate, but part of the Senator's duty to his State.

When history is finally written of the U.S. Senate there is little doubt in my mind that he will go down as one of the greatest of all. He knew the rules and he played by them. He knew the issues and he fought for them. He understood America's greatness and he heralded it. But most of all, he seemed to always remember the working men and women of his State and this country. He will be missed. I must say thank you, ROBERT, for your friendship and all you did for me and all of us.

THURSDAY, *July 15, 2010*

Mr. BARRASSO. Mr. President, West Virginia, the U.S. Senate, and our Nation have experienced an incredible loss. Over the last few weeks, this Chamber witnessed poignant eulogies and remembrances of the legendary Senator ROBERT BYRD. Much has been said and written since Senator BYRD's death on June 28, 2010.

Those who have so eloquently written and spoken knew the Senator much better than I—Presidents, Senators, world leaders, dignitaries, as well as members of his family and friends in West Virginia.

He will be remembered as an intelligent, compassionate, and illustrious figure. A giant.

Many people have recalled his historic milestones, distinguished career, and legendary speeches. I first met Senator BYRD when I arrived in the Senate in 2007. I introduced myself and told him about a friend and patient of mine from Wyoming who had told me that ROBERT BYRD was his favor-

ite Senator. Like Senator BYRD, my friend uses a wheelchair. Senator BYRD asked me why my friend liked him so much. I told him it was because of their mutual commitment to the Constitution.

I went on to say that he thought Senator BYRD was the “best thing since sliced bread.” Senator BYRD’s eyes brightened and widened with the reference to sliced bread. He then gave me a complete history of sliced bread in America and the date when the first mechanical bread slicer was used in the United States. As a true man of the people, Senator BYRD also sent a note and a copy of the Constitution to my friend in Wyoming.

When former Wyoming Senator Cliff Hansen died late last year, I shared the news with Senator BYRD. Senator BYRD said, “I liked Cliff Hansen. Cliff Hansen was a friend of mine. Cliff Hansen knew what he stood for.” The same can be said for Senator BYRD.

As a public servant, he had few equals. As a parliamentary expert, he had none. Every day, Senator BYRD showed his enduring dedication to his family, the people of West Virginia, the U.S. Constitution, and our Nation.

Senator BYRD leaves us with a memory of the man—the memory of his kindness, grace, and passion. He had a depth of institutional understanding and knowledge of the traditions of the U.S. Senate that will never be replaced. While many of us are students of history, Senator BYRD truly lived this Nation’s history. His strength, determination, and unyielding pursuit of knowledge serve as a model for all of us.

To his daughters Mona Byrd Fatemi and Marjorie Byrd Moore, his grandchildren, and family, I extend my family’s sympathy and hope the coming days are filled with love, enduring strength, and God’s grace.

Bobbi and I wish the Byrd family our best and our prayers are with you.

*TUESDAY, July 20, 2010*

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I rise today to pay tribute to our dear departed friend and colleague, Senator ROBERT BYRD of West Virginia. I have been deeply moved by the words of remembrance we have heard here in the Senate this week and I am honored to have been here today as Senator BYRD has lied in repose on the Senate floor. It is a fit-

ting tribute to the man who, over the course of an astounding tenure of 52 years, came to embody the Senate, its traditions, and its rules.

ROBERT BYRD was born in North Wilkesboro, North Carolina, in 1917. He was valedictorian of Mark Twain High School and, through the course of his life, attended four separate colleges in West Virginia as well as the American University College of Law. In the early days of his career, he was, at one time or another, a grocery clerk, a butcher, and a shipyard welder before beginning his political career in 1946, when he was elected to the West Virginia House of Delegates. After 5 years in the West Virginia Legislature, he was elected to the House of Representatives in 1952, beginning what would be the longest tenure in the history of the U.S. Congress.

Senator BYRD came to the Senate in 1959. He served right up until his death on June 28 of this year. During his time in the Senate, he was known for his skills as a Parliamentarian and his knowledge of Senate rules and procedure. He put these abilities to great use, serving in the Democratic leadership—as either the whip or the leader—for nearly two decades. Senator BYRD’s ability to use the parliamentary rules to his advantage is legendary. Indeed, I can think of few others who had such a great understanding of what can be an arduous and difficult set of rules and procedures.

His knowledge of the traditions and history of the Senate were also quite noteworthy. In 1989, the bicentennial anniversary of our cherished Constitution, Senator BYRD published a four-volume series on Senate history, which is a definitive work in describing and outlining the storied traditions of this great Chamber. Senator BYRD’s love of this body was known to all. He expressed his love for the Senate at every opportunity and much of his time was spent trying to preserve those rules and traditions he held dear.

Mr. President, this Chamber has suffered a great loss. But, my sadness is tempered by the thought that Senator BYRD is now reunited with his wife Erma, to whom he was married for nearly 70 years. I want to express my sincerest condolences to Senator BYRD’s family.

Mr. BUNNING. Mr. President, today I want to speak on the loss of the great statesman, orator, and author, Senator ROBERT BYRD. Senator BYRD served the State of West Virginia and this great Nation in the Senate for over 50 years. It has been an honor to serve and craft legislation with Senator BYRD to protect and promote the values of our two



States, which share a common border and economy. He represented his State well.

Following my election to the Senate, Senator BYRD offered me valuable advice and direction on the operations and rules of the U.S. Senate. Upon learning of his passing, my wife Mary and I were deeply saddened by the news.

Starting from humble beginnings, Senator BYRD was a great example of the virtue of hard work and determination. After losing his mother during the influenza epidemic of 1918, Senator BYRD was sent to live with his aunt and uncle in the coal mining region of southern West Virginia. With a combination of his strong work ethic and quest for knowledge, Senator BYRD graduated as valedictorian of his high school class. Despite his stellar academic achievements, Senator BYRD was unable to attend college following his high school commencement due to financial constraints.

At the age of 19, Senator BYRD married his high school sweetheart and lifetime soulmate Erma Ora James. In an effort to support his growing family, Senator BYRD took jobs which included working as a gas station attendant and butcher, to put his family first.

After serving in the West Virginia House of Delegates and Senate, Senator BYRD was first elected to the U.S. House of Representatives and began serving in 1953. Unable to stop his quest for knowledge, Senator BYRD began attending night classes at the American University's Washington College of Law where he received his degree a decade later.

Senator BYRD's love for this country and the Senate itself could be seen in many ways such as the copy of the U.S. Constitution tucked away in his jacket pocket and his vast knowledge of the rules of the Senate. As he said to many of us, "he who knows the rules will rule."

He believed, as I do, in the power of the Senate. He understood that the Senate should not be beholden to the executive branch, but must remain separate and equal to provide the necessary checks. As he stated:

We must never, ever, tear down the only wall—the necessary fence—this Nation has against the excesses of the Executive Branch and the resultant haste and tyranny of the majority.

Even in his frustration of the current political climate and through his remaining days, Senator BYRD continued to fight for the protection of the rules of the Senate and the rights of the minority, because as he wrote, "I know what it is to be majority leader, and wake up on a Wednesday morning in November, and find yourself a minority leader."

I extend my thoughts and prayers to his surviving children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. During this time of difficulty, there is strength in knowing Senator BYRD has once again been reunited with his sweetheart and the grandson he missed dearly.

MONDAY, *July 26, 2010*

Mrs. HUTCHISON. Madam President, I join my colleagues in paying tribute to our colleague ROBERT BYRD of West Virginia. He served his beautiful Mountain State for a record-setting 57 years in Congress, including 51 years in this Chamber. He cast more roll call votes and served in more leadership positions than any other Senator in U.S. history, including 12 years as his party's leader. He revered this body so much that he wrote four volumes on Senate history from 1789 to 1989. Over nine terms, he mastered parliamentary procedure in an effort to protect the Senate's rules and to defend the legislative branch's authority. He carried a copy of the Constitution in his pocket, and he peppered his speeches with frequent references to the intent of our Framers. When asked how many Presidents he had served under, he replied, "None. I have served with Presidents, not under them."

Senator BYRD will enter the history books as one of the Senate's true giants, but his beginnings were humble. His biography is a shining testament to the American dream. He was adopted in infancy and raised in impoverished coal mining towns. His first job was to collect garbage scraps for his family's hogs. Although he graduated valedictorian of his 1934 high school class, at first he could not afford college. He married his high school sweetheart, Erma Ora James, with whom he enjoyed more than 68 happy years. The outstanding work ethic and solid values that he learned while growing up in Raleigh County helped him later devote 10 grueling years of his life to studying while simultaneously serving as a Member of Congress. When he finally earned his law degree in 1963, President John F. Kennedy awarded him his diploma.

Senator BYRD served his beloved home State with unprecedented devotion. He wrote in his autobiography that "it has been my constant desire to improve the lives of the people who have sent me to Washington time and again." Virtually every county in West Virginia will long remember his hard work, dedication, and legendary contributions. Like many

Americans today, I commend him for his outstanding service to his State, to our Nation, and to the institution of the Senate.

MONDAY, *August 2, 2010*

Mr. CORNYN. Mr. President, I join my colleagues in appreciation and admiration of Senator ROBERT BYRD.

By the time I took my seat in this Chamber, Senator BYRD had already held his for more than four decades. He had already held numerous leadership positions, including Senate majority leader and President pro tempore. He had already become a master of parliamentary procedure. He had already championed many Federal projects that still bear his name in his home State of West Virginia.

Senator BYRD won the admiration of all his colleagues for his study of the history of this body. He delivered hundreds of addresses on Senate history and procedure, as well as the debt we owe to the original Senate that governed ancient Rome for centuries. For such work, Senator BYRD has earned the gratitude of all future generations of Americans.

Texans especially appreciate Senator BYRD's attention to the contributions of our Senators to the history of this body. Senator Sam Houston, the original occupant of the seat I hold, was described by Senator BYRD in this way:

The flamboyant Sam Houston of Texas used to stride into the old Senate Chamber wearing such eye-catching accessories as a leopard-skin waist-coat, a bright red vest, or a Mexican sombrero . . . . He would while away the time in the old Chamber by whittling, creating a pile of shavings beneath his desk, and pages would bring him his pine blocks and then clean up the shavings.

Senator BYRD also devoted several speeches of his history to the tenure of Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, which were all collected into a single chapter upon publication. In personal interviews with then-current and former Senators, Senator BYRD documents a remarkably personal account of Senator Johnson's leadership style and his influence over landmark legislation, including the Civil Rights Act of 1957.

During his discussion of Senator Johnson's use of the quorum call, Senator BYRD was asked to yield by his friend, Senator Russell Long of Louisiana, who wished to clarify his own recollection of the matter. Senator Long then continued with a fitting tribute to the Senator from West Virginia:

I have no doubt that in years to come, his will be the most authoritative text anyone will be able to find to say what did happen and what did not happen in the Senate, both while the Senator from West Virginia was a member and in the years prior thereto.

I can offer no better epitaph to Senator BYRD than that offered by his former colleague more than two decades ago. He and his beloved Erma have now been reunited, and we offer our condolences to their children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and all who miss him most.

THURSDAY, *August 5, 2010*

Mrs. LINCOLN. Mr. President, the death of Senator ROBERT BYRD is a tremendous loss to the Senate, the State of West Virginia, and the entire Nation. As the longest serving Member of Congress, his political career spanned multiple Presidencies, and he was a witness to countless American advances and achievements. He has served his State and our country for more than half a century, and he will be greatly missed.

Senator BYRD embodied the history and traditions of the Senate, and his incredible knowledge of our Constitution, Congress, and the legislative process benefited every Member who served alongside him. I met with Senator BYRD when I was first elected to the Senate, and I will be forever grateful for his generosity and willingness to assist his colleagues.

I will always remember Senator BYRD as a committed public servant who was deeply devoted to his State and his country. He was known as the conscience of the Senate for his dedication to the body's history, legislative process, and rules, serving as a principled legislator. He made many sacrifices to give his life to public service, and we owe a lot to Senator BYRD for this reason. I am deeply saddened by his passing and know he will be missed.

Mr. CHAMBLISS. Mr. President, I rise to pay tribute to a colleague whose devotion to this body, and to this Nation, was personal, heartfelt, and legendary. I am talking about none other than the senior Senator from West Virginia, Senator ROBERT BYRD.

Senator BYRD's time on Earth was a life characterized by commitment. He exemplified this rare quality through his 68-year marriage to his high school sweetheart Erma James Byrd. But this was far from the only deep commitment in

Senator BYRD's life. His dedication to the U.S. Senate was proved by his actions and his storied career. His life in the Senate began in 1958 with a victory that included 59 percent of the vote, the smallest margin of victory in Senator BYRD's half century-plus career. During his 57 years in Congress, BYRD worked with 12 Presidents. He was known for telling his colleagues that he did not serve under any Presidents, but alongside them.

In Senator BYRD's portrait in the Old Senate Chamber, his image is surrounded by his wife, the Bible, and the U.S. Constitution. This is only fitting, considering that Senator BYRD used references from the Bible and the U.S. Constitution in many of his speeches and in his everyday dealings with fellow lawmakers. In a speech by Senator BYRD on October 13, 1989, he said:

The Constitution is the old landmark which they have set. And if we do not rise to the call of the moment and take a stand, take a strong stand, against our own personal interests or against party interests, and stand for the Constitution, then how might we face our children and grandchildren when they ask of us as Caesar did to the centurion, "How do we fare today?" and the centurion replied, "You will be victorious." As for myself, whether I live or die, tonight I shall have earned the praise of Caesar.

I can say that Senator BYRD is deserving of the praise of West Virginians, and, indeed, all Americans, for his devotion to the Senate and to our Nation. He will be missed by his colleagues, and we are grateful for his life's work.

Mr. McCAIN. Mr. President, no Senator has ever loved the institution of the U.S. Senate more than Senator ROBERT BYRD. I firmly believe that. He truly believed that the upper Chamber of Congress was the greatest deliberative body on Earth and he always strived to preserve its traditions and history for the generations to come as well as being the Senate's foremost instructor on Senate procedure and process.

I was able to be a student of Senator BYRD's instruction when we worked together in 2005 to preserve Senate rule XXII, commonly known as the filibuster. Senator BYRD joined with me, along with 6 other Republican Senators and 6 Democrat Senators to form what became the "Gang of 14." During the meetings between these 14 Members, which were often held in my office, I fondly recall the silence that would overcome the room when Senator BYRD spoke about the history of the filibuster and the rights of the minority in the Senate. It is not often that 13 Members of the Senate are quiet for any given period of time. But Senator BYRD's stature and intellect brought the room to a standstill.

Senator BYRD is remembered for being a strong majority leader and minority leader for his party. But as he reminded all of us during those meetings in my office, when he served as majority leader during President Reagan's time in office, Senator BYRD did not lead his Democratic caucus to filibuster any of President Reagan's judicial nominees. That was a different time with different leaders, but Senator BYRD's actions reflect his sincere desire for statesmanship and his respect for the President's nominees. His speech on the Senate floor in 2005 regarding the filibuster reflected this desire when he said:

I rise today to make a request of my fellow Senators. In so doing, I reach out to all Senators on both sides of the aisle, respectful of the institution of the Senate and of the opinions of all Senators, respectful of the institution of the Presidency as well. I ask each Senator to pause for a moment and reflect seriously on the role of the Senate as it has existed now for 217 years, and on the role that it will play in the future if the so-called nuclear option or the so-called constitutional option—one and the same—is invoked. I implore Senators to step back—step back, step back, step back—from the precipice. Step back away from the cameras and the commentators and contemplate the circumstances in which we find ourselves. Things are not right, and the American people know that things are not right. The political discourse in our country has become so distorted, so unpleasant, so strident, so unbelievable ...

He was not only a leader in 2005 against removing the judicial filibuster rule, he was a lifelong leader in the Senate against allowing Senators to issue secret holds. His motives were noble, and he fought for its elimination until the end. In his final speech, entered into the *Record* but not delivered, he defended an individual Senator's right to block legislation in secret. "Our Founding Fathers intended the Senate," he lectured colleagues last month in one of his last appearances, to have "unlimited debate and the protection of minority rights."

Senator BYRD's respect for Senate rules and procedure were second only to his defense and passion for the Constitution. Because of his leadership, we were able to establish September 17 as Constitution Day. Now, annually, students across the country will learn about and celebrate the document that governs our Nation and hopefully understand the significance of this unparalleled document that has established freedom and sovereignty of our citizens for hundreds of years.

Senator BYRD spent practically all of his adult life serving the American people for which we are all grateful. Even when he disagreed with his peers in the Senate, he respected their intellect and views. I am honored to have served beside

him. He once said, "On the great issues, the Senate has always been blessed with senators who were able to rise above party and consider first and foremost the national interest." I agree and hope the Senate continues to attract candidates who will rise above politics for the good of our country and who will appreciate the history of the institution as Senator BYRD did.

Senator BYRD gave his life to the service of his country and the Senate and the Nation will miss him and the important leadership and sense of history that he brought to this body every day.

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. President, today I would like to add to the heartfelt sentiments we have heard expressed by many colleagues and many more around the country over these past several weeks in paying tribute to our departed colleague, Senator ROBERT C. BYRD of West Virginia.

As an American, pondering what Senator BYRD has done, the history he has been a part of, and the path he took from the small towns of southern West Virginia's coalfields, is inspiring. From the perspective of a new Senator, I must say that the life and career of Senator BYRD is more than a little daunting. I have served just shy of 20 months, and I have voted in this Chamber slightly more than 600 times.

Those numbers seem like rounding errors compared to the numbers we have heard over the last several days in reference to the service of Senator BYRD: Elected to nine full terms, more than 51 years in the Senate—more than 4 years longer than the next longest serving Senator; he cast nearly 19,000 votes, 18,689, including 4,705 consecutive votes; he was twice majority leader; served also as whip, conference secretary, minority leader, and President pro tempore; and he served on the Appropriations Committee continuously since being placed there in 1959 by then-Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson as a freshman in this body—more than 3 years before I was born and only about 2 weeks after Alaska became a State.

I am told by colleagues who served longer with Senator BYRD that while he was proud of those facts, the record he cherished the most was the time he spent with the love of his life, his childhood sweetheart and wife of 68 years, Erma. Senator BYRD was a man of deep faith, but from what I have heard of them as a couple, I do not doubt that all the glories of the afterlife pale for Senator BYRD compared to rejoining Erma.

I came to the Senate too late to hear most of his greatest speeches, but when he spoke, whether it was about a funding bill or the wars that we continue to wage, you listened. We all felt a great sadness when Senator Kennedy died last year, but many of us probably came to appreciate the depth of the historical significance of his departure from this body months earlier when we heard and saw another of the great legislators in American history, ROBERT C. BYRD, weep openly and unabashedly as he paid tribute to his friend and colleague. My service with Senator BYRD was nowhere as lengthy as his with Senator Kennedy, but I am profoundly affected by the honor of knowing the man, even for these past 2 years.

In the short time we did serve together, I have still been able to learn from Senator BYRD. He was a statesman and a pillar of this institution, and a genuine historical figure that my son Jacob will learn about in school. But the thing that I will take from watching Senator BYRD that showed every day that we served together was that nothing was more important than the work he did for the people of the State that sent him here. All of us look to the people of our States for guidance on the matters of the day, and certainly Senator BYRD was attuned to the thoughts of the people of West Virginia. But there was more to it than just knowing what the people of his State thought.

His whole career was about making West Virginia a better place, expanding its infrastructure, educating its people, supporting its industries, and providing the circumstances in which economic development could take root and flourish. Improving the lives of the people of his State was what motivated Senator BYRD to come here almost 19,000 times for votes on any number of issues.

As I think of the impact Senator BYRD's career has had on West Virginia, I cannot help but think of the similarities between our two States. Alaska and West Virginia are both mostly rural, energy-producing States with pockets of intractable poverty. It is a mark of respect for his success at changing the world for the better that West Virginia has fewer poverty-stricken residents, and that remote regions of his State are less difficult to travel to and from than when Senator BYRD was first elected to Congress. He was an ardent supporter of the Appalachian Regional Commission, ARC, which was created to help solve the problems of poverty and hopelessness in his State by upgrading insufficient public infrastructure, building and maintaining educational



facilities, and providing access to public and private sector assistance to improve health care, foster economic development and diversity, and provide opportunities for the people of the region beyond energy extraction and the few other traditional industries that existed there.

It is no surprise that when my predecessor, Senator Ted Stevens, was looking for a way to improve the lives of Alaskans, he saw in the ARC that his close friend and colleague, Senator BYRD, had worked so hard to support a model for the Denali Commission that he believed could create similar hope and opportunity in our State. My colleagues and I in the Alaska congressional delegation today are just as dedicated to the potential the Denali Commission represents for our State. We can only hope to have as much positive impact on the lives of Alaskans as Senator BYRD had with those of the West Virginians he was so proud to represent.

I do not have as many great stories about Senator BYRD as many of our other colleagues, but I will close with observations about the man, hard at work doing what he knew was right for his people, which inspired me. As the Senate worked to reform the Nation's health care system last year, a number of votes were late at night or early in the morning, and as many will remember, the weather last December was uncharacteristically cold and snowy. As an Alaskan and a relatively young man, getting to the Capitol during a blizzard was not a big ordeal. Watching Senator BYRD, in his nineties and in obvious frail health, make his way to the Senate Chamber time and time again in his wheelchair, including for a final vote very early on the morning of Christmas Eve, was an inspiration. Seeing it then, and reflecting on it in the last several days, made me appreciate more fully the man's dedication to the people he served.

Every State deserves Senators with those motivations, and while I will always marvel at the man's encyclopedic knowledge of the Senate and countless other things, the thing I will emulate about the life and career of ROBERT C. BYRD, for however long the voters of Alaska choose to have me as their Senator, is that my job is to make the lives of Alaskans better.

I believe Senator BYRD would approve.

Mr. BROWN of Massachusetts. Mr. President, today I rise to speak about our Nation's longest serving Senator who dedicated his life to public service. Senator BYRD first came to the Senate the same year I was born, 1959, and I took office just a few months before he passed away. Though I did

not have the opportunity to know him well, each day I learn more of his legacy and his impact on what he referred to as the Second Great Senate.

ROBERT BYRD was a staunch defender of the Constitution and the institution of the Senate. Many have told the story of how he carried his pocket Constitution in his jacket wherever he went to remind us all of that document's importance in making the laws of today. His speeches on the Senate floor were legendary and illustrated his devotion to the place where he served for more than 50 years.

In his role as a Senator from West Virginia, ROBERT BYRD worked tirelessly to modernize his State and end its economic isolation. But he did more than just serve his State. ROBERT BYRD's dedication to the complexity and the many traditions of the Senate was extraordinary. He was passionately, and often solely, committed to the Founders' wise intent that the Senate was to remain a bulwark against the power of the Presidency.

Through relentless effort, dedication, and commitment, ROBERT BYRD rose from humble beginnings to become one of our Nation's most skilled legislators. I thank him for his many years of public service in representing West Virginia and our Nation. My thoughts and prayers go out to his family and friends as they mourn his great loss.

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, I rise today to offer my sincere condolences following the passing of my friend and colleague, Senator ROBERT C. BYRD. This is obviously the end of an era. Senator BYRD has seen the landing of a man on the Moon, the passage of the Civil Rights Act, the resignation of one President and the impeachment trial of another, and countless other significant and historical landmarks during his unparalleled Senate career.

Each of us has his or her own memories of Senator BYRD's kindness and devotion to the Senate as an institution. The place will not be the same without him.

My wife Joyce and I extend our deepest condolences to his daughters and the entire Byrd family.



# Proceedings in the House of Representatives

MONDAY, *June 28, 2010*

## PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Daniel P. Coughlin, offered the following prayer:

Beneath Your creative hand, O Lord, every garden needs more attention.

Education and formation of character is never a finished product for Your people.

Constant care and oversight as well as discerning analysis and fresh energy are required daily for governance of a good society.

Therefore, Lord God, grant Your servants patience, perseverance, and determination to work hard to attain the goals Your Providence sets before us, today and every day as long as life shall last.

Reward the long labor of Senator ROBERT BYRD. Grant him eternal rest.

Amen.

TUESDAY, *June 29, 2010*

## MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Ms. Curtis, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate agreed to the following resolution:

## S. RES. 572

In the Senate of the United States, June 28, 2010.

Whereas the Honorable ROBERT C. BYRD served the people of his beloved state of West Virginia for over 63 years, serving in the West Virginia House of Delegates, the West Virginia Senate, the United States House of Representatives, and the United States Senate;

Whereas the Honorable ROBERT C. BYRD is the only West Virginian to have served in both Houses of the West Virginia Legislature and in both Houses of the United States Congress;

Whereas the Honorable ROBERT C. BYRD has served for fifty-one years in the United States Senate and is the longest serving Senator in history, having been elected to nine full terms;

Whereas the Honorable ROBERT C. BYRD has cast more than 18,680 roll-call votes—more than any other Senator in American history;

Whereas the Honorable ROBERT C. BYRD has served in the Senate leadership as President pro tempore, Majority Leader, Majority Whip, Minority Leader, and Secretary of the Majority Conference;

Whereas the Honorable ROBERT C. BYRD has served on a Senate committee, the Committee on Appropriations, which he has chaired during five Congresses, longer than any other Senator;

Whereas the Honorable ROBERT C. BYRD is the first Senator to have authored a comprehensive history of the United States Senate;

Whereas the Honorable ROBERT C. BYRD has played an essential role in the development and enactment of an enormous body of national legislative initiatives and policy over many decades; and

Whereas his death has deprived his State and Nation of an outstanding lawmaker and public servant: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of the Honorable ROBERT C. BYRD, Senator from the State of West Virginia.

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Senate communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit an enrolled copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

*Resolved*, That when the Senate adjourns today, it stand adjourned as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Senator.

#### MOMENT OF SILENCE IN REMEMBRANCE OF THE LATE HONORABLE ROBERT C. BYRD

(Mr. RAHALL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. RAHALL. Madam Speaker, as we all know, the country and our State of West Virginia has lost a true public servant. He was a dear friend to many of us. He was an individual who defended our Constitution and an individual who truly had the best interests of the American people in mind every day.

I would ask that the House take a moment of silent prayer on behalf of the late Honorable senior Senator from West Virginia, ROBERT C. BYRD.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members will rise and observe a moment of silence.

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

*Resolved*, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Honorable ROBERT C. BYRD, a Senator from the State of West Virginia.

*Resolved*, That a committee of such Members of the House as the Speaker may designate, together with such Members of the Senate as may be joined, be appointed to attend the funeral.

*Resolved*, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

*Resolved*, That when the House adjourns today, it adjourn as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased Senator.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from West Virginia is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield the customary 30 minutes to the gentlewoman from West Virginia (Mrs. Capito). . . . Mr. Speaker, I am honored to yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. Pelosi), the Speaker of the House.

Ms. PELOSI. I am honored to join you, Chairman Rahall and Congresswoman Capito, in singing the praises of a great man, Senator BYRD. I rise today to remember the extraordinary life and legacy of Senator ROBERT C. BYRD of West Virginia, a man who loved his State, loved this country, and was such an important part of this Congress.

Throughout his remarkable career, he worked for all Americans, and he never stopped fighting for the people of West Virginia. While we are here, we all take pride in bearing witness to history. Senator BYRD shaped it, and in shaping history, he built a better future for all Americans.

His story was the true embodiment of the American dream. An orphan at a young age, Senator BYRD refused to allow his circumstances to limit the reach of his potential or his ability.

A son of West Virginia's coal country, he was the first in his family to be educated above the second grade. He worked as a butcher and a welder and entered office to serve his community and his neighbors. In doing so, he would ultimately make America a better place for every American.

Though many note his mastery of the Senate, I note that ROBERT BYRD's service began in the Congress here in the House of Representatives in 1953. His service in the House is a source of pride to all of us, though Senator BYRD remarked that he was happy to leave behind the limitations on speaking time that apply on the House floor. In fact, I checked the *Congressional Record* myself on that. In the year

that Senator BYRD first came to Congress, I found that in one single floor speech he managed to quote the Book of Ecclesiastes, Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*, Daniel Webster, and Rudyard Kipling, all while discussing trade policy. That was a sign of the great oratory that would come over the next 57 years. In that time, Senator BYRD would become Congress' foremost scholar on the institutions of our democracy. He always spoke truth to power. He served as a voice of reason. He was always a gentleman, charming any friend or foe.

Today, the entire Nation mourns the loss of this great champion, leader, and public servant. For more than 57 years, Congress has benefited from his wisdom and passion. For generations to come, ROBERT C. BYRD's name will remain etched in history books for his accomplishments and for his courage.

Senator BYRD has gone home to be with his beloved Erma. We hope it is a comfort to the Byrd family that so many join them in grieving their loss at this sad time.

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished majority leader of the House of Representatives, the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. Hoyer).

Mr. HOYER. I thank the distinguished Member from West Virginia, the chairman of our Natural Resources Committee, Nick Joe Rahall, of whom ROBERT BYRD was very proud.

I also am pleased to recognize the Speaker pro tempore, Alan Mollohan, of whom ROBERT BYRD was very proud, and who he considered a partner. I thank Congresswoman Capito for allowing me to speak—in fact, out of order—on the passing of the distinguished American who was larger than life in so many respects.

Today, we honor the life of Senator ROBERT BYRD. History will reflect him as the longest serving Member Congress has ever seen. But, of course, if it were only longevity that we were honoring, it would simply be the hand of fate that allowed that to happen. But what we really honor is that ROBERT C. BYRD used his longevity to such extraordinary benefit of the people he served in the State of West Virginia, the people of this Nation, and the legislative branch of government. I doubt that there have been any peers to ROBERT C. BYRD in standing on the floor of the U.S. Senate or of the House of Representatives or in any forum in which he was temporarily present, that any more strong advocacy of the

equality and separateness of the legislative branch was made clear.

ROBERT C. BYRD was a giant. He was a giant in terms of character. He grew during the course of his lifetime, which is a mark of a great man. All of us are, to some degree, captives of the environment in which we are raised and in which we live. ROBERT C. BYRD is no different. But ROBERT C. BYRD grew. He grew intellectually. He grew culturally. But he did not, in growing, leave his base. He did not forget the values that he learned in West Virginia—the values of courtesy; of kindness; of caring; of helping; of making sure that the people who were not famous, who did not have power, who did not have positions of note were never forgotten.

Mr. Speaker, I remember an incident that I'm sure was not unique to me. Early on in my career I went over on an appropriation matter—like you, Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Appropriations Committee. Senator BYRD invited me in. He was then majority leader. He invited me into his office. We sat down. And for the next 45 minutes—which, as a junior Member of the House, I found extraordinary—he regaled me on the history of the Senate and the books he had written. I was mesmerized in the presence of this giant of the legislative body.

At the end, as I'm sure he did to so many of us, he gave me a rectangular painting of a covered bridge in West Virginia. Mr. Obey is going to speak at some point in time—and Mr. Obey has a similar painting hanging in his office. Now it's not the original because BOB BYRD gave it to so many of us. But I looked at that and I thought to myself, What a kind gesture. How impressed I was, this young Member of Congress being accorded this kind of respect from this giant in the U.S. Senate.

ROBERT C. BYRD will be dearly missed by us all, and he will be missed most of all when very difficult issues confront the legislative body and there is a clamor that the legislature agree with the Executive, for whatever reasons; a clamor that all too often emanates from fear of this, that, or the other, and that fear would ignore the constitutional role played by the Congress of the United States. It is then that we will miss Senator BYRD's clarity of intellect, of conscience, of commitment to the Constitution of the United States of America, as well as to the rules of the U.S. Senate. He was a passionate advocate for people, for principle, for the Constitution, and for our country. Senator BYRD, we will miss



you. But we will remember fondly your contribution and be ever thankful that we had the opportunity to serve with you.

Some of you remember my dog Charlotte. My dog Charlotte was with me for 15½ years. Some of you will recall for 10 of those years Charlotte came to work with me every day. Charlotte was an English Springer Spaniel. I planted a tree in my yard—it's a dogwood tree—and there's a stone and a bronze plaque for Charlotte. Charlotte was one of the loves of my life. I lived alone with her for 10½ years after Judy passed away.

The first call I got the day after Charlotte passed was from ROBERT C. BYRD saying how sorry he was that I had lost Charlotte. That was an indication of his humanity, of his caring for others.

Yes, he was a great man. But he was a man who understood the pain, the aspirations, and the hopes of all with whom he came in contact.

Thank you, ROBERT C. BYRD, our good and faithful servant.

Mrs. CAPITO. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from California (Mr. Lewis).

Mr. LEWIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I very much appreciate the gentlelady's yielding.

ROBERT BYRD, a colleague and associate on the Appropriations Committee, this incredible leader in our committee, has made such a difference over the years. Beyond that, I quickly developed great respect for his support of the legislative role relative to our constitutional responsibility. And over the decades he has fought administration after administration, Democrat and Republican alike, whose bureaucrats want to take away authority from the legislative branch. His voice was heard consistently reflecting the priorities of this institution. And for that I will never forget him.

As you have just heard from our leader, in recent years, Senator BYRD and I developed a different kind of friendship because of our love for our dogs. Indeed, it was a reflection of this man, the wonderful human side of this man, that has been the experience for me. We will—Arlene, my dog Bruin, and I—miss Senator BYRD.

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, it's my honor to yield such time as he may consume to the distinguished chairman of our House Appropriations Committee, the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. Obey).

Mr. OBEY. I thank the gentleman for the time.

Mr. Speaker, for most of the last 15 years, Senator ROBERT BYRD led the Senate Democrats on the Appropriations Committee. And for roughly that same amount of time, I had the same privilege on the House side, and I got to know him extremely well. I loved ROBERT BYRD. For one thing, he and I shared a love of bluegrass music. I daresay he was the finest fiddler in the history of the Congress, but that's not the real reason that I hold him in such high esteem.

He began as a product of a segregated background, but through sheer intense pursuit of knowledge, understanding, and wisdom, he became a person who is a powerful representative for the cause of equal opportunity for everyone. I can think of no one in the history of the Senate who demonstrated a greater capacity for personal growth than did ROBERT BYRD. He was truly unmatched in his recognition of our obligation to the Constitution and to the institution of the Congress itself.

And the greatest thing about him, in addition to his dedication, was, simply put, he had guts; and he wasn't afraid to demonstrate that on many occasions when the Nation needed to see it demonstrated. He made the point that he never served under any President. He served with many, honorably and with distinction. They really don't make them like him anymore.

Mrs. CAPITO. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

I rise today to thank my colleague from West Virginia's Third Congressional District (Mr. Rahall) for offering this resolution, honoring the passing of our senior Senator, Senator ROBERT C. BYRD. I want to thank the Speaker, my other colleague from West Virginia, for his dedication and friendship to Senator BYRD through many more years than I have served here in this Congress. As the three of us know, this is a difficult time for all West Virginians and the U.S. Senate.

As my colleagues know, Senator BYRD was an institution not only in West Virginia but also in the U.S. Senate. Coming from very modest beginnings, the young man from rural Raleigh County, West Virginia, rose from the mountains of Appalachia to become a lion in the greatest deliberative body on Earth, the U.S. Senate. His path to success is truly emblematic of the American dream.

Few can travel through our great State of West Virginia without recognizing the effect Senator BYRD had on our

State. While he is well recognized for the many roads and buildings that are named in his honor, it is the leadership he displayed in bringing our delegation together when it mattered most for West Virginia that is truly a testament to the effect he has had on our State.

During my tenure—which for him was recent, 10 years—he rallied our delegation to save the 130th Air National Guard unit from being cut, and he began working with all of us toward a consensus on mine safety legislation after the tragic Sago mine incident. He was an able leader and led us all as leaders for West Virginia.

Senator BYRD was also a wonderful ambassador for Appalachia. West Virginians are very proud of our heritage and our strong work ethic throughout our lives, and Senator BYRD continued to share Appalachian culture—we just heard from Mr. Obey on that—with his colleagues in Washington. Whether it was displaying his musical talents on the fiddle or his dedication to both American and world history or the process of the U.S. Senate or the protection of our Constitution, Senator BYRD was truly a man of many talents.

I will fondly remember, as I was attending a meeting in Charleston, West Virginia, probably 12 years ago—I knew about his fiddling, but I didn't know about his love of music and his vocal ability—when he joined Kathy Mattea in singing a duet of “Amazing Grace.” It was a great moment for me, but for him, he was celebrating his three loves: his music, his love of education, and his faith in God.

I also remember—and the other members of the delegation will remember this, too—we were in his office, and he served us lunch in his office. And when it came time for dessert, he asked all of us if we wanted dessert. And since we were all watching our waistlines, we sort of waived off dessert and said, “No, we really don't need dessert. It's lunch. I think we are going to pass on dessert.”

“No, no. We must have dessert. We must have apple pie and ice cream.”

And then he proudly told us how he had maintained the same weight for the last 57 years in the U.S. Congress. I think that's a feat to be celebrated, quite frankly.

He also talked a lot about—and we heard this, too—the love of his dogs. I remember when his beloved Billy died. He was crushed, and he wasn't afraid or ashamed or embarrassed to express the love and the compassion that he had and the companionship he felt with his dog. And I think

that's a common bond that a lot of people here in the United States, but also in West Virginia, share.

So with Senator BYRD's passing, West Virginia has truly lost a favorite son. The U.S. Senate has lost an icon. And as any Senator will tell you, Senator BYRD served as a tremendous mentor in passing on Senate procedure to newly elected Senators. In many ways, Senator BYRD was an institution within the institution of the Senate, and the Senate will not be the same without him.

I will miss Senator BYRD's passion and ardent defense of our Nation's Constitution. He was certainly one of a kind, and I feel privileged to have served with him. I will never forget the advice that he gave me when I first sought his counsel when I first went in, in my first year serving in this body. And he said, "Shelley, you need to be a workhorse, not a show horse." Senator BYRD will always be remembered for his hard work as a workhorse and also for his dedication to representing our great State of West Virginia.

I wish to extend to Senator BYRD's family my deepest sympathies and know that he is at peace and at home with his beloved Erma.

So I would again thank Mr. Rahall for presenting this. Senator BYRD will certainly be missed. And I want to pay tribute to his tremendous service, sacrifice, strength, honesty, and devotion to our State and Nation.

I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Washington, Mr. Norm Dicks, the distinguished chairman of our Defense Subcommittee on Appropriations and a classmate of mine.

Mr. DICKS. I thank the gentleman for yielding.

I had the great honor of serving in the other body for 8 years as an assistant to Senator Warren G. Magnuson. And during that time, Senator BYRD became the whip in the Senate. I can remember how he was faithfully writing notes every couple of days to Senator Magnuson, "I put this in the *Record* for you." He was absolutely committed to the U.S. Senate, and he was a forceful advocate.

I have served, as Chairman Obey has, in many conferences with Senator BYRD. And when there was something that he wanted—and oftentimes to protect the workers of West Virginia on coal mining issues—the Congress responded because he was such a forceful advocate.

And one of the things I respected most about Senator BYRD was his knowledge of the history of the Senate, the history of the Congress, and his devotion to that history. He would oftentimes talk about historic events and tie them in to current days.

Some people may have criticized him on spending issues, but he used to say, and I always used to quote him on this, the Congress can't give up the power of the purse because the power of the purse is in the Constitution; and it's part of the Constitution of the United States, a right that was earned in England when the people of England rose up against kings and demanded that Parliament have the power of deciding how the money was to be spent.

And as has been said by many here, he served with many Presidents, but he was not cowed by the Presidency, and he would stand up on the floor of the Senate many times and talk about different wars, different situations we were in, and demand that the Executive appreciate the power of the Congress and respect the power of the Congress. And he served—I think he was elected nine full terms. That's a record that I doubt will ever be matched.

He also went to law school during his time in the Senate. Now, how many people could do that? I mean, it just was remarkable. And I think President Kennedy gave him his degree from American University just a few months before he was, unfortunately, tragically assassinated in Texas.

ROBERT BYRD is a legendary figure. In my time here in the Congress I had the great fortune of serving on the Appropriations Committee for 34 years. But I served with Senator Magnuson, who became chairman of the Appropriations Committee. Senator BYRD was there throughout that entire time and a lot more.

And I just rise today in respect for him, his legacy, his commitment to the Congress. He had a wonderful family, and I'm sure that they're going to miss him. But they have, I think, the satisfaction of knowing that ROBERT BYRD did a great job, a fantastic job for the State of West Virginia, but also was a great Senator in a national perspective.

And so I just want to say to my colleague and classmate from West Virginia, who I know served on Senator BYRD's staff, and it was a great learning experience that you had in the other body, as I did. And I think it helped to prepare us for work here in the House of Representatives.

So I just would say again that we have lost a great American, a man of tremendous courage and commitment, and

someone we respected, and his legacy and memory will live long in the history of the United States of America and in the Congress.

Mrs. CAPITO. Mr. Speaker, I have no further requests for time, and I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Ohio (Ms. Kaptur), a member of the Appropriations Committee as well.

Ms. KAPTUR. I thank the distinguished dean of the delegation for yielding to me. And with Speaker Mollohan in the chair this evening, the people of the Buckeye State of Ohio extend our deepest sympathies to the State of West Virginia, to the Byrd family, to all of the staff that served this truly remarkable human being and American, Senator ROBERT BYRD.

There's a great piece of music called *Fanfare for the Common Man* by Aaron Copeland, and as I'm saying these words this evening, I think of that music and of Senator BYRD's remarkable life. He truly was a wise man of the legislative branch who belonged to the American people. He gave his life to us. His road had been a hardscrabble one from the very beginning. He's the kind of American that walked a tough road, who when he came here to serve, he never forgot the people who came from backgrounds like his.

I had the great joy of serving with him on the Appropriations Committee. Being one of the few women that have ever served on that committee, when I arrived there in the 1990s, I can remember him sitting across from me at a conference committee, kind of looking over his glasses with a glint in his eye at this woman who was a bit younger than he was. He exhibited a great sense of welcome with also some surprise that indeed history in America was changing.

I respected and liked him so very, very much. And I appreciated his kindness to me. He loved history. I hold in my possession an autographed copy from him of *The Senate of the Roman Republic: Addresses on the History of Roman Constitutionalism*.

I loved speaking with him. I loved being on a program with him a few years ago with Leo Gerard, president of the Steelworkers, and listening to Senator BYRD deliver an impassioned speech about the American worker. He was such an exemplary representative for the working men and women of this country.

His intellect, his humor, his knowledge of the rules and history, his love of this institution and respect for it, and his passion, his passion on every issue that he handled. He had so much to teach all of us.

I happen to be a Democrat. He was a real Democrat. He set the pointer on a compass and that needle to represent all people.

He was a gentleman, he was civil, he was enlightened, he worked so hard. I can remember his telling a story about working on the railroads as a young man. That hard work and that sense of honor he carried with him through his entire service of over half a century to the people of our country.

I will end with saying, as I think of *Fanfare for the Common Man*, that the enormous courage that he displayed in the last years of his life is a lesson to us all. He continued to serve, despite illness, despite difficulty, his doggedness, his determination—he truly was a heroic American. I personally shall miss him very, very much.

I thank the people of the State of West Virginia for continuing to send him to this Congress. He made us all better by serving with him. He built a better and more humane America. He was loved by this membership. We wish him Godspeed, and eternal rest grant unto him, O Lord.

I thank the gentleman from West Virginia for allowing me this time tonight to pay tribute to a great and good man and Senator for the ages. In knowing him, we have walked with history, and are grateful.

Mr. RAHALL. Mr. Speaker, it is now my deep honor to yield to a close personal friend and fellow member of our congressional delegation from West Virginia, Mr. Alan Mollohan. Mr. Mollohan chairs the Appropriations Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice, Science, and Related Agencies. He has served on many conferences with the late Senator BYRD as well. Senator BYRD often said he had two sons, and that would be Alan and myself.

I'm very honored to yield such time as he may consume to Alan Mollohan.

Mr. MOLLOHAN. I thank my friend and colleague from West Virginia for yielding. We have many tender memories of the Senator.

Mr. Speaker, it was with profound sadness that I learned yesterday of the passing of Senator ROBERT C. BYRD. This country knew Senator BYRD as one of the lions of the Senate,

a ferocious advocate for his State and a principled spokesman for his beliefs, whether it was his opposition to the war in Iraq or his commitment to improve safety and working conditions in the coalfields of West Virginia.

This Congress, both sides of the Capitol, knew ROBERT C. BYRD as the chief defender of its constitutional prerogatives, an unequaled master of its parliamentary rules, an expert on its history, and one of the ablest legislative tacticians either Chamber has ever seen.

West Virginia knew Senator ROBERT C. BYRD as her own. It's difficult to adequately describe the bond of profound connection between the man and the State. People from outside the State might assume that this connection was built on the Senator's legendary success in delivering Federal funds to West Virginia, and that would be wrong.

West Virginians understand how important that success was, of course. We know that those material contributions are literally incalculable in dollars invested, roads paved, buildings constructed, and jobs created. But the bond between Senator BYRD and West Virginia went far beyond that. It is almost as though his personal story not only inspired West Virginians, as it would most Americans, but that it captured so much of our State's culture and our State's values. That personal history is known throughout the State.

Senator BYRD, the adopted son of a miner, graduated as class valedictorian. He was the manual worker who earned a law degree while serving in the U.S. Senate. He was the husband who relied for almost 70 years on his beloved wife Erma. Those qualities of discipline, of integrity, and commitment forged in the mountains of West Virginia and exercised in the Halls of Washington speak more strongly to West Virginians than any material measure of his immense contributions to the State.

I cannot imagine ROBERT C. BYRD representing any State other than West Virginia, and it is difficult to imagine West Virginia without Senator BYRD.

I knew Senator BYRD as a mentor. I was first elected to Congress in 1983. After 28 years, I like to think of myself as a reasonably seasoned veteran of this body. But then I remind myself, before I took my first oath of office, Senator BYRD had already served more years than I have today. Twenty-eight years ago he was already a master of the legislative branch.

From my very first days in this House, Senator BYRD never withheld his support or his counsel. I can remember



many times Senator BYRD calling Congressman Rahall and myself over to his office just to consult, to ask what was going on in West Virginia, or to take counsel himself on what was going on in the House of Representatives, or just to find out what was going on in our personal lives, how our parents were, how our fathers were, how our mothers were. Those were touching moments.

Senator BYRD, many people have asked me, what is Senator BYRD really like? He is such a disciplined person in public. People want to know, what is he like in private? And I think there are several insights that we have had glimpses of in previous speakers here this afternoon into what he was like as a man beyond a legislator. I can remember his being very touching and very concerned about his dog Billy, and bringing him to the Congress, or if he were home, worrying about how he was getting along. Very concerned and obviously loving toward a pet.

But most poignant was Senator BYRD's relationship with his wife Erma. It was long. She was his childhood sweetheart. Senator BYRD used to tell the story about courting Erma with another young man's candy. The young man would come to school, and Senator BYRD and he would catch up, and the young man would give Senator BYRD a piece of candy. And Senator BYRD wouldn't eat that candy; he would save it and give it to his future wife, his sweetheart, Erma. That relationship lasted and grew and was warm and inspiring throughout his life. And her passing a number of years ago was a very sad time in the life of Senator BYRD, obviously. It was also a very sad time in the State of West Virginia. They were a couple beloved by West Virginia.

I remember another touching moment, when my father passed almost 10 years ago. Senator BYRD attended the funeral and continued on after the service for about an hour's drive to where Dad was interred. And Senator BYRD after the service, he pulled me aside and told me what a lovely cemetery this was for Dad's resting place.

Finally, I knew Senator BYRD as a friend. I cannot remember a time when he was not in my life. And I will miss my friend. My wife, Barbara, and I offer our deepest condolences and our best wishes to Senator BYRD's family, to his staff, and to that close, wonderful circle of people who knew him and loved him.

Mr. RAHALL. How much time do I have remaining, Mr. Speaker?

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Dicks). The gentleman has 14½ minutes remaining.

Mr. RAHALL. I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, the gates of heaven opened wide early yesterday morning. West Virginia lost a faithful son, the Senate lost a father's watchful eye, and I lost my mentor and close friend.

I extend my prayers and thoughts to Senator BYRD's daughters, to his grandchildren and great-grandchildren, to all his family, and to his staff, especially many of whom have been with him for so long. Sadly but surely, we will not see the likes of ROBERT C. BYRD pass our way again.

He came from humble beginnings. A virtual orphan, he was sent to be reared in the coalfields of our beloved State of West Virginia, enduring the depths of the Great Depression. But he was wealthy beyond belief with richness of values, all instilled in him by his adoptive parents.

A self-taught butcher, a welder, a Sunday school teacher, a student, a self-disciplined scholar with straight A's with 21 credit hours in his first semester of college, a young man still, he wanted to serve. Armed with little more than determination and a fiddle, he successfully entered politics. "BYRD by name, BYRD by nature, let's send BYRD to the legislature." How often he would fiddle that with a tin cup at the end of his fiddle, raising his first campaign funds. I recall, because my late father was the treasurer for those early campaigns of Senator BYRD.

Thus began what would become an unprecedented legislative service. Marshaling sharp focus, unwavering diligence, and old-fashioned hard work, he rose to remarkable heights of rank and responsibility to serve the Lord, and to serve our State and our Nation as well. Yet Senator BYRD always remained true to his own essential nature. He never got above his raisin'.

He could mix with kings and queens and Presidents, and while doing that he never forgot from whence he came, and he always remained deeply proud of his roots. He often remarked he would just as soon be eatin' beans and cornbread and onions and sippin' buttermilk in the hills and hollers of West Virginia as having lavish dinners with kings and queens around the world.

I recall working for him in the Senate Democratic Cloakroom in 1972. During that time, a young man from Delaware by the name of Joe Biden was elected to the U.S. Senate. Within a month or two after Senator-elect Joe Biden's ascen-

sion to the U.S. Senate, he lost his first wife in a tragic car wreck. Senator BYRD turned to me and said, "Nick, do you mind if we take a drive up to Wilmington, Delaware, so that we can pay our respects to Senator Biden's wife?" I said, "Sure."

I drove the car. It was a cold, rainy night, late November 1972. We arrived in Wilmington. We arrived at the funeral home to face a long, winding line that was waiting out in the rain to pay their respects. Senator Biden heard we were in that line and sent word out he wanted us to come up and immediately get up front and come inside where it was warm. Senator BYRD said, no, he would not use his office, he would not use his prestige or power to jump in front of anybody already in line in front of him. So we stood in that cold rain, waiting to pay our respects to Senator-elect, at that time, Joe Biden's first wife.

The only individual to serve in both houses of the West Virginia Legislature and the U.S. Congress, Senator BYRD also achieved the distinction of holding more elective leadership offices in the U.S. Senate than anyone in the body's history. His Senate service is the body's longest.

Combined with his tenure in the House, Senator BYRD holds the distinction of serving in Congress longer than anyone else. His achievements and his unrivaled archive of accomplishments were the result of one sole purpose, to serve others. And he never tired of trying to find ways to help a little more, to do a little better.

Striving for the next rung was, for Senator BYRD, a life-long pursuit. He was forever setting goals. And he challenged himself, his staff, his colleagues, all of us to meet or exceed those goals.

And you know one other remarkable feature about ROBERT C. BYRD. He made political contests, as bitter as they may seem at the time, the foundation for future and lasting friendships. Recall, for example, as I know the gentleman in the chair, Mr. Dicks, can recall very well, Senator BYRD's one-vote victory over the late Senator from Massachusetts, Ted Kennedy, whose son Patrick was just here on the floor.

Perhaps many considered that a bitter contest. But what did Senator BYRD use it for? To establish a lasting and true friendship with Senator Ted Kennedy from Massachusetts, as we all know who passed shortly before Senator BYRD, and for whom Senator BYRD had nothing but the utmost and kindest words of praise, and truly defined a friendship that perhaps has not been in American politics for some time.

This was a defining quality and a wellspring of immeasurable joy that irrigated ever greater horizons for Senator BYRD. His penchant for setting records and then breaking his own was the inevitable result, but ultimately, we are the ones who reaped the greatest benefit.

In his later years, when anyone questioned age as somehow detrimental to service, Senator BYRD reveled in ticking off the names and ages of the ancients in the Old Testament and their continued service to the Lord: Moses was 120, Senator BYRD would say; Noah lived to be 960; Methuselah at 969 years old; and he would call out, While I am but a spry 85.

At 92, with the longest record of service in Congress well established, Senator BYRD enjoyed public service so much that it is possible he also had the longest, happiest life on record. If only we could have captured the energies produced by his immense job satisfaction. If only we could package them and share them with others.

Senator BYRD was cautious about the use of superlatives. He felt they were tossed around too casually, and although I do not doubt that he is now grimacing a bit at me for saying this, the fact is it is just not possible to speak about Senator BYRD without using superlatives: longest serving, hardest working, most revered, best loved. And the list goes on and on. Yes, he was passionate about people. He was passionate about politics. He was caring. He was all concerned about the lives of all of us in West Virginia.

As we all know, we go through personal trials and tribulations in our family—the loss of a loved one, sibling problems, loss of a job. Senator BYRD, when he was physically able, would so surprisingly show up in West Virginia offering that comforting arm around the shoulder and always telling those afflicted with tragedy to keep the faith in God, to don't let them get you down, keep plugging along. Senator BYRD himself, who never had a bad word to say about anybody despite some of the words that were said about him, was forever the true gentleman.

Many in this body had their own personal remembrances of Senator BYRD. He touched so many of us, encouraged us, taught us, even argued with us. And I can recall the last time perhaps, except for the miners' memorial that he attended this past April in honor of our 29 fallen coal miners, the time before that he was probably in his home area of Raleigh County, Beckley, West Virginia, was a dinner in which he was a surprise guest that honored yours truly. And my

wife, Melinda, and I fixed up our house, and my wife even set up the “big daddy suite” in our home in West Virginia. That big daddy suite is still there waiting, as it always was, for Senator BYRD to pay a surprise visit.

We are all better for the life of Senator ROBERT BYRD. We owe him generous helpings of gratitude and admiration, and we shall all miss him.

Again, to Senator BYRD’s family, we offer our prayers, our never-ending thanks for the fact that they shared Senator BYRD’s extraordinary life with a grateful State and a grateful Nation.

Now, our former senior Senator, our late senior Senator is indeed with his beloved wife, Erma, who was always a twinkle in his eye. For almost 69 years, they were married before her passing some 4 years ago. The Senator is with his beloved Erma, smiling down upon all of us.

We say thank you, Senator BYRD. Thank you for all you’ve given our great State. Thank you for all you have given our Nation, because we shall miss you.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Ms. JACKSON LEE of Texas. Madam Speaker, I was detained when my colleagues were on the floor of the House paying tribute to Senator BYRD and did not want this time to go without acknowledging my deep sympathy to his family and to my good friend from West Virginia and to acknowledge how special this man was to the institution we call Congress and to the freedom that this Nation stands for.

I cannot account for my personal encounters with Senator BYRD, but I can tell you, as someone who respects and loves this institution, what a man he was who understood that the Constitution and rules were not for selfish reasons, but to empower people.

He had no qualms in standing up against Presidential authority that was wrong in the Iraq war. He had no qualms in fighting to ensure that resources came to his great State. He loved the institution. He was a holder of knowledge, and what we will lose with his passing is that special sensitivity to the rules and to the responsibility we have to not play politics with this institution. We are here to serve America, and Senator BYRD did serve America.

May God rest his soul and may he rest in peace. Senator BYRD, we will miss you.

Ms. EDDIE BERNICE JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, it is with the utmost respect and admiration for the late Sen-

ator ROBERT CARLYLE BYRD that I recognize his passing. Senator BYRD was known as a man of the people. He dedicated his life's work to the American citizens and his beloved constituency in the Mountain State of West Virginia.

Born November 20, 1917, in North Wilkesboro, North Carolina, the young BYRD moved in with family in West Virginia where he grew up and would later meet his soon-to-be wife, Erma Ora James. Their marriage spanned more than six decades until her death in 2006. Initially, he was unable to afford college, but eventually attended Beckley College, Concord College, Morris Harvey College, and Marshall College, all in West Virginia. Senator BYRD's public service career began after he won a seat in the West Virginia House of Delegates in 1946. Six years later, he was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. It was during this time he began night classes at American University's Washington College of Law in 1953. With a tenacious spirit and made-up mind, he would earn his law degree some 10 years later in 1963.

Along the course of his professional and academic career, ROBERT BYRD was elected to the U.S. Senate and would serve 51 years making him the longest serving Senator in history. His time in office was well spent and fruitful where he would serve in a myriad of leadership roles. Most notably: President pro tempore of the U.S. Senate; Democratic Caucus Senate majority leader; Senate minority leader; and chairman of the Senate Committee on Appropriations.

Senator BYRD, like many of us, lived a full life filled with high peaks and low valleys. I too, had some reservations about meeting this one-time member of the Ku Klux Klan who for 14 hours filibustered the Civil Rights Act of 1964. But, when our paths crossed, I soon learned of the great character of man he truly was. He believed wholeheartedly in the U.S. Constitution and a clear demonstration was the pocket version he always carried in his coat pocket. Another love he had was taking afternoon walks on the west front side of the Capitol. It was where I knew I could find him whenever I needed to seek the voice of wisdom.

I will miss those afternoon strolls with the historian of the Senate. Senator BYRD loved the American people, loved his State, and loved our great Nation. Although he no longer is with us on the terrestrial, his legacy will live deeply within the Halls of Congress and in the hearts of humanity.

Mr. HOLT. Mr. Speaker, I rise to recognize and honor the memory of U.S. Senator ROBERT C. BYRD of West Virginia.

Born in West Virginia, I have known Senator BYRD my whole life. Senator BYRD faithfully served West Virginia in Congress for more than 57 years. Throughout his career in the House and the Senate, he improved the lives and welfare of the people of West Virginia for whom he cared so much. He worked endlessly to fight for democratic principles, defend the Constitution, and ensure that the American dream was in reach for all families.

Senator BYRD grew up in the southern coalfields of West Virginia, first working as a gas station attendant and then in a local food market. He started his political career in the West Virginia House of Delegates, serving from 1947 to 1950, followed by 2 years in the West Virginia Senate. After being elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1952, he enrolled in law school night classes despite not having a bachelor's degree. In 1958, West Virginia elected him to the U.S. Senate where he became its longest serving Member.

Senator BYRD was an energetic defender of the U.S. Senate as an institution, persistently seeking to preserve its dignity and traditions. He literally wrote the book on the Senate—a four-volume history of the institution that is a treasure. To read his books and to read his speeches is to see Senator BYRD as a self-taught great orator and historian, someone who could readily quote from Shakespeare, Greek tragedies, and the King James Bible.

I will always remember him for his extraordinary devotion and service to the people of West Virginia. He paid exceptional attention to his constituents and their individual concerns. Staff members told me that at night they would receive calls at home from the Senator, quizzing them on people who had signed his guestbook that day and asking how he could help them. He would recognize people in a crowd and ask them if his constituent service to them years before took care of their problem.

My thoughts and condolences go out to his daughters, his family, and all of his friends and neighbors in West Virginia. Senator BYRD dedicated every day of his service in the U.S. Congress to strengthening the institution and the country that he loved so deeply.

He will be greatly missed. May he rest in peace with his beloved wife Erma.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts. Madam Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 8 o'clock and 31 minutes p.m.), pursuant to House Resolution 1484, the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, June 30, 2010, at 10 a.m., as a further mark of respect to the memory of the late Honorable ROBERT C. BYRD.

WEDNESDAY, *June 30, 2010*

PROVIDING FOR THE USE OF THE CAPITOL VISITOR CENTER  
CATAFALQUE

Mr. BOCCIERI. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's table the concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 65) providing for the use of the catafalque situated in the Exhibition Hall of the Capitol Visitor Center in connection with memorial services to be conducted in the U.S. Senate Chamber for the Honorable ROBERT C. BYRD, late a Senator from the State of West Virginia, and ask for its immediate consideration in the House.

The Clerk read the title of the concurrent resolution.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. Pastor of Arizona). Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Ohio?

There was no objection.

The text of the concurrent resolution is as follows:

S. CON. RES. 65

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the Architect of the Capitol is authorized and directed to transfer the catafalque which is situated in the Exhibition Hall of the Capitol Visitor Center to the Senate Chamber so that such catafalque may be used in connection with services to be conducted there for the Honorable ROBERT C. BYRD, late a Senator from the State of West Virginia.*

The concurrent resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. GOHMERT. ... We lost a Senator this week. My time is running short, so I want to get through as much of this incredible speech as I can. I want it understood this was a speech given by Senator ROBERT BYRD, in 1962, after the Supreme Court decision to eliminate prayer in schools. This is from the official *Record*. As time will permit, I will read Senator ROBERT BYRD's speech from 1962.

You know, one of the things I love about America is, for the most part, it is a very forgiving country. A man who had been part of the Ku Klux Klan later was repentant. He was very sorry for being part of that organization, and he



changed his ways and was completely embraced by his colleagues. This is Senator BYRD's speech from 1962:

Mr. President, Thomas Jefferson expressed the will of the American majority in 1776 when he included in the Declaration of Independence the statement that "all men are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Little could Mr. Jefferson suspect, when penned that line, that the time would come when the Nation's highest court would rule that a non-denominational prayer to the Creator, if offered by schoolchildren in the public schools of America during class periods, is unconstitutional.

The June 25 Supreme Court decision is sufficiently appalling to disturb the God-fearing people of America and to make us all reflect upon the extraordinary nature of the times. For what, indeed, can we expect to happen next if this is to be the way things are going? Following the French Revolution, the atheist revolutionists hired a chorus girl to enter a church as the "Goddess of Reason" and thereby defile the name of the Almighty. Following the Russian Revolution, the Bolshevik Government established a giant museum, dedicated to the promotion of atheistic beliefs.

I've been in that museum. I was sick to the point of nausea, but back to ROBERT BYRD's speech.

The American people were shocked by both moves. So it was in those days. But what about today? Can it be that we, too, are ready now to embrace the foul conception of atheism?

It is hard to believe, but, then, what are the facts of the matter? Are we not in consequence of the Supreme Court ruling on schoolroom prayer, actually limited in teaching our children the value of God? And is this not, in fact, a first step on the road to promoting atheistic belief?

As I turn the page of Mr. BYRD's speech on the Senate floor, let me parenthetically note that ROBERT BYRD's Christian beliefs are what caused him to disavow his membership and to ask forgiveness for his membership to the KKK. It went to the heart and soul of the man, and that is why he came to the floor in 1962 and gave this speech. Continuing on:

In reading through the Court decision on school prayer, I am astonished by the empty arguments set forth by the majority as opposed to the lucid opinion recorded by Mr. Justice Potter Stewart, the lone dissenter. In answering the arguments of the majority, Justice Stewart did not see fit to engage in debate over matters of ancient history. As he put it:

What is relevant to the issue here is not the history of an established church in 16th century England or in 18th century America but the history of the religious traditions of our people, reflected in countless practices of the institutions and officials of our government.

To that, I would say, "Amen."

So this, indeed, the crux of the issue—the religious traditions of our people.

Wherever one may go in this great national city, he is constantly reminded of the strong spiritual awareness of our forefathers who wrote the Federal Constitution, who built the schools and churches, who hewed the forests, dredged the rivers and the harbors, fought the savages, and created a republic.

In no other place in the United States are there so many and such varied official evidences of deep and abiding faith in God on the part of government as there are in Washington.

Let us speak briefly on some of the reminders in Washington that reaffirm the proposition that our country is founded on religious principles. The continuance of freedom depends on our restoring the same spiritual consciousness to the mainstream of American life today that made possible these monuments and tributes of the past.

A visitor entering Washington by train sees the words of Christ prominently inscribed above the main arch leading into Union Station. Here at the very entrance to the seat of the Government of the United States are the words: "The truth shall make you free." John 8:32.

Nearby is another inscription cut into enduring stone, the words from the Eighth Psalm of the Old Testament: "Thou hast put all things under his feet."

A third inscription reiterates the spiritual theme: "Let all the end thou aimest at be thy country's, thy God's and truth's."

All three inscriptions acknowledge the dependence of our Republic upon the guiding hand of Almighty God.

#### ON CAPITOL HILL

Throughout the majestic Capital City, similar inscriptions testify to the religious faith of our forefathers. In the capital, we find prominently displayed for all of us to see the quotation from the book of Proverbs, 4:7: "Wisdom is the principal thing: Therefore, get wisdom, and with all thy getting, get understanding."

The visitor to the Library of Congress may see a quotation from the Old Testament which reminds each American of his responsibility to his Maker. It reads, "What doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly and love mercy and to walk humbly with God?" Micah 6:8.

Another scriptural quotation prominently displayed in the lawmakers' library preserves the Psalmist's acknowledgment that all nature reflects the order and beauty of the Creator. "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth His handiwork." Psalms 19:1.

Underneath the Statue of History in the Library of Congress are Tennyson's prophetic lines: "One God, one law, one element, and one far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves."

Additional proof that American national life is God-centered comes from this Library of Congress inscription: "The light shineth in the darkness, and the darkness comprehendeth not." John 1:5.

On the east hall of the second floor of the Library of Congress, an anonymous inscription assures all Americans that they do not work alone—"for a web begun, God sends thread."

I realize that my time is expiring at this moment, although there is much, much more in this wonderful speech by the now late Senator ROBERT BYRD.





## Death of Senator Robert C. Byrd, President Pro Tempore of the Senate

*By the President of the United States of America*

### **A Proclamation**

As a mark of respect for the memory and longstanding service of Senator Robert C. Byrd, President pro tempore of the Senate, I hereby order, by the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, that the flag of the United States shall be flown at half-staff at the White House and upon all public buildings and grounds, at all military posts and naval stations, and on all naval vessels of the Federal Government in the District of Columbia and throughout the United States and its Territories and possessions until sunset on the day of his interment. I further direct that the flag shall be flown at half-staff for the same period at all United States embassies, legations, consular offices, and other facilities abroad, including all military facilities and naval vessels and stations.

I also direct, that in honor and tribute to this great patriot, that the flag of the United States shall be displayed at full-staff at the White House and on all public buildings and grounds, at all military posts and Naval stations, and on all naval vessels of the Federal Government in the District of Columbia and throughout the United States and its Territories and possessions on Independence Day, July 4, 2010. I further direct that on that same date, that the flag of the United States shall be flown at full-staff at all United States embassies, legations, consular offices, and other facilities abroad, including all military facilities and naval vessels and stations.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this thirtieth day of June, in the year of our Lord two thousand ten, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and thirty-fourth.

A handwritten signature in black ink, which appears to be "Barack Obama", is written over a circular embossed seal.





*The Honorable*  
*Robert C. Byrd*  
*November 20, 1917–June 28, 2010*  
*United States Senator*  
*West Virginia*

*In Final Tribute from a Grateful Nation*  
*The Lying in Repose of Senator Byrd*  
*The Senate, United States Capitol*  
*Washington, D.C.*  
*July 1, 2010*



**Dr. Barry C. Black.** Let us pray.

God our refuge and strength, close at hand in distress and giver of all comforts, we thank You for giving us the gift of Senator ROBERT CARLYLE BYRD.

Lord, we appreciate his wit and wisdom, his stories and music, as well as his indefatigable commitment to the principles of freedom that make America great.

Thank You for blessing us with his passion for history and his willingness to challenge conventional wisdom in his quest to keep our Nation strong.

Deal graciously with all who mourn, that, casting every care on You we may know the consolation of Your love.

Lord, comfort Mona and Marjorie and all of Senator BYRD's loved ones, dispelling their fears with Your love, easing their loneliness with Your presence, and renewing their hopes with Your promises.

In Your mercy turn the darkness of death into the dawn of new life, and the sorrow of parting into the joy of heaven.

We pray in Your holy name. Amen.

*Memorial Service in Celebration of the Life of U.S.  
Senator Robert C. Byrd*

*Friday, July 2, 2010*

*11:30 AM*

*PROCESSIONAL	West Virginia National Guard Honor Cordon
*PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE	Led by President of the West Virginia Senate, Earl Ray Tomblin and Speaker of the West Virginia House of Delegates, Richard Thompson
*THE NATIONAL ANTHEM	249th Army Band (West Virginia National Guard), CW4 Thomas A. Goff, Bandmaster
*LAYING OF THE WREATH	Great-Granddaughters of Senator Byrd: Emma James Clarkson and Kathryn James Fatemi
*INVOCATION	Bishop William Boyd Grove, Former Bishop for the West Virginia Episcopal Area of the United Methodist Church
WELCOME AND TRIBUTE	Governor Joe Manchin III
TRIBUTES FROM FRIENDS AND COLLEAGUES	U.S. Senator Mitch McConnell, Senate Minority Leader Victoria Kennedy, Wife of the Late U.S. Senator Edward M. Kennedy U.S. Senator John D. Rockefeller IV Congressman Nick Joe Rahall for the Congressional Delegation Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi, Speaker of the United States House of Representatives U.S. Senator Harry Reid, Senate Majority Leader
"Never Grow Old"	Martin Luther King, Jr. Male Chorus, Marshall Murray, Director
INTRODUCTIONS	Governor Joe Manchin III
TRIBUTE	William Jefferson Clinton, 42nd President of the United States of America
TRIBUTE	Joe Biden, Vice President of the United States of America
EULOGY	Barack Obama, President of the United States of America
"Amazing Grace"	Pipe Major Mark Burdette, Kanawha Valley Pipes and Drums
*BENEDICTION	The Reverend James L. Patterson, President, Partnership for African American Churches
*21 GUN SALUTE AND TAPS	I-201st Field Artillery and 249th Army Band
*RECESSIONAL—"Country Roads"	Kanawha Tradition, the 249th Army Band, and Everyone Singing
*Please rise	

*Sign Language Interpreters for the Deaf and Hard of Hearing, Donna  
Whittington and Connie Pitman*



Take Me Home, Country Roads

By: John Denver

Almost heaven, West Virginia  
Blue Ridge mountains, Shenandoah River.  
Life is old there, older than the trees,  
Younger than the mountains, growing like a breeze.

Country roads, take me home,  
To the place where I belong,  
West Virginia, mountain mama.  
Take me home, country roads.

All my mem'ries gather 'round her,  
Miner's lady, stranger to blue waters.  
Dark and dusty painted on the sky,  
Misty taste of moonshine, teardrops in my eye.

Country roads, take me home,  
To the place where I belong,  
West Virginia, mountain mama.  
Take me home, country roads.

I hear her voice, in the mornin' hours she calls me  
The radio reminds me of my home far away.  
Driving down the road I get a feeling  
That I should have been home yesterday,  
Yesterday.

Country roads, take me home,  
To the place where I belong,  
West Virginia, mountain mama.  
Take me home, country roads.

Country roads, take me home,  
To the place where I belong,  
West Virginia, mountain mama.  
Take me home, country roads.

From: Poems, Prayers and Promises (1971)

**Invocation—Bishop William Boyd Grove**, former Bishop  
for the West Virginia Episcopal Area of the United Methodist  
Church

O Holy One, loving God, we cry out to You today in our  
sadness and loss.

Our mountains weep today, and our rivers run salty  
with the tears.

Our Senator, our advocate, our brother and our friend  
has left us

To be with Erma and with You.

But through our tears, we smile

As this beautiful day smiles upon the grieving moun-  
tains and the rivers

Of West Virginia.

We need not tell You his story as we pray.

You know the story, it is Your story.

You are its author, its beginning and its ending.

We simply thank You for the gift of ROBERT C. BYRD,

Who loved You with all his heart and mind and soul and  
strength,

And who loved his neighbor as himself.

His neighbors were the people of West Virginia, his fel-  
low Senators

And the people of the world.

The neighbors that he loved were all the people

Of every race and language and station in life.

We thank You that beneath the Constitution in his shirt  
pocket

In his heart was Your Word, in which he believed, and  
which he followed;

Which enabled him to change his mind, and to change  
his heart

And to learn and grow from the moment of his birth  
until the day of his death.

So, we pray, receive our thanksgiving, and comfort our  
wounded hearts

As we thank You for the life and the gift of our Senator,  
and our friend.

In Your Holy Name we pray. Amen.

**West Virginia Governor Joe Manchin III.** While we mourn the loss of our son of West Virginia, today we come together to celebrate the outstanding life of a man, the likes of whom we shall never see again.

In one of the five books that Senator BYRD authored he said: “We must study the great figures of our history and carry them forward in our imaginations as living, breathing presences we can in effect consult on vital issues of the day.”

Without question, Senator ROBERT C. BYRD is a pillar in our Nation’s history. His leadership and influence have stretched well beyond the borders of the Mountain State.

My first memory of Senator BYRD was as a young boy working in the back of my grandfather’s grocery store in the small coal mining town of Farmington, West Virginia, and hearing Bible Scripture being quoted from great orators—my grandfather, Papa Joe, and ROBERT C BYRD. Both held the same great occupation—grocery store butchers.

And they were discussing Bible and business with great fervor. I still remember it today. My personal memory of meeting the Senator is no different than so many West Virginians—meeting Senator ROBERT C. BYRD in every small nook and cranny of this great State. That is why this loss is so personal, because we are all family in West Virginia.

Senator BYRD will be remembered for his tireless contributions to the people of West Virginia and to the United States of America.

As the longest serving member of Congress—having cast more votes and held more leadership positions than any other Senator, and a historic 57 years of service in Congress—it would be impossible to stand here and recite all that our beloved Senator did for you and me.

From highways and hospitals to schools and technology centers—there are more than 50 projects in West Virginia that bear his name, or that of his beloved wife, Erma.

We will remember Senator BYRD for the strong family man that he was. The love of his life, Erma, and their two daughters, six grandchildren and seven great-grandchildren provided unconditional support.

We will remember Senator BYRD for the devoted public servant that he was.

For the thousands of jobs he created.

For his efforts to protect our veterans and provide health care to rural areas.

We will remember his commitment to transforming our economy. We will remember his ongoing quest to provide our youth with the opportunity to learn, work, and succeed.

We will remember his steadfast leadership, his wisdom, his reason, his compassion, his strong voice, and enthusiasm.

But, more important, we will remember his innate qualities: honesty, integrity, loyalty, an intense respect for democracy, and his unwavering love for the people and the State of West Virginia.

We will never forget his deeply rooted spiritual conviction and his utmost respect for our Founding Fathers.

The Senator truly epitomized the spirit of a West Virginian.

He wore that Mountain State spirit on his sleeve and never forgot where that journey in history began, back in Wolf Creek Hollow, in Sophia, West Virginia.

Nor did he forget the hard-working, salt-of-the-earth people of West Virginia, who he loved as if they were extended family.

When he launched a career in public service some 60-plus years ago, our State was a blank canvas—untouched by the colors of the modern ways of life.

Senator BYRD brought that blank canvas to life using broad intellect and optimism and a can-do spirit that resonated throughout the hills of West Virginia.

In fact, when his political career was in its beginning stages, there were only 4 miles of divided four-lane highway in our State—and Senator BYRD made it his mission to transform those barren lands.

He was a true champion. A man of his word, and a true patriot and guardian of the U.S. Constitution.

Senator BYRD was looked up to by all of Congress and often referred to as the “Conscience of the Senate.” A long list of colleagues have sung his praises. Here are just a few:

Senator Bob Dole said, “He has set a standard as a Senator, as a legislative leader, and as a statesman that will stand among the best as long as there is a Senate.”

His dear friend Senator Ted Kennedy said that “he personifies what our Founding Fathers were thinking about when they were thinking about a U.S. Senate.”

He has been called a “patriot and warrior of the U.S. Constitution.”

However, the best way that I can describe the Senator is as the “Architect of Appalachia.”

He is the most historic figure to ever call West Virginia home, and will forever live in our hearts and those of our children.

No one can replace our Senator. No one can fill his shoes; we must never forget his tireless dedication as we humbly follow in his footsteps.

Senator BYRD, you've toiled and triumphed on behalf of the Mountain State, and now your time to rest has come. Your memory will live in our hearts forever.

May God bless you and Erma.

May God bless the State of West Virginia.

May God bless America.

**Senate Republican Leader Mitch McConnell.** Ten years ago Senator BYRD honored me and the students at the University of Louisville by making a trip to Kentucky to share some of his wisdom about the Senate. I regret to say it's taken me a decade to return the favor. But I do so with a deep sense of gratitude, not only for that particular kindness, but for many others he showed me over the years, and for the many valuable lessons I have learned and relearned from the life and example of ROBERT C. BYRD.

Others have talked about his encyclopedic knowledge of history and literature; his courtliness; his profound reverence for the U.S. Constitution, his oratory. It's all true. For about a quarter of the time our Government has existed, Senator BYRD stood like a sentry in a three-piece suit keeping watch over the legislative branch. But here in West Virginia, one can't help but be reminded first and foremost of the challenges he overcame to achieve all this.

It's one of the glories of our country that success isn't restricted to the connected or the well born, that anyone with enough talent and drive can rise to the heights of power and prestige. It's remarkable to think that the man who wrote the Gettysburg Address was raised by a couple who couldn't even sign their own names. And it's no less remarkable that the man we honor today, a man who held every one of us spellbound with his knowledge and his command of history, couldn't even afford a pair of socks to wear to Sunday school as a boy.

So here, in Charleston, we are reminded that the American promise reaches even into the most remote corners of Hardin County, Kentucky, and the winding hollows of Raleigh County, West Virginia. The glory of our Nation is reaffirmed every time another man or woman overcomes what

some call disadvantages to achieve great things. And ROBERT BYRD may well be their patron saint.

He was the ultimate self-made man, the high school valedictorian who couldn't afford to go to college but who could teach a room full of professors something new every day—a walking argument for home schooling. He was the orphan who grew up in a home without electricity or running water, but who spent his adult life giving back to his adopted State as much as his beloved adopted parents gave him. Best of all, he was never embarrassed by the poverty of his youth. He wore it like a badge of honor—because he knew his dignity lay not in material possessions, but in being the child of a loving God, the husband of a devoted wife, a citizen of the United States of America, and a son of the Mountain State.

Some people get elected to the Senate with the hope of making it on the national stage. Not ROBERT BYRD. As he once put it: “When I am dead and am opened, they will find West Virginia written on my heart.”

He made it all look easy, but it didn't come easy. I remember asking him once if he'd ever been to a football game. He said he hadn't—and then he corrected himself. He actually had gone to a game once, but only to the halftime show, and even then he left halfway before it was over. He was making better use of his time than we were, learning the lessons of history, expanding his views, always learning. Quoting one of the seven wise men of Greece, he would say, “I grow old in the pursuit of learning.” He was the only person I ever knew who had no interest in leisure whatsoever. “No ball game ever changed the course of history,” he said.

The fact is, he was engaged in a different contest—not for a perishable crown, but for an imperishable one. And in the end, he could say with Paul that he had run the race as if to win. We are consoled by the thought that this man who believed, even in the twilight of his life, that the prayers of his mother had always followed him, has reached his father's house, and that ROBERT CARLYLE BYRD has heard those words he always longed to hear: “Well done, good and faithful servant, come share your master's joy.”

**Victoria Kennedy.** I am honored to be here and humbled to speak for someone else who treasured the man we mourn and celebrate today: A giant in the history of the Senate, and a giant in the history of West Virginia, for whom the smallest corner of this State could be the greatest of causes.

My husband wrote of ROBERT BYRD's "vast knowledge and experience, his remarkable insight and wisdom." But he was for Teddy so much more than that.

Briefly foes, they became the best of friends. Coming from very different places, across the years they came together to keep America's promise.

ROBERT BYRD moved with our country, and he moved our country forward, from the ceaseless fight for economic justice to the long struggle for health care—where, from the floor of the U.S. Senate last Christmas Eve, he raised his arm and his voice to cast the deciding vote. I was in the gallery and the tears flowed down my cheeks when he said: "Mr. President, this is for my friend Ted Kennedy—Aye!"

And yes, as the years passed, they were together too in the quest for civil rights and equal rights. His friend Teddy had no patience for those who focused on a distant past instead of the ROBERT BYRD who day after day, at the center of our democracy, was giving heart, hand, and his peerless parliamentary command to help those left behind and to advance our highest hopes for the future.

On the floor of the Senate in 2007, Senator BYRD defiantly exclaimed: "People do get older. Even, dare I say it, old." But with his indomitable will the power of his eloquence proved anew that "youth is not a time of life, but a state of mind." It was in the eighth decade of his life and the fifth decade of his service in the legislative branch, that he foresaw the folly of invading Iraq and spoke for conscience and constitution against the tides of onrushing war. Old, yes: He was like a prophet of old. And not just here, but always, ROBERT BYRD stood for the Constitution—and for the integrity and authority of the Senate. Teddy, who shared his love of history, thought of him as a modern incarnation of ancient virtues—a Roman from West Virginia.

To the citizens of this State he loved, there is another epitaph from centuries ago that surely applies to him: "If you seek his monument, look all around you." He not only changed the landscape and so many lives here, he touched souls and people knew without being told that he was on their side. I saw this as Teddy and I campaigned across West Virginia with Senator BYRD during the 2004 Presidential contest. We crisscrossed the State in a big bus. He was an incredible force, quoting Scripture, striding the back of flat-bed trucks, spellbinding his audiences. Teddy told me we were watching a master—which was high praise indeed from someone who was a master campaigner himself. I'm not sure

ROBERT BYRD would have put it this way, but he was a rock star.

Finally, to all of you, to the family and friends who have lost him now and love him as before, let me share what I have learned: The sorrow will be there, returning each day, often randomly and quickened by little things; but you will be sustained by the priceless grace of memory and the gifts of faith. And so it was with ROBERT BYRD, as he looked forward to being reunited as he now is with his precious Erma.

He made history that few others in the Senate Chamber ever have. He lifted up countless lives as few Senators from any State ever have.

Someone will take ROBERT BYRD's seat, but no one will ever fill his place.

**Senator John D. Rockefeller IV.** Today, as West Virginians, we mourn the incredible loss of our friend, our fighter, our protector and our Senator—ROBERT C. BYRD.

And today, we also celebrate his remarkable life.

This is not an easy balance for us.

From the southern hills to the northern panhandle, we have shed many tears at the news of his passing.

Yet we stand together as a people, with warmth in our hearts knowing that his legacy will live on, and grateful that the Nation today pauses to honor him.

Senator BYRD was, in so many ways, the embodiment of what it is to be a West Virginian.

Working together with ROBERT C. BYRD was my greatest honor. I spent decades working in partnership with him.

He made me—and all of us—so very proud to be West Virginians.

He took such a pure joy—and ferocious, unyielding pride—not just in the Senate as an institution, but in pulling the levers of power for West Virginia, for people, for education and veterans, for health care and for economic opportunity.

It was in his blood. It was his sacred cause.

ROBERT C. BYRD reached great heights because of the purity of his purpose and the depth of his determination.

Every day, I intimately witnessed that Senator BYRD never forgot where he came from and he never let up—even when his heart was broken.

First, with the tragic death of his young grandson.

And then, I know a part of him was lost forever when his beloved Erma passed on.

Watching him hurt was deeply agonizing for all who loved him.



I wished so much that there was anything I could do to ease his pain.

I was so moved by Senator BYRD's continuing on so strongly as he did after losing Erma.

When Senator BYRD and I would see each other on the Senate floor since Erma's passing, he would take my hand, ever so gently, and hold it to his cheek.

To Sharon and I—and all of us in West Virginia—ROBERT C. BYRD was our family.

And it was his special touch that made us all shine.

Thank you, Senator BYRD.

We will miss you.

From the bottom of our hearts, we thank you.

And always, we honor you.

**Congressman Nick Joe Rahall.** Reverend Clergy, Mr. Presidents, Mr. Vice President, Mona and Marjorie, Senator BYRD's family, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, his hard-working staff, Members and colleagues of his from the Senate, leaders of the Senate, Speaker of the House, members of the State legislature.

You know, I just never really thought he'd die. Just never really thought he would.

Although this day is not unexpected, it is unexpectedly difficult to stand here to say goodbye to Senator ROBERT C. BYRD—our Senator, our chairman, our mentor, our friend, our Big Daddy. He was so eloquent and so erudite, that it is daunting to find the words that can encompass the enormity of the man and all that he has left behind.

All around us, Senator BYRD has left his legacy to the State and the Nation that he loved. We could talk about the bricks and mortar, the records set both in West Virginia and national legislatures, but Senator BYRD has quite literally paved our way to the future. He has paved a path to the future. But I believe that his most lasting legacy will come from the example he set with his own life, full of lessons for each of us to learn from and build upon.

Senator BYRD never stopped learning and never stopped working, despite the obstacles that we all know and the setbacks that would immobilize less determined individuals. He was a great reader of what he called the greatest book of all—the Bible, of histories from ancient Rome to the 20th century, to poetry, and believe you me, from memory. I heard it often whether to his staff driving him back and forth between Washington and West Virginia or even as his Congressman driving him back and forth to West Virginia. I

heard such recitations very often. And indeed they kept me awake when I was driving the car. I have been working for Senator BYRD for over 40 years on his staff and in the Senate Democratic Cloakroom and now until the last few days as his Congressman.

When Senator BYRD had a problem, when he needed help on an issue, he would always call his Congressman and I'd be there to help him in any way I could.

He loved beautiful words and he loved to share them. The *Congressional Record* and our public libraries are much richer for it.

No Bible nor dictionary went unread by Senator BYRD.

A lover of history, Senator BYRD deftly put history to work with more passion and power and promise than anyone in the Republic's history. But while he relished history, he lived for the future—the future of his great State and our great country. He was unapologetic to critics of his efforts to bring Federal programs and dollars to West Virginia. To him, it was a labor of love, and when ROBERT C. BYRD loved, he loved deeply and for all the days of his life.

To Senator BYRD the Constitution was not a historical relic, but rather the living, breathing soul of the Republic. He was its greatest defender and its most impassioned promoter.

It is fitting that this lover of history, the guardian of the Constitution, this son of the Senate, is being memorialized even as the Nation celebrates Independence Day. Senator BYRD may not have been a Founding Father, but this adopted son of a West Virginia coal miner would have been right at home among them.

Yes, he could hobnob with kings and queens all over the world and princes and princesses, and he could scold Presidents of the United States. But you know, my friends, as well as I know where he was most comfortable. That was either in my parents' home in Beckley, West Virginia, in Raleigh, West Virginia, or in my home or in your home. He was much more comfortable sitting down to a dinner of beans, and cornbread and onions, and sipping buttermilk.

He competed only against himself, to work the hardest, to do the most, to cast the greatest number of votes, to be his very best. And in doing so, he inspired generations of West Virginians.

Yes, Senator BYRD, in the words of one of his favorite poems, has now "crossed the bar." He has set sail on a journey to that farthest shore, where his beloved Erma waits for

him. I know that I speak for my colleagues today, Representative Alan Mollohan and Representative Shelley Moore Capito in saying Godspeed, my dear Senator.

In his role as President pro tempore of the Senate, Senator BYRD represented the entire Senate at significant national events. His compatriot during those events, our Speaker of the House of Representatives, who is joined here today by our Majority Leader Steny Hoyer, our Speaker knew Senator BYRD almost as well as we West Virginians. They traveled together; they represented both bodies of this great country of ours, in many different forums.

The Speaker's and Senator BYRD's approaches to statecraft are similar in that no detail is too small, every vote counts, no vote is taken for granted and every person matters. They both share a passion for people.

Ladies and gentlemen, welcome the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Nancy Pelosi.

**Speaker Nancy Pelosi.** Good afternoon. Mr. President, Mr. President, Mr. Vice President, Leaders Reid and McConnell, Bishop Grove, so many friends of Senator BYRD who are gathered here. I am so pleased to join my colleagues from West Virginia—Mr. Rahall, who is a chairman and a great leader in the Congress of the United States; Congressman Alan Mollohan, he is a chairman as well; Shelley Moore Capito. I am pleased to be with them as well as our delegation from the House of Representatives led by our Leader Steny Hoyer in the House.

As Speaker of the House, I sadly have the privilege of bringing the condolences of the House of Representatives to Marjorie and to Mona and the entire Byrd family. As a friend of Senator BYRD, I do so with great sadness.

But happily, thanks to the Byrd family, some of us had the opportunity to sing Senator BYRD's praises in his presence in December, when he became the longest serving Member of Congress in American history.

I noted then that Senator BYRD's congressional service began in the House of Representatives. In those 6 years in the House, he demonstrated what would become the hallmarks of his commitment: his love of the people of West Virginia, his passion for history and public service, and his remarkable oratorical skills.

I am going to talk to you about his service in the House briefly. In 1953, this is one of his earliest speeches, he came to the floor of the House and he said: "I learned quite a long time before becoming a Member of this House that there is

an unwritten rule in the minds of some, perhaps, which is expected to cover the conduct of new Members in a legislative body to the extent that they should be often seen but seldom be heard; I have observed this rule," he said, "very carefully up to this time and I shall continue to do so. However, the Book of Ecclesiastes says: 'To everything there is a season, a time to keep silence and a time to speak.'" And he decided it was time for him to speak.

He went on in that speech; it was one of his earliest speeches. He went on in that speech to quote not only the Bible, but Shakespeare, Rudyard Kipling, and Daniel Webster. And, Mr. President, this was a speech about world trade.

Though he thrived in the House, when he moved on to the Senate, Senator BYRD remarked that he was happy to leave behind the limitations on speaking time on the House floor.

On a personal moment, I'll never forget a dinner I hosted for him in the early 1980s in California when he was running for reelection at that time.

After dinner we didn't know what to expect. We were all so nervous to be in the presence of such a great person. And what did he do? He pulled out his fiddle and regaled us with West Virginia tunes and told us great stories about each and every one of you. That was an act of friendship that I will never forget.

Later, when I came to Congress, I told Senator BYRD how my father, who had served in Congress, gave me the image of a coal miner carved in coal. It is the only thing I have from my father's office as a Member of Congress. It had been a gift to him from Jennings Randolph, who had represented West Virginia so well, and it sat in my father's office when he was in the House of Representatives.

It now sits in the Speaker's office. It is in my West Virginia corner, along with a silver tray from Senator BYRD which I love especially because it is engraved, "With thanks, from ROBERT and Erma."

In the beginning of my comments, I mentioned a speech of Senator BYRD's on the House floor. That day, in 1953, he quoted the words of Daniel Webster. These words, when you come to the Capitol, are etched on the wall of the Chamber high above the Speaker's chair. And these words would come to define his leadership as he voiced them in that earliest speech. Senator BYRD said, "Let us develop the resources of our land, call forth its powers, build up its institutions, promote all its great interests and see whether we also in our

day and generation may not perform something worthy to be remembered." Daniel Webster.

Senator BYRD's service, and his leadership, were more than worthy to be remembered for many generations to come. As my colleague Mr. Rahall said, it is very appropriate that we are celebrating ROBERT BYRD's life and putting him to rest in the week of July 4th; he was a great American patriot. And as Governor Manchin said, "We shall never see his like again."

May he rest in peace. Amen.

**Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid.** I went to a library in Nevada about 15 years ago and took out the old novel *Robinson Crusoe*. When I came back to the Senate, ROBERT BYRD was one of the first people I saw.

We talked about the time we had spent back home, and I mentioned that I had just read this classic story of a cast-away.

Senator BYRD just leaned his head back, looked toward the heavens and paused for a second. Then he said: "28 years, 2 months and 19 days."

I was astonished. I couldn't tell you how many years Robinson Crusoe had been shipwrecked, and I had just read the book days before. ROBERT BYRD knew it to the day, and he hadn't read it in more than 50 years.

I was hardly the first to be dumbfounded by his brilliance. We have all marveled at the breadth of Bob BYRD's boundless mind—one he so generously gave to the people of this State and this country.

A few years before Barry Goldwater died, he wrote to ROBERT BYRD from his home in Arizona, just to tell him how much he admired Senator BYRD's gift for remembering and reciting even the most obscure facts. "Keep it up," Goldwater wrote, "because when you get to heaven, and I'm there too, I hope I'll have someone to listen to."

ROBERT BYRD didn't just memorize and catalog for the heck of it. In fact, he once advised a crowd here in Charleston that the purpose of education is not simply to make the mind a storehouse of information—but to transform it into an inquisitive and innovative instrument of knowledge.

He could never quite quench his thirst for learning. It was without limit and without equal.

The first in his family to make it to the third grade, BYRD once said he craved knowledge the way a hungry man craves bread. And as he consumed it, he grew and he changed.

He never stopped learning—learning from others, or even from his own mistakes. And with every new lesson he learned, he also learned how much more there was to know.

ROBERT BYRD could dispense knowledge as well as he absorbed it. Indeed, it was because he was a tireless learner that he became a peerless teacher.

I'll remember how—in his precise, poetic voice—he taught us to protect the traditions that strengthen the Senate of the United States, and warned us to avoid the hazards that weakened the Senate of ancient Rome.

He taught me to carry in my pocket a copy of the Constitution all Senators swear to support and defend.

I have it with me today—as I do every day—with a personal note from Senator BYRD inscribed inside.

ROBERT BYRD always kept that charter so close to his heart because he loved his country. We will always keep his memory so close to our hearts because we loved him.

When the Founders conjured this Constitution ROBERT BYRD so revered and treasured—when they imagined the people's representatives who would fill the great positions they prescribed—I believe they had the senior Senator from West Virginia in mind. They had to.

The authors outlined only a few characteristics of a U.S. Senator—his age, citizenship, and residency. If only they had kept writing, I'm confident they would have described ROBERT C. BYRD in full.

He was exactly what they intended: An eloquent, steadfast steward of the Nation's founding principles—fiercely loyal to the State that chose him—forever faithful to his constituents, his country, and his Constitution.

It's hard to believe America's longest serving Member of Congress was once a freshman Senator. But in the summer of that first year—1959—the *Charleston Gazette* asked a young ROBERT BYRD to name his highest ambition.

"If I live long enough," he replied, "I would like to be Chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee."

Why did he dream that dream? Why didn't he aspire to the White House, or the Governor's Mansion, or any other high office?

It's because ROBERT BYRD knew it was from that chair that he could best help his neighbors back home. He knew that was his first and most important job as their representative in the Senate.

Of course—just as he'd predicted—ROBERT BYRD did indeed live long enough to hold the gavel he coveted. Thirty

years to the day after he assumed the title of Senator, he assumed the title of Appropriations Committee chairman—trading in the title of Majority Leader to do so. And then he lived and served for two decades more.

Though he did more than anyone before—and probably more than anyone will again—he never thought he'd done enough for West Virginians. As we watched him work, we learned another lesson: to never forget why we serve or where we come from.

He once wrote, "West Virginia is indelibly written on my heart, and it will be there until my body is returned to the dust."

No one has meant more to his State than ROBERT BYRD did to West Virginia. The U.S. Senate has never meant more to anyone than it did to ROBERT BYRD.

It's true that his records for longevity are astounding. After all, just think about this: He served in our Nation's Congress for more than a quarter of the time it has existed—and longer than a quarter of today's sitting Senators, and the President, have been alive.

It is by virtue of his endurance that ROBERT BYRD knew and worked with many of the greats of American history. But it is because of his enduring virtue that he will forever be remembered as one of them.

His career cannot alone be counted in the time he worked—rather we should measure it in the lives of those for whom he worked.

His accomplishments aren't in the sum of the millions of dollars he brought back to cities like Huntington and Wheeling and Beckley, but the millions of families he brought out of the same poverty he endured.

On the last day of his life, ROBERT BYRD felt just as strongly about that principle as he did the very first time he rose to speak as a State legislator in the beautiful State Capitol building behind us.

In that speech—which of course he memorized before delivering—he said: "To me, the dollar is secondary. Human misery and suffering—and the welfare of helpless, dependent children—come first." He was teaching us from day one, and didn't once stop.

Now, that doesn't mean he didn't also love his remarkable records of public service—rankings that will forever be his and never be surpassed. He surely was proud of them.

In fact, I have no doubt that right now, ROBERT BYRD is bowing his head forward, looking down from the heavens and saying: "57 years, 5 months and 26 days."

**President William Jefferson Clinton.** Thank you very much. Governor, all the members of Senator BYRD's family, Mr. President, Mr. Vice President, Madam Speaker, Congressman Rahall and all the House Members here, Senator Reid, Senator McConnell, all the Senators, thank you, Senator Rockefeller, and thank you, Vicki Kennedy.

I'd also like to thank all the people here who, at the time of his passing worked, or ever worked for ROBERT BYRD, who helped him to succeed for the people of West Virginia. And I want to thank the Martin Luther King male chorus. They gave us a needed break from all these politicians talking up here.

I want to say first that I come here to speak for two members of my family. Hillary wanted to be here today, and she paid her respects to Senator BYRD as he lay in state in the U.S. Senate before making a trip on behalf of our country to Central and Eastern Europe.

I am grateful to BOB BYRD for many things, but one thing that no one has given enough attention to—in my opinion—today is that while he always wanted to be the best Senator, and he always wanted to be the longest serving Senator, he wanted every other Senator to be the best Senator that he or she could be. He helped Hillary a lot when she came to represent the people of New York. I am forever grateful for that.

Now, everybody else has canonized Senator BYRD. I would like to humanize him a little bit, because I think it makes it much more interesting and makes his service all the more important.

First of all, most people had to go all the way to Washington to become awed by—you might even say intimidated by—ROBERT BYRD.

Not me. I had advance experience before I got elected. The first time I ever ran for office, at the opening of campaign season in Arkansas, below the Ouachita and Ozark Mountains, which were once connected to the Appalachians, we had this big rally. And the year I started, don't you know, ROBERT BYRD was the speaker.

It was 1974, April, I'll never forget it. It was a beautiful spring night. And he gave one of those stemwinding speeches. And then he got up and he played the fiddle, and the crowd went crazy. And you know, in 1974, in a place like Ar-



kansas or West Virginia, playing the fiddle was a whole lot better for your politics than playing the saxophone. So I was completely intimidated.

And then all the candidates got to speak. They were all limited to 4 or 5 minutes. Some went over. All the candidates for Governor and every State officer, and then the people running for the House of Representatives; there were five of us. We were dead last. And I drew the short straw. I was dead last among them.

By the time I got up to speak, it had been so long since ROBERT BYRD spoke, he was hungry again. And I realized, in my awed state, I couldn't do that well. So I decided the only chance I had to be remembered was to give the shortest speech. I spoke for 90 seconds. And I won the primary. I owed it to ROBERT BYRD.

Now, when I was elected President, I knew that one of the things I needed to do before I took the oath of office was go to the Senate and pay my respects to Senator BYRD. In 1974, when I first met him, he had already been the leading authority on the institutional history of the Senate and the Senate rules for some years, and he certainly was by the time I was about to become President. So I did that. And I got a copy of his history of the Senate, and his history of the Roman Senate. And I read them. I'm proud to say they're still on my bookshelf in my office in Harlem in New York City today because I was so profoundly impressed.

Now, ROBERT BYRD was not without a sense of humor. For example, I was once ragging him about all the Federal money he was hauling down to West Virginia. I was from Arkansas. We weren't any better off than you. And every friend I had in Arkansas said, "He's just a Senator. You're sitting in the White House. We don't get squat compared to what they get. What is the matter with you?" I was getting the living daylights beat out of me about once a week.

So I said to him, early in my first term, I said, "You know, Senator, if you pave every single inch of West Virginia, it's going to be much harder to mine coal." And he smiled, and he said, "The Constitution does not prohibit humble servants from delivering whatever they can to their constituents."

But let me say something, seriously. He knew people who are elected to represent States and regions and political philosophies. They're flesh and blood people, which means they will never be perfect. He knew they are subject to passion and anger. When you make a decision that's important when you're mad, there's about an 80 percent chance you'll make

a mistake. That's why he thought the rules and the institution and the Constitution were so important. And he put them before everything, even what he wanted.

I'll never forget when we were trying to pass health care reform in 1993 and 1994. Senator BYRD was a passionate supporter of the efforts we were making, just as he was of the efforts that President Obama has made. But we Democrats only had 55 votes, and we could not defeat a filibuster. So I said, "Well, Senator, why don't you just let me stick this on the budget, because that's the only thing they can't filibuster." That violated something called the Byrd rule.

They knew he was running the Senate. They just went ahead and named the rule for him. So I said, "You know, you really ought to suspend this, because the budget is going to be bankrupt if we don't quit spending so much money on health care."

And he looked at me and he said, "That argument might have worked when you were a professor in law school. But you know as well as I do, it is substantively wrong." He wouldn't do it.

Then, in his defense, he turned right around, and he worked his heart out to break that filibuster, and he was trying till the very end to get me to not give up the fight, because he thought if we just tried hard enough, we could find some errant Republicans who would make a mistake and vote with us. He would never give it up.

The point I want to make is, he made a decision against his own interests, his own conviction, his own fight. And that's one reason I thank God that he could go in his wheelchair, in his most significant vote at the end of his service in the Senate, and vote for health care reform and make it real law.

I will also say this. If you wanted to get along with Senator BYRD, and you were having one of those constitutional differences, it was better for your long-term health if you lost the battle. I won the battle over the line-item veto. Oh, he hated the line-item veto. He hated the line-item veto with a passion that most people in West Virginia reserve for blood feuds, like the Hatfields and the McCoys.

You would have thought the line-item veto had been killing members of the Byrd family for 100 years. It made his blood boil. "You've never been lectured by anybody"—Nick Rahall said that. "Until BOB BYRD has lectured you, you have never known a lecture." I regret that every new Presi-

dent and every new Member of Congress will never have the experience of being dressed down by Senator ROBERT BYRD.

And I'll be darned if he wasn't right about that, too. The Supreme Court ruled for him instead of me on the line-item veto.

The point I want to make here is a serious one. He did as good a job for you as he could. As far as he was concerned, there was no such thing as too much for West Virginia. But the one thing he would not do, even for you, is violate his sense of what was required to maintain the integrity of the Constitution and the integrity of the U.S. Senate so that America could go on when we were wrong, as well as right, so we would never be dependent on always being right.

Let me just say, finally, it is commonplace to say that he was a self-made man; that he set an example of lifetime learning. He was the first, and as far as I know, maybe the only Member of Congress to get a law degree while serving in the Congress. But he did more learning than that. And all you've got to do is look around this crowd today and listen to that music to remember.

There are a lot of people who wrote eulogies for Senator BYRD in the newspapers, and I read a bunch of them. And they mentioned that he once had a fleeting association with the Ku Klux Klan. What does that mean?

I'll tell you what it means. He was a country boy from the hills and hollers of West Virginia. He was trying to get elected. And maybe he did something he shouldn't have done, and he spent the rest of his life making it up. That's what a good person does.

There are no perfect people. There are certainly no perfect politicians. And so, yes, I'm glad he got a law degree. But by the time he got a law degree, he already knew more than 99 percent of the lawyers in America, anyway. He got a more important degree in human nature and human wisdom, the understanding that came to him by serving you in the Senate. People from the hills and hollers of West Virginia, in their patriotism, provided a disproportionate number of the soldiers who fought for our independence from England. And they have provided a disproportionate number of the soldiers in every single solitary conflict since that time, whether they agreed or disagreed with the policy.

The family feeling, the clan loyalty, the fanatic independence. The desire for a hand up, not a handout. The willingness to fight when put into a corner. That has often got the people from whom Senator BYRD and I sprang in trouble.

Because they didn't keep learning and growing and understanding that all the African-Americans who have been left out and let down and lived for going to church and lived to see their kids get a better deal, and have their children sign up for the military when they're needed—they're just like we are. The Irish Catholics and the Scotch Irish used to fight. They are so alike. Everybody. The Italian immigrants, the people from Latin America who have come to our shores. The people from all over the world. Everybody who's ever been let down and left out, ignored, and abused, or who's got a terrible family story. We are all alike. That is the real education ROBERT BYRD got, and he lived it every day of his life in the U.S. Senate to make America a better, stronger place.

So not long after Senator BYRD lost Erma, I said, "In a fleeting world . . . he had proved, and so had she, that some people really do love each other till death do they part."

I've been thinking about that today, thinking maybe we ought to amend the marriage vows and say "Till death do us part" and "Till death do bring us back together."

I admired Senator BYRD; I liked him; I was grateful to him. I loved our arguments, and I loved our common causes. But most of all, I loved it that he had the wisdom to believe that America was more important than any one individual, any one President, any one Senator.

That the rules, the institutions, the system had to enable us to keep forming a more perfect union, through ups and downs and good times and bad.

He has left us a precious gift. He fought a good fight. He kept the faith. He has finished his course, but not ours. If we really would honor him today and every day, we must remember his lessons, and live by them. Thank you.

**Vice President Joe Biden.** Bishop, Reverend Clergy, Mona and Marjorie, the entire Byrd family—if you didn't already know it, it's pretty clear the incredible esteem your father was held in. I know you've known that your whole life.

To my fellow Members of the Senate, you know, I was telling the President, when I got elected the last time and had the great honor of running with the President, on the same day I was elected Vice President and U.S. Senator for my seventh term. And I got sworn in for that seventh term because we thought we might need a vote there in those first couple weeks. And every time I sat with the Leader—I never called Senator BYRD "Senator," I always called him "Leader"—when I sat with the Leader, I could see that look in his face and he said, "Joe, you sure you're making the right deci-

sion giving up the Senate for Vice President?" (Laughter.) Because as the Senators know, he revered the Senate. As Danny Inouye said going into the Chamber when we were going in to honor your father, "You know, Joe, had you stayed, you'd be number two." I'm still number two, Danny. (Laughter.) I'm still number two.

Ladies and gentlemen, Mr. President, yesterday I had the opportunity to pay my respects to Leader BYRD as he lay in repose in the Senate Chamber. I met the family then and again today.

But although I and my colleagues behind me revere the Senate, ROBERT C. BYRD elevated the Senate. For other great men, their families would have chosen for them to lay in state in the Rotunda. But BOB BYRD and his family chose to lay him in state in the Senate Chamber. And to me, this is completely appropriate, having served with him for 36-plus years. For the Senate Chamber was ROBERT C. BYRD's cathedral. The Senate Chamber was his cathedral, and West Virginia was his heaven. (Applause.)

And there's not a lot of hyperbole in that. Every person in the Senate, as my colleagues behind you can tell you, brings something special about them. I'll never forget having privately criticized a Senator when I was there the first year. I was sitting with the previous leader, Senator Mansfield, who was an incredible guy. And he told me that—he said, "Why are you upset?" And I told him about a particular Senator railing against something I thought was very worthy, the Americans With Disabilities Act. And he went on to tell me that every Member of the Senate represented something in the eyes of their State that was special and represented a piece of their State.

Well, if there was ever a Senator who was the embodiment of his State, if there was ever a Senator who, in fact, reflected his State, it was ROBERT C. BYRD.

The fact of the matter is, the pick of the banjo, the sweet sound of the fiddle, ramp dinners in the spring, country fairs in the summer, the beauty of the laurels in the mountains, the rush of the rapids through the valleys—these things not only describe West Virginia, but from an outsider's point of view who has been here many times at the invitation of Jennings Randolph and ROBERT C. BYRD, it seems to me they define a way of life. It's more than just a State.

And ROBERT C. BYRD was the fiercest defender of not only the State, but the way of life—I think the fiercest defender that probably this State has ever known in its history.

You know, ROBERT BYRD did use the phrase, "When I die, West Virginia will be written on my heart." And I used to kid him, I said, "You have so many Scotch-Irish down there, you don't acknowledge it was an Irish Catholic named Joyce who said that first." (Laughter.) Reverend, he quoted everybody else, but when he used that phrase, he'd never acknowledge that it was James Joyce who said, "When I die, Dublin will be written in my heart." And all he would do is laugh.

The fact of the matter is, West Virginia was not only written in his heart but he wore it on his sleeve. He took such pride in this place. He took such pride in all of you. I remember he asked me, one of the few races he had, whether I'd come down because I was the young guy and I'd come down and demonstrate to everybody that I could not keep up with ROBERT C. BYRD, which happened to be true. And I was—I think, Nick, you were at the dinner. We had a Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner down here, and ROBERT C. BYRD did something that never happened before in all the dinners I've spoken at. He stood up and he said, "We're honored to have Senator Joe Biden from Delaware here tonight, and Joe, I'd like to introduce you to West Virginia." Then he spent, as Nick will remember, the next probably 10 minutes talking about everyone in the audience by name—where they were from, what they had done, how they had fought through difficulty. And then he said, kind of like Johnny Carson, "Here's Joe." (Laughter.)

Well, I thought it was pretty impressive—literally. ROBERT C. BYRD asked me to speak, but he knew the privilege was mine, not the people to whom I was speaking. He was devoted to all of you like few Senators in the 36-plus years I was there, that I have ever known.

He was fiercely devoted, as you've all heard, to his principles. Even once he became powerful, he always spoke truth to power, standing up for the people he proudly was part of, and you've heard it many times today but it bears repeating again, in defense of the Constitution he revered.

I always wear a flag pin, but I was afraid he'd be looking down today because every time I'd wear the flag pin on the floor, he would grab me, take my pin, and put on a Constitution pin. That's the pin I'm wearing. So, Boss, I'm wearing the pin. (Applause.)

ROBERT C. BYRD said many things, but he once said, "As long as there is a forum in which questions can be asked by men and women who do not stand in awe of a chief execu-

tive, and one can speak as long as one's feet will allow one to stand, the liberties of the American people will be secure."

Twelve Presidents knew ROBERT C. BYRD. He served, as he pointed out, concurrently with them, not under them. (Applause.) And 12 Presidents—were they all here and 2 are here—can attest to the fact that he always showed respect but never deference. And he stood in awe of none.

He had an incredible, prodigious memory that I will not take the time to regale you about. I just remember one time sitting with the Queen of England at a formal dinner, and he recited the entire—the entire lineage of the Tudors and every year each one had served. And she sat there, and I thought her bonnet was going to flip off her head. (Laughter.) It was like, what did I just hear? She learned about relatives she probably forgot she had. (Laughter.)

As also noted, ROBERT C. BYRD was a parliamentary library, a keeper of the institution of the Senate, and he was the institution itself. But to me and many people here today, like guys I see, Bill Bradley and Jim Sasser, who long left the Senate for greener pastures, and I hope better remuneration—we used to kid about that, too—but for a lot of us, he was a friend, and he was a mentor and he was a guide.

Nick and I were talking a little bit earlier, I commuted every day for 36 years in the U.S. Senate—250 miles a day. ROBERT C. BYRD was a stickler about when he'd set votes. And I'd drive down from Delaware to Washington, and I'd call Nick on this big old car phone I first had—it was about that big. And I'd say, "Nick, I can see the dome. Hold the vote, I can see the dome."

Finally, Nick caught on, he said, "Joe—Senator—how far away can you see the dome?" (Laughter.) Because he'd be the one to go to the Leader and say, "Can you hold the vote 2 more minutes for Biden?" As long as I was behaving, he held the vote. But when I found myself in disagreement, if I'd need to catch a 7:00 train—he'd set a vote for 7:00. (Laughter.) And Nick knows this—I'd walk up to him and I'd stand—I always stood down in the well. And he stood in the first riser, and I'd say, "Mr. Leader, "you set the vote for 7:00. Any possibility for setting it at 10 to 7:00 so I could get the train?" He'd go like this—he'd look at the clock, look at me, look at the clock and say, "No." (Laughter.) "No."

But that's because I misbehaved once. I voted with George Mitchell on a matter relating to miners and that was a big mistake. (Laughter.) He literally took the roll call sheet—there's these sheets, as the staff members know—with every

Senator's name and how they voted. He took the roll call sheet, had it framed, had my name circled in red, and literally had it screwed to the ornate doorframe in his office then as the chairman of the Appropriations Committee. So every single Senator coming to see him would walk out, and at eye height, they'd see Biden circled in red and know darn well they better not vote against ROBERT C. BYRD ever. (Laughter and applause.) You think I'm joking. I'm not joking.

And then I got in his good graces—I tried to run for President, he said, "I don't want any Senators running for President." I said, "Why, Mr. Leader?" He said, "Because you'd never come back and vote when I need you." (Laughter.) So I made a promise that no matter where I was, if he called me and said he needed my vote, I'd drop whatever I was doing and I'd come. And I kept the commitment—the only one I might add. That got me back in his good graces again.

The point is that this is a man who knew exactly what he was doing. After I was elected in 1972 as a 29-year-old kid, I was number 100 out of 100 in Senate seniority. And Leader BYRD offered up—he was then the whip—he offered his office to me to come down from Delaware so I could have a place to interview staff members. It was in his office, and in the connection his secretary put through, that I received a call telling me about an accident which took the life of my wife and my daughter. And when they were buried, we held a memorial service a couple days later in Delaware where thousands of people showed up, and it was a bone-chilling slate day of rain. And people couldn't get in the church.

And I never knew it initially, but ROBERT C. BYRD—and I think you may have driven him up, Nick—drove up on his own with Nick to that church. He stood outside for the better part of an hour in a driving rainstorm where the temperature was below 32. When my brother saw him and asked him to come in, he said no; he wouldn't displace anyone. He stayed there for the entire service. When the service was over, he got in his vehicle and he drove back, never attempting to be noticed, never seeking that to know, as my deceased wife used to say, the real measure of generosity is when you do it and no one ever knew you did it.

Well, ROBERT C. BYRD did that. I was appreciative of what he did, but I quite frankly didn't understand till a couple years later I was in his office, and behind his desk was a huge boot cast in bronze. It was Michael's boot; it was his grandson's boot. And all of a sudden, it came so crystal clear



to me who this guy was. I'd known him, but I understood immediately what he was about. For him it was all about family. It was not just Erma, his beloved wife of nearly 69 years. It was not just his daughters, his grandchildren, great-grandchildren—all of whom are in our prayers today. It was an awful lot of you. I'll bet if he were here he could look out and name you, and tell you what your father or mother did for him, what your grandmother or grandfather did for him, and how you made such and such of yourself.

Clearly in his own life, ROBERT BYRD suffered a lot of hardships. You all know the story—losing his mom, being raised and adopted by an aunt and uncle, growing up in a home without electricity or water, having to work at an early age. He had an incredible determination, one that I don't think any of my colleagues have ever witnessed, would be my guess. But, you know, this man was—it wasn't just that, as President Clinton pointed out, that at age 46 and as a sitting Congressman, he went and got a law degree without having a college degree. And at age 77, he went to Marshall University and completed his work, getting his college degree. (Applause.)

Because to him, in my view—and I don't know, the family would tell you this—to him, I think he felt there was something wrong with the fact that he got the law degree without graduating. He didn't need that undergraduate degree, but it was BOB BYRD. To quote John Stennis, "Plow into the hedgerow and to the end of the row."

The remarkable thing about him is he traveled a hard path. He devoted his life, though, to making that path a little easier for those who followed. This is a guy who continued to taste and smell and feel the suffering of the people of his State. He tasted it. That's why it was so deeply ingrained in him.

It wasn't just a moral obligation. This guy remembered. And he unapologetically—as has been pointed out—did everything to improve the lives of the people of West Virginia by stealing all the money from Delaware, Tennessee, Texas, California, that he could possibly get. (Laughter.)

Remember, Governor, two campaigns ago he's getting beat up for trying to move—was it two campaigns ago?—to have the FBI moved down to West Virginia. And the national press was beating him up. I was on the floor with him, and he just had gotten ripped in a press conference about that. He—you know how he used to grab you by the arm, walk

you back—he walked me back, he said, “Joe, I hope they keep throwing me in the briar patch.” (Laughter.)

But I tell you what, you West Virginians owe a lot of people in Delaware for a lot of money we should have gotten and you got. (Laughter.) I just want you to know that. So be nice to the rest of us. (Applause.)

By the way, if you doubt any of it, you just drive here, you cross the Robert C. Byrd Drive, the Robert C. Byrd Appalachian Highway, the Robert C. Byrd Library and Learning Center, the Robert C. Byrd Clinic, the Robert C. Byrd Federal Building in Charleston and on and on.

But, ladies and gentlemen, of course, it’s more than the name we’re not going to forget. It’s his courage. He died like he lived his life. He never stopped fighting. How many people would have hung on as long as he did? How many people would have the ability to get back out of that hospital bed and get in a wheelchair and come in and vote? He never stopped thinking about his people and the things he cared about.

Speaking recently, ROBERT BYRD said, “Like Jefferson and Adams, I’m inspired to continue serving the land I love to the very best of my abilities, for the whole of my years.”

Well, he served the land he loved. He served the people he loved. He served the people who were in his blood. And because of that service, you had gained greatly. And with his loss, you’re the first who will feel that loss.

But it’s not just West Virginia alone. It’s all of us. When I learned of his death, I was on an errand for the President in Cleveland, and I said, “You know, to paraphrase the poet, we shall not see his like again.” Had he been there, he would have said, “Joe, that’s Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act I, Scene II”—(laughter)—“and the actual quote is, ‘I shall not look upon his like again.’”

Mr. Leader, we’re not going to look upon your like again. I’m not even going to ask God to bless you because he already had and I know where you are. And may God bless your family. May God bless this State and this country. And may God protect our troops. Thank you. (Applause.)

**President Barack Obama.** Thank you. To Mona and Marjorie, and to Senator BYRD’s entire family, including those adorable great-granddaughters that I had a chance to meet—Michelle and I offer you our deepest sympathies.

To Senator BYRD’s friends, including the Speaker of the House, the Majority Leader, the Republican Leader, President Clinton, Vice President Biden, Vicki Kennedy, Nick Ra-

hall, and all the previous speakers; Senator Rockefeller for the outstanding work that you've done for the State of West Virginia; to his larger family—the people of West Virginia—I want you all to know that all America shares your loss. May we all find comfort in a verse of Scripture that reminds me of our dear friend: “The time of my departure has come. I have fought the good fight, I have finished the race, I have kept the faith.”

It's interesting that you've heard that passage from several speakers now, because it embodies somebody who knew how to run a good and long race, and somebody who knew how to keep the faith—with his State, with his family, with his country and his Constitution.

Years from now, when I think of the man we memorialize today, I'll remember him as he was when I came to know him, his white hair full like a mane, his gait steadied with a cane.

Determined to make the most of every last breath, the distinguished gentleman from West Virginia could be found at his desk until the very end, doing the people's business, delivering soul-stirring speeches, a hint of the Appalachians in his voice, stabbing the air with his finger, fiery as ever, years into his 10th decade.

He was a Senate icon. He was a party leader. He was an elder statesman. And he was my friend. That's how I'll remember him.

Today we remember the path he climbed to such extraordinary peaks. Born CORNELIUS CALVIN SALE, JR.—CORN, he joked, for short—his mother lost her life in the Great Influenza Pandemic of 1918. From the aunt and uncle who raised him, amid West Virginia's coal camps, he gained not only his BYRD name but a reverence for God Almighty, a love of learning that was nurtured at Mark Twain High School. And there he met Erma, his sweetheart for over 68 years, by whose side he will now rest for eternity.

Unable to afford college, he did what he could to get by, finding work as a gas station attendant, a produce salesman, a meatcutter, and a welder in the shipyards of Baltimore and Tampa during World War II. Returning home to West Virginia after the war, he ran for the State House of Delegates, using his fiddle case as a briefcase, the better to stand out on the stump.

Before long, he ran for Congress, serving in the House before jumping over to the Senate, where he was elected nine times, held almost every leadership role imaginable, and

proved as capable of swaying others as standing alone, marking a row of milestones along the way. Longest serving Member of Congress. Nearly 19,000 votes cast. Not a single loss at the polls—a record that speaks to the bond that he had with you, the people of his State.

Transplanted to Washington, his heart remained here, in West Virginia, in the place that shaped him, with the people he loved. His heart belonged to you. Making life better here was his only agenda. Giving you hope, he said, was his greatest achievement. Hope in the form of new jobs and industries. Hope in the form of black lung benefits and union protections. Hope through roads and research centers, schools and scholarships, health clinics and industrial parks that bear his name.

His early rival and late friend, Ted Kennedy, used to joke about campaigning in West Virginia. When his bus broke down, Ted got hold of the highway patrol, who asked where he was. And he said, “I’m on Robert Byrd highway.” And the dispatcher said, “Which one?” (Laughter.)

It’s a life that immeasurably improved the lives of West Virginians. Of course, ROBERT BYRD was a deeply religious man, a Christian. And so he understood that our lives are marked by sins as well as virtues, failures as well as success, weakness as well as strength. We know there are things he said—and things he did—that he came to regret. I remember talking about that the first time I visited with him. He said, “There are things I regretted in my youth. You may know that.” And I said, “None of us are absent some regrets, Senator. That’s why we enjoy and seek the grace of God.”

As I reflect on the full sweep of his 92 years, it seems to me that his life bent toward justice. Like the Constitution he tucked in his pocket, like our Nation itself, ROBERT BYRD possessed that quintessential American quality, and that is a capacity to change, a capacity to learn, a capacity to listen, a capacity to be made more perfect.

Over his nearly six decades in our Capitol, he came to be seen as the very embodiment of the Senate, chronicling its history in four volumes that he gave to me just as he gave to President Clinton. I, too, read it. I was scared he was going to quiz me. (Laughter.)

But as I soon discovered, his passion for the Senate’s past, his mastery of even its most arcane procedures, it wasn’t an obsession with the trivial or the obscure. It reflected a profoundly noble impulse, a recognition of a basic truth about this country that we are not a nation of men, we are a nation

of laws. Our way of life rests on our democratic institutions. Precisely because we are fallible, it falls to each of us to safeguard these institutions, even when it's inconvenient, and pass on our republic more perfect than before.

Considering the vast learning of this self-taught Senator—his speeches sprinkled with the likes of Cicero and Shakespeare and Jefferson—it seems fitting to close with one of his favorite passages in literature, a passage from *Moby Dick*:

And there is a Catskill eagle in some souls that can alike dive down into the blackest gorges, and soar out of them again and become invisible in the sunny spaces. And even if he forever flies within the gorge, that gorge is in the mountains; so that even in his lowest swoop the mountain eagle is still higher than any other bird upon the plain, even though they soar.

ROBERT BYRD was a mountain eagle, and his lowest swoop was still higher than the other birds upon the plain. (Applause.)

May God bless ROBERT C. BYRD. May he be welcomed kindly by the Righteous Judge. And may his spirit soar forever like a Catskill eagle, high above the heavens. Thank you very much.

**Benediction—Rev. James L. Patterson**, president, Partnership for African American Churches

A benediction seems to indicate finality to a life celebration such as this. However, according to the faith that Senator BYRD held so deeply, this celebration will never end, it simply moves to a more celestial location, and it is from there that Senator BYRD and his wife Erma are looking down and observing us at this moment and wondering what all the fuss is about. The Senator would say he was simply doing his duty for the citizens of West Virginia.

The Apostle Paul best described the effectiveness of the Senator's service when he said, he fought a good fight, he finished his course, he kept the faith, therefore there is laid up for him a crown of righteousness which the Righteous Judge himself shall present to him at that day. (2 Timothy 4:7) So Heavenly Father as he has cared for and watched over us all these years we pray that You will care for and watch over him.

Now unto God who is able to do exceedingly and abundantly above all that we could ask or think, according to the power that works in us, be glory but now and forever more (Ephesians 3:20).

Amen.



*Robert C. Byrd*  
*November 20, 1917–June 28, 2010*

*A Funeral Service Celebrating the Life of*  
*Robert C. Byrd*

*July 6, 2010—11:00 a.m.*

Prelude

Opening Sentences      John 11, John 14, Matthew 11  
Dr. William H. Smith

Special Music  
“What a Friend We Have In Jesus”  
Memorial Baptist Church Sanctuary Choir

Prayer  
Dr. Barry C. Black, Senate Chaplain

Special Music  
“There Is a Fountain”

Scripture Reading      Psalm 23  
Dr. William H. Smith

Duet  
“Amazing Grace”  
Bobby Taylor, fiddle with bass guitarist

Family Remembrances

Special Music  
“How Great Thou Art”

Scripture Reflection      Matthew 25:14–30  
Rev. Thomas Phythian, Hospice Chaplain

Special Music  
“This Is My Father’s World”

Homily  
Dr. William H. Smith

Solo  
“His Eye Is On the Sparrow”  
Michael Ryan, MGySgt, USMC (Retired)

Benediction

Recessional

Postlude

## *Robert C. Byrd*



Photo: Linda Davidson, the *Washington Post*

*“When I am gone and opened,  
they will find West Virginia on my heart”*

U.S. Senator Robert C. Byrd

Senator Byrd is survived by his daughters,  
Mona Carole Fatemi and her husband Mohammad  
and Marjorie Ellen Moore and her husband Jon;  
grandchildren Erik Byrd Fatemi, Mona Byrd Pearson,  
Darius James Fatemi, Mary Anne Clarkson,  
Fredrik Kurosh Fatemi and the late Jon Michael Moore;  
great-grandchildren Caroline Byrd Fatemi,  
Emma James Clarkson, Kathryn James Fatemi,  
Hannah Byrd Clarkson, Michael Yoo Fatemi,  
Anna Cristina Honora Fatemi and  
James Matthew Fatemi.



**Pallbearers:**

James Stroud Clarkson III  
Darius James Fatemi  
Erik Byrd Fatemi  
Fredrik Kurosh Fatemi  
Randy Lee Pearson  
Austin John Reinshuttle

**Honorary Pallbearers:**

The Honorable John D. Rockefeller IV  
The Honorable Howard H. Baker, Jr.  
The Honorable Ted Stevens  
The Honorable Robert J. Dole  
The Honorable Daniel K. Inouye  
The Honorable Nick J. Rahall II  
The Honorable Alan B. Mollohan  
The Honorable Walter J. Stewart  
Tinker St. Clair  
Cecil E. Roberts, Jr.  
James E. Nobles  
James H. English  
James Allen  
Fred Minton  
George Perry  
Hugh McGloin  
Perry Woofter

*The family requests that in lieu of flowers, memorial contributions be made either to The West Virginia Council of Churches (make checks payable to The Montcoal Mining Disaster Fund) or the Humane Society of the United States.*

Rev. Dr. William H. Smith  
Rev. Richard Buerkle, Associate Pastor  
Dr. Barry C. Black, Senate Chaplain  
Rev. Thomas Phythian, Hospice Chaplain  
Rev. Katie McKown, Associate Pastor  
Ann Brown, Organist  
Russell Krumnow, Pianist

**Memorial Baptist Church**

Arlington, Virginia

*In  
Loving Memory*



**The Twenty-Third Psalm**

*The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want.  
He maketh me to lie down in green pastures:*

*He leadeth me beside the still waters.*

*He restoreth my soul: He leadeth me in the  
paths of righteousness for His name's sake.*

*Yea, though I walk through the valley of  
the shadow of death, I will fear no evil:*

*for thou art with me; Thy rod and  
thy staff they comfort me.*

*Thou preparest a table before me in the presence  
of mine enemies: thou anointest my head  
with oil; my cup runneth over.*

*Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me  
all the days of my life: and I will  
dwell in the house of the Lord forever.*

*In Loving Memory of*  
**The Honorable Robert C. Byrd**  
**United States Senator**

November 20, 1917

June 28, 2010

Funeral Services  
11 am Tuesday  
July 6, 2010  
Memorial Baptist Church  
3455 Glebe Rd  
Arlington, Virginia 22207

Officiating  
The Reverend Doctor Barry Black  
The Reverend Katie McKown  
The Reverend Tom Phythian  
The Reverend Doctor William H. Smith

Interment  
Columbia Gardens Cemetery



Photo: Linda Davidson, the *Washington Post*

*“When I am gone and opened,  
they will find West Virginia on my heart”*

U.S. Senator Robert C. Byrd

## **The Honorable Robert C. Byrd**

November 20, 1917–June 28, 2010

The LORD is my shepherd; I shall not want.

He maketh me to lie down in green pastures:  
he leadeth me beside the still waters.

He restoreth my soul: he leadeth me in the paths of  
righteousness for His name’s sake.

Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow  
of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me;  
thy rod and thy staff they comfort me.

Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of  
mine enemies: thou anointest my head with oil;  
my cup runneth over.

Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the  
days of my life: and I will dwell in the house of the  
LORD for ever.

**Dr. Barry C. Black.** Lord God, creator of all, we thank You that You have made each of us in Your own image and given us gifts and talents with which to serve You.

We thank You for Senator ROBERT C. BYRD, Your servant and my friend. We're grateful for the years we shared with him, for the good we saw in him, for the love we received from him, and for the wisdom we gained from him.

Now give us strength and courage to leave him in Your care, knowing that You have promised that one day we'll be reunited with loved ones.

As we too journey toward death, teach us to number our days that we may have hearts of wisdom.

Support us in all the seasons ahead, until the shadows lengthen and the evening comes; and the busy work is hushed, and the fever of life is over, and our work is done. Then in Your mercy give us a safe lodging and a holy rest and peace at the last.

We pray in Your powerful name. Amen.

**Granddaughters Mary Anne Clarkson and Mona Byrd Pearson.**

**Mary Anne.** Washington Irving once said, "There is a sacredness in tears. They are not the mark of weakness, but of power. They speak more eloquently than ten thousand tongues. They are messengers of overwhelming grief ... and unspeakable love." As we walked the funeral march to the Capitol behind our grandfather's caisson in Charleston, we gazed into the crowds of mourners and saw, much as we see in the church pews today, just that: tears of grief and unspeakable love for a lost friend, colleague, statesman, advocate, mentor, husband, father, grandfather, and great-grandfather.

**Mona.** The man you know as Senator ROBERT C. BYRD was even more than that. To us, it was not his great service to West Virginia and this Nation, his powerful oratory on the floor of the Senate, or his numerous records and accomplishments. To us—his grandchildren—he was simply "PAPA," and all we wanted was his love, attention, and approval. His professional life was not what was important; it was his private side, reserved for us, his family, that we treasured.

**Mary Anne.** Toward the end of his life, one of PAPA's great pleasures was going to my parents' house on summer weekends to enjoy the pool and his family. He loved to sit out in the Sun because he wanted to have the best tan in Washington at the end of the August recess. And not unexpectedly, PAPA wasn't content to sit on the sidelines and

watch everyone else enjoying the pool. So at the age of 90, he decided to learn how to swim. And then PAPA would challenge my girls to contests to see who could hold their breath under water the longest. So, although our grandfather always sought perfection, he had these beautiful moments of imperfection, of seeming less than the giant of a man that he was.

**Mona.** And a giant he was. ROBERT C. BYRD ran the Senate, but my grandmother, Mamma, ran the family and the home. She made sure that PAPA never had to worry or concern himself with the domestic side of life. In some ways that was to his detriment and it was a family joke how little PAPA knew about household things. PAPA once decided to demonstrate to everyone how he could take care of himself by making a cup of tea. He heated the water, put it in the mug, and carefully proceeded to cut open a tea bag and pour its contents directly into the cup. After stirring the loose tea into his mug, he then proudly displayed the results to us. He was first perplexed by our hilarity, but after we explained how the rest of us used a tea bag, he laughed harder than any of us.

**Mary Anne.** Years later, as Mamma's health was failing, PAPA focused his attention on her care, firmly grasping the opportunity to repay her for all the years of selfless devotion and care she had given to him. He jumped in with his typical vigor and took charge of the household that was once her domain—mopping the floors, scrubbing the bathrooms, and managing the checkbook he had given her nearly 69 years earlier. She never wanted for better care. She was never alone, and at night, when she was close to the end of her suffering, he would hold her hand and sing to her, always telling her how much he loved her.

**Mona.** Perhaps the thing PAPA loved most outside of Mamma and work was music. As children, our fondest memories were of him playing his fiddle. When PAPA played the fiddle he was a different and carefree person. I always remember the joy and happiness when we gathered at home to listen to him play. He often said that the two things that relieved stress in his life were confiding in Mamma and playing music. One of his biggest regrets was that the tremors in his hands prevented him from playing his fiddle, but he could still sing. On his 90th birthday his staff held a party at a hotel near the Capitol. Some of you may have been there. They had arranged for a high school band to play some of the old bluegrass favorites and when he joined in to

sing it was amazing to see his youth return and the years and sorrows melted away.

**Mary Anne.** Much has been said about the buildings, roads, and hospitals and other parts of West Virginia that my grandfather caused to be built. But he did more than that: he shaped people and he shaped ideas. From him, I learned first hand, the nature of hard work, the value of a promise kept, attention to detail, loyalty, and the results of persistence. So in a very real sense, Mona and I, as well as our entire family and many others are also his legacy.

**Mona.** In closing, we'd like to read a poem, *The Measure of a Man*, by Jeremy Teoh. We believe it captures the lessons of PAPA's life, for us to carry forward and live by.

**Mona:** A man is not measured by the frequency of his voice,

But rather by the echoes of his actions.

**Mary Anne:** A man is not measured by the strength of his body,

But rather the strength of his will.

**Mona:** A man is not measured by the amount of money in his coffers,

But rather by how much he is willing to share.

**Mary Anne:** A man is not measured by the amount of his sheep,

But rather the way he shepherds.

**Mona:** A man is not measured by his courage alone,

But rather by the courage he can give others.

**Mary Anne:** A man is not one who serves himself,

But rather one who serves his people.

**Mona:** A man is not one who follows orders,

But rather one who follows his heart.

**Mary Anne:** But the true measure of a man is,

One who can love people around him,

Without asking for anything in return,

**Mona:** Except the little glimmer of hope that,

Others will love him as well.

PAPA, we love you.

**Daughter Marjorie Byrd Moore.** Much has been said about my father, but I think if he were here today he would say "talk about Erma some." So I'd like to talk about both of them by reading you a poem he composed to her in April 1933 at the age of 15. It's titled *Sweet Memories of Sweet-heart Days*.

I.

When I was but a youngster  
I thought I loved the dames,  
But the sweetest of all,  
I now recall,  
Was a girl named Erma James.

II.

Every day in our little ole school—  
I used to write 'er a note and come—  
At the change of classes, to her locker door  
And give 'er my chewing gum.

III.

A beautiful lass this little girl was  
With her eyes a charming blue  
Her hands small and dainty like  
Voice sweet as the morning dew—

IV.

We wrote notes for many a day  
And it makes me very sad  
To tell that she wrote me a note one eve'  
And I, little fool, got mad.

V.

I kept on going to her house—  
Oh! I would that I had kissed her!  
But never a word would I  
Speak to Erma  
But always to her sister.

VI.

Finally on the 12th of June  
After a month or two of delay  
I greased her pretty nose in fun  
For it was my darling's birthday—

VII.

And then of course we  
Were sweethearts again—  
And good were the times we had  
We'd go to the store and we'd  
Go to the show,  
And play rook with her  
Mother and dad.

VIII.

After school in those good ole' days  
We would always get together  
We would have our chats on rainy days  
And play in pretty weather—

IX.

Sometimes we would both play hookey together  
And at home we would stay and play  
Eat apples, mints, and eskimo pies  
And then be sick next day.



X.

But finally came the  
summer time  
And little “baby” went away  
But we’d write letters and  
Send our love—  
To the other far away.

XI.

As old Sept. rolled  
Around again,  
And school days were  
Getting near,  
Little Erma came back  
To the ole’ home town  
And I saw the little dear.

XII.

With her came  
Aunt Lala,  
Whom I quickly came to like  
We had a party and rode  
A Ford and took  
Pictures on the ole Turnpike.

XIII.

School days began but we still had our fun  
And then came Halloween—  
When the gobs and goblins, and bats and cats,  
And witches are to be seen.

XIV.

All these are in the past and now comes  
The present  
What will be in the days to come?  
I still love Erma the best of all  
And I guess she loves me some.

XV.

But now as Christmas beckons softly  
And Santa’s at the door,  
I must remember, in stark December,  
Of the sweetheart I adore.

How dear to my heart is this girl of my childhood.

And I believe their love will endure through eternity.

I love you DADDY.

**Erik Fatemi.** When I was about 5 years old, my grandfather would ask me a series of questions practically every time I saw him. “Erik, who discovered America? What year? Who wrote the Declaration of Independence?” And so forth. And if I got the answers right, he would give me a quarter.

At that time, of course, I didn’t understand who ROBERT C. BYRD was to the rest of the country. To me he was PAPA. Though I did get the sense he was important somehow. For

instance, whenever I visited his office, I noticed there were a lot of people there who did exactly what he told them, and they seemed to be in a hurry about it.

I also noticed he had a lot of quarters. So I decided it was in my best interest to learn the answers to those history questions. "Christopher Columbus!" I'd say. "1492! Thomas Jefferson!" And then my palm would start getting itchy for some cold, hard cash.

It was my first lesson in the awesome power of appropriations to improve people's education.

I learned a lot of lessons from my grandfather over the course of my life, both as a grandson and a staffer on the Appropriations Committee. We all learned from him. I think one reason we're sad he's gone is that this self-taught man taught us all so much. He made us want to work harder, learn more, be better people. Whether you were a grandchild, or a staffer, or a fellow Senator, or just another President of the United States, when you met with my grandfather, you made sure you had the right answer.

And pity the poor staffer who gave him a memo that misspelled a word or left out a comma. You did not want to be that person.

Tina Evans, one of his longtime staffers, wrote me the day he died, "Some bosses demand excellence; Senator BYRD assumed excellence, and those of us who won his trust were determined never to let him down."

That only worked because he pushed himself harder than he pushed anyone else. Many of us have wondered what we might be capable of if we really focused, worked hard, and tried to achieve something. Many of us wonder; he did it. He died knowing exactly what he was capable of.

Where he ranks among the great U.S. Senators will be for the historians to decide. But this we can say today: He was the best Senator he possibly could have been, and he did it for longer than anyone else in history.

This is a story that few people know. Two years ago—summer 2008—was a difficult time for my grandfather. He was still chairman of the Appropriations Committee, but every day brought more speculation: Will he step down? Will he be removed? Who will take his place? Will it be this Senator? Will it be that Senator? It was not the sort of time on Capitol Hill that brings out the best in people.

There was a full committee hearing coming up, and my grandfather decided to let another Senator chair it rather than himself. It was the correct decision, but it was not an

easy one for this very proud man to make. He knew it was the beginning of the end of his tenure.

I was visiting his house the Sunday before that hearing. My parents happened to be there, too, and we got to talking about the situation in the Senate. My grandfather was somber, pensive. And then he did something unusual for our family. He asked us to hold hands with him and pray. I'll never forget what he asked for. He said, "Father, give me the strength to do a few more things for my country."

He was 90 years old. God knows he had earned the right to pray for something else. And yet there was that plaintive plea—just "a few more things."

As it turned out, he did do a few more things. He endorsed the Nation's first Black President. He cast the deciding vote for health care reform, in the middle of the night, in a snowstorm. And just a few weeks before he died, he spent more than an hour grilling witnesses at a Senate hearing about how to improve the safety of coal mines in West Virginia.

Those few things he did between ages 90 and 92 were more than what some people do in a lifetime.

And yet it's true that in his final years, his thoughts turned more and more to crossing the bar, and rejoining his wife, my grandmother. And so, when I would visit him, we spent less time discussing politics, like we used to do, and more time reliving memories from the distant past, when I was a kid.

The last time we spoke was Father's Day—a week before he died. He was quiet. I had brought my girls to visit, too, and normally that would liven him up, but not this time. And so after a while we gave him a hug and started walking toward the door. And then he called out, "Who discovered America?"

It had been almost 40 years since I had earned a quarter for answering that question. But I had to show him I hadn't forgotten. "Christopher Columbus!" I said.

He said, "Do you remember when I'd ask you that? And then I'd give you a quarter?"

"Sure, PAPA," I said. "I remember."

How could I forget that? How can any of us forget this man?

### **Dr. William H. Smith.**

How the mighty are fallen!

"Tell it not in Gath, publish it not in the streets of Askelon."

How the mighty are fallen.

Weep ye daughters of Israel. Let there be no dew. Neither let there be rain.

Swifter than eagle, stronger than lion, yet  
How the mighty are fallen!

With the poetry of David we join our hearts to acknowledge the passing of a great leader. Our Nation has lowered its flags to half staff. The President and the Congress have gathered to pay their respects. Now, alongside the family we come to this final service to recognize ROBERT BYRD as father, grandfather, great-grandfather and faithful Christian.

I want us to look briefly at three passages of Scripture; each one will help us see the witness of our brother in Christ to the Gospel. Senator BYRD loved the Gospel. He found the Gospel central to his life, and his life calls us to embrace the good news of Jesus Christ, the Gospel of salvation, so that we may live into eternity and one day join him. He will not return to us in this life, but we may go to him. That is the promise of the Gospel. Praise be to God.

It is right to use Scripture for these remarks today. Senator BYRD loved the Bible, especially the King James version of the Bible. At his first or one of his early visits to Memorial I was preaching on the importance of the Bible. After the service he put his arm around my neck and drew me close to him. He quoted from memory the text I had used in the sermon. Then he quoted about 10 verses before my text and 10 verses after my text—all from memory. I have studied the Bible all my life, but I would be hard pressed to walk into a service and call from memory 20 verses before and after a text that a pastor had chosen to preach.

He was a student of the Bible. He was a teacher of the Bible. As a younger man he started a Sunday school class that is still going today. He and Mrs. Byrd wrote a series of devotionals for young people based on the Bible. So, we remember him well today when we look at the Bible for guidance. We have three passages to read that speak to us about the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

The first Scripture for our consideration comes from Ephesians chapter two and verse eight. It reads: "For by grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God. Not of works, lest any man should boast."

On one occasion Senator BYRD and I were sitting together downstairs in Fellowship Hall. We were having a churchwide dinner to celebrate an anniversary. He said to me but loudly enough for anyone at the table to hear, "I want to be acceptable." I responded to him with some amazement and said, "Senator BYRD, you are more than acceptable. You are recognized by the Nation as a great leader." He gave me a sharp

look as if to suggest that I should know better than to have made that comment. He then said, "I don't mean all that; I just want to be acceptable to Jesus." Chagrined, I replied, "Yes sir; you are right. That is most important for all of us."

Senator BYRD shared his testimony when we had our first visit together. You can find that testimony in his autobiography. He was a believer. He described himself as a born-again, old-time religion, Bible-based Christian. He was baptized along with Mrs. Byrd at age 19 at Crab Orchard Baptist Church by Pastor Merlin Smith.

Senator BYRD understood that we are saved or put right with God, not by our accomplishments in life, our good works, but by God's grace, God's unmerited favor. All of us come to the Lord in the same way: we confess our sins; we repent of our sins; we invite Jesus into our hearts as Lord and Savior, and we receive spiritual renewal or regeneration through the work of the Holy Spirit.

Listen to a second Scripture about the Gospel of salvation. At the cemetery there is a beautiful stone marker where Senator BYRD will be laid to rest alongside his dear wife. On his headstone he had inscribed a passage from John's Gospel, chapter 11. In John 11 we find that the friend of Jesus, Lazarus, had died. The Lord came to the grave of Lazarus. First he wept, but then he called Lazarus to come forth. Jesus then commanded the attendants surrounding the risen Lazarus with these words, chosen by Senator BYRD for his headstone. Jesus said: "Loose him and let him go!"

When we are saved or put right with God, Jesus begins a process in our lives of setting us free. Just as Lazarus had the grave clothes removed from him, so Jesus begins this process of unbinding us. Piece by piece he removes from us those things that hold us back. In this lifelong process bad habits, bad thinking, bad experiences are peeled away, strip by strip as we emerge to become the person God created us to be.

From Senator BYRD's generation another very wise nonagenarian once said that we should live each day as if it were our last, and learn each day as if we would live forever. This wise man also knew God's grace. A graceful life, a grace-filled life, means that we have the ability to change. We can confess our sin. We can turn away from our sins. We can receive the forgiveness of God; we can embrace new insights and new directions. We can learn and we can grow. Throughout our lives we are being saved. "Loose him," Jesus said, "and let him go."

And now, the third Scripture for our reflection on the Gospel of Salvation. Whenever I visited Senator BYRD I would read the Bible with him. I always asked him what passage we should read, and every time he responded first with a call to read—I would read, and he would recite—the words of Jesus recorded in John 14. Dear family, hear these words. They are for your comfort. Jesus said: “Let not your heart be troubled: ye believe in God, believe also in me. In my Father’s house are many mansions: if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you. And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again, and receive you unto myself; that where I am, there ye may be also. And whither I go ye know, and the way ye know. Thomas saith unto him, Lord, we know not whither thou goest; and how can we know the way? Jesus saith unto him, I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by me.”

The Gospel of salvation means that when we depart this life we go to be with God. Senator BYRD told me that he was ready to depart and to be with the Lord. I know he was eager to be reunited with Mrs. Byrd of whom he spoke every time I was in his presence. He understood, however, and said to me that our coming and our going are in the hands of God.

And I am glad that God, in his providence, sent ROBERT BYRD our way to Memorial Baptist Church, that for a few years, we had the privilege of being in worship together. Folks have often asked me, “Wasn’t it difficult to preach with Senator BYRD in the congregation?”

People thought it was difficult because he was such an important person that one could think that a preacher would feel nervous in his presence. I did at first, and I always felt honored to be in his presence, but he was gracious to me and encouraging to me. He loved the Bible; he loved the Gospel; he loved the church, and he communicated his love for preachers. He soon put me at ease. Whenever he was present I felt happy and encouraged. I loved the fact that he walked down front and sat up close. His presence always encouraged me.

The second reason people thought his presence could be difficult for a preacher is that Senator BYRD was exuberant; he was expressive. When I made a point from the Scripture he would say, “Amen,” and he would say it loudly. When I was unclear, he would ask me right there in the service, out loud, “Would you say that again?” And I would say it again,

but I would make it clearer. I remember one time I was preaching on stewardship, a not very popular subject—money. I made the point that you could tell what a person believed by looking at their checkbook. Senator BYRD reached into his coat pocket and pulled out his checkbook, and he held it up, and he proclaimed, “Here’s mine; let’s all get them out!” I don’t think anyone present at that service will ever forget that moment. He made stewardship exciting. I loved preaching when he was present.

I want you to know that he asked me privately if his participation bothered me or caused me any distress. He would not have entered into call and response if I had been uncomfortable with it. He was gracious, always gracious and encouraging to me. He wanted the best experience for the person preaching and for those in worship. He wanted us to be exuberant and expressive, and excited about God. When he was in worship we caught some of that exuberance.

Was it difficult to preach when Senator BYRD was present? My answer is, “No. It was not difficult. Just the opposite. Whenever he was present I felt that he made me a better preacher.”

Most of all I was encouraged by him because I know that this great national leader was a person of faith. He understood and embraced the Gospel of salvation. He knew that we are saved when we receive God’s gracious welcome. Nothing to do with our accomplishment, but all to do with the grace of God won for us on the cross of Christ. He knew that throughout our lives we are being saved. God is not finished with us when we first come to know him. All our lives we are changing and growing toward his perfect purposes for us. Finally, we will be saved when we depart this life and come face to face with our Creator.

Sunday by Sunday, Memorial Baptist Church when gathered in worship prayed for God’s servant, ROBERT. His name was called the Sunday before he died. We are thankful to God for him, for his life and for his witness. May we receive from our Lord the words I believe he has heard, “Well done, thou good and faithful servant.” Praise be to God. Amen.

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