

HON. THOMAS S. FOLEY  1929–2013



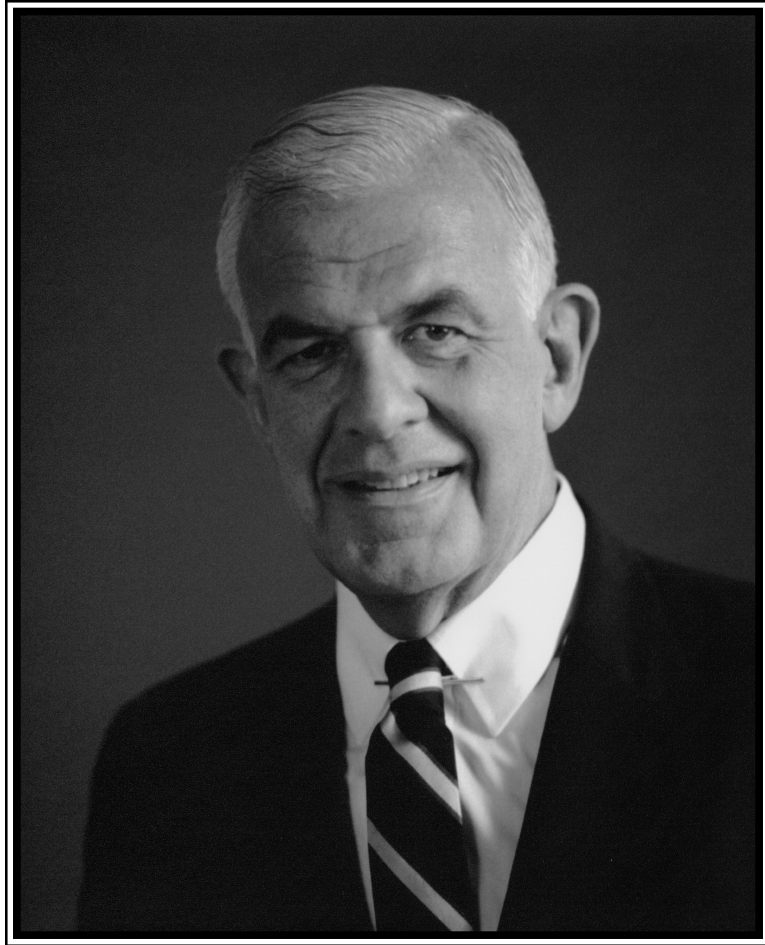
# Thomas S. Foley

LATE A SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE  
AND A  
REPRESENTATIVE FROM WASHINGTON

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES AND  
OTHER TRIBUTES

IN THE CONGRESS OF  
THE UNITED STATES





Thomas S. Foley

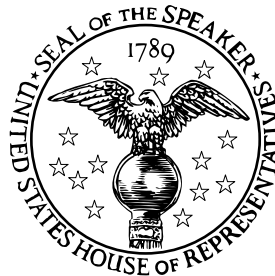


# Memorial Addresses and Other Tributes

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

## THOMAS S. FOLEY

*Late a Speaker of the House  
and a  
Representative from Washington*



One Hundred Thirteenth Congress  
First Session



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## BIOGRAPHY

THOMAS S. FOLEY, first elected in 1964, represented the Fifth District of Washington State for 30 years. Born on March 6, 1929, in Spokane, WA, the son of Judge Ralph and Helen Foley, he grew up in an atmosphere rich with politics (his father was an elected state superior court judge for a record 35 years) that included dinner conversations with then-Senator Henry M. (Scoop) Jackson. Certainly, his father Ralph was an enormous influence on Mr. FOLEY and inspired the evenhandedness and judicial nature that marked his long career in Congress.

Following the wishes of his father, a respected judge and former prosecutor, Mr. FOLEY graduated from Gonzaga Prep and attended Spokane's Gonzaga University. After several years at GU, he transferred to the University of Washington from which he received a bachelor of arts degree and moved on to graduate from UW's law school in 1957.

After completing law school, he returned to Spokane, practiced law, and then joined the Spokane County Prosecutor's Office. About that time of his life, he said "I had more power as a prosecutor than at any other period in my life." Mr. FOLEY also taught constitutional law at Gonzaga University Law School in Spokane. It gave him a basis for understanding the provisions of the Constitution and the reasons for each provision.

In 1960 he joined the State of Washington Attorney General's Office.

In 1961 in a major career change he moved to Washington, DC, to become a special counsel to Senator Jackson, a rising political and institutional power in the Senate and chairman of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

In 1964 Senator Jackson recruited four young political aspirants to run for the House in Washington State. It was a national landslide year for Democrats. All of Senator Jackson's choices won; TOM FOLEY's narrow victory over a 22-year incumbent was by far the most surprising.

MR. FOLEY's career in public service was influenced by his father's traits of courtesy, patience, and a sense of public responsibility. But in 1965 little did anyone know that the ur-

bane 6'4" young lawyer from Spokane would emerge as a leading voice of congressional reform and a champion of the integrity of the U.S. Constitution. His rise up the ladder in what was a very tradition-laden House was aided by his uncommon ability to forge a following from southern conservatives, westerners, and urban liberals.

Contrary to the public perceptions about politicians, TOM FOLEY was always a kind man who never spoke badly about anyone either publicly or privately. He was almost saintly in this respect, as though he had taken a vow to always see the positive in people. He thought more was to be gained in both life and politics by listening and respecting differences.

Assigned to the House Committee on Agriculture when he was sworn in as a Congressman, and becoming its chairman in 1975, Mr. FOLEY took a strong interest in the problems of hunger across the United States. The Committee on Agriculture was and remained for years a political bastion of southern and rural conservatives whose main interests were crops and livestock.

In the late 1960s, when medical teams reported widespread hunger and malnutrition in very poor parts of the country, especially among children, Mr. FOLEY led House efforts to expand and improve the then-very-small food stamp and nutrition programs, greatly expanding and spreading them nationwide. He built bipartisan House support for these reforms and worked with Senators Robert Dole and George McGovern to pass a battery of measures in the 1970s that transformed food stamps.

In the late 1970s medical teams returned to very poor areas of the country and reported dramatic reductions in hunger and the near-elimination of childhood diseases caused by malnutrition. They credited the reforms Mr. FOLEY and his Senate allies had engineered as the pivotal factor behind the improvements.

"He was a giant," noted Robert Greenstein, president of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, who headed the food stamp program in the Carter administration and worked closely with Mr. FOLEY.

He combined intense knowledge of the program and ways to strengthen it with a keen sense of political strategy. In addition, he was deeply respected by both sides of the aisle in a way that was unusual then and is even more unusual today. He drew on all of these skills to craft and pass legislation that has helped tens of millions of low-income Americans.

Despite representing a giant wheat producing district in a politically conservative stretch of America, TOM FOLEY be-

came a champion of civil liberties and respect for the Constitution. He engineered the defeat of an anti-flag burning constitutional amendment and worked to prevent other amendments he thought harmful to the Constitution such as prayer in the public schools and term limits for Members of Congress. TOM FOLEY believed the Constitution was very clear in its intent and that voters had an opportunity every 2 years to limit the term of any incumbent of the House or Senate running for reelection. Although his views were validated by the Supreme Court (*U.S. Term Limits, Inc. v. Thornton*), the fact that he publicly became involved in a lawsuit to declare the State of Washington's term limits unconstitutional was politically unpopular at home. His willingness to take political risks on a point of constitutional principle came to play a role in his defeat for reelection in 1994.

MR. FOLEY's prominence in the leading internal reform organization of the House, the Democratic Study Group, did not prevent Majority Leader Jim Wright from naming him majority whip, third in command of the House majority. Mr. FOLEY was a continuation of a remarkable run of Irish Americans in the leadership of the House. Like Tip O'Neill, he was a large and formidable figure with a bottomless well of humorous stories that served to break political tensions and bring people to negotiations that helped move the institution forward. It was at this time that Mr. FOLEY had a chance to display his remarkable skills in foreign affairs. He became Mr. O'Neill's point man on the contentious issues of Northern Ireland and in bringing about a bipartisan show of support for the Reagan administration's invasion of Grenada.

Foreign policy issues, whether about the policy or the process, increasingly drew Mr. FOLEY's attention. He was a prominent figure in the anti-Contra furor in the House and opposed the first Iraq war. Ireland was also never far from his mind, and he was inspired by the political bravery of John Hume, later a Nobel Peace Prize winner. Mr. FOLEY steadily worked for peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland throughout his speakership.

His interest in foreign affairs was never far from the surface and ultimately resulted in his being the only Member of the House who was awarded the highest honors from the most important U.S. allies: Great Britain made him a Commander of the British Empire; Germany gave him its Order of Merit; France conveyed membership in the Legion of Honor; and Japan awarded him the Order of the Rising Sun with Paulownia Flowers, Grand Cordon.

House leaders and Members increasingly respected the political skills of their whip and former caucus chair. He became a fixture at Democratic conventions, serving as parliamentarian until he himself became chairman of the convention in 1992 when Bill Clinton was nominated for his first term.

Ever faithful to a major wheat producing constituency, Mr. FOLEY was an unusual Democrat because he was a steady supporter of trade liberalization and became essential in ensuring significant Democratic support for trade bills that might otherwise have been defeated. He will be most remembered in this respect for moving the North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) through a contentious Congress.

TOM FOLEY seemed to move naturally to issues revolving around the budget. In 1987, after being elected majority leader, he became a member of the House Budget Committee. Beginning with the Black Friday stock market crash during the Reagan administration, Mr. FOLEY was present in every negotiation designed to avoid the prolonged standoff that now exists. He became closely involved with these issues initially when he led the House negotiators in responding to the issues associated with the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings Act and ultimately obtaining an agreement on that complicated and controversial proposal.

In 1987 TOM FOLEY chaired the negotiations between the Congress and the Reagan administration to respond to the Black Friday stock market crash. Working with then-Secretary of the Treasury James A. Baker III and others, that group under TOM FOLEY's leadership came to a consensus that eased the markets and helped strengthen the economy.

Mr. FOLEY was an active participant in the 1990 budget summit negotiations on Capitol Hill. At Andrews Air Force Base it was his leadership that brought the eight leaders together to work out the final agreement that the Congress subsequently passed.

Mr. FOLEY led the House of Representatives during the first 2 years of President Bill Clinton's first term. The 1993 economic plan approved under his leadership arguably was important in enhancing the country's economy and moving toward a balanced budget.

Like Mr. O'Neill, TOM FOLEY believed that the perfect should not get in the way of the achievable. He was part of the political generation influenced by the Presidency of Lyndon Johnson and the view that half of something was better



than none. There was always another day and another Congress to move forward and get the other half done.

A man not prone to public anger, he reserved his passions for things he thought essential to the continuation of a just and prosperous nation. Hunger in all its forms, oppression through government rules, and tinkering with the Constitution to satisfy temporary political uproar went against the grain. He was a man who could bring a world's fair to Spokane (Expo 74), which attracted 5.2 million visitors; promote a huge third power house to Grand Coulee Dam (at that time Grand Coulee became the largest hydrodam in the United States); and successfully fight the FDA and the movie industry on issues important to the common man.

Mr. FOLEY never deviated from the idea that you fought for people who went to work every day and kept faith in a just nation, just as his grandfather did in the Spokane rail boiler shops at the turn of the previous century.

TOM FOLEY's views on the responsibility of a House Member never changed. After his defeat in 1994, he noted:

I've taken positions that I think were damaging in a political sense, but I don't have any regrets taking them. I used to say that the most important thing about votes on the floor and positions you take in Congress is that when you consider them at election time you're able to say with some satisfaction that you can still vote for yourself.

Mr. FOLEY's 30 years in office involved 15 campaigns for election. Some he won by large margins and others were uncomfortably close. After surviving the Reagan landslide of 1980, he did not retreat to the insular politics of staying close to home. Rather, he took on more political risk. Upon becoming the majority whip he had to give up his Agriculture Committee chairmanship and use his legislative skills to help lead the national Democratic Party and support the policy agenda of the Clinton Presidency, which he did faithfully. But, unlike the 1980 election he could not hold onto an increasingly conservative and Republican district. As the Democrats lost the majority in the House in 1994 so too did he closely lose his seat as the Representative from the Fifth District of Washington State.

Mr. FOLEY saw the future, not in lobbying, but in trying to stay involved in broad policy questions and foreign affairs. He became a counsel to the prominent Washington law firm of Akin Gump Strauss Hauer & Feld and chairman of President Clinton's Intelligence Advisory Board. In 1997 President Clinton named TOM FOLEY as the U.S. Ambassador to Japan.

Mr. FOLEY knew Japan well, having traveled there every year he served in Congress, becoming close to Japanese leaders, politicians, academics, and businessmen. He was particularly fascinated by the courtesies inherent in Japanese culture and developed a deep respect for the country's traditions and customs. Accordingly, he was widely respected by the Japanese public and in 2001 the new administration of President Bush asked him to stay on to handle the public affairs disaster that occurred when a U.S. submarine accidentally sank the *Ehime Maru*, a Japanese fishery high school training ship in Honolulu's harbor.

TOM FOLEY left Tokyo in March 2001, returned to Akin Gump, and became North American chairman of the Trilateral Commission of which he had been a longtime member. Illness forced him to leave both positions in 2008.

He is survived by his wife, the former Heather Strachan, to whom he was married on December 19, 1968, and his sister Maureen Latimer, her husband Richard Latimer of Santa Rosa, CA, and their children Elizabeth Ann Garbocci of Ukiah, CA; Kathleen Ely of Martinez, CA; Carolyn Latimer of Santa Rosa, CA; John Latimer of Elk Grove, CA; and Mark Latimer of Petaluma, CA.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

AND

OTHER TRIBUTES

FOR

THOMAS S. FOLEY



## Proceedings in the House of Representatives

TUESDAY, *October 22, 2013*

### PRAYER

The Chaplain, the Reverend Patrick J. Conroy, offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we give You thanks for giving us another day.

As the People's House returns, we give You thanks for those most responsible for the resolutions reached this past week and for the reopening of government, which has meant so much to the families of those who have chosen to serve their Nation by their work in government.

As all return, the Capitol is in mourning for the loss of two men of the House, former Speaker TOM FOLEY and Representative Bill Young. Both men, a Democrat and a Republican, were known to be giants in the People's House, and their passing has deprived our Nation of experience and wisdom in Congress at a time when it is needed.

Bless all the Members with wisdom in good measure—pressed down, shaken together, and running over—that the legacy of these great legislators might be carried on for the benefit of all.

May all that is done here in the People's House be for Your greater honor and glory.

Amen.

Mrs. McMORRIS RODGERS. Mr. Speaker, I offer a privileged resolution and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

### H. RES. 383

In the House of Representatives, U.S., October 22, 2013:

*Resolved*, That the House has learned with profound sorrow of the death of the Honorable THOMAS S. FOLEY, former Member of the House for 15 terms and Speaker of the House of Representatives for the One Hundred First, One Hundred Second and One Hundred Third Congresses.

*Resolved*, That in the death of the Honorable THOMAS S. FOLEY the United States and the State of Washington have lost a valued and eminent public servant and citizen.

*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.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. GOHMERT. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 9 o'clock and 31 minutes p.m.), under its previous order and pursuant to House Resolution 383 and House Resolution 384, the House adjourned until tomorrow, Wednesday, October 23, 2013, at 10 a.m., for morning-hour debate, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the late Honorable THOMAS S. FOLEY and the late Honorable C.W. Bill Young.

MONDAY, *October 28, 2013*

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to former House Speaker THOMAS "TOM" S. FOLEY, the 57th Speaker of the House of Representatives and a man whose love for this Chamber and whose commitment to public service was unsurpassed. Speaker FOLEY died Friday, October 18, at his home in Washington, DC. He was 84 years old.

TOM FOLEY was in every sense of the word a gentleman. He believed in bipartisanship. He treated everyone equally and with respect. Upon relinquishing the speakership, he left these parting words of advice to his successor, incoming Speaker Newt Gingrich: "Remember, you are the Speaker of the whole House and not just one party."

The environment of the House of Representatives under the leadership of Speaker FOLEY was marked by mutual respect and cooperation, which enabled the Congress to work with the President and pass legislation that made our country better.

During TOM FOLEY's speakership the Congress passed, and the President signed into law, the Family and Medical Leave Act; the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1991; the North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA); the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT); the 1994 crime bill which put 100,000 new police officers on the streets, banned

assault weapons, and reduced crime rates by more than a third; and the 1993 Clinton economic plan that led to the creation of 22 million jobs, 4 balanced budgets, and the longest period of sustained economic prosperity in the post-war period.

THOMAS STEPHEN FOLEY was born March 6, 1929, in Spokane, WA. He attended a Jesuit preparatory school where he acquired the nickname "the senator" for his intellect and the way he solved problems. He is reported to have overcome a lisp to excel in debate and to earn his baccalaureate degree from the University of Washington in 1951. Six years later, TOM FOLEY was admitted to the bar after graduating from the University of Washington School of Law. He practiced law in Spokane prior to becoming a prosecutor and later an assistant State attorney general.

In 1960 he joined the staff of his mentor, the legendary Senator Henry "Scoop" Jackson (D-WA), and moved to Washington, DC, where he met his future partner in life, his beloved Heather, whom he married in 1968, and who remained by his side for the next 45 years and was with him when he died.

Mr. Speaker, in 1964 TOM FOLEY defeated an 11-term incumbent and was elected by the people of the Fifth Congressional District of Washington to represent them in the House of Representatives. He was reelected to the next succeeding 14 Congresses.

Over those 30 years, TOM FOLEY compiled a truly impressive record. He sought and obtained a seat on the Agriculture Committee to advocate on behalf of his constituents in the wheat growing region of Eastern Washington.

TOM FOLEY was an accomplished legislator. One of his major achievements as a member of the Agriculture Committee was the grand bargain he crafted which led to the enduring partnership between conservative farmers and progressive supporters of nutrition programs.

Mr. Speaker, TOM FOLEY was an unwavering advocate for progressive policies and a formidable opponent of policies he believed were harmful to the interests of the poor, workers, or women. He supported President Johnson's Great Society Programs and voted for the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the Fair Housing Act of 1968. He also supported a strong national defense and sensible foreign policy, which is why he opposed the escalation of the Vietnam war.

After the watershed election of 1974, he was elected by his colleagues to chair the Agriculture Committee, a position he held until 1981, when he was appointed majority whip by then-Speaker Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill. When Speaker O'Neill was succeeded by Majority Leader Jim Wright (D-TX), TOM FOLEY was elevated to the post of majority leader and served in that post until June 6, 1989, when he was elected Speaker of the House upon the resignation of Speaker Wright.

TOM FOLEY was Speaker of the House in 1991 when President George H.W. Bush launched Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm, the first Persian Gulf war. Thanks in large part to the spirit of bipartisanship that TOM FOLEY embodied, the Nation remained unified throughout the Persian Gulf war.

Following Speaker FOLEY's service in the House of Representatives, he served with distinction as U.S. Ambassador to Japan during the second Clinton administration. In recognition of his exceptional service to our country, in 2001 the Federal courthouse in Spokane, WA, was renamed the Thomas S. Foley United States Courthouse.

Today, one of the things cited most as being what is wrong with Congress is the environment of hyperpartisanship which is threatening the ability of the House to fulfill its function.

It is my hope that we all remember and learn from the example of Speaker FOLEY that civility is a virtue, that compromise is not weakness, and that it is possible for persons of good will to disagree without being disagreeable.

Thank you, Speaker THOMAS S. FOLEY, for your service to our Nation. You made the People's House a better place by promoting mutual respect and cooperation.

WEDNESDAY, *October 30, 2013*

Mr. HOYER. ... Yesterday, many of us had the opportunity to participate in a memorial service for TOM FOLEY. TOM FOLEY was the Speaker of this House.

A gentleman spoke who is, I think, one of the most revered Members who has served in this body, Robert Michel. Bob Michel was TOM FOLEY's friend. Bob Michel was the leader of the Republican side of the aisle. They were friends, colleagues, and cooperated with one another to the benefit of this institution and its Members, and the dean of the House



adds, correctly, to the benefit of our country and all its citizens.

Bob Michel observed the civility that each one of them displayed and the willingness to reach out across the aisle and to make things happen positively for our country and for our citizens. ...

How sad it is that these giants, TOM FOLEY, Bill Young, Ike Skelton, and, yes, Major Owens, passed from this body, passed from this life, but how joyful it is to see the extraordinary contributions each of them made to this House, which we should revere and love, the People's House. ...

MONDAY, *November 18, 2013*

Mr. BOEHNER. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable THOMAS S. FOLEY, former Speaker of the House of Representatives, died on October 18, 2013. The House took several steps to honor the former Speaker. Following House tradition, the Speaker's chair on the rostrum was draped in black and the Speaker's gavel rested on a black pillow. Outside the House Chamber, Speaker FOLEY's official portrait in the Speaker's Lobby was draped in black. On October 22, 2013, the House adopted House Resolution 383, expressing the condolences of the House upon his death. On October 29, 2013, a memorial service was held in Statuary Hall celebrating the life of Speaker FOLEY. The following is a transcript of those proceedings:

[The transcript may be found on page 15.]

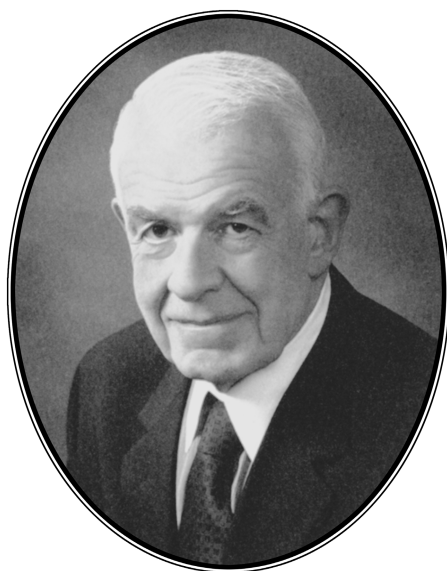


## Proceedings in the Senate

MONDAY, *October 28, 2013*

Mr. REID. . . . We are going to have a celebration here tomorrow on the life of TOM FOLEY. I had the good fortune of serving with him in the House. He came from a real conservative district in the State of Washington. He served for many years. He was the majority leader, he was the Speaker, and a fine man. . . .





A CELEBRATION OF THE LIFE OF  
**THE HONORABLE**

**Thomas S. Foley**

Fifth District of Washington  
Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives

MARCH 6, 1929–OCTOBER 18, 2013

Statuary Hall  
United States Capitol  
Tuesday, October 29, 2013  
3:00 p.m.

“In a cynical age, I still believe that we must summon people to a vision of public service . . . for, in the end, this ethic determines more than anything else whether we will have citizens and leaders of honor, judgment, wisdom, and heart.”

—The Honorable Thomas S. Foley

## **Order of Service**

### **Prelude**

United States Air Force Band String Quartet

### **Presentation of the Colors**

United States Capitol Police Ceremonial Unit

### **National Anthem**

TSgt Emily Wellington, *United States Air Force Band Soloist*

### **Welcome**

The Honorable John A. Boehner, *Speaker of the United States House of Representatives*

### **Invocation**

The Reverend Patrick J. Conroy, S.J., *Chaplain of the United States House of Representatives*

### **Tributes**

The Honorable Norman Dicks, *United States House of Representatives, Sixth District of Washington (1977–2013)*

The Honorable Jim McDermott, *United States House of Representatives, Seventh District of Washington*

The Honorable John Lewis, *United States House of Representatives, Fifth District of Georgia*

The Honorable Nancy Pelosi, *Democratic Leader of the United States House of Representatives*

The Honorable Mitch McConnell, *Republican Leader of the United States Senate*

The Honorable Harry Reid, *Majority Leader of the United States Senate*

### **Musical Selection**

“Eternal Father, Strong to Save”

TSgt Emily Wellington, *United States Air Force Band Soloist*

### **Tributes**

The Honorable Robert H. Michel, *Minority Leader of the United States House of Representatives (1981–1995)*

The Honorable William J. Clinton, *42nd President of the United States*

The Honorable Barack H. Obama, *President of the United States*

### **Family Reflection**

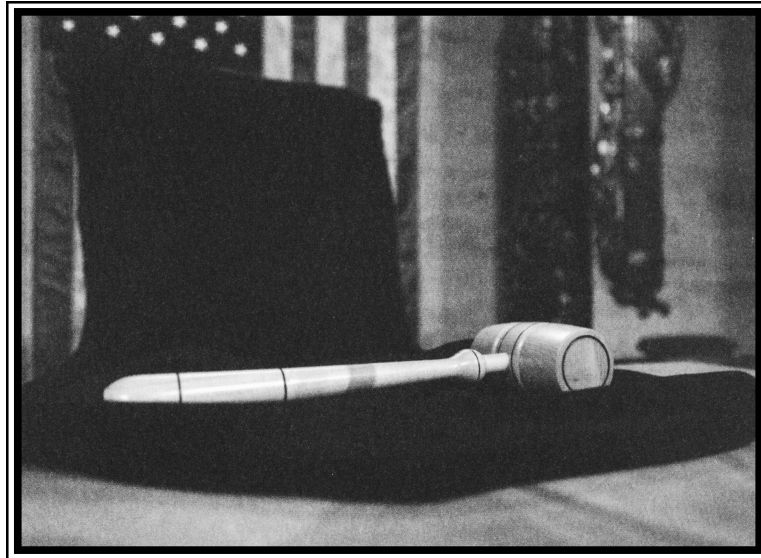
Mrs. Heather Foley, *wife of the Honorable Thomas S. Foley*

### **Benediction**

The Reverend Patrick J. Conroy, S.J., *Chaplain of the United States House of Representatives*

### **Postlude**

United States Air Force Band String Quartet



“I’ve taken positions that I think were damaging in a political sense, but I don’t have any regrets taking them. I used to say that the most important thing about votes on the Floor and positions you take in Congress is that when you consider them at election time you’re able to say with some satisfaction that you can still vote for yourself.”

—Speaker Thomas S. Foley

**THE HONORABLE**

**Thomas S. Foley**

MARCH 6, 1929–OCTOBER 18, 2013

Immediately following today’s memorial service,  
the Foley family will receive guests  
in the Atrium of the Congressional Auditorium  
in the Capitol Visitor Center.



**The Honorable John A. Boehner**, *Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives*. Ladies and gentlemen, let us begin today by acknowledging a great friend of this institution, Mrs. Heather Foley. (Applause.)

Mrs. Foley, thank you for giving us this chance to try to express the depth of gratitude that we owe to TOM.

An English poet once wrote, "The noblest work of God is an honest man." Well, TOM FOLEY was that and more. A leader grounded in decency, in principle, he brought honor to himself, to his family, and to this House. He did all these things a public servant should do and, frankly, did many of them better than the rest. Ask any of his peers and they will tell you this, especially those who didn't share his politics.

Listen to Bob Dole, who around the time TOM became Speaker called him "a man of total integrity." Or ask Alan Simpson, who said, "TOM can tell you to go to Hell and make you feel good about going there." And Henry Hyde, as fierce a conservative as they come, who said of the man, "I wish he were a Republican."

There's also this from President George H.W. Bush, "TOM FOLEY represented the very best in public service and our political system." One class act tipping his hat to another.

Yes, the span of TOM's service and his record is impressive, as is the sequence of his rise: Agriculture Committee chairman, majority whip, majority leader, and Speaker.

But it was his sense of fairness, his port-in-a-storm bearing, that will always stand out for me. It's how he held this institution together at a very difficult time, and it's why those who come after us, who seek to know what it means when we use that phrase, "man of the House," or just what it means to leave something behind, should look up the name THOMAS S. FOLEY.

Today, we gather in the old Hall, joined by Presidents, Vice Presidents, Speakers, and so many of our colleagues and diplomats that TOM served with and to reminisce about this man's service and a toast to his life.

Welcome, and thank you all for being here.

**The Reverend Patrick J. Conroy, S.J.**, *Chaplain of the U.S. House of Representatives*. God of Heaven and Earth, the work of Your hands is made known in Your bountiful creation and in the lives of those who faithfully live in Your grace.

Today we especially remember the life and work of TOM FOLEY, son of the very proud city of Spokane. His commitment to furthering education in his own district, Washing-

ton's Fifth, is testified to by the Ralph and Helen Higgins Foley Library at Gonzaga University, his alma mater. It is named in honor of his parents, who clearly did something right in raising such a son.

TOM FOLEY was a modest man whose impact on the public weal beyond his district far exceeded any projection of ego strength. May we all be inspired by his example to be men and women impelled to improve the lives and prospects of our fellow citizens while eschewing any honor or glory for ourselves, and as he did, do our part to increase understanding and respect across cultural divides.

Be present with us this day, O God, as we mark his life and remember his legacy. Bless this gathering and comfort us as we comfort one another in remembering a great American and a genuinely good man.

Amen.

**The Honorable Norman D. Dicks, U.S. House of Representatives, Sixth District of Washington, 1977–2013.** TOM FOLEY was my friend, mentor, and colleague in the House of Representatives.

I first met TOM FOLEY at the University of Washington Law School in 1965 during his freshman term. He was a brilliant young man with a warm and friendly smile. It was his intellect and love for this country that made him an outstanding leader.

He served as chairman of the House Agriculture Committee and worked hard on the farm bill and food stamp legislation. Bringing these two issues together allowed Chairman FOLEY to build support in the House for both.

TOM believed in and practiced civility, and bipartisanship. His view was that, after the elections were over, Democrats and Republicans should work together to deal with the national legislative agenda.

Seeing TOM FOLEY's strong leadership qualities and belief in getting things done for the American people, Speaker O'Neill appointed TOM to be the majority whip. He was then unanimously elected to be our majority leader and then our Speaker in 1989.

As Speaker, TOM worked closely with Bob Michel, the Republican leader from 1989 to 1995. They remained great friends after they left Congress. Later, President Clinton named Speaker FOLEY to be our Ambassador to Japan.

As a staffer to Senator Warren T. Magnuson, I worked with TOM on the Spokane World's Fair in 1974. This project

created dramatic change for Spokane, the largest city in the Fifth District.

TOM was so proud to represent the people of the Fifth Congressional District for 30 years. He always thought this was his most important responsibility.

It was a great honor for me that TOM FOLEY supported me in my campaign to Congress in 1976. I was then privileged to work with him and to receive his support as a Member of the House, and I will always thank him for being such a good mentor.

We will always remember the legacy of TOM FOLEY. He believed in the Congress, and he believed that this institution could produce positive results for the American people.

His loving wife, Heather, supported him throughout his career and took wonderful care of him during his long illness.

May God bless you, Heather, and the entire Foley family.

**The Honorable Jim McDermott, U.S. House of Representatives, Seventh District of Washington.** Good afternoon. I am Jim McDermott. I am a House Member from Washington's Seventh Congressional District, which is mostly Seattle. I knew TOM FOLEY for more than 40 years, and throughout that time, he was a wonderful friend and a sage mentor.

In 1971, when I was a freshman State legislator, he took me out to dinner in Seattle and suggested I run for Congress. I was pleased by his regard for my career, but I knew better since I was a freshman legislator. So I rejected it and ran for Governor. I got creamed. TOM never said a word.

Chastened, I returned to the legislature, determined to learn as much as I could about the realities of governing effectively and the challenges of the legislative role.

When I finally ran for Congress in 1988, TOM was the majority leader of the House. As I arrived for my first term in 1989, TOM was about to become Speaker. I know now that he was about to become the last Speaker of the whole House. He believed that the Speaker was the Speaker for the whole House, and he lived that to his very core.

Today many will note TOM's devotion to the House of Representatives and his learned knowledge of the history of this organization. Sitting down with TOM and letting him tell stories, you learned enormous amounts. He appreciated the role of the House in our balanced structure of government. He knew well the challenge of maintaining that fragile balance.

So when he assumed the speakership, he brought to it a scholar's depth of understanding and a disciple's passion. He led the House with fairness and comity, a style of leadership

we haven't seen—we recently have looked for it—but we have not seen what TOM was able to do with both sides.

TOM understood that the House could not perform its constitutional function without evenhandedness and respected the role of the minority. TOM was a Democrat, no question about it. He was very clear about why he was a Democrat. He believed in the legitimacy and the value of government. He knew that government's duty was to improve the lives of Americans, and he saw it as a noble obligation and worthy of one's very best efforts at any time.

When he became Speaker, he abandoned none of these principles. He added to them a very nuanced appreciation of the role of Speaker, and his certainty that the leadership of the House required not a flame-throwing partisan but a measured, steady pilot enlightened by an unmatched knowledge of, and love for, the House of Representatives.

TOM FOLEY's district was a sprawling, largely rural swath of Eastern Washington State; yet its essentially very conservative voters reelected him for 30 years. They took an urban internationalist and sent him back again and again. They did so and that was a persistent reaffirmation of his unshakeable integrity, his superb legislative skills, and his deep connection with the people of the Fifth District. He always started his speeches by saying, "My highest honor was to be elected Congressman from the Fifth District." I believe that the voters recognized him as a great American.

We share that sense of wry Irish humor, but TOM's charm and wit were all his own. He was an extraordinary person and an irreplaceable friend. I am grateful to have known him.

Rest in peace.

**The Honorable John Lewis, U.S. House of Representatives, Fifth District of Georgia.** Mrs. Foley, bless you.

There was a great minister, scholar, and abolitionist who lived in New England in the 19th century. His name was James Freeman Clarke, and he once made this statement: "A politician," he said, "thinks only of the next election; a statesman thinks of the next generation."

Speaker TOM FOLEY was a true statesman. He believed it was an honor to serve the public good, and he brought respect for the dignity of our democracy and the inspiration of our mandate as a Nation to every moment of his service. He believed it was our calling as Members of Congress to do what we could to preserve and help create a more perfect Union that has been in the making for almost 300 years.

In all of my years knowing Speaker FOLEY and seeing him on the floor or in small meetings, I never heard this man, this good man, speak or say a bad word about anyone. I just have a feeling that he was one who believed if you couldn't say something good about someone, don't say anything at all.

As a leader, he believed he should build and not tear down, reconcile and not divide. He stood for the principles of diplomacy and mutual respect, even toward his opposition. He did not subscribe to the politics of personal destruction.

He knew that his work as Speaker, as a Representative of the great State of Washington or as a legislator was bigger than his own personal values and ambition. He wanted to leave a record of accomplishment that would have a lasting impact on our society for generations to come. When he left the Speaker's chair, it was the end of an era, a period in our history.

Maybe, just maybe, his passing at this moment in our history is just an elegant reminder of one simple truth: no leader is greater than the cause he serves, and when our lives are over, we will be remembered not for fame or fortune, but for how we helped or how we harmed the dignity of all humankind.

I will never forget this prince of a man who led by example and struggled to turn the tide of partisanship in Congress back to constructive debate on the great issues. Every leader, whether in politics or in the larger society, but every leader in America could do well to take a page from TOM FOLEY's book.

**The Honorable Nancy Pelosi**, *Democratic Leader of the U.S. House of Representatives*. Heather, Mr. President, Mr. President, Mr. Vice President, Mr. Vice President, how wonderful that Speaker FOLEY has two Presidents, two Vice Presidents, and the good wishes of President George Herbert Walker Bush that our distinguished Speaker quoted earlier. He could never probably have imagined that when he came to the floor on the first day to make his first floor speech. He said, "Public service is a free gift of a free people and a challenge for all of us in public life to do what we can to make our service useful for those who have sent us here." Few fulfilled that charge with more courage, more conviction, more civility than he.

I take great pride in the fact that he's the first Speaker to hail from west of the Rocky Mountains. He brought to Congress a fresh perspective and a powerful voice that would

open doors of leadership to Members who represent the diversity of our country.

His first campaign was legendary in its civility. Before the election was even over, his opponent, Congressman Walt Horan, released a statement calling the campaign the cleanest he had ever seen in his 22 years in office. In that spirit, when TOM FOLEY came to Congress and as Speaker FOLEY, he made campaign finance reform a priority. He sent legislation to the President's desk that would ensure that our democracy was a government of, by, and for the people. Unfortunately, we could not override the President's veto, but Speaker FOLEY's commitment to a just democracy and fair elections serves us as an enduring challenge to this day.

Known for his ability to build consensus, Speaker FOLEY never compromised on the conviction to do right by the American people. When tragedy struck at the Fairchild Air Force Base Hospital in his district, this longtime defender of gun rights saw the need for sensible gun violence prevention laws. Speaker FOLEY brought that bill to the floor. He helped enact it—those bans—knowing that it would not be well received in his district. But he did what he believed, and he did it with courage.

He matched that dedication to principle and courage with a gift for diplomacy. Nearly 20 years ago, I was privileged—I don't know why I was on the list, but I was invited to attend a special dinner at the British Embassy to honor Speaker FOLEY for his leadership. As fate would have it, President Clinton, that was the day that you announced that you were going to grant a temporary visa to Gerry Adams. Just a coincidence.

Needless to say, the mood of the evening was tense. Speaker FOLEY, with his characteristic grace, reasoned that this step—no matter how disconcerting at the moment to them—was crucial to delivering an ever-elusive peace to Northern Ireland, Ambassador.

That remarkable ability to build bridges across great divides would serve him well as Speaker and, later, as U.S. Ambassador to Japan—something he took great pride in, as I know you did, Mr. Vice President. His judgment was impeccable and was respected, and many of us benefited from it.

For me, in September 2008, I attended a G-8 meeting of heads of Parliament, or Speakers—whatever they're called in their particular country. All of the participants were invited to lay a wreath at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial. I imme-

diately called Ambassador FOLEY, as I called Vice President Mondale, to ask what I should do. He replied, "You must participate. You will be the highest-ranking American official," up until then, "to lay a wreath at the memorial. You cannot say no."

Now, that may seem easy now, but at the time, that was very strong judgment, as, again, the Vice President also gave me.

Such is the nature of a great man who believed, above all, in the purpose of public service. It's about respect. Diplomat, leader, Speaker—TOM FOLEY was the quintessential champion of the common good. He spoke for the House he led and the country he so loved.

In his farewell speech—I started with his opening speech—in his farewell speech to the House, he said, "Congress is the place where we come together to speak the voices of America and democracy, and it is the voice that is found to echo resoundingly throughout the world." Throughout the world.

Heather, I hope it is a comfort to you that so many people mourn your loss throughout the world and are praying for you at this sad time. To you, Heather, and to the Foley family, thank you for sharing TOM with a grateful Nation. His voice will forever echo in our hearts, to all who strive to make a difference through public service.

As we count our blessings as a Nation, we know that God truly blessed America with the life and leadership of Speaker, Ambassador, and leader, TOM FOLEY.

**The Honorable Mitch McConnell**, *Republican Leader of the U.S. Senate*. Thank you all for being here. Heather, we honor you today. You were there all along, guiding and accompanying TOM across all the peaks and the valleys right to the end. We thank you for your spirit, your generosity, and your example, which enlivened this House, as well as your own, for many years. Welcome back.

Now, given TOM's famous equanimity, it is somewhat ironic that he decided to run for Congress in the first place. He actually did it in a moment of anger. The day was July 16, 1964. The Beatles had just returned to Liverpool after their first U.S. tour. President Johnson had recently signed the Civil Rights Act and was on his way to a landslide victory against Barry Goldwater that November. And a 35-year-old TOM FOLEY was having lunch at the Spokane Club in downtown Spokane.

A gifted lawyer from a prominent local family and a trusted aide to Scoop Jackson, TOM mentioned to the guys he was eating lunch with that he was thinking seriously about running for Congress—not this time, but the next time around. At which point, one of his lunch companions bluntly dismissed the idea out of hand and said, “You’ll never do it. You’re like all young people. You think the party’s going to come to you with a Tiffany tray and an engraved card and say, ‘Please, we humbly beg you, run for Congress.’ That isn’t the way it happens. People get to Congress by wanting to run for Congress. You’ve got excuses this year, and you’ll have excuses next year and the year after that.”

Well, TOM didn’t like this little piece of armchair psychology one bit, and he was determined to prove them wrong. So he got up from the table, walked over to the library across the hall, stuffed himself into a phone booth, and called Western Union. Within minutes, a telegram had been sent to Senator Jackson back in Washington saying that TOM had just resigned his job and was headed to Olympia to file for a run.

Then TOM called his bank and found out he didn’t have any money. His cousin Hank had to loan him the filing fee.

Oh, and the filing deadline was the next day.

So TOM had no cash, no plan, and virtually no time.

But he had the smarts. He had a sterling reputation. He had the backing of Senator Jackson. And now, he had the motivation.

And he did it, and for the next three decades, THOMAS STEPHEN FOLEY would devote his life to the people of eastern Washington’s Fifth Congressional District—with grace, intelligence, wit, and a profound respect for others, including his political adversaries, and an abiding gratitude for the trust and confidence of the people he was elected to serve, from Walla Walla to Northport and all the wheat country and timber towns in between.

TOM always looked the part. Even his classmates at Gonzaga High School called him “the senator.” I dare say that if most Americans were asked to conjure up in their minds the image of a Congressman, the man they’d like to see would be him. To most people, it seemed as though TOM were born to serve here. And in a remarkable 30-year congressional career, he proved they were right. He proved that he didn’t just look the part, he knew the part, and he played it well.



TOM and I weren't on the same side on most issues. His faith in government was, shall I say, a little more robust than mine, but we shared a deep respect for the institution and a belief that working with the other side, particularly at a time of divided government, is no heresy when it enables you to achieve some good for the Nation.

That kind of comity is sometimes viewed as old fashioned around here, but that's never been true. The parties have always disagreed, but it hasn't kept them from working together from time to time to solve problems that we all recognize.

TOM knew that. He practiced it. He took flak from time to time for being a little too friendly with Republicans, but I don't think he ever doubted the wisdom of his approach, even in defeat. As TOM often said, "The first vote you need to earn is your own." It was a principle that served him very well, and it's one that I think says a lot about what the legacy of the gentleman from Spokane will be. We honor his service and his memory.

May we draw all the right lessons from both.

**The Honorable Harry Reid**, *Majority Leader of the U.S. Senate*. For 4 years, I served in the House of Representatives with Speaker TOM FOLEY. During the time I served there, he was the majority whip. I also served with the man who would succeed Speaker FOLEY as leader of the House, Speaker Newt Gingrich. Newt and I don't agree on too much, but when he wrote in last week's *Time* magazine that TOM FOLEY was a pragmatic man, a person of great integrity, and a genuine patriot, I couldn't agree more with Newt.

This is what Speaker Gingrich wrote: "I have nothing but fond memories of serving with TOM FOLEY. We worked together when we could, competed when we had to, and cooperated for the national interest as far as possible."

I, too, have fond memories of my time serving in the House with TOM FOLEY. I offer my condolences to Heather who, as we all know, had a strong voice in the House, at least when I was there. She was tremendous, always there available to help us; and she was his greatest influence politically in his whole life.

TOM learned his practical style of politics from his mentors, Senators Scoop Jackson and Warren Magnuson, who were both from the State of Washington. Speaker FOLEY gained his pragmatism from being a Member, as we've heard from Norm Dicks and others, as a Member and then chair-

man of the House Agriculture Committee, one of the Chamber's most bipartisan committees.

I credit much of TOM's down-to-earth demeanor to his Western upbringing. You see, he was the first Speaker of the House of Representatives to be born west of the Rocky Mountains. He cut an imposing figure. He was a big man physically and had this wonderful smile and great voice. He was always gracious to young Members like me.

One day, when I reflect back, as we get a little older, and we've all had that experience, or most of us, you can't see like you used to, and somehow he didn't bring his reading glasses with him. He was desperate. He had to read there. He was managing what was going on on the floor and he couldn't see. I was the first person he saw, and he said, "Find me some glasses. I don't care where you get them." I wanted to adhere to his wishes, so I didn't care where I got them. Somebody left them laying on a desk, and I grabbed them, and he was so happy to get those glasses because, as has happened to all of us, he just couldn't see and he needed to see. Well, it was my honor and pleasure to find him some glasses to help him see that day.

But a vision as to where the country needed to go he always saw clearly.

**The Honorable Robert H. Michel**, *Minority Leader of the U.S. House of Representatives, 1981-95*. Heather, members of the family and President Clinton, President Obama, and all my former colleagues and friends of TOM, all of you, it was my good fortune to have visited TOM with my former right-hand man Billy Pitts a few days before TOM died. I am so grateful to Heather for making that visit possible.

We thought it was going to be just a visit of a couple of minutes, and it ended up we were speaking for an hour about the days gone by, not unlike so many others we had over a relationship of more than 40 years. We both were able to say our peace in an atmosphere of mutual respect, open-mindedness, and, most of all, trust.

As I said in an article in the *Post* the other day, when TOM became Speaker, he suggested that we get together once a week, talk over the affairs of the House, one week in my office and the next in his, something that had never been done before. While we disagreed over policy and jostled with each other politically, the meetings were highly productive because underlying them was the faith and trust we had in each other. We could talk about anything, knowing that our discussions would remain private unless we decided other-

wise. I don't think there is anything more important in the relationship between political leaders than trust.

Never was that bond tested more than it was in January 1991 when I implored TOM to bring to the House floor a resolution that Steve Solarz of New York and I had introduced authorizing then-President Bush to engage in military action in Operation Desert Storm to drive Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait. I was convinced that TOM opposed military intervention, and I know that a good many of his caucus were strongly opposed as well. It was an exercise of political courage and personal decency for TOM to agree to bring the resolution up for an open debate and recorded vote under those circumstances, but he did.

We had one of the most spirited, but civil and informative, debates in which I had been privileged to participate in all my 38 years in Congress. We prevailed in the final outcome that day, but I would have been proud of the House and proud of our Speaker regardless, because the House demonstrated to the world that it was truly a deliberative and democratic body.

TOM and I always struggled to find common ground between our two sides. When there were issues upon which we could not agree, we could at least use common courtesy in the way we conducted our politics. That isn't just good manners; it is good politics.

But win, lose, or compromise, the way we argue can be as important, in the long run, as the decisions we reach.

I so admired TOM's grace and civility. I also admired his understanding and natural feel for the personality and the distinctive culture of the institution. He was so dedicated to its preservation and protection. TOM was chosen to lead the House in a very difficult time. Through it all, he was a gentleman of the House and a fair and honest broker and a worthy adversary.

Maybe we both knew that our days were numbered. We were too conditioned by our personal and political upbringing to assume that we had the market cornered on political principle or partisan superiority. We knew, too, that there would always be a distinction and separation between campaigning for office and serving in office. We were, I guess, pupils of the old school.

TOM knew that a House Member has three essential jobs: to deliberate, to debate, and to be effective. He knew that if we wanted to be effective in the House, you just can't go around shouting your principles; you have to subject those

principles to the test of open debate against those who do not share those principles. But true debate is not possible unless the Golden Rule is applied, which simply means that you treat your fellow Members the way you, yourself, want to be treated. TOM believed in that rule, and he practiced it from the day he came to the House and all during his time as Speaker of the House.

TOM FOLEY was proud to be a Member of this House. I share that deep pride in this great institution, and I guess that is one reason we were able to work together. We both saw the House of Representatives not as a necessary evil, but as one of the great creations of a free people.

On our last day in Congress, November 29, 1994, TOM did me the great honor of inviting me to the Speaker's podium to preside over the House while he gave his farewell remarks from the well. Incidentally, that was the first time in 40 years a Republican had been on that rostrum. When we stood side by side at the podium on that last day of the 103d Congress, we knew that we were icons, I guess, of a bygone era. As we visited for the last time 20 years later, I think we felt good about that. We both took great pride in knowing we had made things happen, that we found good ways to solve difficult problems and make the House a working institution.

Now TOM takes his place among the great public servants immortalized in this Hall of Statues. He is most worthy of a presence here. I know, because of his great love for this institution, that his spirit will dwell here forever. I only hope that the legislators who now walk through here each day, so consumed by the here and now, will feel his spirit, learn from it, and be humbled by it.

That's what I have to say in honor of my dear friend, TOM FOLEY.

**The Honorable William J. Clinton**, *42d President of the United States*. Mr. Michel may be 90 years old, but he has the spirit of a man half his age and the wisdom of one 10 times his age. We thank him for his remarks.

Heather, I thank you, and Mr. Speaker, I thank you for giving those of us who worked with, knew, and cared about TOM the chance to be here today. I thank you, Heather, for all you did to make his work possible and better.

Mr. President, thank you for being here, and Mr. Vice President, Vice President Mondale, and all the others who have spoken before me.

Shortly after I was elected President, I invited Speaker FOLEY and Leader Gephardt to come to Arkansas to see me to tell me everything I didn't know that was about to happen to me, which TOM FOLEY proceeded to do in that calm, restrained, balanced, lyrical way.

TOM told me not to be lulled by Bob Michel's friendliness, that he was a very tough adversary, but I could make a deal with him. He told me not to be intimidated, Mr. Speaker, by your bellicosity because you were a brilliant politician, but in the end, we would find a way to do business. He turned out to be right about both things.

His leadership made possible things that mattered to me a lot. Being President is a matter of trying to do what you promised to do when you ran, trying to respond to legitimate impulses that are coming out of the political system across the range, and trying to deal with the unanticipated developments. If you ignore any of them, you cannot prevail. And if you can't work with Congress, it's very difficult.

TOM FOLEY, therefore, was pivotal in our landslide victory for my economic plan and deficit reduction plan, because we won by one vote in the House. That runaway victory was made possible by the Speaker and everybody else that voted for it. Also, we just celebrated the 20th anniversary of the Family Medical Leave law, the 20th anniversary of AmeriCorps. They are now part of the pillars of our sense of common citizenship.

Now, I have had Republicans and Democrats come up to me and tell me what a difference the family leave law made for them; young people who belong to both political parties who believed in citizen service and participated in AmeriCorps. He helped make those things possible, too. That's one of the things that I always appreciated about him and marveled at how he could be brutally honest in the kindest way.

It is true, as Leader Pelosi said, that he had a conversion of sorts on the whole question of assault weapons because of an experience he had, but he was very clearheaded. He told me when we succeeded, in no small measure thanks to the leadership of then-Senator Biden, and putting the assault weapons ban back in the crime bill, he said, "You can leave this in here but there will be a lot of blood on the floor if we pass this. Many of us will not survive."

I will never forget the argument I had with him. I said, "TOM, I'm from Arkansas. Both my Senators voted for this. I'm still going to carry it next time." He said, "Yeah." He

said, "In 4 years. It's the same thing with your economic plan. People will see that it works and people will see that they did not lose their guns and they still got to defend their homes and go hunting and be in sports shooting contests, but we all have to run before they know any of that. We have enough uncertainty now. If you put this in there, there will be a lot of carnage."

I thought he was wrong, but he was right. He lost that election by 4,000 votes. I would be a wealthy man if I had a dollar for every time in the last 20 years I have found my mind drawn to that conversation.

Was it worth his public service? We had 8 years of declining violent crime for the first time in the history of the country. We did prove that it did not interfere with people's Second Amendment rights, but the price was high.

What I want to tell you is, appropriate today, that TOM FOLEY, as nice as he was, as civil as he was, as much as he loved his colleagues of both parties, was one tough guy. This is a man who took up martial arts in his sixties. Now that I am there, I respect it even more.

He risked the broken bones and the torn ligaments and everything. He was tough and he walked clear-eyed into the House, and we put those votes together and the crime bill passed. And those of us who supported it at least think America was much better off as a result. But he knew that, even in the spirit of bipartisanship and compromise, being in public service and making difficult decisions was inevitable and not free, and he paid the price.

Before I came here, I read all the letters that TOM FOLEY and I wrote to each other. That is a great thing about having a library. Somebody will dig that stuff up for you. Now, here is the one that means the most to me. It says the most about him. He loved being in the House. It hurts to lose anytime, but it really hurts if you're the Speaker, and he knew his district, it turned out, way better than I did, at least 4,000 votes better than I did.

Bob Michel talked about what they did on November 29, 1994. This letter was written to me on November 16, 1994, signed by TOM FOLEY and Dick Gephardt and Bob Michel and Newt Gingrich, asking that the administration send to the lame duck session of Congress the legislation to implement the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade which established the World Trade Organization which I believe has played a major role in lifting more people out of poverty in

extreme circumstances in very poor countries, in the last 20 years, than anything else.

He was, in short, dying inside, heartbroken, and he still showed up for work, and he still believed that the purpose of political service was to get the show on the road.

I will never forget this letter as long as I live. Dick was hurt, too. He was going from the majority to the minority, but TOM FOLEY had lost his seat in a district he loved. I talked to him about the wrinkles and curves of that district I don't know how many times. But he was doing his job.

I asked him to go to Japan, just as I asked Vice President Mondale to go to Japan, for a very simple reason. After our wartime conflict, they became one of our greatest allies and one of the greatest forces for democracy and security and freedom and growth in the world. They had a tough time in the 1990s. They had their collapse well before we did, and I always believed that the rest of the world was underestimating the Japanese people, their brilliance, their creativity, their technology, their resilience, and I wanted them to know that America still cared.

When Fritz Mondale was there and when TOM FOLEY was there, they knew America cared.

So I leave you with this. I think they had a good time there, and I think they enjoyed it. I know he did. There were seven Japanese Prime Ministers in my 8 years as President. We are not the only people that have turmoil. The best politician was Prime Minister Obuchi. Tragically, as a young man he had a stroke. He endured for 43 days after his stroke, and when he died I suppose in a busy world full of things to do, it was something of an anticlimax. I was appalled when I was the only leader of a major country that came to his funeral. But I flew all the way to Japan, spent 7 hours, so that I could go. I liked him, I admired him, and I thought he had set forth a direction that gave Japan the best chance they had to succeed until Mr. Mori took office.

At the end of the funeral, young Japanese women appeared with trays of flowers, and in the site, his ashes were on a high wall that was totally made of flowers of the rising sun, and every person there, beginning with his wife, went up and bowed to his ashes and put a flower on the table until thousands and thousands and thousands of flowers were there creating a great cloud.

He was succeeded as Prime Minister by one of his close allies, and the ally said this: "TOM FOLEY and I stayed there for hours and then we went home and watched the rest of

it on television until every person had put their flower there, a testimony to the importance of citizenship and believing in the institutions of your country.” The current Prime Minister said this of his friend, “I wonder if he ever dreamed, and if my friend dreamed, I wonder what his dreams were. Whatever they were, I hope they have all now come true.”

I did not know TOM FOLEY well enough to know if he ever dreamed, or if he did, what he dreamed. But I know when he sat with me that day and watched that sacred experience, I saw the well of common humanity we all share across all of our interesting differences.

He gave his life to our country, and I hope his dreams have all come true.

**The Honorable Barack H. Obama**, *President of the United States*. To Heather and the Foley family, to TOM’s colleagues and friends, President Clinton, Vice President Mondale, former Speakers, and those who preceded me, I am honored to join you today to remember a man who embodied the virtues of devotion and respect for the institution that he led, for the colleagues that he served alongside, and, most important, for the citizens that he had the honor to represent.

Unlike so many of you, I did not have the privilege of knowing TOM personally. I admired him from afar. But like millions of Americans, I benefit from his legacy. Thanks to TOM, more children get a head start on success in school and in life, more seniors receive better health care, more families breathe easier because they know their country will be there for them in times of need. And all of them—all of us—are indebted to that towering man from Spokane.

I think, in listening to the wonderful memories that have been shared, we get a sense of this man, and we recognize his humility. He often attributed much of his success to good luck—and he may have had a point. Leader McConnell told the story about his first race. There were a couple of details that got left out. On the way to Olympia to file the paperwork for his first congressional campaign, apparently TOM blew out a tire, so he and some friends hitchhiked to a service station to get it fixed. And then, as they approached the outskirts of the city, they ran out of gas, so they pushed the car up the hill, coasting into town just before the deadline. TOM went on to win that race by a resounding 54 votes.

So there’s no question that there may have been some luck of the Irish operating when it came to TOM FOLEY, as well as incredible stamina. But what led him to make history as the first Speaker of the House from west of the Rockies was



not luck. It was his hard work, his deep integrity, and his powerful intellect, and, as Bob Michel so eloquently and movingly stated, his ability to find common ground with his colleagues across the aisle. It was his personal decency that helped him bring civility and order to a Congress that demanded both and still does.

Which brings me to a final point. At a time when our political system can seem more polarized and more divided than ever before, it can be tempting to see the possibility of bipartisan progress as a thing of the past—old school, as Bob said. It can be tempting to wonder if we still have room for leaders like TOM; whether the environment, the media, the way that districts are drawn, and the pressures that those of us in elected office are under somehow preclude the possibility of that brand of leadership. Well, I believe we have to find our way back there.

Now, more than ever, America needs public servants who are willing to place problem solving ahead of politics, as the letter that President Clinton held up indicates, as the history of the crime bill shows. We are sent here to do what's right, and sometimes doing what's right is hard and it's not free; and yet that's the measure of leadership.

It's important for us who feel a responsibility to fight for a cause to recognize that our cause is not advanced if we can't also try to achieve compromise, the same way our Founders saw it—as a vital part of our democracy, the very thing that makes our system of self-government possible. That's what TOM FOLEY believed. That's what he embodied. That's the legacy that shines brightly today.

On the last day that he presided as Speaker, TOM described what it should feel like to serve the American people in this city. He spoke about coming to work in the morning and catching a glimpse of the Capitol. He said that it ought to give anyone a thrill, a sense not only of personal satisfaction, “but very deep gratitude to our constituents for the honor of letting us represent them.” TOM never lost that sense of wonder.

It's interesting—as I read that passage, what he wrote, the first time I visited Capitol Hill, TOM FOLEY was Speaker. I was a very young man and I was doing community work, and I remember seeing that Capitol and having that same sense of wonder. I think now about TOM FOLEY being here, doing that work, and inspiring what might have ultimately led me to be interested in public service as well.

When we're standing outside these magnificent buildings, we have that sense of wonder and that sense of hope. Sometimes the longer you're here, the harder it is to hang on to that. Yet TOM FOLEY never lost it—never lost that sense of wonder, never lost the sense of gratitude. What a privilege he felt it was to serve. He never forgot why he came here—on behalf of this Nation and his State and the citizens that he loved and respected so much.

And so, as a country, we ought to be grateful to him. And to Heather and to the people of the great State of Washington, thank you so much for sharing TOM with us.

God bless TOM FOLEY. God bless the United States of America.

**Speaker Boehner.** Mr. President and to all of our speakers, thank you for your testimonials.

In keeping with tradition, at this time, I would like to ask Leader Pelosi to join me as we present Mrs. Foley with a flag flown over the Capitol on the day of the Speaker's passing and a copy of House Resolution 383, a resolution expressing the House's sincerest condolences.

(Presentation made.)

**Mrs. Heather Foley.** Thank you, President Obama and President Clinton. I so appreciate you coming to honor and celebrate TOM's life.

Thank you, Norman Dicks and Jim McDermott, our wonderful friends. Let me acknowledge Congressman Lewis and former Congressman and Republican leader Bob Michel, who have both always been great friends to TOM and me.

And of course, I thank Senator Harry Reid and Senator Mitch McConnell for traveling a long way from the Senate to the House to remember my husband.

Also, I want to thank the Special Envoy from Japan, Minister Masahiko Komura and Ambassadors Sasae, Anderson, and Westmacott, plus the diplomatic delegations, for coming.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to Speaker Boehner for making this memorial service possible. Without his caring and competent staff, this event would not have happened.

When my husband was Speaker, we had about one person who handled this kind of work. The Speaker has been most gracious and helpful, and I applaud him for that.

I want to say a few words about my husband. As you probably know, I worked for him for years as an unpaid staffer. I did not plan to do this when I married him in 1968. I was sort of wooed into being a volunteer for just a little while to

see how things went, and I remained for the full time he was here. I should say that I stayed here unpaid, and that it was a great adventure. Every time I thought of leaving, he would suddenly assume a new position, and it was a great good fortune of my life to be along for the ride and to see what happened next.

Early on, I discovered that my husband was a wonderful teacher. David Barner has written the nicest note about this, and I think he was right on the mark. I can look back and say that his father taught him about fairness, patience, and all the virtues everyone has mentioned today.

There was a story that TOM's father, who was a superior court judge, could sentence you to death and you would thank him. But when I think back, and what I thought at the time is I'm not sure where his good judgment came from, how he understood the limits of power—and there are enormous limits to power—that we must all work together and how much courage he often displayed when defending what he believed was right. Some of it must have been the result of his Jesuit education and his experience as a debater.

A friend of his is here who knew him and debated with him, and he told me that at 16 he was just a wonderful, great man, even though he was just a young man at that time. I never knew really exactly why he always knew the right thing to say and do. Perhaps it was his honesty and his resolve to keep his word. I don't know.

I think back on our almost 45 years together, and I think of the long meetings that perhaps best displayed his ability to reason with people. One of them was in the late 1960s at Shadel Park High School in Spokane. TOM had accepted the challenge of a man, whose name I think was Virgil Gunning, who was opposed to any form of gun control, and he claimed that TOM was for every form of gun control. So TOM agreed to appear at this forum in this local high school, and Virgil ran ads in the newspapers and was able to attract—I think he also ran them on the radio and television—an audience of about 700 people. TOM stood on the stage for 5½ hours and answered all of Gunning's allegations with reasons that I never would have thought of. There were endless questions in the audience. There were bumper stickers waved about the Hungarians limited their guns and that's why they lost their freedom, something to that effect.

I can remember TOM saying that he was not for repealing laws that limited a citizen's use of cannons and rockets, that

he didn't think you were entitled to have a missile silo right there in the backyard of your house.

At first, the audience was hostile, but at the end, Gunning made a fatal mistake. He asked everyone to stand up and then he pleaded for money to pay for the hall and the ads, and people who were already standing, they just walked out.

I had spent a good deal of my life overseas at this time, and I was mesmerized to watch this. It wasn't like dealing with the Pakistanis or going to school there or living in Greece or Egypt, as I had done. It was something very different.

I learned over the years, and I was able to see TOM reason with all kinds of people and with all kinds of interesting arguments. He could always see another side to something. I got to see him in action with Presidents and politicians on both sides of the House and both sides of the Capitol. He was somehow able to walk others through their demands and show them where they were asking too much and where they might be right. He was not afraid to take a position that a constituent or a colleague might oppose and explain why.

I can remember the Pacific power administrator who came to get more goodies being told that it was time that the Pacific Northwest perhaps limited its demands and look in other directions to get more power. I'm sure they are still here asking for it. But at the time, they agreed.

He was a man of principle. He was not afraid to compromise. He believed there was honor in compromising. When he nearly lost the election in 1980, he did not retreat to the life he enjoyed as chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, as many would have done. Instead, he became Democratic whip and started his climb up the leadership ladder.

I was appalled. I had gotten used to his position as chairman, and I was on good terms with the staff. Suddenly, all of these people were going to lose their jobs. We couldn't take all of them with us to the whip office. The budget was not that large. So I got used to it, and then he moved up the ladder again and again.

It would have been the easy thing to stay as chairman of the Agriculture Committee, and I should have known that this extraordinary man was destined for extraordinary things. I'm afraid I've kept you too long. Thank you so much for coming to salute the life of a great man.

Thank you.

**Reverend Conroy.** Dear Lord, as we close our time together, send Your Spirit of peace and consolation upon us, who mourn the loss of the honorable former Speaker of the House, TOM FOLEY.

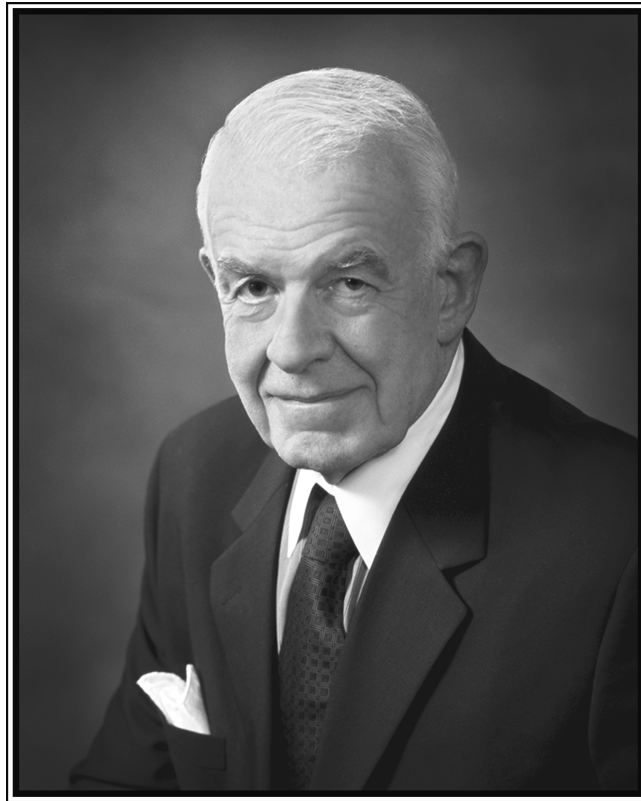
He was a glowing example, an icon of what it means to be a man for others. His decades of service to his home State of Washington, and to our great Nation, will be long appreciated by those whose lives are forever blessed by his life's work and dedication.

May Your angels come to greet our beloved TOM, and may those who mourn him here be consoled with the knowledge that for those who love You, everything is turned to good.

Amen.



**MASS OF CHRISTIAN BURIAL**  
**FOR**  
**THOMAS STEPHEN FOLEY**  
**March 6, 1929–October 18, 2013**



Courtesy EA Photography, Anaheim, CA

**Holy Comforter St. Cyprian Roman Catholic Church**  
**1357 East Capitol Street SE**  
**Washington DC 20003**

**October 25, 2013**

**Rev. Msgr. Charles Pope, Pastor**  
**Rev. Fr. Michael Bryant, Concelebrant**

THOMAS STEPHEN FOLEY was born in Spokane, Wash., March 6, 1929; the son of Judge Ralph and Helen Higgins Foley. His inspiration for a life of public service came early, bolstered by discussions around his family dinner table and his education at Gonzaga Preparatory School in Spokane, Wash. (1946), Gonzaga University and the University of Washington in Seattle, Wash. (A.B. 1951, J.D. 1957). As an appointed deputy prosecuting attorney in Spokane County (1958), Mr. FOLEY said he had more power there than any other time in his life. The use of that power was tempered by the example of his father who, as a Superior Court judge for Spokane County, was lauded for his evenhandedness and courtesy.

Mr. FOLEY was also a lawyer in private practice; professor, Gonzaga University Law School, Spokane, Wash., 1958–1959; an appointed assistant attorney general, State of Washington, 1960; and assistant chief clerk and special counsel of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the United States Senate, 1961–1963. He was elected as a Democrat to the Eighty-ninth and to the fourteen succeeding Congresses (January 3, 1965–January 3, 1995); chairman, Committee on Agriculture (Ninety-fourth through Ninety-sixth Congresses); majority whip (Ninety-seventh through Ninety-ninth Congresses); majority leader (One Hundredth and One Hundred First Congresses); Speaker of the House of Representatives (One Hundred First through One Hundred Third Congresses); awarded the title Knight Commander of the British Empire by Queen Elizabeth II in 1995; Ambassador to Japan, 1997–2001; Germany gave him its Order of Merit; France, membership in the Legion of Honor; and Japan, the Order of the Rising Sun with Paulownia Flowers, Grand Cordon. He died on October 18, 2013, in Washington, D.C.

Mr. FOLEY was married in 1968 in Columbo, Ceylon to Heather S. Strachan, his unpaid Chief of Staff throughout his life. Heather survives him as does a sister, Maureen, and her husband Richard Latimer of Santa Rosa, California; and their children Elizabeth Ann Garbocci of Ukiah, California; Kathleen Ely of Martinez, California; Carolyn Latimer of Santa Rosa, California; John Latimer of Elk Grove, California; and Mark Latimer of Petaluma, California; a sister-in-law Jill Penelope Strachan and her partner Jane Hoffmann.



## ORDER OF MASS

Words by Robert Greenstein

Entrance Hymn—*Amazing Grace*  
Opening Rites

Old Testament Reading	Ecclesiastes 3, 1–11	Jill P. Strachan
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Responsorial Psalm	Pss. 23	Kathy Richburg, Cantor
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New Testa- ment Read- ing	I Corinthians 13, 1–13	Robert Shrum
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Gospel Reading	John 14, 1–6	Deacon Richard Walker
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Eulogy		Monsignor Charles Pope
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General Intercessions Response: *Lord, hear our prayer*

Liturgy of the Eucharist

Preparation of the Altar and Gifts

Gift Bearers	Joseph Powell Snow Juanpere
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Offertory Song: Handel “ <i>Come Unto Me</i> ”	Kathy Richburg, Cantor
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Communion Hymn: “ <i>I Am the Bread of Life</i> ” “ <i>Ave Maria</i> ”	Kathy Richburg, Cantor
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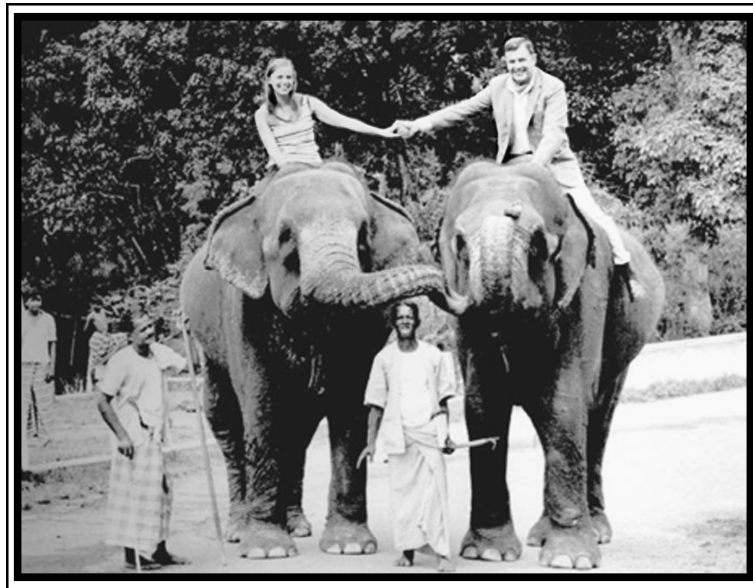
Final Commendation and Farewell

Recessional: Bach “*Jesu Joy of Man’s Desiring*”

## **Thanks and Acknowledgement**

The family of THOMAS S. FOLEY would like all of you to know how grateful they are for your gifts, support, visits, and cards during this time of loss. Your expressions, help and concern are a remarkable testament to the full life TOM FOLEY led and the number of people he touched during his long years of public service. The family hopes his legacy will not wither or fade.

**Thank you.**



*Courtesy Spokesman Review*

**Bob Greenstein.** Heather, thank you for asking me to speak today about one of the most decent people I have ever met. I am honored to be here.

TOM FOLEY was a giant. I'm not referring to his physical stature, although he was surely a tall and imposing figure.

Nor am I referring just to his extensive and far-reaching policy accomplishments, which I will speak about in a minute and which improved the lives of literally tens of millions of people all over this country.

I'm really referring, most of all, to him as a human being. He was a giant of a person.

Indeed, I think his personal qualities were a key part of what made him so effective as a legislator. He was the epitome of decency. He was always willing to listen to and consider the views and concerns of others, regardless of their background, their party, or their politics. Indeed, he sought out other views and perspectives. He felt a strong sense of responsibility to delve deeply into issues, educate himself thoroughly about them from every angle, and find and pursue the best course for the country. For all of these reasons, he was enormously respected, and enormously trusted, across the political spectrum—in a way that virtually no one in this town is today.

I first got to know TOM in the 1970s through his work to reduce hunger and malnutrition. Medical teams had gone to poor areas, especially in the Deep South and Appalachia, in the 1960s, and they found shocking conditions, including rates of hunger-related diseases among children like those in some Third World countries.

Our policymakers responded, and they made striking progress. George McGovern and Bob Dole received lots of attention for their work on this in the Senate. But, even though it's less well known, the pioneering work that TOM did in the House of Representatives was every bit as consequential. And his task was often more challenging in writing landmark legislation and steering it through the more conservative House.

The results of this work were stunning. The medical teams that found such shocking conditions in the late 1960s went back to the same poor areas after TOM and his colleagues had done their work, and the doctors found dramatic improvement. Child malnutrition had become rare. As the doctors wrote: "In the Mississippi Delta, in the coalfields of Appalachia and in coastal South Carolina ... visitors ten years ago could quickly see large numbers of stunted, apathetic

children with swollen stomachs and the dull eyes and poorly healing wounds characteristic of malnutrition.”

The doctors then observed that such children had now become rare. And the doctors gave the main credit to the legislation that TOM had helped to write and to enact.

That history points up another FOLEY trademark. He worked behind the scenes to get results without calling attention to himself.

How rare it was—and is—to have as gifted and far-sighted a political leader, for whom it was virtually never about him. It was always about the issues and about his colleagues, both on and off Capitol Hill, with whom he worked so collegially. When he became Speaker of the House, his main focus continued to be, first and foremost, what was best for the country and his fellow Americans, not what was best for him or his party in the next election. How fortunate we were that America had such a leader.

He was a man of courage, and it was courage that explains his defeat in 1994 after 30 years in the House that he loved. He stood up and helped lead on two very tough issues, even though he knew that it would hurt him on Election Day—support for an assault weapons ban and opposition to term limits. He felt that it was his duty to lead rather than to hedge in order to cover himself politically.

He was also the most knowledgeable Member of Congress I have ever known. With his deep intellectual curiosity, his brilliant mind, and his broad sense of responsibility, he delved into issues, and he amassed a depth of knowledge and understanding of them that was unequaled in his time and hasn’t been equaled since.

One day I was walking up the steps to the House Chamber at a time Members were about to vote on a complex issue—an issue that TOM was not closely associated with. About a dozen Members were walking up those steps when, suddenly, they turned and walked to a corner of the steps, where TOM was standing. They had spotted him, and they immediately asked him to explain the issue on which they were about to vote, to outline the pro’s and con’s. They knew that he had done his homework and, of course, he gave them what they needed.

In a column about TOM last week, the eminent journalist Al Hunt wrote about the time when Al was a young reporter covering the farm bill for the first time in the 1970s. He was baffled by some of the intricate farm policy issues, and he asked TOM about them. TOM gave him such a lucid, bal-

anced, pithy summary of the issues that Al adopted the summary as his own and used it in his story. Al wrote that it was the one time in his career that he might have been accused of plagiarism—but that there was no way that he could improve on TOM’s lucid, fair, balanced explanation of the issues.

I’m sure that many of you have read numerous remembrances of TOM over the past week. They spoke of his integrity, his thoughtfulness, his learnedness, his respect for Members of both parties, his graciousness and bipartisanship, and his willingness to go the extra mile—or many extra miles—to secure the best achievable policy outcome, even if it meant sacrificing a partisan advantage.

Despite all of the demands on him, he spent countless hours patiently teaching Members, staff, journalists, and others how to analyze issues, how to look at them from several sides, and how to secure the best achievable results. He was a mentor to many, from other Members to young people just starting out; I know, as I was lucky enough to be one of them even though, at the time, I was a young and very green staffer first at a small nonprofit and then at the Agriculture Department. I still think often about the many lessons that TOM taught me and others in the ensuing years about not only how to approach issues, but how to conduct ourselves honorably in trying to achieve better policies.

Above all, TOM loved the House of Representatives as an institution. No one worked harder or more effectively than he did to make it function in real life, not just on paper, so it would be worthy of the deepest respect. Indeed, TOM revered legislative bodies in general. Tom Mann, the eminent scholar at the Brookings Institution, told me yesterday that TOM FOLEY received the highest honors from at least six foreign countries, in part for his work in helping their legislative bodies function better as well.

A few days ago, Bob Michel, the Republican leader of the House while TOM was Speaker, wrote the following about TOM: “His decency, his honesty and integrity, and his great skill as a legislator are the hallmark of what citizens hope to have in their public servants.”

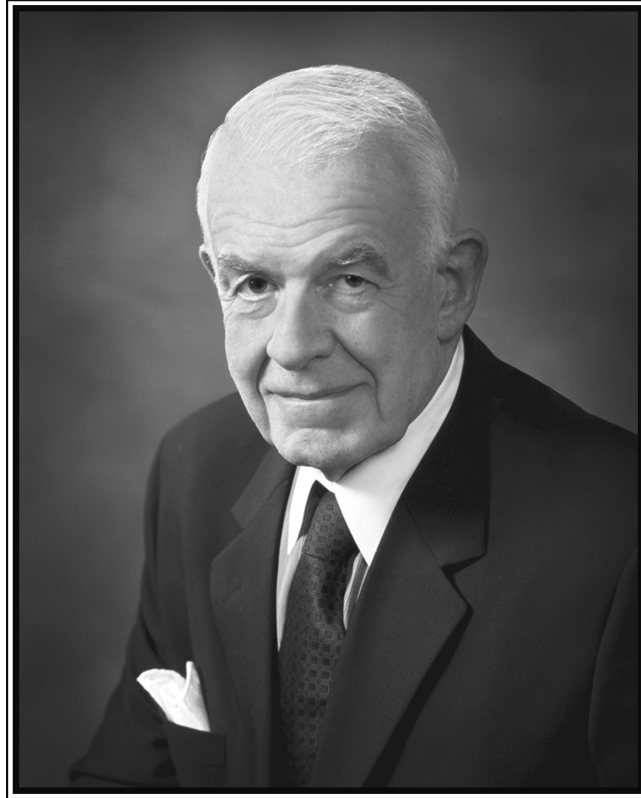
I had the privilege of being able to talk to TOM for the last time 15 days ago. When I brought up his tremendous accomplishments in sharply reducing hunger and malnutrition for tens of millions of people over the years, he, modest to the end, waived away the credit. He would only accept credit

when I mentioned others with whom he had worked on this. “Yes,” he said, “we were a great team.”

Speaking of team, it’s impossible to think of TOM without thinking of Heather by his side, helping him in so many ways over so many years. I also can’t help but think of their companion, their beloved dog Alice.

To be sure, Thomas S. FOLEY is no longer with us physically. But, in a way, he lives on inside all of us. We will never forget his decency, his kindness, and the wisdom he imparted to us. We will never forget what he meant to the country, and to our own lives.

His was a life truly worth celebrating. Today, at a time of deep political cynicism, his life stands out as a beacon that reminds us, that shows us, that this country can produce dedicated and effective leaders who make this Nation a much better place for millions upon millions of their fellow Americans, and who truly achieve greatness.



Courtesy EA Photography, Anaheim, CA

MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR  
**THOMAS STEPHEN FOLEY**  
MARCH 6, 1929–OCTOBER 18, 2013

ST. ALOYSIUS CHURCH  
330 E. BOONE AVENUE  
SPOKANE, WA

NOVEMBER 1, 2013

## PRELUDE

Dr. Janet Satre Ahrend, Organist

Gonzaga University Concert Choir  
Dr. Timothy Westerhaus, conductor  
Anna Frisch, student conductor

“Simple Gifts”

*arr. Dale Warland*

“Calling My Children Home”

*arr. Joseph Jennings*

## PRESENTATION OF THE COLORS

ROTC Cadets

*Please stand*

## PROCESSION

Cross Bearer

Candle Bearers

Flower Bearers

*Kathleen Ely, Sally Jackson, Betty Lukins*

Assisting Priests

*The Reverend: Richard Case, S.J., Stephen Kuder, S.J.,  
Greg Vance, S.J., Bernard Coughlin, S.J.,  
Frank Costello, S.J.*

Presider

*The Most Reverend Blase J. Cupich, S.T.D.*

Procession Song: “For All the Saints”

*Wm. W. How*

*For all the saints who from their labors rest,  
Who you by faith before the world confessed,  
Your Name, O Jesus, be forever blest.  
Alleluia, Alleluia!*



*O blest communion, fellowship divine!  
We feebly struggle, they in glory shine;  
Yet all are one within your great design.  
Alleluia, Alleluia!*

*The golden evening brightens in the west;  
Soon to the loyal faithful comes their rest;  
Sweet is the calm of Paradise so blest.  
Alleluia, Alleluia!*

*But lo! there breaks a yet more glorious day;  
The saints triumphant rise in bright array;  
The King of Glory passes on his way.  
Alleluia, Alleluia!*

*From earth's wide bounds, from ocean's farthest coast,  
Through gates of heav'n streams in the countless host,  
Singing to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.  
Alleluia, Alleluia!*

#### WELCOME

Fr. Richard Case, S.J., Pastor, St. Aloysius Parish

#### OPENING PRAYER

Bishop Blase Cupich, Diocese of Spokane

#### LITURGY OF THE WORD

**First Reading: Old Testament, Ecclesiastes 3:1-11**

H.T. Higgins  
*Please be seated*

**Responsorial Psalm: Psalm 23**

Refrain: "Shepherd Me O God, beyond my wants,  
beyond my fears, from death into life."

Sherry Fischer, Cantor, St. Aloysius Parish

Steve Schaubel, Pianist, St. Aloysius Parish

Jazz Choir, Gonzaga Preparatory School

Eric Moe, Trumpet, Spokane Symphony

Cheryl Carney, Cello, Gonzaga University

**Second Reading: New Testament,  
2nd letter of Paul to Timothy 4:6-8**

John Latimer

**Gospel Acclamation (sung): Celtic Alleluia**

*Please stand*

**Gospel Reading: John 14:1-6**

Greg Vance, S.J., Superior, Manresa Community,

Gonzaga Preparatory School

**Homily**

Steve Kuder, S.J., Rector of the Jesuit Community at

Gonzaga University

*Please be seated*

**Prayers of the Faithful**

Thayne McCulloh, President of Gonzaga University  
and Al Falkner, President of Gonzaga Preparatory School

*Please stand*

**SPEAKERS**

*Introduced by Senior Judge Justin Quackenbush*

*Please be seated*

**CONGREGATIONAL HYMN**

"America the Beautiful"

*Please stand*

*O beautiful for spacious skies,  
For amber waves of grain,  
For purple mountain majesties  
Above the fruited plain!  
America! America!  
God shed his grace on thee,  
And crown thy good with brotherhood  
From sea to shining sea.*

*O beautiful for pilgrim feet  
Whose stern impassioned stress  
A thoroughfare of freedom beat  
Across the wilderness!  
America! America!  
God mend thine every flaw,  
Confirm thy soul in self-control,  
Thy liberty in law.*

*O beautiful for heroes proved  
In liberating strife,  
Who more than self their country loved,  
And mercy more than life!  
America! America!  
May God thy gold refine  
Till all success be nobleness,  
And every gain divine.*

*O beautiful for patriot dream  
That sees beyond the years  
Thine alabaster cities gleam  
Undimmed by human tears!  
America! America!  
God shed his grace on thee,  
And crown thy good with brotherhood  
From sea to shining sea.*

## OUR COMMON PRAYER

The Lord's Prayer

## REMARKS AND FINAL BLESSING

Bishop Blase Cupich

## RECESSIONAL

Song: "Lord of All Hopefulness"

*Jan Struther (1931)*

*Lord of all hopefulness, Lord of all joy,  
Whose trust, ever childlike, no cares can destroy,  
Be there at our waking, and give us, we pray,  
Your bliss in our hearts, Lord, at the break of the day.*

*Lord of all eagerness, Lord of all faith,  
Whose strong hands were skilled at the plane and the lathe,  
Be there at our labors, and give us, we pray,  
Your strength in our hearts, Lord, at the noon of the day.*

*Lord of all kindliness, Lord of all grace,  
Your hands swift to welcome, your arms to embrace,  
Be there at our homing, and give us, we pray,  
Your love in our hearts, Lord, at the eve of the day.*

*Lord of all gentleness, Lord of all calm,  
Whose voice is contentment, whose presence is balm,  
Be there at our sleeping, and give us, we pray,  
Your peace in our hearts, Lord, at the end of the day*

## ORGAN POSTLUDE

*Please silence mobile devices.*

*No flash photography.*

*Reception to follow in the Cataldo Hall Globe Room*

THOMAS STEPHEN FOLEY represented the best of Eastern Washington and our nation—and perhaps the best of a by-gone era, the latter half of the 20th century. His decency, fairness and commitment to bipartisan politics are legendary. And the source of his values is no mystery: TOM learned from his father Ralph Foley, who gave a lifetime of service to Spokane County.

TOM FOLEY was born on March 6, 1929, in Spokane, Washington. Ralph Foley, a Gonzaga graduate and first in his family to attend college, served as Spokane County prosecutor in the 1930s, then became a superior-court judge. Helen Foley, TOM's mother, was a teacher. FOLEY grew up during the Great Depression, and in "Honor in the House," co-written by FOLEY and Jeff Biggs, FOLEY recalls his father explaining why lines of men stood waiting for the coffee and sandwiches that the sisters handed out behind Sacred Heart Hospital.

As thousands of Spokane children have done, TOM spent several summers at the YMCA's Camp Reed. He graduated from Gonzaga Prep in 1946, then developed into a national-caliber debater at Gonzaga University. During college, he worked summers at the Kaiser Aluminum mill, where he first learned of the lives and concerns of working people. He transferred to the University of Washington as a senior, and always acclaimed the value of his Jesuit education. After earning his A.B. in 1951 and J.D. from the University of Washington School of Law in 1957, FOLEY taught constitutional law at Gonzaga School of Law in 1958–59.

He began his political career as an assistant state attorney general, and in 1961 moved to the other Washington as special counsel to Washington Senator Henry M. "Scoop" Jackson. His mentor urged him to run for Congress in 1964. It was a landslide year for Democrats and FOLEY won. He was 35. FOLEY held a reception for the man he'd defeated, Walt Horan, a 22-year veteran of the House. This was an early sign of FOLEY's passion for fairness and compromise. Reflecting Eastern Washington's strengths, FOLEY gained committee assignments in agriculture and the interior.

In 1968, TOM FOLEY wed Heather Strachan. The pair had met in Scoop Jackson's office; they married in Ceylon, with elephants and fanfare. Heather became her husband's indispensable advisor and assistant; and FOLEY rose steadily

within the U.S. House of Representatives. Within 10 years of his election, he assumed chairmanship of the Agriculture Committee. He was 45 and the youngest member to chair a major committee since 1900. Majority whip, majority leader, and, in June 1989 during the One Hundred First Congress—Speaker of the House.

After growing up in the rolling Palouse, after stretching his young imagination in the wide-open reaches from Davenport to Dayton, after caring for constituents from Republic to Colfax—TOM FOLEY was the third most powerful leader in the United States and the first speaker from west of the Rocky Mountains.

Under his leadership, the House worked with order and civility. FOLEY said his proudest achievements were farm bills, hunger programs, civil liberties, environmental legislation and civil rights bills. When he left Congress in 1994, his reach was international. Queen Elizabeth II awarded him the title Knight Commander of the British Empire in 1995. From 1997 to 2001, he served as ambassador to Japan.

Spokane's greatest son died on Oct. 18, 2013, in Washington, D.C.

A man of intellect and graciousness, he retained his international renown. The Guardian, Great Britain's leading liberal newspaper, paid this tribute upon his death: "TOM FOLEY was the last House Speaker of a vanished age, when compromise was not a dirty word on Capitol Hill, when Congress functioned more or less as it was meant to; and respect or even affection for one's opponent was not regarded as a near-mortal sin. His defining qualities were patience, civility and a sense of measure."

#### THANKS AND ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The family of THOMAS S. FOLEY would like to express its gratitude to Gonzaga University, Gonzaga Preparatory School and St. Aloysius Parish for their help in creating and coordinating this service, and for their gracious hospitality in providing a warm welcome and reception to all who come to mourn and honor the life and legacy of TOM FOLEY.

THANK YOU.

**Stephen R. Kuder, S.J.** *Rector, Jesuit Community, Gonzaga University.* We've just heard that there is time for everything under heaven: "A time to give birth, and a time to die; A time to plant, and a time to uproot the plant. A time to weep, and a time to laugh; a time to mourn, and a time to dance." St. Paul today adds: "A time to compete well, and a time to finish the race."

And here's Jesus with the bottom line: "There is a time to fear and a time to trust." And this seems to be Jesus' message to us this morning: There is a time for everything. And this is our time to move beyond the fear we all harbor in the face of death and to trust God.

The bottom line of biblical faith is trust. Trust in God. Whenever we see the words "faith" or "belief" in the Bible, whether in the Hebrew or the Christian Scriptures, we can't go wrong if we read "trust." Faith in God means trust that God is faithful to his promises. Trust is what biblical faith is all about. Trust in a faithful God.

Someone has taken the trouble to count all the times the Bible admonishes us: "Do not be afraid." The number comes to about 350 times. The Bible is saying over and over again: "Trust God and do not fear!" If trust God is our choice, the question becomes: When are we going to do it? When are we going to trust God? As the first resort or the last? I heard a story of an elderly woman who was greatly disturbed by her many troubles, both real and imaginary. Finally she was told in a kindly way by her family, "Grandma, we've done all we can do for you. You'll just have to trust God for the rest." A look of utter despair spread over her face as she replied, "Oh, dear, has it come to that?" Well, it always comes to that, doesn't it, so we might as well begin with that! Begin with trust in God! The way the Bible does.

But we may object that we are busy people. Very busy. Busy with the law, with government, with politics, with education. But beware—I'm told that the Chinese character for busy also means heart killing. Busyness can become heart killing. We can all do a body count.

So the Bible offers us a radical solution—trust God as a child does its parent. Jesus says it: "Unless you turn and become like children, you will not enter the kingdom of heaven." Psalm 131 shows us the way to this childlike trust: "Lord, my heart is not proud; nor are my eyes haughty. I do not busy myself with great matters, with things too sublime for me. Rather, I have stilled my soul. Like a weaned child on its mother's lap, weaned is my soul. I trust in the Lord,

now and forever!" This is the bottom line of biblical faith—Trust in the faithfulness of God.

But Jesus addresses his disciples: Trust also in me for life beyond death. He says in the Gospel today: "In my Father's house there are many dwelling places. If there were not, would I have told you that I am going? And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come back again and take you to myself, so that where I am you also may be."

This is Jesus' promise to all of us: for life beyond death, trust in me. And this is why we're here in church: We're being invited to be still and are still moving into the intensity of this promise. This promise which was made to TOM FOLEY at his baptism and to us as well. After all, that is why Jesus came in the first place.

Didn't he insist: "I have come so that you might have life and have it more abundantly"?

So how should we think of Jesus? Imagine Jesus as a shepherd carrying a lamb on his shoulders: That's how the first Christians in the catacombs, those underground Roman cemeteries, portrayed Jesus in their wall paintings and statues—Jesus as a shepherd. One statue shows him as a young man, strong, well-muscled. With one hand he carries a staff, with the other he seems to be clearing the way ahead of him like a fireman coming out of a burning building. Over his shoulders is a lamb symbolizing the soul of the Christian who has fallen asleep in the Lord. What an amazing portrayal of Jesus in full-rescue mode. He's rescuing us from death, taking us all home to his Father.

This is bedrock Christian teaching—Jesus comes as the good shepherd and carries THOMAS STEPHEN FOLEY to safety. The Lord is his shepherd. And ours! This is why we moments ago sang: "Shepherd me, O God, beyond my wants, beyond my fears, from death into life." We trust that Jesus is with us in our deaths so that we may enter the fullness of life.

James Whitcomb Riley has a poem in which he tells of the death of a worker in a shop. He pictures his fellow workers standing around on the day of his funeral talking about him. One man, after muttering some usual things, with tears in his eyes adds this:

When God made Jim, I bet you  
He didn't do anything else that day  
But jes' set around and feel good!

And can't we feel good today remembering this man? Don't we know that God recognizes that goodness just as we do?



And on this day when the Church celebrates all saints, God is watching the saints come marching in. And there among them, straight and tall, TOM FOLEY.

**Governor Jay Inslee.** Heather and our friends, it is a great honor to represent 6½ million Washingtonians in honoring this great titan of democracy, Speaker TOM FOLEY.

In my time serving in the next door neighboring district, I very quickly came to understand that America has seldom been graced with a leader with such compassion for his people and such unstinting commitment to a civil, constitutional democracy.

I don't think you can point to another leader that we have been blessed with in our Nation's history that combines such a strong heart for his people with such a strong backbone for constitutional democracy. That combination of traits has borne us so well, in so many different ways.

We know well that millions of people across the county have food on their plates because of his tremendous leadership, with Senator Dole and Senator McGovern, to move the food stamp program forward. That was a national success.

But his compassion for his people right here in Eastern Washington is something I witnessed so much first hand representing people in the Fourth District, next to his Fifth.

Across this district you will see the monuments to his compassion. From hydroelectric facilities at Grand Coulee, to great opportunities for our tremendous wheat industry, to the thing that struck home to me in the first 3 weeks of my term in Congress, when a farmer up in the Okanogan, an area that the Speaker used to represent before redistricting, asked me what kind of Congressman I was. I said, "Well, I do my best." He said, "Well, I'll tell you what, THOMAS FOLEY got me these teeth!" And he popped his teeth out, and said, "Now that's a real Congressman!"

This is a man of great compassion, and the Nation has felt that.

I just want to comment about what I saw, that I hope and I do believe Washingtonians and Americans understand, and that was his commitment to civility and a constitutional democracy. That type of commitment—people who know anything about politics understand—takes courage on occasion. I think people well understand his courage during his last term, when he believed there was a particular provision that, frankly, was extremely popular at the time, of this term limits idea, that the Speaker believed very strongly violated the U.S. Constitution. At great risk to himself and a 30-year ca-

reer, he stood up for the U.S. Constitution and he was vindicated by the Supreme Court that he was right. This provision that he believed in, was constitutional, and people are well recognizing that in that last 2 years of his career.

I want to tell you just another little story. If you go to the Mission Ridge Ski Area, in one of their warming huts, you'll see a *Wenatchee World* front page from 1965. And one of the stories is about Mission Ridge opening.

Another story on the front page is "Freshman Congressman THOMAS FOLEY votes against throwing Adam Clayton Powell out of the U.S. House of Representatives." It was another vote extremely unpopular but standing up for the principle that our people decide who represent us, not the politicians in the U.S. House of Representatives.

This is a man who stood for the Constitution and civility, from day one of his congressional career to the last day of his last term, and all those 30 years in between. That's why I say he was a titan of democracy!

That is why it is so heartwarming to see the Nation embracing Heather, and I hope you can feel this Heather, of the country recognizing that he really represented the best that the State of Washington could offer. Heather, I can tell you that these smiling eyes, and I love this picture of the Speaker, those eyes are going to continue to smile in our memories. Thank you.

**Senator Patty Murray.** Thank you all for being here today.

It's so nice to be in Spokane and see so many friends here to celebrate the life of a man we all loved and admired. Heather, we're all so honored to be with you today, because you simply can't talk about TOM's life and accomplishments without talking about you.

Everything he stood for and achieved—you did together—and I'm so grateful to call each of you a friend.

Earlier this week, we celebrated TOM's life back in Washington, DC. The service was held in a place called Statuary Hall, which is just a few steps from the Capitol rotunda. The reason we call it Statuary Hall is, of course, the statues. Each State sends two of them to the Capitol—two statues that speak to what each State represents—their history and their identity.

As we gathered there last week, it seemed like such an appropriate place to remember TOM, because TOM really captured the best of Washington State. He embodied our State's hard-working, honest, Western spirit. And for 30 years, just

like the statues, we sent him all the way across the country to represent us.

And once he was there, wow, did he represent us. From his very first term, he wasted no time making his mark. Before you knew it, the junior Congressman elected by wheat farmers was the chairman of the Agriculture Committee. He was majority whip, and then he was Speaker of the House.

He was, all at once: the local judge's son who shook every hand and answered every question, and a statesman in the truest sense of the word. He was the person who brought the World's Fair to Eastern Washington. He was an honest consensus-builder who Republicans and Democrats both trusted, and he gained stature not because of a relentless thirst for power, but instead, because he was fundamentally decent, because he listened, and because he had a common, personal touch.

So it was no surprise that earlier this week, as we gathered in Statuary Hall, our country's most powerful figures lined up to honor him: Presidents of the United States, both Republicans and Democrats; Speakers of the House, Republicans and Democrats; foreign dignitaries, former colleagues, and even political opponents. Because even though TOM just thought of himself as the Congressman from Spokane, he was one of them.

He was a brilliant, courageous leader who belonged in the halls of power and foreign palaces, but at the very same time, he also belonged here in Spokane, with the family and friends and neighbors he represented.

That's what I'll remember about him. I'll remember him as one of us. I'll remember him as someone I looked up to, literally, it seemed like a couple of feet, when I first came to Congress. And I'll remember him as the powerful Speaker of the House who immediately called me, the brand-new, back-bench Senator who'd just been elected. Not because he had to, but just because I was from Washington State, and so was he.

Thank you.

**Senator Maria Cantwell.** I am honored to be here today at St. Aloysius with friends, colleagues, Spokane residents and fellow speakers to pay tribute to a great American.

A great American who just happened to grow up at 505 E. 12th Avenue, Spokane, WA.

TOM FOLEY, son of Spokane, was a dedicated legislator, skillful leader, advisor to Presidents, and trusted diplomat.

He led our country in implementing important legislation like the Clean Air Act, the 1992 Energy Policy Act, and the Family and Medical Leave Act. And he delivered for the Fifth District of Washington—improving the Grand Coulee Dam, promoting Fairchild Air Force Base and really making his mark in agriculture.

He chaired the House Agriculture Committee for 6 years, helping to modernize the farm and food stamp programs, and passing legislation to reduce trade barriers to American agricultural products around the world.

As one of his former staff said, “TOM FOLEY knew so much about agriculture he could write a farm bill at the drop of a hat, on the back of a matchbox cover.”

He was the son of Spokane—a young man who went to Washington, DC, with an incredible amount of intellect, common sense, and ample good manners, who seemed to easily figure out how to make Washington, DC, work.

TOM FOLEY had the winning combination. Yes, he had a good mentor, Scoop Jackson. But how did he do it? He rose to the highest position in the House of Representatives, Speaker of the House, a feat only 56 Americans had previously achieved in the history of our country. And he did this while representing a district for 30 years that was farther away from Washington, DC, than 98 percent of his colleagues. A district more geographically challenging—larger in square miles—than 94 percent of his colleagues.

How did he do it? In my opinion it was TOM FOLEY charm.

National political reporter Joel Connelly once reported that TOM, on a small plane, was forced to make an emergency landing in a wheatfield. TOM didn’t miss a beat. He just got out of the plane and introduced himself to the startled farmer: “I’m Congressman FOLEY. Pleased to meet you.”

A few years ago TOM and I were together in Spokane for the JJ dinner that honored TOM for his lifetime accomplishments. We had both traveled from Washington, DC. By 9 p.m. that night, Spokane time, midnight DC time, I was exhausted. But TOM, at 77 years old, proceeded to get up and give a tour de force speech.

That night was quintessential TOM FOLEY, because for me the essence of TOM FOLEY was great oration, delivered with a constant aura of statesmanship and a wry slice of Irish humor.

As a new House Member, I loved listening to his stories. About how Tip O’Neill had lost his election for Cambridge City Council because he had forgotten to ask his friend,

teacher, and neighbor, Mrs. Sullivan, for her vote. Or how President Lyndon Johnson had mistakenly called Congressman THOMAS S. FOLEY, when he was really looking for Rhode Island Congressman John Fogarty.

TOM loved to make light in the tense moments that often come with politics. It was like he was reminding himself of the incredible life he was living.

One of my favorite stories was of a House colleague who came running onto the House floor and asked TOM FOLEY if there were any reasons to vote no against the bill under consideration. TOM provided several. As his colleague proceeded to vote no, FOLEY voted yes. His anxious colleague came running back, "Why are you voting yes, when you told me to vote no?" TOM FOLEY replied, "I didn't tell you to vote no. You asked me if there were any reasons to vote no." And then with that wry FOLEY grin, he said, "But you never asked me for the reasons to vote yes."

TOM knew the intricacies of debate and the power of information. Part of the success came from his incredible staff, who fed him information. Today they are leaders in business, government, and community service throughout our State.

And there would have been no Speaker FOLEY without Heather Foley.

I remember one important meeting of the Committee on Committees where the highest ranking members and chairmen convened for hours to pore over committee assignments, a make or break moment for new Members. As the business meeting was winding down late, close to midnight, Speaker FOLEY continued to hold court—regaling Members with stories of political lore and good old-fashioned Irish humor. Heather proceeded to walk into the room and with one intonation of her voice said, "THOMAS!!!" I never saw the Speaker move so fast. He was out of the room in seconds. Every sailboat needs a rudder and for the Foley team that was Heather. She was there for all the voyages.

Yes. THOMAS S. FOLEY was an orator and statesman. According to the dictionary: A statesman is usually a politician, diplomat, or other notable public figure who has had a long and respected career at the national or international level. There should be an asterisk next to the definition—see THOMAS S. FOLEY, Washington.

America needs more TOM FOLEYS.

That night at the JJ dinner, when TOM FOLEY was honored for his service to his district and to our country, Sally Jackson, a longtime Spokane Valley activist summed it up

the best. She said, "TOM FOLEY, you are an absolute wonder and it is so important to me that the legend of TOM FOLEY lives in the Northwest forever." Sally, I couldn't agree with you more. He is a legend. It's important to me too that his story lives in the Northwest and the whole country, forever.

**Congresswoman Cathy McMorris Rodgers.** Good morning. To the Senators and Governor of our great State; to the friends and family of Speaker FOLEY; to the former mayor of Spokane, who also happens to be my wonderful father-in-law, Dave Rodgers, and to TOM's greatest adviser, confidant, and lifelong companion, his wife Heather, I am proud to stand beside you today to remember an extraordinary life.

We remember a man whose 84 years on this Earth were marked by service, by humility, and by a deep compassion for the people and country he so fiercely loved.

We remember a man who championed principle over party; patience over haste; and people over politics.

And we remember a man who did what he thought was right, not what he thought was easy.

As we come together today, bound by a shared reverence for this great man, I am reminded of the words of General George Patton, Jr.: "It is foolish to mourn the men who died. Rather, we should thank God that such men lived."

So, as we celebrate a full life—and the extraordinary man who lived it—let us thank God for the impact TOM FOLEY had on this world.

Not only was he the first person west of the Rockies to serve as Speaker of the House—but he brought his Spokane roots all the way from one Washington to another for over three decades.

Earlier this week, a celebration of his life was held at the U.S. Capitol—and not a single person remarked on his life without mentioning his love of Eastern Washington.

After all, his leadership helped transform Fairchild Air Force Base into one of the strongest military bases in the country; he modernized Highway 395; he shared his contagious love of the 'Zags and the Huskies; he memorialized his parents with a brand-new library right here on the campus of his alma mater; and he worked with Mayor Dave Rodgers back in 1974 to bring the World's Fair to Spokane, which we now enjoy as the beautiful Riverfront Park.

Even in his death, he has brought Eastern Washington alive.

He has inspired me—not only in his death, but in the way he so boldly lived his life—to represent the people of Eastern Washington with honor and conviction and principle.

He reminds us all that our shared love of Washington transcends party politics.

In our many visits before the State of the Union, “Big TOM” would say to me, “Cathy, I know the decisions you’re asked to make in Congress might be difficult ones, but if you do what you believe in your heart is right for the people back at home, then I know goodness will triumph.”

Mr. Speaker, I wish I could tell you today that you were right.

One of my favorite stories about the former Speaker was when his plane made an emergency landing on one of our Northeastern Washington wheatfields. As the plane descended, several farmers, busy tilling the wheat, ran up to the airplane—and out climbed the immaculately dressed, 6’4” giant. Without hesitation, he extended his hand to the farmer and said, “Congressman FOLEY. Glad to meet you!”

To TOM FOLEY, a stranger was simply a friend he hadn’t met yet.

We will remember his open mind, his infectious personality, and the classic wingtips he wore, even on the farm!

We will carry with us the lessons he left behind: that you cannot understand a person unless you take the time to listen to them; that you should always put country over party, no matter the issue; and that even a man who decides at the very last minute to run for Congress and runs out of gas en route to file his candidacy can go on to serve as Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives.

I’ve thought a lot about how to measure a life, of how to capture a whole lifetime in just a few words.

But true giants never leave us.

TOM FOLEY will live forever in our sense of wonder, in our compassion for strangers, in the boldness with which we live our own lives, and in the way we love others.

He reminds us that a full life is not just about what you do with your years on this Earth, but about how you make people feel long after you’ve left it.

Mr. Speaker, I may not be able to pull off wingtips in the wheatfields quite as well as you did, but as long as I serve the people of Eastern Washington, I promise to make you proud.

Thank you.

**Norm Dicks**, *Representative from Washington*. It's great to be here with so many friends.

Heather, TOM would have loved the Washington, DC, event and he would have loved this event today. I got to know TOM FOLEY when he came to the University of Washington Law School in 1965. He was part of a new class that was elected in 1964 in the Johnson landslide. Brock Adams; Lloyd Meads; Floyd Hicks, my predecessor; and TOM FOLEY all came to the law school, each to make a speech to the law school students. Right then and there I knew this was a brilliant man, a man of great conviction. When we went down to the reception area, he said, "Young man, I notice you have filtered cigarettes. Could I have one?"

We both quit, many times. Heather, we quit many times!

It was just great to be able to work with and rely on TOM FOLEY. I can remember when he and Phil Burton and others ran the Democratic Study Group. One of the things they really wanted to work on was to try and take the farm bill and combine it with the food stamp program so that Members from large cities would vote for both the farm bill and the food stamp program which has been so critical to people in this country. TOM was the person who mastered this and got the job done.

One time I had been working with Sid Morrison who's here today and others on the Puyallup Indian Land Claim Settlement. It happened that the day that TOM FOLEY became Speaker, he was going to go down and have lunch with President Bush.

So FOLEY was up there on the dais—he loved to preside over the House of Representatives, and always in a fair and impartial way. So I went up there and I said, "TOM, I understand you're going to be downstairs with the President for lunch. Would you ask him to sign the Puyallup Indian Land Claim Settlement bill?"

So 4 or 5 hours later I came back and TOM FOLEY was presiding over the House again. I went up to him and I asked, "Well, what did he say?" He said, "He can't pronounce it. But he'll sign it." And that's how we got the Puyallup Indian Land Claim Settlement through.

Timing—it was always one of TOM's best attributes.

TOM was well liked in the Democratic Caucus. There were always some people who would be somewhat critical, but he could sit down and reason with people and explain very difficult issues. I think that was one of his greatest attributes. He was always willing to sit and tell stories and give people



his time. He would come into the Democratic caucus and the Cloakroom and sit there with the Members for 20–30 minutes during the day so that people would have a chance to have access to him. I thought that was one of his most wonderful attributes.

Bob Michel was the Republican leader when TOM became Speaker and they had an amazing relationship. TOM said to Bob Michel, “We’ll have a meeting each week and one day I’ll come to your office and the next time you’ll come to my office.” Bob Michel wrote a great op-ed in the *Washington Post* that talked about the trust between these two individuals. They worked together and they both left the Congress at the same time, but they had an amazing relationship and got a lot done. TOM always believed, as did Senators Magnuson and Jackson, once the elections are over, Democrats and Republicans should work together in the best interests of the American people. I tried to follow in that tradition myself. TOM’s civility and his commitment to bipartisanship was really great.

We talked about the World’s Fair in 1974 and this was like the biggest thing that was ever going to happen in Spokane. TOM was very committed to getting the legislation through the House of Representatives, but he was struggling a little bit, having difficulty. And at the same time Warren Magnuson and Scoop Jackson were getting the bill through the Subcommittee on Foreign Relations, then the full Committee and putting out press releases; and then it would go to the Senate floor and another press release.

Finally I get a call from TOM and he was exasperated. He said, “Every time you guys put out a press release, the press then comes over and asks me, ‘How are things going in the House?’ and I have to tell them, ‘Nowhere.’”

So finally we get down to the end of the session and we’re working on the appropriation and Senator Magnuson is in a conference committee on the commerce-state-justice appropriations bill. And TOM FOLEY is on the House floor and a miracle happens. He gets the bill passed by unanimous consent.

Later he told me this story. As Sid (Morrison) and Doc (Hastings) and Cathy (McMorris Rodgers) know, Republicans in those days in the minority had an objector, a person who would stand up and object. But with TOM FOLEY’s great Irish luck, this person who was going to be the objector left the floor. And the reason he left the floor was because his assistant had become the person in the Commerce Department in

charge of the Spokane World's Fair! And so he had called his former boss and said "Whatever you do, get off the floor and let TOM FOLEY pass this bill." So TOM FOLEY stood up, got unanimous consent, and the bill passed.

So TOM came running down—it's the only time I ever saw TOM run—toward the middle of the Capitol to the room where they had the conference committees on appropriations. He came running down and said, "Norm, tell the Senator I got it authorized." I said, "TOM, I'll tell him as soon as I can." And that is the story on the Spokane World's Fair.

That project really did do so much here. Tim Thompson, one of my former staffers who is here with me, and I went out and took a look at the Centennial Trail. This was a project TOM and I worked on together.

I just had the greatest affection and respect for TOM. He also helped me in my career. He came over during my first campaign and helped me get elected to Congress. I had five opponents in the Democratic Party. When he got there, he said, "I thought you told me you were unopposed." "Well, TOM, I thought your intelligence was better than that!"

He also helped me by putting me on the Intelligence Committee where I served for 8 years. And he put me on with the goal that I would become chairman. Well, that's when 1994 occurred, so I didn't become chairman; I became the ranking Democratic member.

Heather, you did such a fantastic job with TOM and worked with him so closely. Through this long, difficult illness he had, you were there and did an amazing job. And we're just pleased to be with you today here in Spokane, Washington, where it all started.

Thank you.

**Michael Price**, *Superior Court Judge*. My name is Michael Price and I have the difficult task of speaking to all of you on behalf of TOM's family and trying to sum up his extraordinary life in a few short minutes, and I can assure you that is an impossible task. So, rather than a speech that tells all of you about TOM's incredible life of service to this country and this State, we decided as a family to tell you a little about TOM from our perspective and perhaps a few things about him that you did not know. Understanding that to us, TOM was much more than a Congressman, or House Speaker, or Ambassador to Japan; to us, he was an uncle or a brother, a cousin, a brother-in-law, a husband.

Certainly to truly know TOM FOLEY and the great man that he became, you need to understand where he came

from. TOM's mother, my Aunt Helen, was a strong, hard-working, opinionated schoolteacher whose parents came here to Eastern Washington in the late 19th century from Ireland. Aunt Helen was taught the virtues of hard work and the importance of loyalty to her family.

Helen met and married Ralph Foley and TOM arrived in 1929. My uncle Ralph was a lawyer, then a prosecuting attorney, and in 1940 he became a superior court judge, a position he held until 1974. He was a very thoughtful and reflective man, extraordinarily courteous and polite. As Heather pointed out at TOM's service on Tuesday, it was said that my Uncle Ralph was so diplomatic and so considerate that he could sentence a defendant to death and the defendant would say, "Thank you, Judge Foley." As a kid, I remember Aunt Helen and Uncle Ralph would come over to our house all the time to visit. It would usually be on a Sunday and it was always the same routine. My mom would get tea and some cookies and my Aunt Helen would start to talk and she would talk and she would talk and then she would talk some more and about every 10 minutes or so, she would look up at Ralph and say, "Isn't that right, Ralph?," and he would say, "That's right, Helen," and then my Aunt Helen would talk some more.

Now we all hear in the news stories about somebody in Washington, DC, who engaged in a seemingly endless filibuster. Well, I'll tell you what, when I was 10 years old, I didn't know what a filibuster was called, but I know now that my Aunt Helen invented it.

These are the two amazing people who raised TOM, who taught him to stand firm on his beliefs and to always be loyal to your family and to your country and to really listen to what someone is saying.

TOM was loyal to his family and he always gave back to us. Just like he gave to all of you. TOM always made a point to stay in touch with his parents, his family, and if he was in Spokane, he would almost certainly drop by at some point to see family. It might be to see my Uncle Hank and Aunt Mary Lou or he would call or drop by to see my mother. I vividly remember a day when I was a young and precocious third grader and I went to answer the knock on the front door. I opened the door and it was TOM FOLEY, at which point I irritatingly yelled to my mother who was up in the kitchen, "Mom, it's TOM FOLEY, again." I don't know what happened or what was discussed while TOM visited with my

mom, but I do remember exactly what happened after he left.

All of us in the family remember the respect and deference TOM always showed his parents, especially his mother. Here's an example—many years ago, I was dating this very nice girl and things seemed to be getting pretty serious so I thought I better take her to meet Aunt Helen and Uncle Ralph. I called and Uncle Ralph said, "Come on over, and by the way, TOM's in town so he can meet your friend, too." So I drove over and Aunt Helen and Uncle Ralph are there, but no TOM. And Aunt Helen started to talk, and I was getting more nervous by the minute because Aunt Helen was not inclined to wait to tell me if she didn't like the girlfriend, she would just tell me then and there, so we are getting ready to leave and TOM came through the front door. I stood up to walk over to shake his hand, but before I could, my Aunt Helen looked right at TOM and said, "We've all been waiting." And you know it really didn't matter if TOM was the majority whip at that point, he was in trouble.

Many families have a tragedy at one point or another that they have to work through and my family is no different. All of us were devastated when my mother was killed in a plane crash in 1980 while traveling in India. We didn't think we could go on. We didn't know what to do. Then TOM arrived and stepped in and literally held my family together when we felt like all had been lost.

When my beautiful cousin Shawn Higgins was taken from us at only 29 years old, TOM was there, and even though he had been up for 24 hours or more, he stayed with the family until almost 3 in the morning praying the rosary for Shawn. TOM was a man who deeply loved and cared for his family, and he demonstrated that to us over and over again. Nobody in the family really thought about TOM as a Congressman or the Speaker of the House, but you know sometimes it just could not be avoided.

TOM had been the Speaker for a few years, and we had a giant Higgins family reunion which culminated with the entire family traveling to Hartline, WA, where our family roots are.

TOM and Heather came all the way from Washington, DC, to be with us and we had such a great time, and as the bus that my Uncle Hank had chartered for the family pulled up at the Hartline Park, it literally looked like half the town was there waiting for us. All those folks weren't there to welcome the Higginses back to Hartline. They were there to see

TOM. I remember how TOM and Heather were such good sports about it all. They posed for pictures and signed autographs and TOM took the time to talk to, I'm quite sure, every single resident of Hartline, WA. Toward the end of the day, Heather and my Aunt Mary Lou and TOM's sister Maureen and I took a walking tour of Hartline. We went to the old house, we looked at the grain elevators and in about 6 minutes, we had pretty much seen the entire town. It was so nice to talk to Heather and Maureen and Mary Lou, and we all got on the bus and headed back to Spokane. As I sat down in the bus next to my youngest daughter who was about 5 at that time, well, she waited until we were down the road away and she turned to me and asked, "Are you mad, Daddy?," and I said, "No, Honey, why would I be mad?," and she said, "Because none of those people wanted to take their picture with you."

It never seemed like any of this went to TOM's head at all. He really was a man who literally would give you the shirt off his back, and by the way, that shirt would be matched up with a perfect tie, sport coat and pocket scarf. I had the pleasure of talking to my cousin H.T. Higgins earlier this week, and we exchanged memories about TOM and talked about the family. We agreed that no matter how important TOM became on the world scene, he was probably the most grounded and genuine person we had ever known. He didn't take himself too seriously. The TOM we all knew was really humble and unpretentious.

About 12 years ago, the U.S. District Courthouse in downtown Spokane was renamed the Thomas S. Foley Courthouse, and there was a very nice ceremony at the Fox Theatre to honor TOM. Quite a few members of the family came. My sister and I waited around a bit until the swarm of people, who all wanted to congratulate TOM, dwindled somewhat and then my sister mentioned to TOM what an incredible honor this was to have the courthouse named after him since Federal buildings were rarely, if ever, named after a living person. To which TOM leaned over and in a somewhat hushed voice said, "I'm pretty sure they thought I was already dead."

That's the TOM FOLEY we knew. Never taking himself too seriously, but at the same time, his commitment to this State, this Nation, and from where I stand, his family, was really quite remarkable.

A few years ago, I was flipping through the TV channels one night and here was this interview with TOM. It was just

fascinating. The interviewer was asking TOM about all the U.S. Presidents he had worked with over the years and what his impressions were. TOM talked about working with everyone from President Johnson through President Clinton and he told that great story about President Johnson hanging up the phone on him, because the White House operator mistakenly got TOM on the phone instead of a Congressman from Rhode Island, and TOM said the President uttered a string of expletives at him that would make a longshoreman blush.

Then the interviewer asked if TOM had ever worked with President Kennedy and TOM said, "No." He was elected to Congress in 1964 after President Johnson took office. But he was working for Senator Jackson during the Kennedy administration and one day the Senator told TOM that he was going over to the White House to meet with the President and would TOM like to come along and TOM jumped at the chance, and the next thing he knew he was standing in the oval office with President John F. Kennedy.

The interviewer asked, "What was that like, to meet President Kennedy?," and TOM said the only way to describe it was that it seemed like everyone in the room was in black and white, and President Kennedy was in Technicolor. Now it seems ironic that TOM himself would so perfectly sum up how we saw him—a man who selflessly gave to his Nation, to this State, and to his family. And who we will always remember—in Technicolor.

**Heather Foley.** Thank you, Bishop Cupich. I so appreciate your being here to honor and celebrate TOM's life. Thank you so very much, Father Case, for your warm welcome. And thank you so much, Father Kuder, for your Homily. Thank you, Father Vance, for reading the Gospel. I have to also thank our longtime friends, Father Coughlin and Father Costello, who were so helpful to both of us over the years. I think I must have called Father Costello countless times to say we need an intern, please help! And he always did. Thank you, President McCulloh and President Falkner, for your prayers of the faithful.

And, of course, Judge Quackenbush is owed a special thanks for organizing this memorial service. Without him it wouldn't have happened. I so appreciate his help and work.

I feel that today I am back in Spokane among old, old friends. It's so nice to be back here. These friends include Governor Inslee, Senator Patty Murray, Senator Maria Cantwell, and Norm Dicks who spoke in Washington, DC, and here in Spokane. You've all been wonderful friends over the

years. Thank you, Congresswoman Cathy McMorris Rodgers, who recently wrote about the difficulties of balancing life between Washington, DC, and the Fifth District, and being a member of the leadership. I very much appreciated her resolution celebrating TOM's achievements.

Last, I want to thank family members Judge Michael Price and John Latimer for their wonderful remarks. I learned a great deal more about TOM and his family. I particularly appreciated the characterization of his mother who certainly could talk and had an eye for detail.

I want to say a few words about my husband. As you probably know, I worked for him for years as an unpaid staffer. I did not plan to do this when I married him in 1968. I had some vague idea that I might be a trial lawyer or work in a law firm. I knew I couldn't be a lobbyist—that was an obvious thing I couldn't do and didn't want to do.

Somehow after I graduated from law school and passed the bar, I yielded to my husband's complaints about this and that in the office, so I would come in and help for a few hours. Of course, the few hours turned into days, then into weeks, then into months, then into years. Eventually I did become his chief of staff; but before that I always had some title, like assistant to the Congressman. I can't quite remember what they all were, but I kind of worked my way up!

At first, I was allowed to hire a secretary and then he appropriated her as his appointments secretary. Then I was allowed to induce a few other people to come work for us. We had a great staff and we had a great time and we learned so much.

Early on, anybody who knew him realized he was a wonderful teacher. People have written to me since he died to tell me how much he taught them. I can certainly say the same for myself. I have always wondered how he knew so many things. I can look back and say that his father taught him about fairness, patience, and all the virtues everyone else has mentioned today. And his mother certainly taught him to be a Democrat. But I'm not sure where his good judgment came from; maybe from all those discussions with his father, maybe from his Jesuit education. I have to say he just loved coming to visit with the Jesuits here at Gonzaga—it was always a treat. And when I got to come with him, I felt the same way.

I never really knew exactly how he knew to do the right thing, say the right thing, and to be the kindest of all men.

Perhaps it was his honesty, his principles, and his resolve to keep his word. I still don't know.

I think back on our almost 45 years together and I think of the long meetings that perhaps best displayed his ability to reason with people. One was in the late 1960s in Spokane at Shadle Park High School. He accepted the challenge of a man, whose name I believe was Virgil Gunning, to defend his position on gun control. Mr. Gunning was against every law that limited the use of guns and claimed TOM was in support of every law to limit the use of guns. He ran ads in the newspaper and on television, and was able to attract an audience on a weekday night of about 700 people. TOM stood on the stage for 5½ hours in the evening and answered all of Mr. Gunning's allegations. There were also endless questions from the audience, and I remember TOM saying he was not for repealing laws that limited a citizen's use of cannons, rockets, and missiles in their backyards. At first the audience was hostile but at the end Mr. Gunning made one mistake. He had everyone stand up, and then he asked them for money to defray the cost of renting the high school's auditorium and the ads. The audience just walked out! It was amazing.

I had spent a good deal of my life overseas at that time. I had lived in Pakistan, Greece, and Egypt but I had never functioned in a political environment. Even though I had known TOM for 5 years, I had never watched him face a big audience like that.

I was impressed, and I learned over the years that watching TOM talk to so many people with endless patience and understanding—it was just part of him. That's what he did. I also learned so much from watching him talk to Presidents and politicians on both sides of the House and both sides of Capitol Hill. He was somehow able to walk others through their demands and show them where they were asking too much and where they might be right. He could always see the balance of things. He was not afraid to take a position that a constituent or a colleague might oppose and explain why he felt the way he did. He was a man of principle who was not afraid to compromise. He felt there was honor in compromising.

And of course there were the stories. Always the stories. You've heard some of them today. I think sometimes I heard them too many times. But he loved telling them and they were funny. I had the feeling listening to President Clinton



talk about him the other day that TOM had told him all kinds of stories including the ones about the Fifth District.

When TOM nearly lost the election in 1980, when President Reagan was elected, I had never seen him so happy to win. He had thought he was going to lose.

He was then chairman of the House Agriculture Committee and I thought we would go back and he would be chairman again. He had been chairman for 6 years; I knew all the staff and we all worked well together. Well, imagine my surprise when he didn't stay there; he moved up the ladder and became the majority whip.

I have to say I was appalled. We had a much smaller budget than with the House Agriculture Committee; the quarters were without windows, except in his office. It was cramped and it was a whole new life. I didn't know all these people in the Capitol.

I had thought at the end of 1980 that I would go out and get a real job, one that paid you! But, no, I should have known better.

I should have known that this extraordinary man was destined for extraordinary things, that there was still more adventure for him to pursue and for me to come along and watch. So, there I was and along I went. What a journey! How lucky I was to be there to see him and help him along the way.

I'm afraid I have kept you too long. Thank you so very much for coming to salute the life of a great man.

Thank you.

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