

CHAPTER 1

No-agents-on-the-limousine “policy”

The Warren Commission was puzzled—as were select members of the media and the public: Why were no agents protecting President Kennedy during the fateful Dallas motorcade of November 22, 1963 by being posted on the back of the limousine, holding the hand rails built for just that purpose on either side of the car?¹ Or, at the very least, why weren't the agents walking or running beside the car? After all, in most people's minds, agents had performed these functions since at least the days of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. In response to the Warren Commission's justifiable curiosity on this subject, and only because they demanded an answer, Secret Service Chief James J. Rowley had agents Jerry Behn, Floyd Boring, Emory Roberts, John Ready, and Clint Hill write reports of their experiences with the President concerning this matter of security (why Roy Kellerman, the nominal agent in charge of the Dallas trip, and the numerous other Texas agents weren't asked is unstated). Interestingly, nothing is mentioned specifically about November 22, 1963, as was requested by the Commission. That said, on first glance, all five reports appear to support the notion that President Kennedy did not want agents on or near the rear of his limousine. However, that's at first glance—a look at each agent who authored a report is in order.

Special Agent In Charge (SAIC) of White House Detail (WHD) **Gerald A. “Jerry” Behn**, not on the Texas trip, stated unequivocally in his report (dated April 16, 1964, the fourth report to Rowley) that JFK “told me that he did not want agents riding on the back of his car.” Coming from the leader of the White House Detail, the man who was the direct pipeline to the President, this alleged presidential edict seems to be an authoritative and conclusive fact.

However, during the course of three exclusive interviews with the author, Mr. Behn let out a most unexpected bombshell: “I don't remember Kennedy ever saying that he didn't want anybody on the back of his car.” Before the author could catch his breath, Behn even added that newsreel footage from the period will bear him out on this point, one of many examples being the June 1963 trip to Berlin (there are many others from 1961 to 1963): “I think if you watch the newsreel pictures you'll find agents on there from time to time,” Behn said.

Mr. Behn's reputation was and is impeccable: former Agent Maurice G. Martineau told the author on September 9, 1993: “No one that I can think of would have been better positioned to give you information than Jerry Behn ... [he was] as well informed as anyone I can think of that you could contact.” Behn garnered the utmost respect from his colleagues that the author spoke with.

Mr. Behn ended his report by stating, “As late as November 18 [1963] ... he [JFK] told ASAIC Boring the same thing [or so Boring claimed].”

Assistant Special Agent In Charge (ASAIC) **Floyd M. Boring**, also not on the Texas trip, dealt primarily with the November 18, 1963 Tampa, Florida trip in his report (dated April 8, 1964, the *first* report to Rowley), while also mentioning the July 2, 1963 Italy trip, alleging that President Kennedy made this request for both stops. Boring made the Florida trip in place of Mr. Behn.

That said, in yet another alarming contradiction that caught the author totally off guard, Boring exclaimed: "No, no, no—that's not true ... [JFK] was a very easy-going guy ... he didn't interfere with our actions at all," thus also contradicting his report (more on Mr. Boring in a moment).

Assistant to the Special Agent in Charge (ATSAIC) **Emory P. Roberts** (on the Florida and Texas trips), the commander of the Secret Service follow-up car: The late Mr. Roberts dealt exclusively with the November 18, 1963 Tampa, Florida trip in his report (dated April 10, 1964, number 2): Boring was Roberts' sole source, via radio transmission from the limousine ahead of his follow-up vehicle, for JFK's alleged request.

Special Agent (SA) **John David "Jack" Ready** (on the Texas trip): Ready's very brief report (dated April 11, 1964, number 3) deals exclusively with the November 18, 1963 Tampa, Florida trip. However, Mr. Ready was not on this specific trip: Mr. Boring was, once again, his source for JFK's alleged request. Ready would not respond to written inquiries from the author. The author phoned Mr. Ready on June 13, 2005 and asked him if it was true that Boring said this, based on JFK's request. After confirming he wasn't on the Tampa trip, Ready stated: "Not on the phone [will I answer you]. I don't know you from Adam. Can you see my point?"

SA **Clinton J. "Clint" Hill** (on the Texas trip): Hill also deals with the November 18, 1963 Tampa, Florida trip and Boring second-hand in his (strangely undated and, presumably, the last) report: Mr. Hill was not on this trip, either. Mr. Hill lives incommunicado in Virginia and will not grant private interviews. That said, the author was the first private researcher to get through to Mr. Hill (more on this in a moment). Interestingly, Mr. Hill's brother-in-law is none other than fellow former agent David B. Grant, a former advance agent who worked on the planning of the Florida and Texas trips with none other than Mr. Boring.

So of the five Secret Service reports, four have as their *primary* source for JFK's alleged request Agent Boring, including one by Boring himself, while the remaining report, written by Mr. Behn, mentions the same November 18, 1963 trip with Mr. Boring as the others do (again, Boring's report was the first one written, then came one each from Roberts, Ready, Behn, and Hill, respectively). Both Behn and Boring totally contradicted the contents of their reports at different times, independent of each other, to the author. In addition, agents *did* ride on the rear of the limousine on July 2, 1963 and November 18, 1963 anyway, despite these alleged Presidential requests, as the film and photo record proves.² Needless to say, with Boring joining Behn in refuting the substance of their reports, the official Secret Service 'explanation' falls like a house of cards.

Behn's, Boring's, and Hill's reports are not even on any Secret Service or Treasury Dept. stationary, just blank sheets of paper. In fact, as noted above, Hill's report is undated, a bizarre error to make in an official government report written by request of the head of the Secret Service.

All are supposedly evidence of JFK expressing his desire to keep Secret Service agents off the limousine, particularly in Tampa, Florida on November 18, 1963.

Importantly, no mention is made of any alleged orders via President Kennedy's staff.

And, again, there is nothing about what JFK said or "requested" on November 22, 1963, the critical day in question!

In fact, the devastating effect these agent's "tales" had can be best summed up by Treasury Secretary C. Douglas Dillon's Memorandum for Chief Justice Warren dated December 18, 1963 (which, by the way, predates the April 1964 reports): "... the President had frequently stated that he did not wish to have the agents riding on these steps [on rear of limousine] during a motorcade and had repeated this wish only a few days previously to agents assigned to him in Tampa [Florida, November 18, 1963]. (In Dallas SA Hill, who had been assigned to Mrs. Kennedy and had not been in Tampa with the President, occasionally rode on the left rear step. *Agent Ready, who was aware that the President had specifically stated his objection to agents riding on the steps, did not ride the step in Dallas.*)" [Emphasis added.]

The evolution of the myth

Floyd Boring (and quite a few of his colleagues) categorically denied to the author what William Manchester reports in his acclaimed massive best-seller *The Death of a President*: "Kennedy grew weary of seeing bodyguards roosting behind him every time he turned around [indicating the frequency of the event], and in Tampa on November 18 [1963], just four days before his death, *he dryly asked Agent Floyd Boring to 'keep those Ivy League charlatans off the back of the car.'* Boring wasn't offended. *There had been no animosity in the remark.*"³ [Emphasis added.] Incredibly, Boring told this author, "I never told him that." As for the merit of the quote itself, as previously mentioned, Boring said, "No, no, no—that's not true," thus contradicting his own report in the process. Incredibly, *Boring was not even interviewed for Manchester's book!* We may never know Mr. Manchester's source for this curious statement: he told the author on August 23, 1993 that "... all that material is under seal and won't be released in my lifetime" and denied the author access to his notes (Manchester has since passed away).⁴ Interestingly, Manchester did interview the late Emory Roberts, Manchester's probable and—as we shall see—very questionable "source."⁵ We will return to Mr. Boring and Mr. Roberts in detail later. Needless to say, Manchester left his mark on this issue.⁶

Jim Bishop, in his own massive best-selling book *The Day Kennedy Was Shot*, does nothing more than repeat the written record of the Warren Commission and the previously mentioned five reports, taken at face value. Again, Mr. Bor-

ing was not interviewed for the book. With Mr. Bishop dead, this is where the matter rests with his account. That said, Jim Bishop did sum up the situation best: "No one wanted to weigh the possibilities that, *if a Secret Service man had been on the left rear bumper going down Elm Street*, it would have been difficult to hit President Kennedy [emphasis added]." Bishop also noted: "The Secret Service men were not pleased because they were in a 'hot' city and would have preferred to have two men ride the bumper of the President's car with two motorcycle policemen between him [JFK] and the crowds on the sidewalks."⁷

Still, thanks to the Secret Service reports above (and, in large measure, to Agent Boring himself), three massive best-sellers still in print—the Warren Report,⁸ Manchester's *The Death of a President*, and Bishop's *The Day Kennedy Was Shot*—have created the myth that JFK was difficult to protect and had ordered the agents off his car and the like, a dangerous myth that endures to this day in classrooms and in the media, thus doing great damage to the true historical record.⁹

The House Select Committee on Assassinations (HSCA) *Final Report* continued the Secret Service myth of "blaming the victim" in the late 1970s in this fashion: "... [JFK] almost recklessly resisted the protective measures the Secret Service urged him to adopt ... He [allegedly] told the Special Agent in Charge of the White House Detail [Behn] that he did not want agents to ride on the rear of his car." Also, the Committee wrote, "He scoffed at many of the measures designed to protect him" Finally, in the coup de grace, the Report states: "Had the agents assigned to the motorcade been alert to the possibility of sniper fire [?], they possibly could have convinced the President to allow them to maintain protective positions on the rear bumper of the Presidential limousine ... the Committee recognized, however, that President Kennedy consistently rejected the Secret Service's suggestions that he permit agents to ride on the rear bumper of the Presidential limousine."¹⁰

Furthermore, actor John Malkovich repeated the myth of JFK's alleged orders to millions of theater patrons in the Secret Service "sponsored" blockbuster 1993 Clint Eastwood movie *In The Line Of Fire*: "You wanted to station agents on his bumpers and sideboards—he refused. And do you know why I think he refused? I think he refused because he had a death wish." Author Gerald Posner did the same in his best-selling book *Case Closed*: "As the President and his staff had requested ... no Secret Service men rode on the running boards attached to the rear."¹¹ Not only is it a matter of common knowledge that Clint Hill rode briefly on the rear of the limousine four different times, albeit before entering the site of the assassination, Dealey Plaza (and against the "new" Secret Service wishes), no actual Secret Service agents are credited in the actual text or endnotes of Posner's book. So where did Posner get his information? The author emailed Posner and received this surprising reply on March 4, 1998: "Without checking my files (you're asking about research six and seven years ago), I don't remember interviewing any SS agents for the record, and I don't remember off hand even talking to any for background. I am almost certain I merely relied on orig. docs, or the agents' original interviews and/or testimony," a view Posner later confirmed to researcher W. Tracy Parnell. That said, Posner *did* contact, but did *not* interview, none other than Agent Floyd M. Boring, who in turn put him in

touch with Percy Hamilton Brown, the Executive Secretary of the Former Agents of the Secret Service. (Although Brown is credited on page 503 of his book, in the *Acknowledgements* section, it was only through the author's interview with Boring that his contact with Posner was inadvertently revealed.) In this author's view, Posner's statements to this author and Parnell appear to be true. In addition, it appears that, ostensibly, like Boring, Brown was of no actual help to Posner, but his name was put in the tail end of the book anyway.¹²

However, the "one-two" punch was provided in the late 1990s by both former Carter and Reagan SAIC Jerry Parr's comments to Larry King on CNN dated July 14, 1998, as well as, controversially, then-current Clinton Secret Service Director Lewis C. Merletti. For his part, Parr, a major consultant to the *In The Line of Fire* movie, told Larry King: "The critical factor [in Dallas] ... was the fact that he ordered the two agents off the car ... which made him very vulnerable to Lee Oswald's attack." Regarding Merletti, the *Washington Post* reported on May 14, 1998: "During private meetings, sources said, Merletti told officials from [Kenneth] Starr's office [investigating the President Clinton / Monica Lewinsky matter] and the Treasury and Justice departments that trust and proximity to a president are crucial to protecting him¹³ ... the service ran through the history of assassination attempts, showing instances where they succeeded or failed, possibly depending on how close agents were to an intended victim. Sources said they produced rare photographs of John F. Kennedy's fateful 1963 motorcade through Dallas, where agents were not standing on running boards on the back of his exposed automobile when shots rang out *because the president several days before had ordered them not to ... Merletti indicated to the court that the assassination in a moving limousine of President John F. Kennedy 'might have been thwarted had agents been stationed on the car's running boards [emphasis added].'*" To drive the point home even further, here is an excerpt from Director Merletti's testimony, as reported in the *Washington Post* of May 20, 1998: "I have attached, as Exhibit A to this Declaration, photographs of President John F. Kennedy's visit to Tampa, Florida on November 18, 1963. *We use these photographs*, and the ones attached as Exhibit B, *in our training exercises*. Exhibit A demonstrates the lengths to which protective personnel have been forced to go to try to maintain proximity to the President. In the photographs contained in Exhibit A, *agents are kneeling on the running board of the Presidential limousine, while the vehicle was traveling at a high rate of speed* [note: a contradiction—according to prior official agency mythology, the agents shouldn't even be there at all!].¹⁴ I can attest that this requires extraordinary physical exertion. Nevertheless, they performed this duty in an attempt to maintain close physical proximity to the President. Exhibit B, by contrast, scarcely needs any introduction. It is a series of photographs of the Presidential limousine, taken just four days later, on November 22, 1963, in Dallas, Texas. *As can be seen, at the instruction of the President, Secret Service agents had been ordered off of the limousine's running boards*. An analysis of the ensuing assassination (including the trajectory of the bullets which struck the President) indicates that it might have been thwarted had agents been stationed on the car's running boards. In other words, had they been able to maintain close proximity to the President during the motorcade, the assassination of John F. Kennedy might have been averted. Exhibit C contains a series of photographs

taken during the actual assassination that demonstrate how critical and tragic the absence of proximity to the protectee can be." [Emphasis added.]

Now for the truth

Out of all the Secret Service agents in Kennedy's detail, Clint Hill was the first one to reveal his guilt and sorrow in a public forum.¹⁵ As Jackie Kennedy revealed soon after the assassination: "... Clint Hill, he loved us, he was the first man in the car"¹⁶ Recently, Hill's life was dramatized by Clint Eastwood in the movie *In the Line of Fire*. It is fitting, then, that Agent Hill's report was the most honest of the five: "*I... never personally was requested by President John F. Kennedy not to ride on the rear of the Presidential automobile. I did receive information passed verbally from the administrative offices of the White House Detail of the Secret Service to Agents assigned to that Detail that President Kennedy had made such requests. I do not know from whom I received this information ... No written instructions regarding this were ever distributed ... [I] received this information after the President's return to Washington, D.C. This would have been between November 19, 1963 and November 21, 1963 [note the time frame!]. I do not know specifically who advised me of this request by the President.*" [Emphasis added.]

Mr. Hill's undated report was presumably written in April 1964, as the other four reports were written at that time. Why Mr. Hill could not "remember" the specific name of the agent who gave him JFK's alleged desires is very troubling—he revealed it on March 9, 1964, presumably before his report was written, in his (obviously pre-rehearsed) testimony under oath to the future Senator Arlen Specter, then a lawyer with the Warren Commission¹⁷:

Specter: "Did you have any other occasion en route from Love Field to downtown Dallas to leave the follow-up car and mount that portion of the President's car [rear portion of limousine]?"

Hill: "*I did the same thing approximately four times.*"

Specter: "What are the standard regulations and practices, if any, governing such an action on your part?"

Hill: "It is left to the *agent's discretion* more or less to move to that particular position when he feels that there is a danger to the President: to place himself as close to the President or the First Lady as my case was, as possible, which I did."

Specter: "Are those practices specified in any written documents of the Secret Service?"

Hill: "*No, they are not.*"

Specter: "Now, had there been any instruction or comment about your performance of that type of a duty with respect to anything President Kennedy himself had said in the period immediately preceding the trip to Texas?"

Hill: "Yes, sir; there was. The preceding Monday, the President was on a trip to Tampa, Florida, and he requested that the agents not ride on either of those two steps."

Specter: "And to whom did the President make that request?"

Hill: "*Assistant Special Agent in Charge Boring.*"

Specter: "Was Assistant Special Agent in Charge Boring the individual in charge of that trip to Florida?"

Hill: "He was riding in the Presidential automobile on that trip in Florida, and I presume that he was. *I was not along.*"

Specter: "Well, on that occasion would he have been in a position comparable to that occupied by Special Agent Kellerman on this trip to Texas?"

Hill: "Yes sir; the same position."

Specter: "*And Special Agent Boring informed you of that instruction by President Kennedy?*"

Hill: "*Yes sir, he did.*"

Specter: "*Did he make it a point to inform other special agents of that same instruction?*"

Hill: "*I believe that he did, sir.*"

Specter: "And, as a result of what President Kennedy said to him, *did he instruct you to observe that Presidential admonition?*"

Hill: "Yes, sir."

Specter: "How, if at all, did that instruction of President Kennedy affect your action and—your action in safeguarding him on this trip to Dallas?"

Hill: "*We did not ride on the rear portions of the automobile. I did on those four occasions because the motorcycles had to drop back and there was no protection on the left-hand side of the car.*"

[Emphasis added.]

Yet, during his Warren Commission testimony, Chief Rowley was asked the following:

Mr. Rankin: "*Chief Rowley, I should like to have you state for the record, for the Commission, whether the action of President Kennedy in making these statements was understood by you or properly could have been understood by the agents as relieving them of any responsibility about the protection of the President.*"

Mr. Rowley: "No; I would not so construe that, Mr. Rankin. The agents would respond regardless of what the President said if the situation indicated a potential danger. The facilities were available to them. They had the rear steps, they would be there as a part of the screen. And immediately in the event of any emergency they would have used them."¹⁸

[Emphasis added.]

Rowley even added:

"Now, if the thing gets too sticky, you put the agent right in the back seat, which I have done many times with past Presidents."¹⁹

By "we", Mr. Hill probably meant agent John Ready, who was recalled by Agent Emory Roberts to the follow-up car when he started to react to the gunfire on November 22, 1963. Mr. Roberts had ordered the men not to move even after recognizing the first shot as a shot, while a host of others thought the noise was a mere firecracker or motorcycle backfire.²⁰ Mr. Roberts was the SAIC of the follow-up car who attempted, along with Ready, to defend his strange actions and inactions by noting the speed of the limousine, which was actually decelerating from an already slow speed of 11.2 miles per hour, not the "15-20" or "20-25" miles per hour noted in Ready's and Roberts' reports, as well as the distance between his car and the limousine, which was merely a scant five feet at the most when the shooting began, not the "20-25" and "25-30" feet noted in their reports.²¹ (Even Inspector Thomas Kelley got into the act, later testifying, "The agents, of course, in the follow-up car were some distance away from the action.")²² If that wasn't enough, Ready's first report stated the follow-up car slowed. His next report stated it was JFK's limo that slowed instead (actually, both vehicles slowed down).

Regarding Roberts' disturbing order not to move, agent Sam Kinney, the driver of the follow-up car, told the author that this was "exactly right".²³ SA Ready was the agent who was assigned to JFK's side of the limousine, as Clint Hill was assigned to Jackie's side.²⁴ Roberts came to Ready's rescue in yet another report: "SA Ready would have done the same thing [as Agent Hill did] if motorcycle was not at President's corner of car" [!]²⁵ Strange, but this posed no problem at all for Agent Donald J. Lawton on November 18, 1963, in Tampa (but unfortunately, like Agent Henry Rybka, Lawton was left at Love Field and was not in the motorcade detail). Even Chief Rowley got in on the act—he told the Warren Commission, "Mr. Hill, who was on the left side, responded immediately—as he looked toward the Presidential car, being on the left side, he scanned from left to right, and when he saw there was something happening to the President following a noise, he immediately jumped from his position to get aboard from his side. Mr. Ready scanned to the right so he was looking away from the President, because he was looking around from the right side. As a consequence, *he wasn't aware of what was happening in the front. The car was also going on a turn at that time.*"²⁶ [Emphasis added.] The car was actually heading straight to the overpass at the time.

If that weren't enough, as this author discovered back in 1991 when viewing slow motion black and white video footage of the Love Field departure,²⁷ one can see agent Henry J. Rybka²⁸ jogging to the rear of the limousine on JFK's side only to be recalled by none other than Emory P. Roberts, who rises in his seat in the follow-up car and, using his voice and several hand-gestures, orders Rybka to cease and desist!²⁹ As the ARRB's Doug Horne wrote in a memo dated April 16, 1996, based on viewing the aforementioned video shown during the author's presentation at a 1995 research conference (later to be shown during the author's appearance on the History Channel in 2003): "The bafflement of the agent who is twice waved off of the limousine is clearly evident. This unambiguous and clearly observed behavior would seem to be corroboration that the change in security procedure which was passed to SA Clint Hill earlier in the week by ASAIC Floyd Boring of the Secret Service White House Detail was very recent, ran contrary to standing procedure, and that not everyone on the White House Detail involved in Presidential protection had been informed of this change." (With regard to the Love Field video, former agent Larry Newman told the author he "never saw that before" and, when questioned on the matter, said he didn't know all the particulars and that Tim McIntyre would be a good source for the author on this. More on Mr. McIntyre in a moment.)

All of this begs the question: *Were Rybka and Lawton the two agents who were supposed to have rode on the rear of the limousine in Dallas?*

It appears that Mr. Hill disobeyed Mr. Roberts by running after the limousine during the shooting. Just as important, Mr. Hill disobeyed Mr. Boring's orders by mounting the rear of the limousine four times briefly prior to the shooting on November 22, 1963.³⁰ Interestingly, Agent Boring just happened to be in charge of *planning* the Texas trip for the Secret Service!³¹ For his part, number 3 man Roy Kellerman indicated to the Warren Commission that on November 17, 1963 he was given the assignment to be the nominal agent in charge of the Dallas trip.³²

Keeping everything above in sharp focus, the following agents, family members, White House aides, and sundry other important figures in-the-know—well over thirty in all—confirmed that *Kennedy* did not restrict agents from riding on or near the rear of the limousine, among other things, including debunking the whole fraudulent notion that JFK was difficult to protect (a few duly noted "exceptions", that are anything but, are included as well³³):

Rufus W. Youngblood, ASAIC of LBJ Detail: On October 22, 1992, Youngblood confirmed to the author: "There was not a standing order" from JFK to restrict agents from the back of the limousine—the agents had "assigned posts and positions" on the back of the President's car.³⁴ On February 8, 1994, Youngblood added: "President Kennedy wasn't a hard ass ... he never said anything like that [re removing agents from limo and the like]. As a historian, he [Manchester] flunked the course—don't read Manchester." Youngblood knows of what he speaks: he was interviewed by Manchester on November 17, 1964.³⁵

Robert I. Bouck, SAIC of the Protective Research Section (PRS): On September 27, 1992, Bouck confirmed to the author that having agents on the back of

the limousine depended on factors *independent* of any alleged Presidential "requests": "Many times there were agents on his car." On April 30, 1996, the ARRB's Doug Horne questioned Bouck: "Did you ever hear the President personally say that he didn't want agents to stand on the running boards on his car, or did you hear that from other agents?" Bouck: "I never heard the President say that personally. *I heard that from other agents* [emphasis added]." The former agent also told the ARRB that JFK was the "most congenial" of all the presidents he had observed (Bouck served from FDR to LBJ).

DNC Advance man **Martin E. "Marty" Underwood**: He could not believe that Mr. Behn wrote in his report that JFK desired to have the agents off the car (later repudiated by Mr. Behn, of course), citing Clint Hill's actions on November 22, 1963 as just one of "many times" that agents were posted on the back of the JFK limousine. During this October 9, 1992 interview, Underwood confirmed to the author that JFK never ordered the agents off the rear of the car.

Aide **David F. Powers** (rode in the follow-up car on November 22, 1963) and **Jacqueline Kennedy** (rode with President Kennedy in the limousine): In a personal letter to the author dated September 10, 1993, Mr. Powers wrote: "Unless they were 'running' along beside the limo, the Secret Service rode in a car behind the President, so, no, they *never* had to be told to 'get off' the limousine." [Emphasis added.] This comment rivals Behn's shocking statements to the author due to the source: President Kennedy's longtime friend and aide and a man who was on countless trips with the President. For the record, Agent Bob Lilley endorsed Mr. Powers' view: "Dave would give you factual answers."³⁶ In addition, the ARRB's Tom Samoluk told the author that, during the course of an interview he conducted with Powers in 1996, the former JFK aide and friend *agreed* with the author's take on the Secret Service!³⁷

For her part, Jackie "played the events over and over in her mind She did not want to accept Jack's death as a freak accident, for that meant his life could have been spared—if only the driver in the front seat of the presidential limousine [Agent William R. Greer] had reacted more quickly and stepped on the gas ... *if only the Secret Service had stationed agents on the rear bumper* ... [emphasis added]."³⁸

Winston G. Lawson, WHD (lead) advance agent for the Dallas trip (rode in the lead car on November 22, 1963): In a stunning letter to the author dated January 12, 2004, Lawson wrote: "*I do not know of any standing orders for the agents to stay off the back of the car. After all, foot holds and handholds were built into that particular vehicle.* I am sure it would have been on a 'case by case' basis depending on event, *intelligence, threats*, etc. Jerry Behn as Special Agent in Charge of the White House Detail ... would have been privy to that type of info more than I [see above]. *However, it never came to my attention as such.* I am certain agents were on the back on certain occasions." [Emphasis added.] The agent should be certain of that last understatement—he rode on the back of the limousine on the July 2, 1963 Italy trip. Coming from one of the chief architects of security planning in Dallas, this is very important, to say the least.

Abraham W. Bolden, Sr.: In reference to Kennedy's alleged "requests", Mr. Bolden told the author on numerous occasions in 1993–6 that he "didn't hear anything about that ... I never believed that Kennedy said that [ordering removal of agents]". Bolden, an ardent critic of the agency's lax protection since 1963, also wrote the author: "No-one could have killed our President without the shots of omission fired by the Secret Service. Observe the feet of [four] Secret Service agents glued to the running boards of the follow-up car as bullets [sic?] pierce the brain of our President!!!"³⁹

Robert E. Lilley, WHD agent with JFK from election night until October 1963, transferred to Boston Office: When the author told this former agent what Mr. Behn said in September 1992, that Kennedy *never* said a thing about having the agents removed from the limousine (thus repudiating his own report), Lilley responded: "Oh, I'm sure he [JFK] didn't [order agents off his car, agreeing with Behn]. He was very cooperative with us once he became President. He was extremely cooperative. Basically, 'whatever you guys want is the way it will be.'" In interviews and correspondence on four separate occasions, Lilley reiterated this view. Lilley also refuted the Bishop and Manchester accounts, adding that, as an example, on a trip with JFK in Caracas, Venezuela, he and "Roy Kellerman rode on the back of the limousine all the way to the Presidential palace" at speeds reaching "50 miles per hour". Furthermore, Lilley did the advance work for JFK's trip to Naples, Italy in the summer of 1963: again, agents rode on the rear of the limousine.

Maurice G. Martineau, SAIC of Chicago office: Martineau joined his colleagues in refuting the Manchester story that JFK ordered the agents off the rear of the car. Martineau said this to the author in two telephonic interviews on September 21, 1993 and June 7, 1996, respectively.

William "Tim" McIntyre, WHD (rode on the follow-up car on November 22, 1963): The author contacted McIntyre on June 13, 2005 (McIntyre had previously been contacted via mail in 2004, based on the strong recommendations of former agents Larry Newman and Tony Sherman, but did not respond back). Asked about the Tampa trip of November 18, 1963, the former agent said: "I was there on the follow-up car." Regarding the question of agents being on the back of the car, McIntyre said: "I believe so—Zboril was on the back," which he was. (He also mentioned Don Lawton and Emory Roberts as being on the trip, which they were.) Regarding the matter at hand, McIntyre stated: "I can't remember if they were told to be off the car." So, in spite of these strong recommendations from his colleagues to ask him about this specific subject, McIntyre now allegedly "can't remember"?

Arthur L. Godfrey, ATSAIC of WHD: The former agent told the author on May 30, 1996, regarding the notion that JFK ordered the agents not to do certain things which included removing themselves from the rear of the limousine: "That's a bunch of baloney; that's not true. He never ordered us to do anything. He was a very nice man ... cooperative." Godfrey reiterated this on June 7, 1996. Asked whether Aide Ken O'Donnell did any similar ordering, Godfrey said emphatically: "He did not order anyone around." As just one example, Godfrey was on the Italy trip mentioned in Boring's report above and agents frequently

rode on the rear of the limousine—one of the agents was none other than Winston G. Lawson.⁴⁰ In a letter dated November 24, 1997, Godfrey stated the following: "All I can speak for is myself. When I was working [with] President Kennedy he never ask[ed] me to have my shift leave the limo when we [were] working it," thus confirming what he had also told the author telephonically on two prior occasions.

Samuel A. Kinney, WHD: The affable former agent told the author on March 5, 1994, regarding the "official" notion of history that President Kennedy ordered the agents off the rear of the limousine and the like: "That is absolutely, positively false ... no, no, no: he had nothing to do with that [ordering agents off the rear of the limousine] ... No, never—the agents say, 'OK, men, fall back on your posts' ... President Kennedy was one of the easiest presidents to ever protect; Harry S. Truman was a jewel just like John F. Kennedy was ... 99% of the agents would agree ... [JFK] was one of the best presidents ever to control—he trusted every one of us." [Emphasis added.] In regard to the infamous quote from William Manchester, Kinney said, "That is false. I talked to William Manchester; he called me on the book ... for the record of history that is false—Kennedy never ordered us to do anything. I am aware of what is being said but that is false."⁴¹ Finally, just to nail down this issue, the author asked Kinney if an exception was made on November 22, 1963: "Not this particular time, no. Not in this case." Kinney also told the author that Ken O'Donnell did not interfere with the agents: "Nobody ordered anyone around."⁴²

Donald J. Lawton, WHD; rode on rear of limousine March 23, 1963 (Chicago) and November 18, 1963 (Tampa); relegated to airport duty November 22, 1963: When the author told Lawton on November 15, 1995 what fellow agent Kinney said, namely, that JFK never ordered the agents off the rear of the limousine, he said: "It's the way Sam said, yes." (Meaning he agrees with Kinney; it happened the way Kinney said.) Asked to explain how he dismounted the rear of the limousine in Tampa, Lawton said: "I didn't hear the President say it, no. The word was relayed to us—I forget who told us now—you know, 'come back to the follow-up car.'" This would have been Boring, by radio, to Roberts, then finally to the agents—Lawton, Zboril, and Berger—on the limousine. According to Lawton, JFK was "very personable ... very warm."⁴³ Asked about the tragedy in Dallas, Lawton said, "Everyone felt bad. It was our job to protect the President. You still have regrets, remorse. Who knows, *if they had left guys on the back of the car ... you can hindsight yourself to death.*" [Emphasis added.] Paradoxically, when I asked Lawton if JFK really made the statement to Boring mentioned above, Lawton said: "The President told him [Boring], I think he said 'get the college kids off the back of the car.'" (See Blaine, Meredith and Newman, below.) That said, in a letter to the author dated, ironically, November 22, 1997, Lawton wrote: "Since I am currently employed by the Secret Service⁴⁴ I do not believe it appropriate that I comment on former or current protectees of the Service. If you spoke with Bob Lilley as you stated then you can take whatever information he passed on to you as gospel [see Lilley's comments, above]."⁴⁵

John F. Norris, Uniformed Division of the Secret Service: On March 4, 1994, in an interview with the author, Norris also joined his colleagues in refuting the

notion that JFK ordered the agents off the rear of the limo: "I would doubt that very much," Norris said.⁴⁶

Secret Service Chiefs **James J. Rowley** and **Urbanus E. "U. E." Baughman**: Rowley told the Warren Commission: "No President will tell the Secret Service what they can or cannot do."⁴⁷ Apparently, Rowley thought the agents *did* ride on the rear of the limousine throughout the motorcade, for he added: "... the men at some point came back to this [follow-up] car."⁴⁸ In fact, Rowley's predecessor, former Chief U. E. Baughman, who had served under JFK from Election Night 1960 until September 1961, had written in his 1962 book *Secret Service Chief*: "Now the Chief of the Secret Service is legally empowered to countermand a decision made by anybody in this country if it might endanger the life or limb of the Chief Executive. This means I could veto a decision of the President himself if I decided it would be dangerous not to. The President of course knew this fact."⁴⁹ Indeed, an Associated Press story from November 15, 1963 stated: "The (Secret) Service can overrule even the President where his personal security is involved."

To the point, when Baughman was asked by *U.S. News & World Report* on December 23, 1963 about the Service's protective efforts in Dallas, he said: "I can't understand why Mrs. Kennedy had to climb over the back of the car, as she did, to get help ... [this matter] should be resolved." Apparently, Baughman was puzzled by the lack of agents on or near the rear of the limousine.⁵⁰

Jerry D. Kivett, V.P. Detail (in Dallas on November 22, 1963): In a letter to the author dated December 8, 1997, Kivett wrote: "[JFK] was beloved by those agents on the detail and I never heard anyone say that he was difficult to protect." In a later interview with the author conducted on February 7, 2004, Kivett added that having agents on the rear of the limousine was "dependent upon the situation: no crowd, big crowds, *the threat assessments* [emphasis added]." This latter comment is echoed by former agents Winston Lawson, Lynn Meredith, and Larry Newman, and will become important later on.

June Kellerman, the widow of Roy H. Kellerman, ASAIC WHD: In a letter to the author dated December 2, 1997, Mrs. Kellerman wrote: "Roy did not say that JFK was difficult to protect," which confirms the author's two prior telephonic interviews with her conducted on March 2, 1992 and September 27, 1992 respectively. (For his part, Kellerman did not mention JFK's alleged desires even once during his very lengthy, two-session interview with the Warren Commission,⁵¹ not to mention his reports and his later HSCA and private researcher contacts.)

Jean Brownell Behn, widow of the late Gerald A. Behn, SAIC WHD (see above): Mrs. Behn told the author on November 18, 1995 that Jerry did not like William Manchester's book *The Death of a President* and confirmed that she also did not believe that JFK had ever conveyed to Jerry the idea of having the agents not ride on the rear of the limousine. In a follow-up letter dated November 28, 1997, she stated: "The only thing I can tell you is that Jerry always said 'Don't believe anything you hear and only half of what you read.' "

Press Secretary **Pierre Salinger**: JFK had a good relationship with the Secret Service and, more importantly, did *not* argue with their security measures. This was based on the author's correspondence with noted journalist Roger Peterson from February 1999 (from Peterson's very recent conversations with Salinger).

Cecil Stoughton, WH photographer: Stoughton wrote the author: "I did see a lot of the activity surrounding the various trips of the President, and in many cases I did see the agents in question riding on the rear of the President's car. In fact, I have ridden there a number of times myself during trips ... I would jump on the step on the rear of the [Lincoln] Continental until the next stop. I have made photos while hanging on with one hand ... in Tampa [November 18, 1963], for example. As for the [alleged] edict of not riding there by order of the President—I can't give you any proof of first hand knowledge." Stoughton went on to write: "I am bothered by your interest in these matters." In a later letter, Stoughton merely corroborated his prior written statements: "I would just jump on and off [the limo] quickly—no routine, and Jackie had no further remarks to me." It should be explained that, according to Stoughton's book, Jackie had told him to stay close to the limo in July 1963, and he did up to and including the Houston, Texas trip of November 21, 1963 (There are photos that Stoughton made from the follow-up car that day, as well.)⁵² Then, for some unknown reason, Stoughton was relegated to a position further away from JFK on November 22, 1963.

Charles T. Zboril, WHD, Lawton's partner on the rear of the limo in Tampa on November 18, 1963.⁵³ Former Agent Zboril curiously did not give the author a straight answer on this issue when interviewed on November 15, 1995. Zboril said: "Well, Don Lawton and I are just sub-notes [sic] because somebody else testified on behalf of us about what happened in Tampa"—this was Clint Hill, testifying to Arlen Specter about why agents were not on the rear of the car during the assassination. When asked if it was true that JFK had ordered the agents off the limousine four days before Dallas, which the author already knew not to be true, Zboril got emotional: "Where did you read that? I ... If—if you read it in the Warren Report, that's what happened ... Do you want me commenting officially? I'm pretty sure it's there [in the Warren Report] ... I'm talking to someone I don't know. I'm talking to you as frank as I can ... If you read it in there [the Warren Report], it happened ... I gave you more than I would give someone else." The agent also added: "There is an old adage that we used in the Secret Service: 'Don't believe anything you read and only half of what you see,'" the identical sentiment used by Jean (and Jerry) Behn, above. Zboril then gave the author his home address and requested that the author send him anything on this matter, promising to respond back. He never did. Included in the package the author sent was a video of Agent Rybka being recalled at Love Field by Agent Roberts.

Michael W. Torina, Chief Inspector of the Secret Service on November 22, 1963, stated: "I am not in a position to comment on our concerns in dealing with Presidential security matters."⁵⁴ However, he did recommend Rufus Youngblood's book (see above). In addition, Torina, the author of the Secret Service's own official manual on protective techniques,⁵⁵ did contribute significantly to a book about the Secret Service written in 1962 in which it is plainly stated:

"Agents of the White House Detail ride in the same car with the President. *Others will walk or trot alongside*, while still others ride in automobiles in front of and behind the Presidential car [emphasis added]."⁵⁶

Anthony Sherman (WHD, September 1961 – October 1963: Sherman wrote the author: "Yes, it is common knowledge, *contrary to the denial of SAIC Behn* [see above], that agents were advised not to ride on the rear of the limo *during the Dallas motorcade*. I suggest to further discuss this question you contact former Special Agent Tim McIntyre, [address deleted for privacy]. Retired SAIC McIntyre was riding the "follow up car" immediately behind the limo. *I was not in Dallas*, having been transferred to the Field in Oct. 1963. I was sent to Dallas immediately after the assassination and spent three months on the protective/investigative team representing the Secret Service [emphasis added]." See McIntyre's comments, above. Ironically, Sherman added: "May I suggest that you get a copy of *The Secret Service: The Hidden History of an Enigmatic Agency* by Professor Phillip Melanson, PhD. This book is by far the best, most professional 'study' of the USSS I have ever read. I believe it will give you other answers to your questions." What Sherman apparently did not know or remember was that the author's work was included in Melanson's book!

Lynn S. Meredith (WHD, "Kiddie Detail"/ Kennedy Children; served in the Secret Service from 1951 to 1983): In yet another potential dissenting voice that is not what it seems to be, Meredith wrote to the author on March 9, 2004: "... it is my very definite understanding that President Kennedy did, in fact, politely request that Secret Service agents not ride on platforms to the rear of his limousine shortly before he was assassinated. The President was campaigning in Tampa, Florida, on or about November 19, 1963 [actually, November 18, 1963] (3 days before he was assassinated in Dallas on November 22), when he requested that agents not ride on the rear of his vehicle because they tended to obstruct the view of the crowd and take attention away from him and others riding with him. He said something to the effect to senior agent Roy Kellerman [sic: allegedly to Floyd Boring; Kellerman was not even on this trip] at the time, "Do you suppose we could get those Ivy Leaguers off the back of my limo so the people can get a good look at us instead of you guys?" He was obviously inferring that the people along the motorcade route in Tampa were seeing the two agents on the rear of the limo and not concentrating on him and the First Lady [sic: also not on this trip] and the other dignitaries riding in the back seat. *I must admit that I was not along on the trip and was back at the White House with Caroline and John, Jr., when this happened in Tampa*, but I'm pretty sure this is accurate information, and was *the main reason there were no agents on the back of the limousine in Dallas, Texas, at the time of the assassination*. If the Secret Service could not respond to the President by saying it was absolutely necessary for two agents to be there, then his request had to be honored. *And in Dallas, the Secret Service had no reliable information that Dallas was a dangerous place*⁵⁷ and we certainly did not know at the time that Lee Harvey Oswald existed. Incidentally, I'm pretty sure that neither Jerry Behn or Sam Kinney were on this trip [wrong re Kinney: on the Florida and Texas trips] ... I do believe if agents had been riding on the rear of the limo in Dallas that President Kennedy would not have been assassinated as they would have been in Oswald's line of fire ... To elaborate a little more on the assassination in Dallas,

I have always believed that the following adverse situations all contributed to the unnecessary and unfortunate death of President Kennedy: (1) *No Secret Service agents riding on the rear of the limousine ...*" [Emphasis added.] In a follow-up letter to the author dated May 22, 2005, Meredith wrote: "... I do not know first hand if President Kennedy ordered agents off the back end of his limousine ... I have been under the impression through the years that he did just that politely in Tampa Bay [sic] ... they [the agents] took this as a polite order from the President not to take these upright positions on the back of the limousine ... on November 22, 1963. So don't take my word as the gospel truth on this matter." Meredith continued: "If you really want to receive a very definite and accurate statement of fact about this, I strongly recommend that you try to contact former Agent Clint Hill ... Here is Hill's mailing address [deleted for privacy] ... I don't know how successful you would be in contacting Clint Hill ... But I wish you 'Good Luck' in this regard."

On June 2, 2005, the author mailed a lengthy, 22-page letter to former WHD agent **Clinton J. Hill** (Certified, Return Receipt Requested with a stamped self-addressed envelope to boot) summarizing this entire chapter in great detail. On June 13, 2005, after not receiving a reply, the author phoned Mr. Hill, who was quite apparently angry—he first pretended not to know about the lengthy letter he had to sign for (of which the author received his signed receipt): "About what?" Hill exclaimed in response to the author's inquiry. Then, forcefully, Hill added: "I'm just not interested in talking to you."

FBI Director **J. Edgar Hoover** to President Lyndon B. Johnson, 1:40 pm, November 29, 1963: "You see, there was no Secret Service man standing on the back of the car. Usually the presidential car in the past has had steps on the back, next to the bumpers, and *there's usually been one [agent] on either side standing on these steps ...* [ellipsis in text] ... Whether the President asked that that not be done, *we don't know.*"⁵⁸ [Emphasis added.] So, as of November 29, 1963, a week after the murder, the myth hadn't been set in motion yet. From Hoover's Memorandum for Messrs. Tolson, Belmont, and Mohr, November 29, 1963: "... there was no Secret Service Agent on the back of the car; that in the past they have added steps on the back of the car and *usually* had an agent on either side standing on the bumper; that *I did not know why this was not done*—that the President may have requested it" [Emphasis added.] One now wonders if *Hoover* was the originator of the blame-the-President campaign and if he had any influence on Agent Boring who, by date, had written the first report about these matters to former FBI agent—and Hoover friend and colleague—Chief James Rowley.

Newsmen: ABC's **Ron Gardner**, ABC's **Jim Haggerty** (former Eisenhower Press Secretary), and UPI's **Robert J. Serling**: Shortly after the assassination on November 22, 1963, before a television audience of many millions of people, Gardner reported: "Secret Service agents *normally* walk directly beside the car. We can't see any in these pictures." [Emphasis added.] Also on the very same day before an enormous television audience, Haggerty maintained that agents normally walked or jogged near the rear of the president's car, adding that he had a hand in planning many motorcades (as did his successor, Pierre Salinger). For his part, Serling wrote on November 23, 1963, based in part on "private conver-

sations" with unnamed agents: "There are two absolute rules for motorcade protection: *The agent running or riding at the President's shoulder must never leave that position unless relieved.* The other is to turn out the manpower in all secret service cars the moment trouble arises and get secret service bodies around the President."⁵⁹ [Emphasis added.]

Radford W. "Rad" Jones, WHD (remained in Washington with Kennedy children during Dallas trip): In a letter to the author dated January 16, 2004, Jones wrote, with regard to the notion that JFK ordered the agents off his limousine: "I was not in Dallas on that day ... *JFK was an easy President to protect* and no different from other Presidents in wanting to mingle and be close to people ... The President was always considerate of the agents and spoke with them. He kept us informed of his travels, etc. *I would say he was no more difficult to protect than any other President.*"⁶⁰ [Emphasis added.]

Darwin David Horn, Sr. (Secret Service, Los Angeles office; former WHD agent; served in the agency from 1951 to 1981): Horn wrote the author on January 30, 2004: "You asked about Kennedy. I have worked him primarily in Los Angeles on several occasions ... and *never heard him tell the agents to get off of the car.* It is possible. You will have to ask some of the other agents who worked him full time."⁶¹ [Art] Godfrey would have been perfect but he passed away some time ago." [Emphasis added.] See Godfrey's comments, above. Horn later wrote the author: "Agents on the rear of JFK's car might have made a difference. They may have been hit instead of the President. That would have been all right with all of us. *Agents normally would have been on the sides* [of the car]."⁶² [Emphasis added.]

Samuel E. Sulliman, WHD (on Texas trip, in Dallas, at the Trade Mart): Sulliman told the author on February 11, 2004 that agents were on the back of the limousine a lot; in fact, he remembered riding there on the trips to Ireland and Germany. When told of Art Godfrey's comments on the matter (see above), the former agent agreed with his colleague. Regarding the notion that JFK ordered the agents off the car, Sulliman told the author twice: "I don't think so." Sulliman also said that JFK was "easy to get along with". As for who exactly was responsible for the decision to remove the agents from the rear area of the limousine, Sulliman told the author: "I can't tell you who made the decision." The author took this to mean that he honestly did not know, rather than the notion that he was hiding the true answer.

Talmadge W. Bailey (Secret Service, 1950s to 1970s; Miami Office; later, SAIC, Charlotte, NC office): In an interview with the former agent conducted on February 7, 2004, Bailey told the author, regarding agents being on the rear of Kennedy's car: "They weren't at the time he was shot. On a parade, going slowly in the crowd, there would be agents on the vehicle." Bailey said nothing about any alleged presidential orders. In addition, all reports are that the limousine was moving slowly on Elm Street in Dallas before and during the assassination. Bailey helped in the security on JFK's Miami trip on November 18, 1963, among others.

James R. "Jim" Goodenough, V.P./LBJ Detail (on Texas trip, but not the Dallas stop): The former agent wrote to the author dated March 16, 2004: "*President Kennedy was a pleasant and cooperative person to work for.*" [Emphasis added.] Goodenough added: "While I was involved in the President's and LBJ's security at Houston, TX the day before the visit in Dallas, I was not knowledgeable regarding the security arrangements in Dallas. You probably have already read the Warren Commission Report but if not I would suggest you do as that might shed some light on your question regarding agents not riding on the limousine [see above]."

Ronald M. Pontius, WHD (on Texas trip, but not the Dallas stop): In reference to an email inquiry from the author ("Did JFK ever order the agents to not ride on the rear of his limousine? Author William Manchester claims he did, while Behn, Kinney, and Youngblood said he did not."), Pontius emailed the author back on October 30, 2000 and wrote: "He did *through his staff* [emphasis added]." Presidential Aide (Chief of Staff / Appointments Secretary) Kenneth P. O'Donnell does not mention *anything* with regard to telling the agents to remove themselves from the limousine (based on JFK's alleged "desires") during his lengthy Warren Commission testimony (nor to author William Manchester, nor even in his or his daughter's books, for that matter); the same is true for the other two Presidential aides: Larry O'Brien and Dave Powers. In fact, as mentioned above, Powers refutes this whole idea. Again, JFK's staff is not mentioned as a factor during any of the agents' Warren Commission testimony, nor in the five reports submitted in April 1964.⁶³ In addition, former agents Godfrey and Kinney denounced the "staff/O'Donnell" notion (see above). It is interesting to note that, like JFK, O'Donnell was not blamed for any security deficiencies and the like until only *after* his death (in 1977), when he was thus unable to refute any allegations as such.

Frank G. Stoner, PRS: During an interview conducted on January 17, 2004, former agent Stoner, who served in the Secret Service from January 1945 until 1969, said that Manchester was "probably trying to sell books" when he suggested that Kennedy ordered the agents off the back of the limousine. In fact, the 84-year-old former agent laughed at the mere suggestion. Stoner also agreed with several of his colleagues that JFK was "very personable": "He was an old Navy man. He understood security. He wouldn't have ordered them off the car."

Gerald W. "Jerry" O'Rourke, WHD (on Texas trip but not the Dallas stop; on WHD from Eisenhower to LBJ/1964): In a letter to the author dated January 15, 2004, O'Rourke wrote: "Did President Kennedy order us (agents) off the steps of the limo? *To my knowledge President Kennedy never ordered us to leave the limo.*" [Emphasis added.] The agent added: "President Kennedy was easy to protect as he completely trusted the agents of the Secret Service. We always had to be entirely honest with him and up front so we did not lose his trust."

Vincent P. Mroz, WHD (Truman, Eisenhower, and part-time with JFK, LBJ [nine months], and Nixon): During an interview with the author conducted on February 7, 2004, the former agent said that President Kennedy was "friendly, congenial—he was really easy to get along with ... just like Truman." When

asked, point blank, if JFK had ever ordered the agents off the car, Mroz said forcefully: "No, no—that's not true." When asked a second time, the former agent responded with equal conviction: "He did not order anybody off the car."

J. Walter Coughlin, WHD (on Texas trip but not the Dallas stop): The author emailed the former agent, asking him: "How often did agents ride on the rear of the limousine during JFK's time (and/or walk, jog, or run nearby)?" Coughlin responded: "In almost all parade situations that I was involved w[ith] we rode or walked the limo [emphasis added]." ⁶⁴ Coughlin later wrote: "We often rode on the back of the car." ⁶⁵

Also, the author, in the same message, asked Coughlin: "What was President Kennedy like? Was he easy to protect?" The former agent responded in the same reply: "Very funny and very friendly. Knew all the agents by first name." (Regarding LBJ, Coughlin wrote: "Didn't like anyone and could be very surly. Hard to protect—did not like to take advice.") ⁶⁶ Coughlin later wrote: "The rear steps [of the limousine] were very adaqueete [sic] for safety." ⁶⁷ Finally, to clarify this matter further, the author asked Coughlin: "So far, combing the literature, books, interviews, etc., I've found that Behn, Boring, Blaine, Mroz, Godfrey, Lawson, and Dave Powers said that President Kennedy did not order the agents off his limousine—do you think William Manchester and others took 'poetic license' on this matter?" Coughlin responded: "Yes I do." ⁶⁸

Gerald S. Blaine, WHD (on Texas trip but not the Dallas stop): Blaine told the author on February 7, 2004 that President Kennedy was "very cooperative. *He didn't interfere with our actions.* President Kennedy was very likeable—he never had a harsh word for anyone. *He never interfered with our actions.*" [Emphasis added.] When the author asked Blaine how often the agents rode on the back of JFK's limousine, the former agent said it was a "fairly common" occurrence that depended on the crowd and the speed of the cars. In fact, just as one example, Blaine rode on the rear of JFK's limousine in Germany in June 1963, along with fellow Texas trip veterans Paul A. Burns and Samuel E. Sulliman. ⁶⁹ Blaine added, in specific reference to the agents on the follow-up car in Dallas: "You have to remember, they were fairly young agents," seeming to imply that their youth was a disadvantage, or perhaps this was seen as an excuse for their poor performance on November 22, 1963. ⁷⁰ Surprisingly, Blaine, the WHD advance agent for the Tampa trip of November 18, 1963, said that JFK did make the comment "I don't need Ivy League charlatans back there," but emphasized this was a "low-key remark" said "kiddingly" and demonstrating Kennedy's "Irish sense of humor". However, according to the "official" story, President Kennedy allegedly made these remarks only to Boring while traveling in the presidential limousine in Tampa: Blaine was nowhere near the vehicle at the time, so Boring had to be *his* source for this story! In addition to Emory Roberts, one now wonders if Blaine was a source (or perhaps the source) for Manchester's exaggerated "quote" attributed to Boring, as Agent Blaine was also interviewed by Manchester (see above). Blaine would not respond to a follow-up letter on this subject.

However, when the author phoned Blaine on June 10, 2005, the former agent said the remark "Ivy League charlatans" came "*from the guys ... I can't remem-*

ber who [said it] ... I can't remember [emphasis added]." Thus, Blaine confirms that he did not hear the remark from JFK. (When asked if agents rode on the rear of the limousine on the Italy trip in 1963, Blaine said forcefully: "Oh yeah, oh yeah." It turns out he was one of the agents.) Blaine also added that the lack of agents on the rear of the car "had no impact", adding: "Well, maybe a hesitation." That is all it took. The former agent also said: "Don't be too hard on Emory Roberts. He was a double, even a triple checker. He probably took Jack Ready's life into consideration." If only he would have taken Jack *Kennedy's* life with the same degree of concern.

Larry Newman, WHD (October 1961 to October 1963, then Washington Field Office): In a friendly if somewhat contentious interview conducted on February 7, 2004,⁷¹ Newman told the author that there was "no policy" regarding the use of agents on the rear of Kennedy's car, further adding that the question was "hard to answer: it depends on the crowd, *the threat assessment*, and so forth. There was not a consistent rule of thumb." [Emphasis added.] This comment will become important later. In addition, regarding the controversial "Ivy League Charlatan" remark first mentioned in Manchester's book and noted by Lawton and Blaine (above), Newman said: "When Kennedy went to Florida [November 18, 1963], *supposedly, I didn't hear this directly*, Kennedy said to Boring 'Get the Ivy League charlatans off the back of the car' [emphasis added]." The former agent added that Manchester's work, while with some merit, became "part of myth, part of truth". This author couldn't agree more. With regard to Boring, Newman said: "Boring will only tell you the company line. I'm no friend of Boring's." Actually, what Boring told the author went against the "company line" he espoused back in 1964. And, from the latter comment, Newman obviously has no love lost for his former boss on the WHD. The former agent said that both Behn and Boring were "extremely loyal to JFK", adding: "Boring told you Kennedy didn't want any agents on the car; then again, he's been a proponent that JFK wasn't a womanizer." Both comments are true.

Newman phoned the author unexpectedly on February 12, 2004 to say that "there was not a directive, per se" from President Kennedy to remove the agents from their positions on the back of his limousine. The former agent seemed troubled by the author's research into the matter. Newman did ridicule former Director Merletti's testimony in 1998 (see above). Regarding Roberts' order not to move and his conduct, in general, Newman said: "They were probably afraid to hit the street at that speed." When told that the cars were actually traveling quite slowly, including the limousine's decelerating speed from a meager 11.2 mph, he had nothing to say in response. When asked if Tim McIntyre may shed more light on the matter (knowing full well that he said as much to the author on February 7, 2004), Newman now said he is "hiding out" and "probably, he wouldn't talk to you anyway" (see McIntyre's comments, above). Newman seemed concerned yet strangely helpful in conversation with the author. He reiterated that he has no good feelings for Boring (in contrast to his warm feelings for Kellerman) and that—describing himself—said: "I'm not a good guy." [!] Finally, Newman said: "You need to get inside the nuts and bolts." That is what the author is attempting to do with this book.

J. Frank Yeager, WHD (on Texas trip but not the Dallas stop): In a letter to the author dated December 29, 2003, Yeager wrote: "*I did not think that President Kennedy was particularly "difficult" to protect. In fact, I thought that his personality made it easier than some because he was easy to get along with ...*" [Emphasis added.] With regard to the author's question "Did President Kennedy ever order the agents off the rear of his limousine?", Yeager responded: "*I know of no 'order' directly from President Kennedy. I think that after we got back from Tampa, Florida where I did the advance for the President, a few days before Dallas ... [it was] requested that the Secret Service agents not ride the rear running board of the Presidential car during parades involving political events so that the president would not be screened by an agent. I don't know what form or detail that this request was made to the Secret Service ... I also do not know who actually made the final decision, but we did not have agents on the rear of the President's car in Dallas.*" [Emphasis added.] Like Hill's report mentioned above, please note the timing.

ASAIC Floyd M. Boring: Perhaps even more startling than the comments of Behn, Powers, and Lawson, Floyd Boring told the author, in reference to JFK's alleged "desires" mentioned by Mr. Bishop, Manchester ("quoting" Boring), and himself in his own report: "*He actually—No, I told them ... He didn't tell them anything ... He just—I looked at the back and I seen these fellahs were hanging on the limousine—I told them to return to the car ... [JFK] was a very easy-going guy ... he didn't interfere with our actions at all.*" (Emphasis added.) The author reiterated the point; Mr. Boring was still adamant that JFK *never* issued any orders to the agents; he even refuted Manchester's book (see above). Remember, Boring is admitting it came from him, and not JFK! With regard to exactly who makes the decision regarding the agents' proximity to the President, Agent Jerry Parr told Larry King: "I would say it was the agent in charge who makes that decision."⁷² When asked, point blank, if JFK had ever ordered the agents off the rear of the limousine, including in Tampa on November 18, 1963, Boring told the author again: "Well that's not true. That's not true. He was a very nice man; he never interfered with us at all." In a letter received by the author on, of all dates, November 22, 1997, Boring confirmed what he had previously told the author on two previous occasions (September 22, 1993 and March 4, 1994 respectively) when he wrote: "President Kennedy was a very congenial man knowing most agents by their first name. *He was very cooperative with the Secret Service, and well liked and admired by all of us.*" [Emphasis added.] Not only does Boring *not* mention anything about JFK's alleged "desires" to restrict security during his two lengthy oral histories,⁷³ the agent stated: "... of all the administrations I worked with, the president and the people surrounding the president were very gracious and were *very cooperative*. As a matter of fact, you can't do this type of security work without cooperation of the people surrounding the president ..."⁷⁴ [Emphasis added.] Indeed, Chief James J. Rowley told the JFK Library in 1976: "... you could talk to them [JFK's staff] ... It made for a very happy relationship."⁷⁵

Furthermore, on September 18, 1996, by request of the author, the ARRB's Doug Horne interviewed Mr. Boring regarding this matter. Horne wrote: "Mr. Boring was asked to read pages 136–137 of Clint Hill's Warren Commission testimony, in which Clint Hill recounted that Floyd Boring had told him

just days prior to the assassination that during the President's Tampa trip on Monday, November 18, 1963, JFK had requested that agents not ride on the rear steps of the limousine, and that Boring had also so informed other agents of the White House detail, and that as a result, agents in Dallas (except Clint Hill, on brief occasions) did not ride on the rear steps of the limousine. *Mr. Boring affirmed that he did make these statements to Clint Hill, but stated that he was not relaying a policy change, but rather simply telling an anecdote about the President's kindness and consideration in Tampa in not wanting agents to have to ride on the rear of the Lincoln limousine when it was not necessary to do so because of a lack of crowds along the street.*" [Emphasis added.]

The author finds this admission startling, especially because the one agent who decided to ride on the rear of the limousine in Dallas anyway—and on at least four different occasions—was none other than *Clint Hill* himself.⁷⁶

This also does not address what the agents were to do when the crowds were heavier, or even what exactly constituted a "crowd", as *agents did ride on the rear steps of the limousine in Tampa on November 18, 1963 anyway* (agents Donald J. Lawton, Andrew E. Berger, and Charles T. Zboril, to be exact!)⁷⁷

Furthermore, as noted above, both Clint Hill's written report and his testimony convey a stricter approach than one stemming from an alleged kind anecdote. In fact, as mentioned above, Hill twice stated in his report that he *did not recall* who the agent was who told him, and the other agents, not to ride on the rear of the limousine, yet named him under oath to Counsel Specter: Floyd Boring.

The deathblow to the Tampa tale

The author wrote to former Florida Congressman Samuel Melville Gibbons⁷⁸ on January 7, 2004 and asked him if he had heard President Kennedy order the agents off the rear of the limousine. Gibbons rode in the rear seat with JFK and Senator George Smathers on the Tampa trip of November 18, 1963.⁷⁹ Gibbons' response in full, dated January 15, 2004: "I rode with Kennedy every time he rode. I heard no such order. As I remember it the agents rode on the rear bumper all the way. Kennedy was very happy during his visit to Tampa. Sam Gibbons."

Furthermore, an amazing document was released in the 1990s concerning, among many other related topics, the issue of the agents' presence (or lack thereof) on the limousine. This is a 28-page "Sensitive" memorandum from Belford Lawson, the attorney in charge of the Secret Service area for the HSCA, addressed to Gary Cornwell and Ken Klein dated May 31, 1977 and revised August 15, 1977.⁸⁰ Apparently, Attorney Lawson was suspicious of Mr. Boring, for he wrote on the final page of this lengthy memorandum: "*Subject: Florida Motorcades in November 1963 ... Was Floyd Boring, the Senior SS Agent on the White House detail, lying to SS Agent Hill when he told Hill that JFK had said in Tampa ... that he wanted no agents riding upright on the rear bumper step of the JFK limousine? Did JFK actually say this? Did Boring know when he told this to Hill that Hill would be riding outboard on the JFK follow-up car in Dallas on November 22, 1963? Did Boring say this to Ready or Roberts?*" [Lawson's

emphasis.]” On page 27 of the same memo, Lawson wrote: “Why did only one Agent, Hill, run forward to the JFK limousine?”

While it is certainly true that the agents were not *always* stationed on the rear of the limousine, President Kennedy was *not* in the equation regarding the circumstances for this (they *did* often walk, jog, or run near the rear of the limousine, though).⁸¹ If the Secret Service had taken their rightful responsibility for not having agents positioned there (as was the usual practice), this would not really be an issue, only a “what if” situation. However, because they lied and blamed it on JFK’s alleged “desires” and “requests”, they blew their cover story for their “negligence”. Furthermore, merely as a hypothetical inference, in the highly unlikely event, in light of all the previous evidence to the contrary, JFK *did* in fact somehow or other tell the agents not to ride on the rear of the car a few times in the past, this was clearly the exception, *not* the rule from him; turning an isolated incident from 1961 into a rule to be followed on November 22, 1963 simply isn’t credible. And, again, agents *did* ride on the rear of the car during the Florida trip ... but not on the very next trip to Texas which began a mere three days later, allegedly by “Presidential request” (a kind anecdote), courtesy of Agent Boring, who informed his men between November 19 and November 21, 1963.

If one does not believe the “kind anecdote” story as told to the ARRB (as the author does not), then *why* did Mr. Boring take it upon himself to order the men *not* to take their usual positions on or near the rear of the Presidential limousine? Why did they blame it on *JFK*? Why didn’t the agent physically present and nominally in charge of the trip (ASAIC Kellerman) mention JFK’s desires even once during his very lengthy, two-session interview with the Warren Commission, not to mention his reports and his later HSCA and private researcher contacts?⁸² Why, indeed.

Marty Underwood told the author that Chief Rowley’s best friend was Clint Hill. In keeping with Mr. Hill’s honesty noted earlier, it appears that Mr. Rowley exhibited a little of it himself during his testimony to the Warren Commission when, as previously mentioned, he stated: “*No President will tell the Secret Service what they can or cannot do.*”⁸³ [Emphasis added.]

Even President Truman agreed, stating, “The Secret Service was the only boss that the President of the United States really had.”⁸⁴

To summarize, the point is that this was a *Secret Service* decision, not a JFK desire as “official” history (Warren Commission, Bishop, Manchester, Secret Service) has told us all. The Secret Service lied, using JFK as a scapegoat.⁸⁵ To blame the deceased President after the fact is *very* suspicious, to say the least; why Mr. Boring took it upon himself to relay these orders between November 19 and November 21, 1963 (according to both Clint Hill and Frank Yeager) is an important issue, especially when considering the timing in relation to the start of the Texas trip: November 21, 1963.

If “the devil is in the details”, the author would also add that the timing is everything; the sequence of events is crucial.

And, if it was necessary during the Watergate scandal to "follow the money", the author chose in this case to follow the *lies* told by the Secret Service, to find out *who* specifically told the lies, and *why*, as well as the *results* of these lies.

If an agent (or agents) would have been positioned on or near the rear of the limousine or, at the very least, if John Ready, in particular, would have been permitted to run to his position on JFK's side of the limousine during the shooting, history would have been changed: the agent (or agents) may have blocked one or more shots or, at the very least, would have been able to cover JFK before the fatal head shot.⁸⁶ As former agent Harry Neal wrote: "It is my personal belief that had they [Secret Service] been permitted to stay on the presidential car, the body of one of the agents might have completely obscured the President from Oswald's vision. In that event, either no shots would have been fired, or the agent might have been killed or wounded. But the President would not have been hit."⁸⁷ An unnamed former JFK-era agent told author Philip Melanson in February 2002 that not having agents on the running boards of the limousine was a major factor in Kennedy's death.⁸⁸ Former Secret Service Chief Frank J. Wilson wrote: "Agents on running boards at Dallas might not have saved the President from the first bullet but might have saved him from the second one, which was fatal,"⁸⁹ a view later shared by Reagan Agent Joseph Petro.⁹⁰ Ironically, former JFK Secret Service Chief U. E. Baughman wrote in 1962: "... the Secret Service knows from experience that a car directly behind the President may save his life in certain emergencies"⁹¹ In addition to the various still and motion pictures demonstrating the agents on or near the rear of the President's car, the Honolulu, Hawaii trip in the summer of 1963 bears mute testimony to an important, often neglected facet of the protective mission: the agents also frequently *ran* beside the car, even while the limousine was going at a fair clip. Agents walked, jogged, or ran beside the car, and were often on the rear of the limousine whether the car was traveling at a modest speed or even at a high rate of speed. If some look at this as "Monday morning quarterbacking", ask yourself this: Why did the Secret Service, in charge of the "defense", alter history's "official" verdict? Why, indeed.

ASAIC Floyd Boring's favorite President was Harry S. Truman (actually, he was a favorite of Behn, Kinney, and a host of other JFK-era agents). Truman was famous for the saying, "The buck stops here." With regard to the assassination of President Kennedy and the protective measures used—and not used—on that fateful day, the buck stops with the Secret Service ... and Boring, especially. Consider the following.

First, author Jim Bishop revealed the seemingly unknown fact that Floyd Boring was the number one agent involved in the Dallas trip back in the 1960s in his book *The Day Kennedy Was Shot*: "... [LBJ] called Secret Service Chief James Rowley. 'Rufe [Youngblood] did a brave thing today,' he said. 'He jumped on me and kept me down. I want you to do whatever you can, the best that can be done, for that boy.' He hung up [this was November 22, 1963]. It had not occurred to him that Rowley, too, was lonely. If there was any blame, any official laxness, it didn't matter that *the planning of the Texas trip had been in the capable hands of Floyd Boring.*"⁹² [Emphasis added.]

And in the 1970s, Boring said to the JFK Library: "Part of my job at the White House during the entire President Kennedy administration was to be in charge of the advance work. I used to assign people to do the advance work, and most of the overseas trips I did myself in conjunction with other people on the detail."⁹³

To the Truman Library in the 1980s, Boring added: "I was on all the advance work out of there. I was assigned all the advance work, sort of an administrator ... I was second in charge [behind Special Agent in Charge Jerry Behn]."

Finally, fellow former agent Sam Kinney told this author, in regard to SAIC Gerald A. "Jerry" Behn's absence from the Texas trip, leaving ASAIC (#2) Floyd M. Boring to be the agent in charge of the Texas trip: "Here's the story on that. We got, as agents, federal employees, thirty days a year annual leave. We lose it, because they can't let us go ... there was only *x* amount of agents back then in the whole wide world ... they could not let us off⁹⁴ ... *Jerry Behn had probably worked three years without any annual leave at all and this particular time, he could get some time off and he didn't go to Dallas.*⁹⁵ Roy Kellerman was third in charge, so he took the thing [sic], which is, you know—he's qualified. Floyd Boring stayed home—he could get his time off and he could still handle what ever came about from his house; there was very little correspondence between [the agents in Dallas] because Win Lawson had the advance." [Emphasis added.]

Back to the ARRB interview of Boring: "Boring independently recalled that he was the person who assigned Winston Lawson as the S.S. advance agent for the Dallas leg of the Texas trip, but could not recall why or how 'Win' Lawson was given that assignment." Agent David Grant, who worked hand in glove with Boring on the controversial November 18, 1963 Florida trip, assisted Lawson in the advance preparations in Dallas.⁹⁶ Boring was also involved in the pre-November 22, 1963 checks of the PRS files of any potential threats to JFK reported in Dallas which, incredibly, yielded nothing, a matter fellow ASAIC Roy Kellerman found unusual,⁹⁷ as did fellow agent Abraham Bolden,⁹⁸ as common sense would seem to dictate. (Interestingly, according to his Truman Library oral history, Boring worked for PRS back in the 1940s!) Yet Boring had begun his ARRB interview exclaiming, "I didn't have anything to do with it, and I don't know anything," a similar sentiment he first gave to the author before probing further into the mystery. The author later asked Boring, "Were you involved in any of the planning of the Texas trip?" Then, the agent finally admitted, "Well, no, I sent—ah, yeah, I was involved in that, yeah."⁹⁹ And, if that weren't enough, during researcher Dan Robertson's interview of the lucid, 90-year-old Boring in 2006, the former agent quite shockingly claimed, "He [JFK] was responsible for his own death."¹⁰⁰

Indeed, Mr. Boring *is* interesting, to say the least.

¹ Volume 18 of the Warren Commission's Hearings and Exhibits, pages 803–9. (The following designation, standard in the literature, will be adopted: 18 H 803–9.) However, the hydraulic side steps which swung out were rarely used because of their narrowness and their potential lethal capability to unknowing spectators on a motorcade

route: *The Death of a President*, p. 36 (all references to Manchester's book are from the 1988 Perennial Library edition.); *Presidential Limousines* video by Rick Boudreau, 1996. When Kennedy's specially-designed Lincoln Continental limousine was delivered to the White House in June 1961, detachable rear grab handles were included: press statement, Ford Motor Company, June 1961. In early 1962, grab handles were permanently added to the rear of the car. It should also be noted that President Eisenhower's limousine (and even one of the two 1956 Cadillac convertible follow-up cars) was also, out of necessity, used from time to time.

² Italy film clip, courtesy Jim Cedrone of the JFK Library; newly discovered still photos from Naples: *John Fitzgerald Kennedy: A Life In Pictures* by Yann-Brice Dherbier and Pierre-Henri Verlhac (New York: Phaidon Press, 2003), p. 183, 231; Corbis stock photos discovered by the author in 2005 (and also forwarded to former agents Blaine, Coughlin, and O'Rourke). Regarding Italy: See also *Johnny, We Hardly Knew Ye* by Kenneth P. O'Donnell, David F. Powers, and Joseph McCarthy (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1972), p. 433 [note: all references to this book are from the Pocket Book paperback edition published in 1973]; *Tampa Tribune*, November 19, 1963 (downtown area picture with agents Lawton and Zboril holding onto the rear handrails); Cecil Stoughton photo, taken from the follow-up car, November 18, 1963 (suburban area picture depicting same); short clip in David Wolper's 1964 film *Four Days In November*, depicting the start of the Tampa trip: agent Zboril is running on the left-rear end of the limo, holding onto the handrail, while agent Berger is riding on the opposite side; agent Lawton is seen running along Berger's side; black and white photos discovered by Ian Griggs and Frank DeBenedictis; black and white photos from photographers Tony Zappone and Tommy Eure.

³ Manchester, pp. 37–38. Manchester also wrote, "It was a good idea, for example, to have agents perched on the broad trunk of the Presidential Lincoln when crowds threatened to grow disorderly. *The trouble was that they were always there.*" [Emphasis added.]

⁴ Author Walt Brown mentions the current author's controversial contact with Manchester in his fine book *Treachery in Dallas* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 1995), p. 338.

⁵ Manchester, p. 667. Of the 21 agents/officials interviewed by Manchester, only Roberts, Greer, Kinney, and Blaine were on the Florida trip. Blaine was the advance agent for Tampa (riding in the lead car), Greer drove JFK's car, Kinney drove the follow-up car, and Roberts was the commander of the follow-up car. That said, in the author's opinion, Roberts is still the main suspect of the four as being Manchester's dubious source for this quote: after all, he was asked to write a report about JFK's so-called desires, citing Boring as the source for the order via radio transmission (see above). The others—Greer, Kinney, and Blaine—were not asked to write a similar report. In addition, Manchester had access to this report while writing his book (see next footnote). Also, unlike the other three, Roberts was interviewed twice and, while Greer never went on record with his feelings about the matter, one way or the other, Kinney adamantly denied the veracity of Manchester's information, while Blaine denied the substance of the information, although he *did* mention the "Ivy league charlatan" remark coming from a secondary source. Finally, of the 21 agents interviewed by Manchester, Blaine is the only agent—save two headquarters Inspectors (see next footnote)—whose interview comments are not to be found in the text or index. Since, in addition to Blaine, three other agents—Lawton, Meredith and Newman—also mentioned the remark as hearsay, in some fashion or another, it is more than likely that Manchester seized upon the remark and greatly exaggerated its significance ... *and* attributed it to Boring, while his actual source was likely Roberts (and/or Blaine). Again, since Boring wasn't interviewed, the comment had to come second-hand from another agent, who, in turn, received the remark second-hand from Boring. Ultimately, the question is: did Boring really give out this order on instructions from JFK?

⁶ Interestingly, Manchester, having interviewed 21 different agents/officials for his book (pp. 660–9), chose to include interviews with *Secret Service Inspectors Burrill Peterson and Jack Warner*. What's the problem? Well, these men, not even associated with the Texas trip in any way, were interviewed more than any of the other agents: four times each (Peterson: October 9, 1964, November 17, 1964, November 18, 1964, February 5, 1965; Warner: June 2, 1964, November 18, 1964, February 5, 1965, May 12, 1965)! Only Emory Roberts, Clint Hill, Roy Kellerman, and Forrest Sorrels had two interviews apiece, while all the other agents/officials garnered just one interview each. And, more importantly, unlike all the other 19 agents, save one, Gerald Blaine (a Texas trip WHD agent), these two Inspectors are not even mentioned in the actual text or the index; their comments are "invisible" to the reader. It appears, then, that Manchester's book was truly a sanitized, "official" book, more so than we thought before (as most everyone knows, the book was written with Jackie Kennedy's approval—it was her idea, in fact [p. ix]. Manchester even had early, exclusive access to the Warren Commission itself: "At the outset of my inquiry the late Chief Justice Earl Warren appointed me an ex officio member of his commission ... and provided me with an office in Washington's VFW building, where the commission met and where copies of reports and depositions were made available to me." [p. xix]) Inspector Peterson figured prominently in the post-assassination press dealings (or lack thereof)—as Agent Sorrels testified: "... I don't think at any time you will see that there is any statement made by the newspapers or television that we said anything because Mr. Kelley, the Inspector, told me, 'Any information that is given out will have to come from Inspector Peterson in Washington.'" [7 H 359] Peterson became an Assistant Director for Investigations in 1968 [*20 Years in the Secret Service* by Rufus Youngblood (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1973), p. 220], while Inspector Warner would go on to become Director of Public Affairs (a position he held until the 1990s), acting as a buffer to critical press questions during the assassination attempts on President Ford and other related matters [*The Secret Service: The Hidden History of an Enigmatic Agency* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 2003) by Philip Melanson with Peter Stevens, pp. 101, 201, 224, 237]. Warner would also later become a consultant to the 1993 Clint Eastwood movie *In The Line of Fire*.

⁷ Bishop, pp. 39–41, 134, 558. All references to Bishop's book are from the 1992 Harper Perennial edition.

⁸ The Warren Report (hereafter referred to as "WR"), p. 45.

⁹ Reporter J. F. terHorst and Nixon Air Force One Colonel Ralph Albertazzie threw their collective hats into the ring with their 1979 book *The Flying White House* (New York: Coward, McCann, and Geoghan, Inc., 1979), p. 208: "He [Kennedy] also waved off the agents who *usually* rode on retractable footholds along the sides and rear of the car during its passage through crowded streets." [Emphasis added.] The myth extended into the 1980s via memoirs from two non-JFK agents, the first of which was by Dennis V. N. McCarthy in his book *Protecting the President* (New York: Dell Publishing Co, Inc., 1985), p. 188: "[talking about November 22, 1963] ... and the President himself waved off the agents who *customarily* rode on the car's running boards." [Emphasis added.] In addition, former agent Marty Venker said in the book *Confessions of an Ex-Secret Service Agent*, written by George Rush (New York: Pocket Books, a division of Simon & Schuster Inc., 1988), p. 25: "John Kennedy ... had *vetoed* the idea of agents riding on his limo's rear bumper—where one of them might've stopped a bullet ... So, in a way, part of the blame for JFK's death *rested with the man himself*." [Emphasis added.] Even a 1986 pictorial book on JFK, *John F. Kennedy* by Lois E. Anderson (CT: Longmeadow Press, 1992), got into the act (p. 135): "The president's frequent disregard for security precautions was a source of anxiety to the Secret Service men assigned to protect him." If that wasn't enough, author Philip Melanson, admittedly relying almost exclusively on secondary sources, wrote in his 1984 book *The Politics of Protection* (p. 178): "In terms of protective performance during the

shooting, *though political priorities had predetermined much of the situation—an open car with agents not allowed on the running-boards—there appear to have been missed opportunities for immediate evasive and protective action that might have contributed to saving the President's life.*" [Emphasis added.] Melanson *did* largely redeem himself, based on my criticisms of his book, in his new work, an update of sorts, entitled *The Secret Service: The Hidden History of an Enigmatic Agency* (New York: Carroll & Graf, 2003), although parts of the book appear to include unedited excerpts from his original 1984 work, creating somewhat contradictory information. This is especially apparent when reading the chapter "Losing Lancer" and comparing it with other sections of the book. Melanson did make good use of my material, though. (Author's correspondence and conversations with Melanson, 1995–6.) In the 1990s, Dan Rather of CBS (November 22, 1996), the video/DVD *Air Force One: The Planes and The Presidents*, and The History Channel's *Assassinations That Changed the World* in 1996 joined the "JFK-was-to-blame" chorus. The latter program was the most blatant: "... the bubbletop was removed. He had insisted that no Secret Services agents ride on the back bumper or side running boards, and that motorcycle officers not flank his car, but stay to the front and back." In 1995, for the Discovery Channel documentary *Inside the Secret Service*, Clint Hill merely repeats the second-hand Boring information regarding the November 18, 1963 Tampa trip and JFK's alleged "desires" (as he was later to do for the outtakes for the 2004 National Geographic documentary *Inside The U.S. Secret Service* [available at the National Geographic website]). (Interestingly, in neither case is Boring actually named.) Barbara Leaming, author of the 2002 book *Mrs. Kennedy: The Missing History of the Kennedy Years* (Free Press, 2002), p. 327, reported: "That weekend [November 16–17, 1963], though warned of grave peril in Texas, [JFK] forbade his Secret Service detail to ride on the running boards of the presidential limousine." (See also p. 336.) Sid Davis, White House correspondent for the Westinghouse Broadcasting Company in 1963, riding aboard Press Bus #1, later serving as vice president and Washington bureau chief for NBC News, said in 2003 (*American Heritage*, November/December 2003): "On orders from President Kennedy, the plastic bubble-top had been removed from the dark blue Lincoln Continental and Secret Service agents had been forbidden to ride on the car, *as they usually did.*" [Emphasis added.] From Edward Klein's 2003 work *The Kennedy Curse: Why Tragedy Has Haunted America's First Family for 150 Years* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2003), p. 27: "1963—On a political trip to Texas, John F. Kennedy recklessly rejects safety measures proposed by the Secret Service and is assassinated at age 46 in Dallas." Finally, from former Reagan ASAIC Joseph Petro's book *Standing Next to History: An Agent's Life Inside the Secret Service*, by Joseph Petro with Jeffrey Robinson (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2005), p. 20: "There was also talk about putting agents on the back of the limousine ... It's possible that if agents had been standing on it, they might have blocked Oswald's line of sight ... even if the first shot had been successful, he probably would not have managed to fire a lethal second shot from the rear because the agents on the running board would have reacted immediately to cover the president. *As I read the Warren Commission Report, it seems that the president was the one who said, 'No agents on the back of the car.'*" [Emphasis added.]

¹⁰ The House Select Committee on Assassinations (HSCA) Report, pp. 35–36, 228.

¹¹ Gerald Posner, *Case Closed* (New York: Random House, 1993), p. 233.

¹² See also *Murder In Dealey Plaza*, edited by Prof. James Fetzer (Chicago: Catfeet Press, 2000), pp. 163, 166, 183–4. On the very same page, Posner also credits Secret Service Archivist Mike Sampson, a young man not even born when the assassination occurred and, to make matters worse, misspells his last name as "Simpson".

¹³ In fact, Clint Hill and Jerry Parr were two of the nine living former SAICs of the WHD who signed a petition to try to block Kenneth Starr from interviewing Secret Service

- officials. The other seven were unnamed in the article. (*Washington Post*, June 16, 1998.)
- ¹⁴ Merletti doesn't also state that agents rode *standing straight up* on the rear of the car, as witnessed by photographer Tony Zappone on November 18, 1963 [interview with author December 18, 2003] and as demonstrated in photographs by fellow photographer Tommy Eure.
- ¹⁵ *60 Minutes*, December 8, 1975.
- ¹⁶ November 29, 1963 interview with writer Theodore H. White: his notes were released May 26, 1995. (White wrote *The Making of the President 1960*, the *Camelot* article for the December 6, 1963 *Life* magazine, and his own memoirs entitled *In Search of History*, among others.)
- ¹⁷ 2 H 136–7.
- ¹⁸ 5 H 469.
- ¹⁹ 5 H 470. Rowley had also told the JFK Library on March 29, 1976, during an oral history interview, "... outside of the first six months of the president [when Rowley was SAIC of the White House Detail], I occasionally went down to Palm Beach with the detail, and then when I was director on the European trip [June/July 1963] there weren't many others that I had to accompany him [JFK]."
- ²⁰ 18 H 749–750; 18 H 734–5; author interviews with Sam Kinney, March 5, 1994 and April 15, 1994; Manchester, p. 155.
- ²¹ SA Sam Kinney, the driver of the follow-up car, wrote in his report dated November 30, 1963: "... I glanced from the taillights of the President's car that I use for gauging distances for driving." [CD 3 Exhibits.] Kinney told the author that they liked to maintain about a five-foot distance between the follow-up car and the presidential limousine. Author William Manchester reported that Kinney, interviewed on February 19, 1965, "kept his eyes on the back of the President's head" and was "hugging the bumper of SS 100 X" [Manchester, pp. 134, 154, 664; see Kinney, Ch. 10]. Kellerman, 2 H 69: "Not knowing how far it was behind, I would say, from the practice of that driver that he has, five feet would be a maximum." Kellerman later testified: "... I am positive it was right on our rear wheels [on Houston Street]." [2 H 73] Aide Ken O'Donnell testified: "My guess would be five to eight feet, the normal." [7 H 448] Greer testified: "The car behind me was only some few feet, because with our training and all, we stay very, very close to the President's car. Sometimes we are bumper to bumper." [2 H 116] Hill testified that the distance between the follow-up car and the presidential limousine was "Approximately 5 feet ... We attempt to stay as close to the President's car as practical. At high rates of speed it is rather difficult to stay close because of the danger involved. Slow speeds, the follow-up car stays as close as possible so that the agents on the follow-up car can get to the Presidential car as quickly as possible." [2 H 134; see also pp. 137–8.]
- ²² Volume 3 of HSCA, p. 338. (From now on, the following standard designation will be adopted: 3 HSCA 338.)
- ²³ See Roberts and Kinney, Ch. 10.
- ²⁴ 18 H 749–750.
- ²⁵ 18 H 738. Rufus Youngblood later got into the act in his book *20 Years in the Secret Service* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1973), p. 111: "... the officers had been instructed to fall back. This, in turn, provided an obstacle for Jack Ready in moving forward to take his position on the rear bumper step just behind the President." However, on the same page, Youngblood falsely asserts that Ready "on several occasions" did what his counterpart, Clint Hill, did: namely, jogging forward to the rear of the limousine!
- ²⁶ 5 H 453.
- ²⁷ WFAA/ABC TV video, discovered by the author.
- ²⁸ 25 H 787.

²⁹ Author's discovery, shown at the following major national research conferences: COPA '95, COPA '96, Lancer '97, as well as on *The Men Who Killed Kennedy: The Smoking Guns*, 2003. As the ARRB's Doug Horne wrote in an April 16, 1996 memo: "The author viewed this videotape at a symposium in 1995 [by Vince Palamara, presenter]."

³⁰ As evidenced in films and photos, such as CE 698.

³¹ Bishop, p. 558; 4 H 342; author's interviews with Floyd Boring, September 22, 1993 and March 4, 1994; author's interviews with Sam Kinney March 5, 1994 and April 15, 1994.

³² 2 H 105-6.

³³ The author wrote to Democratic National Committee advance man **Jack Puterbaugh**, asking him if, to his knowledge, President Kennedy had ever ordered the Secret Service to do anything, security-wise, including removing themselves from the rear of the limousine. Puterbaugh responded: "I have no personal information or observation in response to this question." [Letter to author dated January 3, 1998.] One could claim that this is still probative; after all, Puterbaugh didn't agree that JFK did any of these things. However, I think it is best to be conservative and regard this as an inconclusive response. For his part, former agent **Robert R. "Bob" Snow** wrote the author on March 9, 2004: "I appreciate your interest in the Secret Service but I am unable to help you with your questions ... I was never with either of the Presidents [JFK or LBJ] mentioned above. [Actually, Snow was on the Inaugural Detail January 20, 1961] ... The gentleman [sic] you have already contact[ed] are far better sources for you. [My letter mentioned the responses of Behn, Kinney, etc. on this matter.] Continue your healthy skepticism when reading books and newspapers." For Snow's participation in the security of JFK's Inaugural, see Protective Survey Report dated January 16, 1961 *Re: Inaugural Activities of the President on January 20, 1961*, conducted by SAIC James M. Beary (January 15 [Washington Field Office]) and SA H. S. Knight (January 16 [WHD]). **Jerry Bechtle**, a V.P. agent stationed at the LBJ Ranch on November 22, 1963, also would not comment, claiming he had no first-hand knowledge about the procedures used to protect JFK [letter to author December 17, 1997]. Bechtle did say, "Our loyalty is to the office first," while taking the liberty of forwarding my letter to Assistant Director of Public Affairs **H. Terrence "Terry" Samway**. Not surprisingly, Samway wrote back: "In regard to your question concerning the protection of President Kennedy, the Secret Service does not consider it appropriate to comment on issues of this nature. Thank you for your interest." [Letter to author January 16, 1998.] Likewise, former WHD agent **Ernest E. Olsson, Jr.**, told the author on February 7, 2004: "I don't talk about those days." However, he did confirm that he spoke to the HSCA in the 1970s. Former WHD agent **Kenneth S. Giannoules** told the author on February 11, 2004: "I don't think I want to participate [in the discussion]." Former V.P./LBJ agent **Thomas "Lem" Johns** told the author on February 11, 2004: "I can't speak first-hand for it [sic]." Former agent **Winston J. Gintz**, a St. Louis Office agent sent with a coterie of his colleagues to Dallas immediately after the assassination to investigate the crime and/or "protect" the Oswald family, would not comment, telling the author on February 11, 2004: "It's all there in the 26 volumes [of the Warren Commission]." Finally, former V.P. LBJ agent **Paul S. Rundle**, after ignoring a phone message and a letter from the author, responded: "Dear Mr. Palamara, I have appreciated your polite inquiries. I understand that numerous former Agents of the Secret Service have commented to others and have written about their experiences. I am not one of them. It is my strong belief that as a result of our position as an Agent, we observed and were a part of the personal history of those we protected. We were there because it was our job, not because we were invited guests. Thank you, Paul Rundle." [Email to author, dated March 6, 2004.] SAIC of the Dallas Office **Forrest Sorrels**, with *no* direct knowledge whatsoever, claimed during his March 15, 1978 HSCA interview that "President Kennedy did not like Secret Service

agents running alongside of the Presidential limousine." He also claimed that "in 1963 the buildings weren't checked out," more "official" Secret Service pablum that is false, as confirmed by Chief Inspector Michael Torina. Sorrels also thought the bubbletop was bulletproof, which it was not. An **unnamed agent** told author Philip Melanson in February 2002: "The Secret Service was too close to him [JFK]. They liked him too much *and they made decisions* [Ellipsis in text.] He [JFK] told them to 'stay away' and they did, 'cause they liked him too much ... [If they didn't like him ... they might have pushed the president [into accepting their presence on the running boards].]" [Emphasis added.] The agent *did* say he felt that not having the agents posted on the running boards was a major factor in JFK's death (Melanson 2003, page 285). The agent's comment that "*they made decisions*" demonstrates that, ultimately, the buck still stops with the Secret Service. And we are supposed to believe that if JFK was *not* liked he would have received better protection? In any event, the Secret Service certainly did not "stay away"—they stuck to JFK like glue whenever he waded into crowds (as JFK did at Love Field) and many times, the agents rode on or near the rear of his limousine. Since we do not know the *identity* of this agent, it is difficult to "cross examine" his pedigree. Quite frankly, the author does not find his jumbled rationale credible. For his part, **Inspector Thomas Kelley** testified to the HSCA [3 HSCA 351]: "*Well, the information I was given on that subject was the President didn't want them there [emphasis added].*" Again, like Sorrels, there was no first-hand knowledge on the subject. Finally, former Eisenhower WHD agent **Frank D. Slocum**, a member of the Los Angeles field office during the JFK years, wrote the author on January 16, 2004: "I suggest you go to the horse's mouth by visiting your local library to read the one volume summary of the Warren Commission report and, if necessary, the volume that contains the testimony of the staff and agents who made the survey." Slocum did say that JFK was "very personable", according to an interview the agent did for *The Honolulu Advertiser*, November 22, 2003. In addition, it has recently been brought to the author's attention, via author David Lifton (of *Best Evidence* fame), that Behn had conveyed to author William Manchester (December 18, 1964) that JFK had, in a few instances in 1961, asked that the agents stay off his car (this is based on some recently-released raw material from Manchester's interview notes). If true, it could very well be that Behn had long forgotten the Secret Service's "official" stance, or party line, when he spoke to the author in 1992. There is little or no doubt that, if given the opportunity to interview Behn, Boring, and a host of their fellow agents circa 1963–5, the author would have received the same answer that Manchester evidently received from Behn. Again, we must remember that Behn's report dated April 16, 1964 essentially agrees with Manchester's raw materials. **Other loose ends: Kenneth J. Wiesman**, WHD and Austin Office agent: In reference to an email inquiry ("Did JFK ever order the agents to not ride on the rear of his limousine? Author William Manchester claims he did, while Behn, Kinney, and Youngblood said he did not."), Wiesman emailed the author back on October 29, 2000 and wrote: "Vince—With your consideration, I believe that I will stay out of that discussion. Thank you for your interest in history and the Secret Service." Like Agent Zboril above, this was obviously a very controversial topic to speak about. **Joseph Paolella**, WHD (not on the Texas trip): Paolella responded to the author's email inquiries on July 22, 1999 and wrote: "*As far as I know JFK did not want agents on his limo and had Kellerman order them off. He felt the agents got in the way of the crowd.*" [Emphasis added.] However, Paolella wasn't on the Texas trip and, much more importantly, Kellerman did not mention JFK's alleged desires even once during his very lengthy, two-session interview with the Warren Commission, not to mention his reports and his later HSCA and private researcher contacts. **Dale Keaner**, WHD (not on the Texas trip): The author contacted Keaner on June 13, 2005 regarding the issue of agents being on the back of the car (in Tampa) and the like (Keaner had previously not responded to my letter from 2004). The former agent said: "There were too many

variables. I don't remember. It was too long ago." The former agent told the author he retired in 1985 after serving seven different presidents (Ike to Reagan), four of whom while he was a member of the WHD. **Ed Morey**, WHD (*not* on the Texas trip): The author also contacted Morey on June 13, 2005 (Morey had also previously not responded to my letter from 2004). Regarding the agents-on-the-limo (and Tampa) issue(s), Morey exclaimed: "I'm not going to make any comment on that," and proceeded to abruptly hang up on the author! **Kent D. Jordan**, WHD (*not* on the Texas trip): The author also contacted Jordan on June 13, 2005 (like Keaner and Morey above, Jordan had also chose not to respond back to the author's letter from 2004). Mr. Jordan merely stated: "A lot of water [has gone] over the dam since then. Sorry I can't help you." Finally, the following agents/personnel would not respond to written inquiries from the author: Toby Chandler, Donald Bendickson, George Weisheit, Bob Burke, Robert Melchiori, Robert Lockwood, John Giuffre, John Powers, John Simpson, Milton Scheuerman, Lynn E. Meredith [different agent than Lynn S. Meredith], Sal Mazzuca, Gerard McCann, Robert Faison, Alwyn Dickerson, Robert Jamison, Jerry Bruno, Robert Powis, Chuck Vance, Mrs. Mary Finger [Bill Greer's second wife], Mrs. Emory Roberts [Betty], the family of the late Bert deFreese, James Mastrovito, Thomas Wells, Adrian Vial, Nemo Ciochina, Gene Wofford, George Sershen, Roy Nunn, William Duncan, Ron Williams, Victor Gonzalez and Robert L. DeProspero (two attempts).

³⁴ Youngblood used the same terminology—"assigned posts" and "position[s]"—on p. 111 of his book *20 Years in the Secret Service*. However, on the same page, Youngblood asserts that Ready "on several occasions" did what his counterpart, Clint Hill, did: namely, jogging forward to the rear of the limousine. Ready never rode on the rear of the limousine. Only once, because he was alerted by Agent Paul Landis, did Ready leave the follow-up car in the heart of the downtown motorcade: to chase away a boy with a camera [Ready and Landis reports, CD 3 Exhibits].

³⁵ Manchester, p. 669.

³⁶ Author's interview with Lilley, September 21, 1993.

³⁷ Keeping in mind William Manchester's "quote" attributed to a man—Agent Boring—he didn't even interview (and who denounced the merit of the information in any case), author Edward Klein came forward with a powerful comment, allegedly from Dave Powers, in his 2003 book entitled *The Kennedy Curse: Why Tragedy Has Haunted America's First Family for 150 Years* (p. 164): "[JFK] turned to O'Donnell. 'Kenny,' he said, according to the recollection of Dave Powers, 'if the weather is clear and it's not raining, have that bubbletop off. *I don't want the Secret Service to ride on the running boards, either. And keep those motorcycle cops back from the sides of the car and out of the line of sight.*" [Emphasis added.] Leaving the issue of the bubbletop alone for now, if true, this would be very persuasive evidence that Kennedy was to blame after all, in spite of the mass of contradictory evidence. However, not only did O'Donnell feel tremendous guilt and responsibility for not protecting JFK (according to both his daughter Helen and, allegedly, Powers [ibid.], a seeming incongruity if O'Donnell was really "off the hook" for what went down in Dallas), neither Powers (speaking for O'Donnell) nor O'Donnell himself ever went on record before about the decision to remove the agents from the limousine and the motorcycles from the sides of the car—until these comments appeared in Klein's 2003 tome. O'Donnell passed away on September 9, 1977 and Powers passed away on March 27, 1998. Klein supposedly interviewed Powers in April 1997 [p. 248]. The current author personally doubts the veracity of this quote. And, in the unlikely event Powers truly said this, he is on record years before Klein's book was published with both a wall of silence on these issues (1963–93) and a letter to the author containing diametrically contradictory information (September 10, 1993), ten years before Klein's book came out (not to mention Powers' comments to the ARRB's Tom Samoluk that were forwarded to the author in 1996). Interestingly, Klein interviewed agents Hamilton Brown, Larry Newman, Bill Livin-

- good, Paul Landis, and Frank Yeager—ostensibly about fellow agent Clint Hill—for his book *Just Jackie: Her Private Years* (Ballantine Books, 1999), p. 374.
- ³⁸ Edward Klein, *Just Jackie: Her Private Years* (Ballantine Books, 1999), pp. 58–59, 374, based on an interview Klein had with Kitty Carlisle Hart regarding Hart's conversation with Jackie.
- ³⁹ In addition to being a WHD agent on temporary assignment in 1961, as well as a Chicago Office agent afterwards, Bolden saw action on the March 23, 1963 and (canceled) November 2, 1963 trips to Chicago.
- ⁴⁰ Italy film clip, courtesy Jim Cedrone of the JFK Library; newly discovered still photos from Naples: *John Fitzgerald Kennedy: A Life in Pictures* by Yann-Brice Dherbier and Pierre-Henri Verlhac (New York: Phaidon Press, 2003), pp. 183, 231; Corbis stock photos discovered by the author in 2005 (and also forwarded to former agents Blaine, Coughlin, and O'Rourke). Godfrey wrote to the author: "I did the advance in Rome and the Vatican and Bob Lilley did the advance in Naples. I think NATO was there then."
- ⁴¹ Kinney was interviewed by Manchester February 19, 1965.
- ⁴² Interviews with author October 19, 1992, March 5, 1994, and April 15, 1994.
- ⁴³ Former Agent Percy Hamilton "Ham" Brown also said that JFK was "personable" in *The Kennedy Curse: Why Tragedy Has Haunted America's First Family for 150 Years* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2003), pp. 171–2. Some of Brown's other remarks should be taken with a grain of salt, though.
- ⁴⁴ However, former agent Jerry Kivett, who retired from the agency on July 31, 1982, wrote: "Don Lawton retired a few years after I did ..." [letter to author dated February 28, 2004]. Perhaps Lawton was using his "employment" just as an excuse not to go into further details on the matter, especially in writing.
- ⁴⁵ Former Agent Don Lawton spoke highly of Lilley during the author's interview of Lawton conducted on November 15, 1995, as well as in Lawton's letter to the author dated November 22, 1997: "I must say, in all candor, of all the people I have met and worked alongside in law enforcement, Bob Lilley stands head and shoulders above all of them. I sincerely mean that."
- ⁴⁶ Norris was also interviewed by author Jim Sloan in *JFK—Breaking The Silence* (Dallas: Taylor Publishing Co., 1993), pp. 98–126. Norris was mentioned by LBJ mistress Madaleine Brown in *Killing the Truth* by Harry Livingstone (New York: Carroll & Graf, 1993), p. 504. Agent Kinney told the author: "I knew a White House policeman named John Norris ... technically, he is [a Secret Service agent] ... uniformed branch." Former Secret Service Special Officer Stanley B. Galup wrote the author on February 20, 2004: "I did not personally know John Norris. He is now retired in the Assoc. of Retired Police Officers of D.C." Norris was a fervent believer in a conspiracy, as was conveyed to the author (and to Sloan). His views and beliefs are important for obvious reasons.
- ⁴⁷ 5 H 470. The author interviewed Rowley briefly on September 27, 1992, shortly before his death, but this issue was not touched upon. Rowley wrote the foreword to C. B. Colby's 1966 book *Secret Service: History, Duties, and Equipment* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc.). The author wrote (p. 30): "Agents often walk with one hand on the fender of the [Presidential] vehicle they are guarding so that any change of speed will be at once detected and they can adjust their own pace accordingly."
- ⁴⁸ 5 H 470.
- ⁴⁹ U. E. Baughman, *Secret Service Chief* (New York: Harper & Row, Popular Library edition, January 1963), p. 70.
- ⁵⁰ U. E. Baughman wrote the foreword and helped in the research for the 1957 book *The Story of the Secret Service* (New York: Random House). On several pages, notably pp. 4 and 164, it is stated matter-of-factly that agents are to walk beside the President's car (as also demonstrated by a photo). Rowley, then SAIC of the WHD, is

- quoted on p. 11: "They [the agents] have to be able to think ahead to what an assassin might do, and forestall him."
- ⁵¹ 2 H 61–112.
- ⁵² *The Memories, 1961–1963* by Cecil Stoughton with Ted Clifton and Hugh Sidey (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1973), p. 160; see also Stoughton's motorcade films of the trip to Italy (July 1963), as well as his still photos taken from the follow-up car in Tampa, Florida (November 18, 1963) and in Houston, Texas (November 21, 1963) via the JFK Library (unpublished; in author's collection).
- ⁵³ Photographer Tony Zappone said: "The President's car was moving fast, real fast, much faster than normal traffic ever did" in Tampa. This was *with* Lawton and Zboril (and, alternately, Berger) on the rear of the limousine (author's interview with Zappone, December 18, 2003).
- ⁵⁴ Letter to author from Torina, December 5, 1997.
- ⁵⁵ Walter S. Bowen and Harry E. Neal, *The United States Secret Service* (New York: Chilton, 1960), p. 209.
- ⁵⁶ Wayne Hyde, *What Does A Secret Service Agent Do?* (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1962), p. 28 (and acknowledgments). On the same page is a picture of agents walking right by JFK's car in 1961.
- ⁵⁷ See Chapter 2.
- ⁵⁸ Michael R. Beschloss, editor, *Taking Charge: The Johnson White House Tapes, 1963–1964* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997), pp. 56–57.
- ⁵⁹ In the same UPI story written by Serling from Washington entitled "Secret Service Men Wary of Motorcade": "The United States Secret Service ... has always feared a motorcade assassination attempt more than anything else. *In private conversations* and in books published by high officials after they left the service, agents admit that Chief Executives riding in open cars down crowded city streets are at their most vulnerable as the targets of assassination ... For motorcades the secret service checks every manhole cover and sewer along the parade route for bombs or dynamite. Buildings frequently are checked, along with records of occupants to make sure there are no known President-haters on the premises ... They are trained never to watch the President himself but the people and crowds around him. They are also sworn to throw themselves in front of their charge at the first indication of gunfire—to take the bullets, if possible, meant for the Chief Executive ... An agent is the only man in the world who can order a President of the United States around if the latter's safety is believed at stake ... *in certain situations an agent outranks even a President.*" [Emphasis added.]
- ⁶⁰ In the same letter to the author dated January 16, 2004, Jones wrote: "I was assigned to the detail in the summer of 19[63] and spent most of the summer in Hyannis Port at the President's home on Squaw Island, down the road from the Kennedy Compound. The President came to Hyannis Port most weekends, as Mrs. Kennedy was pregnant with the baby [Patrick], which they lost. Most of my time that summer was spent with Mrs. Kennedy and the children and with the President when he came to the Cape." Jones was at the White House on November 21, 1963 (USSS RIF#1541-0001-10042) to augment the Children's, or "kiddie", detail (USSS RIF#1541-0001-10040). Former Secret Service Special Officer Stanley B. Galup wrote the author on February 20, 2004: "As with all Presidents, there are degrees of difficulty in protection. Remember, in JFK days we did not have the technological improvements or the manpower we have today! However, duty at the compound, for me personally, was equally satisfying and enjoyable since I had a close relationship with all the Kennedy Family members including Robert. In this respect 'Camelot' does apply. My 'strictly' protective details later included Pres. Johnson in Texas, V. Pres. Humphrey in Minn. and Pres. Nixon in Florida (Supervisor of last 2)."

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- ⁶¹ Horn later wrote the author: "I never worked extensively with JFK. Maybe three or four times when he visited Los Angeles." [Email to author dated February 28, 2004.]
- ⁶² Email to author dated March 1, 2004.
- ⁶³ 7 H 440–457. Manchester, p. 666 (O'Donnell was interviewed May 4, 1964, June 4, 1964, August 6, 1964 and November 23, 1964). O'Donnell passed away September 9, 1977. For what it's worth, neither Presidential Aides Larry O'Brien [7 H 457–472] or Dave Powers [7 H 472–44] mentioned any JFK "desires", either (also, see Powers, above). In addition, nothing of the sort is mentioned in *Johnny, We Hardly Knew Ye* by Kenneth P. O'Donnell, David F. Powers, and Joseph McCarthy (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1972 [see especially p. 20], nor in Kenny O'Donnell's daughter's book *A Common Good: The Friendship of Robert F. Kennedy and Kenneth P. O'Donnell* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1998), written by Helen O'Donnell, who wrote (Author's Note): "Much of the material in this book has been gathered from the private tapes of my father, Kenneth P. O'Donnell."
- ⁶⁴ Email to author dated February 22, 2004.
- ⁶⁵ Email to author dated April 26, 2005.
- ⁶⁶ Email to author dated February 22, 2004.
- ⁶⁷ Email to author dated February 28, 2004.
- ⁶⁸ Email to author dated February 28, 2004.
- ⁶⁹ *Looking Back and Seeing The Future: The United States Secret Service 1865–1990* by the AFAUSSS (Dallas: Taylor Publishing Company, 1991), p. 79.
- ⁷⁰ Fellow agent Darwin Horn wrote: "Most of the men riding the follow-up car were newer agents who had joined the detail after I left." [*Dar's Story: Memoirs of a Secret Service Agent* by Darwin Horn (Santa Barbara, CA: Haagen Printing, 2002), p. 114.]
- ⁷¹ Newman had seen the author on *The Men Who Killed Kennedy* in November 2003 and thought I was some "20 year old kid" (actually, 36 at the time!). He also mentioned my letter he received and chose not to answer back in 1997.
- ⁷² Parr on Larry King, July 14, 1998.
- ⁷³ JFK Library oral history, February 25, 1976 [released 1998]: 29 pages; Truman Library oral history, September 21, 1988: 76 pages.
- ⁷⁴ JFK Library oral history, February 25, 1976 [released 1998], p. 27.
- ⁷⁵ James Rowley oral history, JFK Library, March 29, 1976.
- ⁷⁶ Assassination author and researcher Robert Groden wrote: "Clint Hill [rode] the rear of the President's limousine as it turn[ed] on Main Street. This protective stance was standard procedure in a presidential motorcade. Why was Hill not positioned on the car as it moved through Dealey Plaza?" [*The Killing of a President* (New York: Viking Studio Books, 1993), p. 202; see also *The Search For Lee Harvey Oswald* by Robert Groden (New York: Penguin Studio Books, 1995), p. 104]
- ⁷⁷ The *Tampa Tribune*, November 19, 1963 (downtown area picture with agents Lawton and Zboril holding onto the rear handrails); Cecil Stoughton photo, taken from the follow-up car, November 18, 1963 (suburban area picture depicting same); short clip in David Wolper's 1964 film *Four Days in November* depicting the start of the Tampa trip: agent Zboril is running on the left-rear end of the limo, holding onto the handrail, while agent Berger is riding on the opposite side; agent Lawton is seen running along Berger's side; black and white photos discovered by Ian Griggs and Frank De-benedictis; black and white photos from photographers Tony Zappone and Tommy Eure.
- ⁷⁸ Gibbons' biography from the United States Congress: GIBBONS, Sam Melville, a Representative from Florida; born in Tampa, Hillsborough County, Fla., January 20, 1920; attended the public schools of Tampa; attended the University of Florida and from the law school of that university received his LL.B. in 1947; was admitted to the bar in 1947 and began the practice of law in Tampa; served in the United States Army with the Five Hundred and First Parachute Infantry, One Hundred and First Airborne Division, 1941 to 1945, and was released from active duty as a major;

awarded the Bronze Star; served in the State house of representatives, 1953–1958, and in the State senate, 1959–1962; delegate, Democratic National Conventions, 1964, 1968 and 1984; elected as a Democrat to the Eighty-eighth and to the sixteen succeeding Congresses (January 3, 1963 – January 3, 1997); chairman, Committee on Ways and Means (One Hundred Third Congress); was not a candidate for reelection to the One Hundred Fifth Congress.

⁷⁹ Regarding the other gentleman who rode in the rear of the limousine with Congressman Gibbons and JFK in Tampa on November 18, 1963, Senator George Smathers, noted author Anthony Summers wrote to the author on February 26, 2004: "Smathers, of course, is now seriously old. I believe the last of us to speak with him was Robbyn [Swan Summers, Anthony's partner]—she said then he had lost the sharpness that had surprised us even a few years earlier, and become very vague. Don't get your hopes up too much about Smathers talking usefully. I think he must be about eighty-seven now." In any event, even with the help of Anthony Summers, the author was unable to locate Smathers for comment.

⁸⁰ HSCA RIF#180-10093-10320.

⁸¹ As a recent book correctly noted, "Often Secret Service agents rode on the bumper of the president's car, but this did not happen that day [November 22, 1963]." [*The U.S. Secret Service* by Ann Graham Gaines (Philadelphia: Chelsea House Publishers, 2001), p. 41.] Gaines also noted: "[The agents] regretted not insisting that more agents ride in the limousine ..." [ibid., p. 45].

⁸² However, on pp. 29–30 of *The Day Kennedy Was Shot*, author Jim Bishop writes: "In the corridor [of the Hotel Texas in Fort Worth, the morning of November 22, 1963], Secret Service Agent Roy Kellerman spoke to Agent Winston Lawson in Dallas ... Kellerman ... advised that the President had again requested that Secret Service men remain away from the lead car [sic: probably meant Presidential limousine]. 'He wants everybody to remain on the follow-up,' said Kellerman." To say that this author is dubious of the veracity of this passage would be an understatement, especially after what Lawson conveyed to the author (above). And, again, Agent Hill disobeyed this alleged Presidential "request" four times during the motorcade! Finally, it is uncertain whether Kellerman was even interviewed by Bishop. With both men dead, unfortunately, this is where the matter has to rest: as doubtful and inconclusive. Furthermore, if the alleged Secret Service telex Jim Bishop described concerning JFK's November 22, 1963 alleged desires truly existed (Bishop, p. 39), why didn't Bishop or the Secret Service produce it? Why didn't any of the agents the author interviewed remember it or mention it in testimony to either the Warren Commission or the HSCA or, for that matter, to the ARRB? Why, instead, did the agency need these April 22, 1964 reports from Rowley in its place (18 H 803–9)?

⁸³ 5 H 470. In addition, Democratic National Committee advance man Jerry Bruno wrote: "[The Secret Service's] word on security was final. They could by law order a President not to go some place, on security grounds, and he was bound to obey them." [Jerry Bruno and Jeff Greenfield, *The Advance Man* (New York: Bantam Books, 1971), p. 91.] Former Agent George McNally wrote: "Legally the Secret Service could forbid a President to do such and such or go to this or that place." [*A Million Miles of Presidents*, p. 110.]

⁸⁴ Rowley oral history, LBJ Library, January 22, 1969, p. 2. See also David Seidman, *Extreme Careers—Secret Service Agents: Life Protecting the President* (New York: The Rosen Publishing Group, Inc., 2003), p. 11. Rowley himself said: "Most Presidents have responded to our requests"

⁸⁵ The only thing Kennedy would do detrimental to his security was wade into crowds to shake hands, as he had done at Love Field on the morning of November 22, 1963. However, the security was impressive and quite modern in its scope. As with the security effected at the Trade Mart (apart from the details on why they were even at the

building in the first place), the Secret Service actually did a fine job at the airport. The *problem* was the motorcade, the weakest link.

⁸⁶ Also, as stressed by Agent Kinney in conversations with the author, the Secret Service follow-up car was to maintain very close proximity to the rear of JFK's limousine; in effect, the cars became one, so to speak. If the cars would have maintained their close proximity, which was the normal procedure *and* which was adhered to until the start of the shooting, even if agents weren't on or near the rear of the limousine, at the slow speed they were going, they would have had more than a fighting chance to cover JFK before the fatal shot. This, of course, does not take into account Roberts' perplexing actions (and inactions), stated above.

⁸⁷ Harry Neal, *The Secret Service in Action* (New York: Elsevier/Nelson books, 1980), p. 93. Neal buys into the JFK-as-scapegoat theme: "When the Kennedy procession left the hotel [sic] in Dallas to go to the Trade Mart, two Secret Service agents were standing on special steps on the back of the President's car [they were not]. Soon the President asked that they leave the vehicle and ride in the Secret Service car, following close behind, which they did [not true]." On p. 92, Neal wrote: "... it is a fact that the Secret Service performed its protective duties [in Dallas] as effectively as it could." Not even the Warren Commission or the HSCA believe that.

⁸⁸ Melanson (2003), p. 285.

⁸⁹ Frank J. Wilson and Beth Day, *Special Agent* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965), p. 247.

⁹⁰ *Standing Next To History: An Agent's Life Inside the Secret Service* by Joseph Petro with Jeffrey Robinson (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2005), p. 20.

⁹¹ Baughman, pp. 172-3.

⁹² Bishop, p. 558

⁹³ Boring's JFK Library oral history. Although this Oral History was made back on February 25, 1976, the day *after* SAIC Gerald A. Behn's was made, and with the very same interviewer from the JFK Library (Bill Hartigan, former JFK aide), it has only recently surfaced, although the Behn Oral History has been available for many years as one of the many items listed in the Library's catalogue. There is one reason for this: back on September 22, 1993, Boring told the author that he did an Oral History for the JFK Library, but both himself and Hartigan "sounded like a bunch of sopranos" when they listened back to the tape [unavailable, by the way]; this is duly noted at the end of the transcript, as well. It seems that, despite being able to transcribe the faulty tape (the transcript is type-written and appears contemporaneous), the Library decided not to release it ... until just early in 1998, after the author brought Floyd Boring's name to the attention of the JFK Library (and a score of other prominent people, including the ARRB).

⁹⁴ Former agent Darwin Horn wrote: "You had to take your annual leave when you could because there were many spans of time when there was no way you could obtain it. Some years would go by for some agents when they couldn't use their leave at all." [*Dar's Story: Memoirs of a Secret Service Agent* by Darwin Horn (Santa Barbara, CA: Haagen Printing, 2002), p. 236.]

⁹⁵ Interestingly, a neighbor who lived for many years right across from Jerry Behn (and who requested anonymity) wrote to the author in 2000 with the following: "As I later learned of his [Behn's] importance within the detail handling Kennedy, I read more about him, including notes about his whereabouts during Dallas. From all accounts, he was 'on vacation' during this important tour, and this point never made sense to me. Even in retirement, Mr. Behn's idea of a vacation was to go out and mow the lawn! A few years ago, my sister, Liz, finally asked Mrs. Behn about 'the vacation' they had taken during Dallas. Mrs. Behn said they were not on vacation, but rather that Mr. Behn was home sick suffering from *food poisoning!* As a family, we try to lay off the subject of Kennedy when talking with Mrs. Behn (Mr. Behn died a few years ago [April 1993]), so I haven't really had the desire to 'interview' her on this point.

We're neighbors, not reporters. Perhaps they had planned to go on vacation, and Mr. Behn got sick instead. Either way, it's an interesting point." In addition, Agent Greer told the HSCA on February 28, 1978 that he didn't know why Behn didn't make the Dallas trip.

⁹⁶ 18 H 789; author's interview with Lawson, September 27, 1992; Lawson, *Inside the Secret Service*, 1995 documentary.

⁹⁷ 2 H 107–8. See Chapter 2.

⁹⁸ Interviews and correspondence with author, 1993–6.

⁹⁹ Boring's partial comment "I sent" was probably a referral to assigning Lawson to the Dallas advance. See also 4 H 342 and 17 H 618.

¹⁰⁰ Dan Robertson interview of Floyd Boring, 2006 (conveyed to the author via an e-mail dated June 6, 2006).