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<td>72</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>07/08/1971</td>
<td>Report</td>
<td>LKF notes on meeting at Holmes Tuttle residence. 8 pgs.</td>
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<td>72</td>
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<td>04/13/1972</td>
<td>Letter</td>
<td>John Price to The President re: Congressional race against Lester Woliff. 2 pgs.</td>
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<td>72</td>
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<td>RN to Langhorne Washburn re: Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971. 1 pg</td>
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<td>72</td>
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<td>72</td>
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<td>Herge to MacGregor through Magruder re: Governor Bartlett's Invitation to Governor Reagan. 4 pgs with attachments.</td>
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<td>72</td>
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<td>09/20/1972</td>
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<td>Dean to The President re: Pennsylvania Certification Requirement. 4 pgs with attachments.</td>
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After some small talk and pleasant chatter, Tom Reed produced the attached memorandum, which we all went over, discussing various points.

At the outset, Reed informed the group that the program outlined in the memorandum has been discussed with and was approved by the Attorney General in Washington, D.C. on June 29, 1971, as noted at the end of the memorandum.

Reed indicated they wanted a broad-based delegation, representing all elements of the Party, and that, in order to keep the heat off the Governor, they were going to have a small organizing committee that would be responsible for picking the delegation.

LKF asked him if it was the intention to broaden the Organizing Committee into a selection committee, including legislators and other interested groups. Reed responded that he felt it would not be wise to do so, and that the selection committee should be the five names on the Organizing Committee.

LKF suggested that it would be very necessary for the campaign group to be able to select and invite delegates, based on such factors as contributions to the campaign, desire and ability to work in the campaign, and other considerations that would benefit the campaign committee.

Reed agreed this was necessary, but thought that the Organizing Committee could bear these factors in mind as they were making their selections.

Holmes Tuttle said, "That's the reason you (LKF) were asked to join the Committee, since you are close to the President and the Administration.

LKF made it clear that he had accepted on the basis of the Governor asking him, and that he had received no request or instruction from anyone else to serve on the Committee.

It was announced that Bill Smith will act as Counsel to the Organizing Committee and the Delegation, and will be in charge of operations of the Delegation, under Reed. However, since he is Chairman of the Board of Regents of the University of California, the Governor did not want to have Smith's name made public in this connection.
Bill Smith suggested that August was a little early to announce the Organizing Committee, but Reed insisted it should be done at that time, in order to stop speculation around the State, and in Sacramento in particular.

There was some discussion as to the possibility of a competing delegation, but, generally, we all felt that McCloskey would wash out and would probably not be a threat.

With regard to the schedule item in the memorandum that, late in March 1972, the delegation list would be submitted to the Governor for approval, LKF asked if, since it would be essentially a delegation for President Nixon, it was not the intention that the President would also approve the list?

Reed said we would assume the Governor would take it up with the President.

Finally, Holmes Tuttle said to Reed, "Well, do you want to bring up that other matter?"

Reed sort of mumbled, "What other matter?"

Tuttle said, "Well, you know, about the campaign."

Reed: "Oh, yes. I talked to the Attorney General about it, and he agreed that there would be nothing done on the campaign until the whole thing could be structured at one time and the Attorney General had had a chance to talk about it on the spot here in California."

LKF: "In that connection, I think I should tell you -- you probably are aware of the fact that there was an announcement about three weeks ago that was, to say the least, premature. I don't understand how it got out, but the way I have been explaining it is that, because of my association with the Nixon Foundation, the Californians for Revenue Sh program, and the Citizens for Nixon organization in Washington, D.C., someone might have gotten mixed up and come to the conclusion that I was heading up something else out here. However, the article was simply confused. I talked personally with the Attorney General after that article came out, and simply told him I would be willing to do anything he asked me to do."

LKF also told the group about the call he received from the Governor while in Pebble Beach on Sunday, June 27th.

Bill Smith said the Governor hadn't meant to say that he didn't want LKF, or that LKF would be disruptive. The Governor was only trying to indicate that he didn't think any one name should be put up at this time. Instead, should wait until the full leadership group for the campaign could be structured.
Bill Smith again said the Governor was only implying about waiting to fill out the whole structure.

LKF: "I'm the one who talked to the Governor and I'm telling you what he said."

Bill Smith: "I don't think he meant that. He doesn't consider you disruptive."

LKF concluded by saying he didn't think he was disruptive or divisive and repeated the strong support he has given to Governor Reagan in two campaigns, and also to Senator Murphy last year. He added that he thought he would be able to do the job to the satisfaction of the Party and all concerned, and that, if asked, he would do it.

During the discussion, Reed spoke up and said he thought the Governor meant only that he didn't want one name put up there in front, to be shot at.

* * * * *

next meeting of Organizing Committee scheduled for September 14, 1971.
MEMORANDUM for The File

Telephone Conversation, LKF and RR
Sunday, June 27, 1971

RR telephoned LKF, approx. 10:30 AM, Sunday, June 27th, at Pebble Beach. (LKF had come down to Pebble Beach about midnight, Saturday, June 26th, from San Mateo, after attending Margaret Heatley's wedding and had learned that Holmes Tuttle was staying with the Darts for the week-end at Pebble Beach, but LKF did not have occasion to talk with either of them)

LKF feels sure that RR could have known of LKF's travel plans only through Mr. Dart or Mr. Tuttle, and he is inclined to believe that it was Mr. Tuttle who "programmed" the telephone call.

At the outset, the telephone conversation was about the wedding, golf, and things of a general nature, all in a pleasant exchange.

RR then said: "I was talking to the Attorney General a few days ago about the delegation. In the course of the conversation, the article that was in last Sunday's Los Angeles Times came up."

At that point, LKF said: "Yes, Ron, that was sort of premature. Fortunately, I had to leave for Akron, and did not have to comment on it to the press. However, when I got back to San Francisco, several of my friends asked me about it, and I simply told them that, since I am head of the President's Foundation, and have also been head of the California Revenue-sharing support program, I could only assume someone had jumped to the conclusion I might be heading up a Citizens for Nixon campaign, and in the speculation this kind of an article got published."
That response seemed to slow him down a little. However, he said: "The reason I called you is to tell you that, since we are good friends, I didn't want you to feel I was talking behind your back, and I told the Attorney General I didn't think it would be a good idea for you to serve as Chairman."

He went on to say that the Party had been badly fractured in the past, that the cracks had been painted over with a thin layer, and we just couldn't disrupt things again.

He said: "Of course, we couldn't have Salvatori in the job, from one side of the spectrum, or you (meaning LKF) in the job from the other side of the spectrum."

When he was through, LKF said: "Ron, you have every right to your opinion, and I respect your thoughts, but I simply can't accept the concept that I am divisive in the Party, or would be disruptive. You will recall that I have supported you very liberally on two occasions, and that I probably gave as much or more to George Murphy campaign than anyone, and I have always supported the Party."

He responded: "Oh, you should be in the campaign, but it probably should be run by means of a co-chairmen or committee arrangement, in some manner we could all agree on."

LKF resisted the temptation of asking RR who he had in mind, as he didn't want to bring that up. LKF simply replied that he was dedicated to the re-election of the President, and that he had told the Attorney General he would serve in any capacity the President or the Attor...
General wanted him to serve, adding "I want you to know that if either of them ask me to serve as Campaign Chairman, that is what I am going to do."

LKF further told RR that "if I am asked to do it, I have already told the Attorney General the first thing I would do would be to come to see you and discuss the possibility of you being Honorary Chairman, and to go over the general campaign plans and strategy with you."

RR said he was also going to work hard for the re-election of the President.

LKF said one thing he could suggest for RR to do was to get hold of Reinecke, Younger and Flournoy, and anybody else in the Republican Party who was working now for 1974 and tell them that they are to keep their eyes on 1972 until the President is re-elected. LKF pointed out the fund-raising dinners that Reinecke and Younger are planning.

RR knew about this, but said the trouble was the Democrats are all running now for 1974, to the point where you can't find anyone in Sacramento.

LKF ended up the conversation by commenting we would just have to wait and see how things develop, and said he hoped to see RR soon.
POLICY FOR SELECTION OF THE CALIFORNIA DELEGATION TO THE 1972 REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

MAKEUP:

96 delegates: 2 from each congressional district, 10 at large (no more than 4 from each congressional district), and 96 alternates.

LEADERSHIP:

Governor Reagan, Chairman of delegation. T. C. Reed, Vice-Chairman. Delegation firmly pledged to the renomination of President Nixon.

ORGANIZING COMMITTEE:

T. C. Reed, Chairman; Eleanor Ring; Governor Reagan (to be represented by one staff member); Holmes Tuttle; Leonard Firestone.

Counsel (not for public announcement): W. F. Smith.

Staff: To be selected by Chairman (Reed) with approval of the Committee. Initially, Helen Healey will act as Secretary of the Committee.

Records and Files: Office of the National Committeeman.

SCHEDULE:

August 1971 - Public announcement of organizing committee.
September-December 1971 - Informal "hearings." Luncheon meetings with key leadership. Somewhat formal "hearings" by Reed and Ring at RSCCC State Convention, October 1-3.
January 1972 - Committee commences deliberations as a group, including others as appropriate.
Late March 1972 - (After New Hampshire, Wisconsin, primaries) Submit list to Governor for approval. List to include suggested officers of delegation. No "draft" lists to be released prior to this date.
March 8, 1972 - Earliest date to file for primary.
April 7, 1972 - Latest date to file for primary.

PRIMARY CAMPAIGN MANAGEMENT:

To be determined by the President and the Governor in the spring of 1972 in light of apparent challenges.

PROCEDURES:

Every effort will be made to involve the rank and file of the Republican Party in California in the nominating process; to avoid problems under
rule 14 adopted at the 1968 convention; to assure that as many communities and constituencies as possible are represented; and to build political strength for the President and the Governor consistent with the above. Computer time-sharing and file maintenance will be used to assure the retention and analysis of all nominations.

POLLING:

The Organizing Committee will undertake regular surveys to analyze the probability and nature of a primary challenge to this delegation, and to ascertain the opinions of all Republicans.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE CALIFORNIA DELEGATION AT THE CONVENTION:

To be the responsibility of the National Committeeman and Committee­woman (Reed and Ring). Financial arrangements to be started by the Organizing Committee.

The above discussed with and approved by RR, 7/5/71, Sacramento.

The above policy, but not specific memo, discussed with and approved by John Mitchell, 6/29/71, Washington, D.C.
April 13, 1972

The President
The White House
Washington D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President,

I do not know whether you have been told that I will not, after all, be making the Congressional race against Lester Wolff this year. In reapportionment, there were simply not enough Republican voters both to give a Republican a good chance at Wolff and simultaneously, to create a safe seat for Seymour Halpern. So the best parts of Halpern's district are being put together with a part of Wolff's old district and the two of them will square off.

It has been quite a roller-coaster. I was getting along extremely well with the Queen's County leader, a gruff diamond in the rough named Sidney Hein. He had me designated for a State Senate seat, only for us to bump up against a residency requirement. On top of that, just as he and I were reaching the stage of camaraderie where he said he wanted me on the Statewide ticket in 1974, he died - last week.

I am now at Dan Lufkin's former investment banking firm, concentrating on new town financing, housing and the financial services industry, a very sensible thing to do since I have no capital of my own. Sometimes the fates while seeming to conspire against you, may be conspiring for you.

This fall I will be coordinating your campaign in Queen's County, a very interesting place politically, and one quite critical to your carrying New York. I attach an article you may have missed from this week's New York Times.
Queens is a bellwether county, having gone for the winning candidate for nearly every Statewide office the last ten or twelve years—thus, Rockefeller, Javits, Buckley, Humphrey, Lyndon et al., have carried it, as surprising as that combination seems. It casts more votes than any other county in New York.

I hope to be of help there to you. If I can be of help in any other way, please count on me, and call me.

Best wishes to you

Sincerely,

John R. Price, Jr.

cc H.R. Haldeman
    John D. Ehrlichman
    John Mitchell
JRP:lt
July 20, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR: C. LANGHORNE WASHBURN
FINANCE COMMITTEE TO
RE-ELECT THE PRESIDENT

Sections 104(b) and (c) of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 require that a candidate for the office of President, or a person specifically authorized in writing by such candidate, certify to any person making a charge for use of any newspaper, magazine, outdoor advertising facility or broadcasting station on behalf of his candidacy that payment of such charge will not violate the expenditure limitations imposed by Title I of the Act.

In accordance with this requirement and the regulations and guidelines found in 11 CFR 4.12(c) and the answer to Question 1, Part VII of the March 16, 1972 Federal Communications Commission Public Notice entitled "Use of Broadcast and Cablecast Facilities: Candidates for Public Office", I hereby authorize you to make such certifications on my behalf for my campaign for nomination and election to the office of President. In that these regulations and guidelines also require a statement of any restrictions or limitations on your authority to act in this regard, by this memorandum I notify you that none are imposed.

[Signature]
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

July 12, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR:  THE PRESIDENT
FROM:  CHARLES COLSON
SUBJECT: Democrats for Nixon

During your meeting with John Connally, you might wish to get into the question of Democrats for Nixon and Connally's role. Needless to say, he is a virtually unanimous choice to head the organization if he will do so. Clark McGregor and I opened this question yesterday. We didn't conclude anything but we discussed the question thoroughly (separate detailed memo is attached).

We have been moving ahead, as you know, with efforts to recruit a number of prominent Democrats. We have done so because in the immediate aftermath of the Convention the anti-McGovern feelings will be the strongest and we can build momentum during this period, creating the public impression of a wholesale defection from McGovern. We have proceeded in the knowledge, however, that John Connally likes to do things his way and that he might resent some of the efforts we have made since he in effect was not running the show. We have, therefore, been walking a tightrope.

What we would like to come out of your meeting with Connally is his ratification of what we have done to date and his willingness to in effect take over what we have gotten started. Alternatively, we need a green light to go ahead with our next best choices to head at least for now the Democrats' effort.

All of the endorsements that we have sought thus far have been of individuals. Jeno Paulucci went a little further than we had asked and formed a Committee of Concerned Democrats and Independents with 7 other members. We want to fold it into Democrats for Nixon on the assumption that Connally approves; if Connally does object, we can, of course, keep it independent but this will give us some problems with Paulucci, who is sensitive to being in a subordinate position.
Paulucci, like Dwayne Andreas, expects Connally to run a national operation; if, in fact, we ask Paulucci, Andreas and their friends to be part of something other than the National Democrats for Nixon effort. I fear they may feel we are downgrading their importance. Andreas has a list of prominent former Humphrey supporters that he wants to recruit immediately but once again he feels the need to find the mechanism to bring them in. Max Fisher has at least a dozen prominent Jewish Democrats that want to be folded into our organization. Once again, we need a place for them to come.

We have also picked up the endorsement and/or commitment to endorse of several labor leaders. In addition to the Teamsters, we have Calhoon, Gleason, Ken Lyons, Mike May, Breman, quite likely Rademacher and a series of lesser lights, principally state level leaders.

Rizzo will be announcing soon as will Lausche. Smathers and Jack March are working through the lists of former Members of Congress. We have a bloc of former Jackson supporters headed by John Kenney who will announce, but who would like to talk to Connally first. Balzano has a group of reasonably prominent ethnics who can either be folded into Democrats for Nixon or become part of the ethnic apparatus.

We have done nothing in terms of organization structure because once again, knowing Connally's personality, we have not wanted to jump the gun on him. We would like to get the organization established, set up a national office, have Connally announce its existence and, of course, his chairmanship as soon as possible. This will be the invitation to disaffected Democrats whom we have not sought but who are looking for a place to come.

It is the recommendation of McGregor, Mitchell and I that Connally move as soon as possible so that he can become the catalyst we need. A series of individual endorsements over the next two weeks is fine but none of them will have the national impact of an announcement of a national organization opening followed by a daily announcement of new recruits.

On the organization side, we have hired two young men, temporarily running the effort out of an improvised office. One is a young Washington PR man, former aide to Sargent Shriver by the name of Mickey Gardner. I am very impressed with what I have seen of him so far and would hope he would meet with Connally's approval. He has given up his PR job and is available to us through the campaign. We also have John O'Neill, a first year law student from Texas, for the next two months. (He made something of a national name debating John Kerry.) To run the operation here, it is
my strong recommendation that we bring in Mike Monroney, Jr. as the principal chief, day to day operative. Gardner and O'Neill would work for him. I have known Monroney for many years. Connally knows his father. Monroney is 45, ran for Congress in Maryland and lost, is a life-long Democrat, but conservative and a Jackson supporter. He is prepared to fold up his own business to spend full time, but needless to say, is unwilling to make that move without knowing he has Connally's blessing. Mike also would like for personal reasons to have Connally talk to his father, Former Senator Monroney. Monroney's feeling is that a call from Connally would make his father more understanding of Mike's desire to join the campaign and, more importantly, it will also result in his father joining Democrats for Nixon as well. Monroney, Sr. was very highly regarded by his colleagues and this would be a very significant defection.

I have not attempted in the foregoing to enumerate all of the potential Democratic defections that we believe we have. We believe prominent sitting Democrats in Congress will work for us even if quietly or perhaps will permit their associates to be involved in our effort (as is the case with Rooney and Delaney). We also believe parts of the Daley operation will support us publicly. We have enormous possibilities on Wall Street. We have some Democratic political leaders like Esposito. We have former Democratic office holders like Governor Gary of Oklahoma and Governor McNair of South Carolina.

The problem in a nutshell is that we cannot move out and really do the aggressive job we need to until we staff an operation and give people a committee to join. We cannot set up the committee and staff the operation until we know where we stand with Connally; hence, we are really very much in limbo at the very time when we should be actively and publicly bringing Democrats into the fold.
MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE CLARK MAC GREGOR

THROUGH: JEB S. MAGRUDER

FROM: J. CURTIS HERGE

SUBJECT: Governor Bartlett’s Invitation to Governor Reagan

On May 31, 1972, Governor Bartlett wrote Mr. Mitchell, outlining his need for appearances by the President, the Vice President, Sec. Connally, Sec. Butz and Gov. Reagan in support of his Senatorial campaign. A copy of that letter is attached.

On June 19, 1972, Governor Bartlett wrote Governor Reagan, requesting that he appear in Oklahoma in early September. A copy of that letter is also attached.

With respect to Gov. Reagan’s proposed appearance, you will recall that the Governor has agreed to make approximately ten out-of-state appearances for us on behalf of the President. Because of the President’s apparent strength in Oklahoma, I suggested to Clayton Yeutter that we advise Governor Reagan that an acceptance of Governor Bartlett’s invitation would be his personal decision and that it should not be considered to count against his commitment to us. A copy of Clayton’s reply to my suggestion is attached. We relayed that advice to Governor Reagan’s office.

For your information, we have scheduled an appearance by Sec. Butz in Oklahoma on August 15, 1972. The Secretary will deliver the keynote address at a fund-raising dinner for Governor Bartlett on that date.

Attachments

cc: Herbert L. Porter
May 31, 1972

The Honorable John Mitchell
Committee to Re-elect the President
1701 Pennsylvania Avenue N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

Dear John:

I enjoyed very much talking to you today. At your suggestion, I will put down the highlights of my request:

It would be most valuable to our campaign to have the President, who is very popular in Oklahoma, to be in Oklahoma and to support me for the Senate. He would be most welcome any time and, of course, at the end of the campaign in the last week before the election would be most helpful to our campaign, peaking on election day.

Having the vice-presidential nominee would also be a tremendous help, preferably near the end of the campaign.

John Connally, because of his being a Democrat, a neighbor and so highly regarded in Oklahoma, would be invaluable to our success in the Senate race. His support could very well make the difference. He told me that he would consider supporting me. Having him in Oklahoma during the week of October 30, if the President is unavailable, would be tremendous.

I would like to have Secretary Butz in Oklahoma twice: once anytime during the summer months and one time in the Fall, preferably during the week of October 23, if John Connally comes the last week.

In addition, I talked with Ronald Reagan about appearing at a kick-off for me on September 20, 21 or 22 and he agreed subject to approval from you. His appearance would launch us in good shape.

Sincerely,

Dewey F. Bartlett

P.S.: Be sure and follow up with John Connally. I will not contact John further until I hear from you.
To Curt Neher

I concur with your suggestion. Bartlett needs all the help he can get, and Reagan can probably help him more than anyone other than the President. We'll get some spinoff benefit from Reagan visit to Oklahoma, but nothing major unless we use him for appearances other than the Bartlett event — and Davey might not appreciate that.

[Signature]

He asked Patsey to relay to Pat Chapman

6/29 Sue Demarest discussed with me and she will call Reagan
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
September 20, 1972

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOHN DEAN

SUBJECT: Pennsylvania Certification Requirement

Pennsylvania state law requires that a candidate for the office of President shall, within 30 days of his nomination, certify a list of persons to be candidates for the office of presidential elector. Forwarded for your signature is a letter of certification which complies with this requirement.

Recommendation

That you sign the letter attached at Tab A
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 20, 1972

Dear Secretary Tucker:

In accordance with the requirements of Pennsylvania state law, I hereby certify my nomination of the twenty-seven individuals named on the attached list to be candidates of the Republican Party for the office of presidential elector in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

Honorable C. Delores Tucker
Secretary of the Commonwealth
Commonwealth of Pennsylvania
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania 17120
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<td>1352 Easton Road</td>
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<td>Mrs. Marian W. Bell</td>
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<td>Oil City, Pa.</td>
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<td>Philip L. Corson</td>
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<td>Bryn Mawr, Pa.</td>
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<td>Mrs. Eugenia Madeira</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Richard M. Scaife</td>
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<td>5201 Westminster Place</td>
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Charles D. Snelling  
2949 Greenleaf Street  
Allentown, Pa.

Mrs. Jane P. Swiss  
3495 School Road  
Murrysville, Pa.

Mrs. Shirley Watkins Steinman  
Rawlinsville  
Pennsylvania

Frank Toman  
518 W. Emaus Avenue  
Allentown, Pa.

Paul Utnehmer  
1615 Second Street  
Beaver, Pa.

Mrs. Gail Witkin  
220 West Rittenhouse Square  

Charles W. Wolf  
112 Baltimore Street  
Gettysburg, Pa.

Richard Wright  
20 Churchill Road  
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Jacques Zinman  
224 N. Bowman Avenue  
Merion Station P.O.  
Merion, Pa.