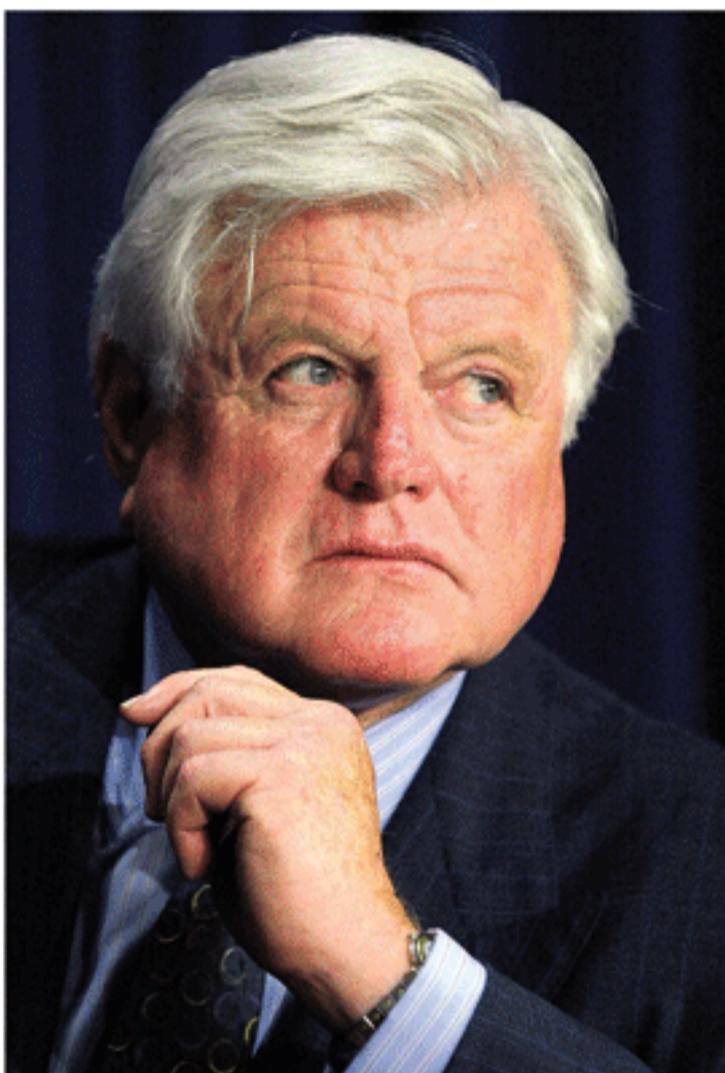


# Kennedy dead at 77



Senator Edward M. Kennedy fought for universal health care to his final days.

## Liberal lion of the Senate, symbol of family dynasty succumbs to brain cancer

By Martin F. Nolan  
GLOBE CORRESPONDENT

Senator Edward M. Kennedy, who carried aloft the torch of a Massachusetts dynasty and a liberal ideology to the citadel of Senate power, but whose personal and political failings may have prevented him from realizing the ultimate prize of the presidency, died at his home in Hyannis Port last night after a battle with brain cancer.

"We've lost the irreplaceable center of our family and joyous light in our lives, but the inspiration of his faith, optimism, and perseverance will live on in our hearts forever," his family said in a statement. "We thank everyone who gave him care and support over this last year, and everyone who stood with him for so many years in his tireless march for progress toward justice, fairness, and opportunity for all. He loved this country and devoted his life to serving it. He always believed that our best days were still ahead, but it's hard to imagine any of them without him."

Overcoming a history of family tragedy, including the assassinations of a brother who was president and another who sought the presidency, Senator Kennedy seized the role of being a "Senate man." He became a Democratic titan of Washington who fought for the less fortunate, who crafted unlikely deals with conservative Republicans, and who ceaselessly sought support for universal health coverage.

"Teddy," as he was known to intimates, constituents, and even his fiercest enemies, was an unwavering symbol to the left and the right — the former for his unapologetic embrace of liberalism, and latter for his value as a political target. But with his fiery rhetoric, his distinctive Massachusetts accent, and his role as representative of one of the nation's best-known political families, he was widely recognized as an American original. In the end, some of those who might have been his harshest political enemies, including former President George W. Bush, found ways to collaborate with the man who was called the "last lion" of the Senate.

Senator Kennedy's White House aspirations may have been doomed by his actions on the night he drove off a bridge at Chappaquiddick Island and failed to promptly report the accident in which Ma-



The Kennedy brothers, John, Robert, and Edward, in 1960 in Hyannisport after John became the Democratic presidential nominee.

ry Jo Kopechne, who had worked for his brother Robert, died. When Kennedy nonetheless later sought to wrest the presidential nomination from an incumbent Democrat, Jimmy Carter, he failed. But that failure prompted him to reevaluate his place in history, and he dedicated himself to fulfilling his political agenda by other means, famously saying, "the dream shall never die."

He was the youngest child of a famous family, but his legacy derived from quiet subcommittee meetings, conference reports, and markup sessions. The result of his efforts meant hospital care for a grandmother, a federal loan for a working college student, or a better wage for a dishwasher.

"He died the way he lived," said a longtime Kennedy staffer, who did not want to be named because of the sensitivity of the moment, breaking up

## Home prices, sales on rise in Boston area

Data suggest fears ebbing

By Chris Reidy and Katie Johnston Chase  
GLOBE STAFF

Home prices in Greater Boston have increased for three straight months and the number of houses selling is up sharply, suggesting that the long housing slump is over.

June home prices were a strong 2.6 percent above the previous month, and the number of single-family homes that sold statewide in July was a whopping 12 percent higher than a year ago. While these data come from different sources, and measure different compo-

nents of the real estate market, they point to a market that is heading upward.

Housing industry specialist Karl E. Case, a professor of economics at Wellesley College, said the Boston market is "bottoming out." He noted that the housing index he cofounded, the S&P/Case-Shiller home price index, showed several months of prices increasing in Greater Boston.

"That's significant," Case said.

For months, industry representatives and specialists have wistfully pointed to a combination of ideal factors that they argued should have long ago sparked a recovery in housing sales: record low mortgage rates, steep price declines, and a

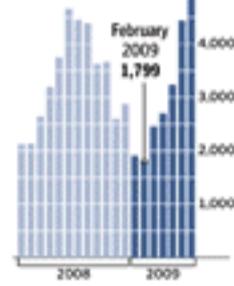
government tax credit for first-time buyers.

But such predictions did not account for the human factor: Buyers were afraid to commit if the slump was going to continue and make the home they bought today worth less tomorrow.

Now though, with federal officials declaring that the economy itself has hit bottom and is showing signs of life, and consumer confidence rising slightly, buyers apparently feel there is less risk in committing to a home purchase.

"People are no longer worried about writing a check because prices are going to plummet," said John Neale, a partner at Spriggs & Neale Real Estate.

Monthly sales of single-family homes in Massachusetts:



SOURCE: Warren Group  
DAVID SCHULTZ/GLOBE STAFF

## US inspects Boston's language instruction

Schools neglected English learners

By James Vaznis  
GLOBE STAFF

The US Department of Justice has launched an inquiry into Boston's failure to provide necessary language instruction to thousands of students who speak limited English, a violation of federal law that has the district scrambling to hire teachers and expand programs for this fall.

The federal scrutiny began after Boston schools revealed earlier this year during a routine state review that 42 per-

cent of its nearly 11,000 English language learners were not receiving the help they are legally entitled to, according to documents provided to the Globe under a public records request.

The same review found that school officials, by their own admission, were encouraging parents to decline the services, because their programs were full, or were not adequately explaining the options to parents, many of whom do not speak English.

Boston is the latest Massachusetts district targeted by federal regulators for denying

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## Top officer offers a dire assessment on Afghanistan

By Bryan Bender  
GLOBE STAFF

The nation's top military officer, in a deeply pessimistic assessment of the war in Afghanistan, said yesterday that due to years of neglect the United States is basically "starting over" in its battle against the radical Taliban movement and its Al Qaeda allies.

Acknowledging that public support for the war is waning, Navy Admiral Mike Mullen, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said that the US operation needs "12 to 18 months to turn this thing around."

"It is doable, but it is going to take some time," he said, urging Americans to be patient.

With the intense focus until recently on fighting the war in Iraq — where the United States plans to keep nearly twice as many troops as in Afghanistan until at least early next year — he said

## In protesting the president, civility rules



Commercial fisherman Tony Cavalo of New Bedford made the trip to Martha's Vineyard to protest federal fishing regulations.

By Matt Viser  
GLOBE STAFF

VINEYARD HAVEN — This is not Crawford, Texas. When George W. Bush was in the White House, protesters flooded the barren fields near his ranch, holding signs in 100-degree weather, sleeping in tents, and shouting at his motorcade.

On Martha's Vineyard, where President Obama is in the midst of a low-key weekend vacation, the protests are calibrated at a much lower volume.

It's not a bad gig, if you can get it.

High-profile protester Cindy Sheehan arrived last night and was whisked to a 36-foot wooden sloop on Lake Tashmo, kicking off a four-day visit that will include a series of peace activities.

GLOBE EDITORIAL

The Boston Globe

# Edward Kennedy, 1932-2009

**August 27, 2009**

TED KENNEDY was not a great man. The extraordinary events of his life clashed with his human frailties, and the frailties sometimes won. He had real talent as a legislative politician, but for his first few decades seemed destined mainly to be someone's kid brother.

There was nothing modest, though, about Ted Kennedy's accomplishments or the hard work that went into them. There was nothing modest about his compassion for those without means, for whom he toiled most of his life. There was nothing modest about his love of his family, and the way that devotion spurred him past his very real failures and frailties to amass a legacy to match that of any Massachusetts politician, including his brothers.

He staked his career to the highest goals of liberalism, and defended those goals through decades when his views were not shared by most, or even that many, of his fellow citizens. While he could have simply chosen to be the liberal movement's spiritual leader, he opted instead to spend most of his life in the legislative trenches, fighting, bill by bill, to provide government aid to people in need of health care, education, and a road out of poverty. The programs he championed may not have solved those problems, but they brought tangible assistance to millions whose lives would have been far more difficult if not for Kennedy's exertions on their behalf.

Now is a time to think, too, of the millions of people with cancer whose treatments were developed with billions of research dollars for which Kennedy was the leading - and most relentless - advocate. Of the people with the AIDS virus for whom Kennedy was instrumental in securing government funding that now covers half of all Americans living with HIV. Of the millions of people with disabilities whose lives were transformed by his advocacy for the Americans with Disabilities Act. And of the tens of millions of Americans whose immigration to the United States from continents other than Europe would not have been possible without the Immigration Act of 1965 that Kennedy sponsored.

In retrospect, the defining moment of Ted Kennedy's life came in June 1968. His brother Bobby was assassinated in Los Angeles, and Ted, at 36, suddenly realized that his life would no longer be his own. Most people spend their careers trying to match their skills to endeavors that are meaningful and rewarding to them. Ted Kennedy wouldn't have that luxury: He would have to realize not only his own ambitions but those of his hard-driving parents and his martyred older brothers. Then there were the 13 fatherless children who would rely on him, as much as his own three kids. There were also the thousands of former officials from the Kennedy administration for whom he would be a leader. And there were the tens of millions of Americans who believed that only another Kennedy presidency could cure the ills of the '60s - that only a Kennedy could speak to the young and the old, the hawks and the doves, the people of all races striving for fairness and dignity.

Kennedy spent some of that summer of 1968 sailing by himself in silent contemplation, adrift in a world he couldn't control and which seemed at any moment ready to kill him. It turned out not to be his death but his survival of a car crash on Chappaquiddick Island in 1969 that marked his fate. His failure to immediately assume responsibility for the accident that killed a young woman in the car he was driving gravely damaged his chances of being president. Worse, the implication that he was thinking of his political interests rather than the woman's life during the eight hours that the crash went unreported followed him all his years, even though friends insist that the judgment was unfair. He had suffered a concussion. He wasn't himself.

His only presidential campaign ended in failure, and, during his middle years, his personal life was usually raucous, sometimes embarrassing, and often unhappy. But it was during those years, as well, that he made his loneliest and most courageous stands, building coalitions to preserve the civil rights legacy of the '60s from the Reagan administration's attempts to dismantle it.

In his later decades, with strength from his second marriage and a ripening paternal relationship with the Commonwealth and its citizens, he reached a new level of effectiveness in the Senate, helping to bring health care to more children while improving benefits for elderly Americans, and increasing federal aid to education. He also drew on his experience of repeatedly having to summon strength amid tragedies to help other individuals in the Commonwealth cope with their own losses. Like his weekly appointment to read to schoolchildren, these daily phone calls to grieving constituents attested to his strength of character and the depth of his commitment to other people.

Human frailties kept Kennedy from being the leader that his most feverish admirers imagined that he would be. But his humanity also redeemed him. Often described as the most thoughtful and empathetic of the Kennedy brothers, and the most loving uncle to his large family, Kennedy bridged the gap between personal kindness and the politics of compassion. When pushing legislation full of complex formulas and percentages, he could always tell exactly how many families would benefit. He saw past the numbers to the souls in need. Those people, like so many of his Massachusetts constituents of almost 47 years, owe him their enduring respect and gratitude.

He made Massachusetts larger in the world of politics, and in its commitment to the highest aspirations of fairness, equal opportunity, and concern for the disadvantaged.

The state already feels smaller without him. ■

## Edward M. Kennedy

A legislative master who bucked political tides

Thursday, August 27, 2009

TED [KENNEDY](#) once said that his own legislative record was one he'd love to run against. A number of people tried, of course, and lost. But then, they weren't Ted Kennedy. Mr. Kennedy spent 46 years in the Senate hewing pretty steadily to his course while others trimmed their sails or just plain bailed out.

He remained committed to a brand of New Deal and postwar liberalism that, even when it had lost some of its luster and had run up against a conservative tide in politics, still had much to offer the country. Mr. Kennedy knew that he was one legislator who could take the stands he did and not worry about reelection. More important, he advanced his causes with passion and energy, and, because he was able not only to work with colleagues across the political spectrum but also to endear himself to many of them, he became a major force in the Senate and the country. Such was his authority that many people this spring and summer believed health-care reform would have advanced much further through Congress had Mr. Kennedy been healthy enough to assume his customary shepherding role.

One winter's day during the most recent presidential campaign, a crowd numbering in the thousands gathered on a Washington campus and overflowed the field house to hear the senator give his blessing to a new colleague who was a little over a year old when Ted Kennedy came to Washington. That the old "Lion of the Senate," as he was often called, could have done so much to help Barack Obama's campaign take flight that January day was testimony to both the enduring appeal of the Kennedy name and to the connection much of his party still felt to Mr. Kennedy and his causes. Throughout his career he stood by some of the country's most neglected and abused people: minorities, immigrants, the poor and those lacking access to good health care, to name just some of them.

When Mr. Kennedy first ran for the Senate from Massachusetts, he wasn't even quite old enough to serve, and his record, which included an expulsion from Harvard University for cheating, was undistinguished. "The Cambridge intellectual establishment was aghast at his candidacy," writes John F. Kennedy biographer Thomas Reeves. Many felt that the Kennedy family saw him as being in line to assume the presidency by right. But in 1969, the senator drove off a bridge at a place called Chappaquiddick in Massachusetts, and a young woman in the senator's car, Mary Jo Kopechne, drowned. The failure of the senator and others who were with him at Chappaquiddick to report the accident for hours afterward was a shocking act with long-lasting consequences for all involved. It did not end Mr. Kennedy's presidential ambitions -- he tried and failed to take the nomination from Jimmy Carter in 1980 -- but it greatly reduced his chances of fulfilling them.

Mr. Kennedy, however, chose not to disappear or to settle in for a long run as a senior statesman. His record shows the work of a committed, diligent legislator, and it earned the respect of those who disagreed with him as much as the loyalty of those who worked for and with him. He fought hard and persistently on a broad variety of matters, including education (the No Child Left Behind Act), the environment, gay rights, student loans and immigration reform. Indeed, he stood as a major figure in just about every major area of legislation.

As with most of us, his final days were another object lesson in the necessity of good health care. He thought it should be available to everyone, and he worked until the end to make that a reality. Moving toward that goal would be the greatest tribute his fellow legislators could pay him.



August 27, 2009

EDITORIAL

## Senator Edward Kennedy

Three decades ago, Senator Edward Moore Kennedy ruined his last hope to be elected to the White House when a television interviewer asked him why he wanted to be president. He could not articulate an answer, offering instead a rambling, empty response that persuaded his party that he may not really have wanted or been suited for the job that his brother John had held and to which his brother Robert had aspired.

Yet as so often happened in an extraordinary life that careened from success to misfortune and scandal and back to success again, this bumbling moment worked to Mr. Kennedy's advantage and, as it turned out, to the even greater advantage of the nation as a whole. Having failed in his insurgent challenge to President Jimmy Carter, Mr. Kennedy was finally free to focus with passion and political craft on his more natural calling as one of the master legislators and great reformers in the modern Senate.

The record Mr. Kennedy leaves after 46 years can only be envied by his peers as they join the nation in mourning his passing after a 15-month fight against brain cancer — a record firmly anchored in Mr. Kennedy's insistence that politics be grasped and administered through the prism of human needs.

Together with a hard-won mastery of parliamentary intricacies, and a willingness to reach across party lines to win crucial votes, Mr. Kennedy's unwavering taproot liberalism left a robust legacy: signature laws and reforms on civil rights, the judiciary, refugees, social welfare, foreign policy (he was one of 23 senators to vote against authorizing the Iraq invasion), voting rights, job training, public education and the minimum wage.

Last year, in his bittersweet adieu before the Democratic convention, the senator stirred his party to act on what he called "the cause of my life" — quality health care as a fundamental right of American citizenship.

The fate of Senator Kennedy's cause remains in the hands of a conflicted Congress and President Obama, the Democratic candidate whom Mr. Kennedy dared to champion when other party leaders hesitated. And while his leadership will be missed in the intricate legislative warfare ahead, it would be a fitting tribute if his death could resolve for the better an issue too long in doubt.

Mr. Kennedy's life was burdened with personal tragedy, including the assassinations of two brothers, and personal embarrassment, mostly self-inflicted. He was pronounced finished 40 years ago after Mary Jo Kopechne drowned in a car the senator drove off a bridge on Chappaquiddick Island off Martha's Vineyard. But Massachusetts voters stuck with him, and in the last 15 years Mr. Kennedy seemed to get a much firmer grip on his personal life, not least in an effort to set a better example as the patriarch of the Kennedy clan.

"I recognize my own shortcomings," he conceded in 1991, knowing that they will not be erased from the

pages of history. But neither will his spirit, his devotion to helping Americans in need and his belief that politics, not always a savory calling, can make a real difference.

His mantra, forged in tragedy, and expressed most eloquently to the Democratic National Convention when he abandoned his presidential quest in 1980, was simple and ennobling: "The work goes on, the cause endures, the hope still lives, and the dream shall never die." In his final speeches, he explicitly handed on this mantra to President Obama.

from the August 26, 2009 edition - <http://www.csmonitor.com/2009/0826/p08s01-comv.html>

## **Ted Kennedy: A profile in resilience**

**The senator faced down family tragedy, personal recklessness, and political setbacks in his long efforts to serve the public.**

the Monitor's Editorial Board

Ted Kennedy persevered.

Through family tragedy. Through personal recklessness. Through a long Senate career of fighting for liberal (but not only) causes: healthcare, social justice, education.

The world needs more of his kind of resilience in individuals who seek to help others, whether of the left or right. Setbacks and adversity can stalk, but those who face down hardship – soldiers, parents, and, yes, even politicians – are the ones who get things done. Even if they fail to achieve their goals, their stick-to-itiveness can inspire others.

Edward Kennedy, the senator from Massachusetts who died Tuesday, had more to face than most people. He lost three brothers – one to war, two to assassinations. He tried to overcome the "Chappaquiddick" scandal of 1969, in which a young woman in his car drowned when the senator drove off a bridge and waited 10 hours before calling police.

In 1980, he lost a grueling primary battle to wrest the Democratic presidential nomination from then-President Jimmy Carter.

But his resilience carried him forward through a highly productive Senate career, a reminder of what a powerful platform the Senate can be with the right political skills – and longevity (nearly 47 years as a senator, the third-longest run in US Senate history). He was author or coauthor of more than 2,500 bills.

Kennedy's causes remained pure to the most liberal wing of his party, just as GOP figures like Ronald Reagan and Barry Goldwater kept an ideological purity when their own party moved toward the center in American politics.

Yet, as both a tactical move and out of genuine affection for other Republican politicians, the "liberal lion" worked jointly with the GOP on a few major bills – including the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 and the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001.

Teddy Kennedy had to show that his worth as a leader was based on more than the legacy of his family and their wealth. Indeed, he fought to control money's influence on politics. He introduced the first bipartisan campaign finance reform bill in 1973.

His statement at the funeral of his brother Bobby could be said of himself:

"My brother need not be idealized, or enlarged in death beyond what he was in life, to be remembered simply as a good and decent man, who saw wrong and tried to right it, saw suffering and tried to heal it, saw war and tried to stop it."

SCIENCE

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# Kennedy dead at 77

The Boston Globe

## Liberal lion of the Senate, symbol of family dynasty succumbs to brain cancer

By Martin F. Nolan, Globe Correspondent | August 26, 2009

Senator Edward M. Kennedy, who carried aloft the torch of a Massachusetts dynasty and a liberal ideology to the citadel of Senate power, but whose personal and political failings may have prevented him from realizing the ultimate prize of the presidency, died late Tuesday night. The senator was 77.

Overcoming a history of family tragedy, including the assassinations of a brother who was president and another who sought the presidency, Senator Kennedy seized the role of being a "Senate man." He became a Democratic titan of Washington who fought for the less fortunate, who crafted unlikely deals with conservative Republicans, and who ceaselessly sought support for universal health coverage.

"Teddy," as he was known to intimates, constituents, and even his fiercest enemies, was an unwavering symbol to the left and the right - the former for his unapologetic embrace of liberalism, and latter for his value as a political target. But with his fiery rhetoric, his distinctive Massachusetts accent, and his role as representative of one of the nation's best-known political families, he was widely recognized as an American original. In the end, some of those who might have been his harshest political enemies, including former President George W. Bush, found ways to collaborate with the man who was called the "last lion" of the Senate.

Senator Kennedy's White House aspirations may have been undercut by his actions on the night he drove off a bridge at Chappaquiddick Island and failed to promptly report the accident in which Mary Jo Kopechne, who had worked for his brother Robert, died. When Kennedy nonetheless later sought to wrest the presidential nomination from an incumbent Democrat, Jimmy Carter, he failed. But that failure prompted him to reevaluate his place in history, and he dedicated himself to fulfilling his political agenda by other means, famously saying, "the dream shall never die."

Those causes endure today and remain at the forefront of the American political stage, evidenced most recently by the fight for universal health care.

He was the youngest child of a famous family, but his legacy derived from quiet subcommittee meetings, conference reports, and markup sessions. The result of his efforts meant hospital care for a grandmother, a federal loan for a working college student, or a better wage for a dishwasher.

With a family saga that blended Greek tragedy and soap opera, the Kennedys fascinated America and the world for half a century. "I have every expectation of living a long and worthwhile life," Senator Kennedy said in 1994. Such an expectation contrasted with the fate of his brothers.

Joseph P. Kennedy Jr. was killed in 1944 on a World War II bombing mission. President John F. Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas in 1963. Senator Robert F. Kennedy was assassinated while campaigning for president in Los Angeles in 1968.

Ted Kennedy's congressional career was remarkable not only for its accomplishments, but for its length of 47 years. Massachusetts voters installed him in the Senate nine times - starting with a special election in 1962.

Since the doors of the Senate first opened in 1789, only Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia and the late Strom Thurmond of South Carolina served longer.

Senator Kennedy brought to the Senate a trait his brothers lacked - patience - and what his mother called a "ninth-child talent," a blend of toughness and tact.

### Birth of a political legend

The ninth child of Joseph P. and Rose Fitzgerald Kennedy was born on the 200th anniversary of George Washington's birth, Feb. 22, 1932. His brother Jack, then at the Choate School in Connecticut, wrote to his parents, asking to be godfather and urging the new arrival to be baptized George Washington Kennedy.

The parents agreed to the first request but named the child Edward Moore Kennedy, after one of his father's assistants. Part of his boyhood was spent in London, where his father was US ambassador to Great Britain.

After nine schools on two continents, he entered Milton Academy in 1946, joined the drama club and the debating society, played tennis and football, and maintained mostly midlevel grades, including in Spanish, a subject that would trouble him at Harvard College, where, in 1951, he asked a friend to take a Spanish exam for him.

A proctor recognized the substitute, and both students were expelled but were told they could return to Harvard if they showed evidence of "constructive and responsible citizenship."

The incident would become the first of several episodes creating public doubts about his character. The Spanish exam resurfaced in 1962, when some Harvard professors opposed his nomination for the US Senate. President Kennedy negotiated the release of expulsion details to the Globe, and Ted Kennedy's confession diminished its political impact.

After the Harvard expulsion, he volunteered for the military, and Private Kennedy met a more diverse group of people at Fort Dix, N.J., than he would have in Cambridge. His father helped arrange an assignment, during fighting in Korea, to NATO headquarters in Paris.

In 1954, after two years in the Army, Ted Kennedy returned to Harvard, became a resident of Winthrop House, as were his brothers, and an end on the football team, for which he scored a touchdown in a losing effort against Yale.

He graduated from Harvard in 1956 and the University of Virginia Law School three years later.

At a Kennedy family event at Manhattanville College, the alma mater of his sisters, he met Joan Bennett, the daughter of a New York advertising executive. They married in 1958, the same year he managed the Senate reelection campaign of his brother John against Vincent J. Celeste of East Boston. The outcome was not in doubt; Ted's assignment was to steer the incumbent to a victory big enough to impress national Democratic Party bosses. The victory margin was 857,000, the highest in the Commonwealth's history.

In 1959, Ted Kennedy headed west to help his brother's presidential campaign. At the Democratic National Convention in Los Angeles in 1960, when Wyoming cinched JFK's nomination, Ted Kennedy stood among the state's delegates, cheering them. During the 1960 election against Republican Richard Nixon, Ted Kennedy considered moving from Massachusetts if JFK lost the White House. Instead, his brother's win intertwined the destinies of Edward Moore Kennedy and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

### **On to the Senate**

John F. Kennedy declared in his inaugural address that "the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans." This iconography would play out over generations of Kennedys.

Upon winning the presidency, John Kennedy persuaded Governor Foster Furcolo to fill his vacant Senate seat by appointing Benjamin A. Smith II, the mayor of Gloucester who was a friend of the president at Harvard.

On March 14, 1962, after he attained the constitutional age of 30 to be eligible for election to the Senate, Edward Kennedy announced his candidacy for the unexpired term of his brother. His only public experience was a year as assistant district attorney of Suffolk County, and he had to take on two Massachusetts dynasties.

In the special election, he first faced state Attorney General Edward J. McCormack Jr., the nephew of US House Speaker John W. McCormack.

On several issues, including nuclear weapons and civil liberties, McCormack was more liberal than his opponent, but the campaign was not ideological.

At a debate in South Boston, McCormack ridiculed the young Ted, saying the senatorial job "should be merited, not inherited." Pointing his finger at his opponent, he said: "If his name were Edward Moore, with his qualifications - with your qualifications, Teddy - if it was Edward Moore, your candidacy would be a joke."

Ted Kennedy looked pained and shocked. His silence created a wave of sympathy.

"Some say Eddie came on too strong, others still say he was right on the mark; I agree with both of them," Senator Kennedy

said at McCormack's funeral 35 years later.

Ted Kennedy went on to win 69 percent of the primary vote and then to defeat George C. Lodge, the son of the former Republican senator, in the general election. After his November victory, he was sworn in swiftly, to gain more senatorial seniority. He took the oath from Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson on Nov. 7, 1962.

Even with a brother in the White House and another as attorney general, a freshman senator was supposed to work diligently for local concerns and to perform committee work in patient obscurity. Senator Kennedy did so, taking on his brother's legislative concerns on refugees and immigrants. He sought "more for Massachusetts" by pursuing fishery development and a Cambridge electronics research center for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

### **Disasters strike**

On Nov. 22, 1963, Senator Kennedy was presiding over the chamber, a chore assigned to freshman members, when a messenger arrived at the rostrum with the news from Dallas. After confirming with the White House the president's assassination, Senator Kennedy and his sister, Eunice, flew to Hyannis Port to deliver the news to their father. Joseph P. Kennedy had suffered a stroke in 1961 and could not speak or walk.

The senator called the new president that night. "I want you to know how much I appreciate your thoughts for my mother and family," he said. Johnson maintained more cordial relations with the youngest Kennedy than with his siblings, Robert in particular.

In Congress, Senator Kennedy did not deliver his first major address from the floor until April 1964. The subject was civil rights, the unfinished business of his slain brother.

Eager to win a full six-year term later that year, Senator Kennedy planned to visit Springfield to accept the endorsement of the Democratic state convention. On the night of June 19, after casting votes on final passage of a civil rights bill, Senator Kennedy and the convention's keynote speaker, Senator Birch Bayh of Indiana, boarded a twin-engine private plane en route to Barnes Municipal Airport in Westfield.

In heavy fog, the aircraft crashed in an apple orchard, killing the pilot and a Kennedy aide. Senator Kennedy sustained three broken vertebrae, fractured ribs, a punctured lung, a bruised kidney, and internal hemorrhaging.

During a visit to the hospital, Robert Kennedy muttered mordantly, "I guess the reason my mother and father had so many children is so that some would survive."

Political chores were left to Joan, who shuttled between campaign events and hospital visits. After a six-month recuperation, Senator Kennedy was released, but back injuries would cause him pain for the rest of his life. The Republican opponent was Howard Whitmore, the former mayor of Newton, who said, "My opponent is flat on his back, and, from a gentleman's standpoint, I can't campaign against that." Senator Kennedy was reelected with 74.3 percent of the vote.

In that same election, voters of New York elected Robert F. Kennedy as their senator. In 1965, on the first day of the 89th Congress, the Kennedy brothers were sworn in together.

The siblings teased each other frequently but seldom diverged in their liberal voting patterns. Robert had seniority in the family and was a former US attorney general, but Edward took the lead on legal issues such as repealing the poll tax.

Oceanography, historic preservation, immigration, voting rights - these issues also occupied the junior senator from Massachusetts in 1965. But he made more news by sponsoring the nomination of Boston Municipal Court Judge Francis X. Morrissey, a friend of the family, for a seat on the federal district court.

Undaunted by the opposition of the American Bar Association, Senator Kennedy sent Morrissey's name to the White House, and President Johnson nominated him. The hearings before the Senate Judiciary Committee were stormy, with the Senate minority leader, Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois, mocking Morrissey's credentials and with ABA officials calling him unqualified.

Republicans found ammunition in stories in the Globe disputing Morrissey's assertions that he attended law school at Boston College and Southern Law School in Athens, Ga. Senator Kennedy's vote-counting abilities led him to withdraw his friend's name.

In October 1965, the senator made his first visit to South Vietnam, a nation that would profoundly affect the United States,

President Johnson, and the Kennedys.

The longest war in American history fulfilled a promise inherent in JFK's inaugural speech in 1961 that "we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, to assure the survival and success of liberty."

By 1967, antiwar marches and rallies were proliferating and on Nov. 30 Senator Eugene J. McCarthy of Minnesota agreed, after Robert Kennedy declined, to challenge Johnson in the 1968 Democratic primaries. After McCarthy won 42 percent of the New Hampshire vote and before Johnson would bow out, Robert Kennedy reconsidered and entered the contest.

In June, after winning the California primary, Robert Kennedy was assassinated. At St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York, the voice of the surviving Kennedy brother cracked as he eulogized Robert as "a good and decent man, who . . . saw war and tried to stop it." Senator Kennedy became the surrogate father of his brothers' children and a patriarch of the growing clan.

His own family had grown with the birth of Patrick Joseph Kennedy a year before. Kara Anne had been born in 1960 and Edward Jr. in 1961. In addition to his children and his wife, Vicki, Senator Kennedy leaves two stepchildren, Caroline and Curran Raclin, his sister, Jean Kennedy Smith, and four grandchildren.

Vietnam dominated the 1968 Democratic National Convention, as did speculation about Senator Kennedy's intentions. "Like my brothers before me, I pick up a fallen standard," he said at the College of the Holy Cross in Worcester a few weeks before the convention. "Sustained by the memory of our priceless years together, I shall try to carry forward that special commitment to jus tice, to excellence, and to the courage that distinguished their lives."

But the Capitol, not the White House, seemed the focus of his intentions. The senator said he would not run for president or vice president. After Richard Nixon defeated Hubert H. Humphrey in a close contest, Senator Kennedy surprised many in Washington by running for majority whip. By a 31-26 vote, he defeated the incumbent, another son of a famous political dynasty, Senator Russell B. Long of Louisiana.

On a cold January night, before celebrating at his home in McLean, Va., the 36-year-old senator drove to Arlington National Cemetery, where the gravesite of Robert was under construction, next to John's.

### **Tragedy and turmoil**

Majority leader Mike Mansfield of Montana welcomed his new assistant, saying, "Of all the Kennedys, the senator is the only one who was and is a real Senate man." Senator Kennedy mobilized Democrats against what he called the "folly" of an antiballistic missile system proposed by President Nixon and continued to oppose the war in Vietnam. On July 18, 1969, Mansfield predicted that his colleague would not run for president in 1972, saying "He's in no hurry. He's young. He likes the Senate."

On that same day, Senator Kennedy arrived on an island that his actions would make notorious. On Chappaquiddick, across a narrow inlet from Edgartown on Martha's Vineyard, six young women who had worked on Robert Kennedy's campaign gathered for a reunion at a rented cottage. Senator Kennedy's marriage was already troubled, and he had been seen in the company of other glamorous women. But the women at Chappaquiddick were all serious, professional political operatives.

Mary Jo Kopechne, 28, had worked for RFK's Senate office. A passenger in a car driven by Ted Kennedy, she drowned after the car skidded off a bridge. Senator Kennedy failed to report the accident for 10 hours. The crash gave him a minor concussion and a major personal and political crisis.

As American astronauts walked on the moon, fulfilling a JFK pledge, Chappaquiddick was front-page news across the globe. The senator was unable to explain the accident for days. After consulting in Hyannis Port with his brothers' advisers and speechwriters, he gave a televised speech a week later. He praised Kopechne and attacked "ugly speculation about her character," wondered aloud "whether some awful curse did actually hang over the Kennedys," then asked Massachusetts voters whether he should resign. They replied overwhelmingly: No.

His critics snarled that Senator Kennedy "got away with it" at Chappaquiddick, but the price he paid in personal grief was as high as the cost in presidential politics. During the Cold War, voters expected quick and cool judgment from presidents. Senator Kennedy, in effect, disqualified himself when he confessed on television that he should have alerted police immediately: "I was overcome, I'm frank to say, by a jumble of emotions: grief, fear, doubt, exhaustion, panic, confusion, and shock."

He returned to his work in the Senate and in December 1969 began a long campaign "to move now to establish a comprehensive national health care insurance program." He also led the effort to give 18-year-olds the right to vote.

After winning reelection in 1970 with 62 percent of the vote, he found how Chappaquiddick reverberated in the Senate chamber. In January 1971, Senator Byrd unseated Senator Kennedy as majority whip by a 31-24 vote of the Democratic caucus.

Senator Kennedy privately thanked Byrd years later because the loss made him concentrate on committee work in health care, refugees, civil rights, the judiciary, and foreign policy, areas in which he would leave a lasting imprint.

Also in 1971, he made one of his strongest statements on Northern Ireland amid an explosion of political violence, saying "Ulster is becoming Britain's Vietnam," which the British prime minister called an "ignorant outburst." Years later, on St. Patrick's Day in 1977, Senator Kennedy and other leaders would ask Irish-Americans to shun the violence of the Irish Republican Army. It was called "the big four" statement, after Senator Kennedy and Speaker Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. of Massachusetts, and Governor Hugh L. Carey and Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York.

As he was rebuilding his stature in the chamber in the fall of 1973, Senator Kennedy and his wife, Joan, received devastating news. Their 12-year-old son, Edward Jr., had cancer and his leg had to be amputated. Although Ted Jr. overcame the cancer, the crisis cooled the senator's ambitions about running for president in 1976.

Hometown political issues also took a toll. In Boston, crowds vehemently protested a school desegregation busing order by a family friend, federal Judge W. Arthur Garrity. The issue dogged Senator Kennedy throughout 1974 and 1975. In 1976, although challenged in the Democratic primary by two antibusing candidates, he won with 74 percent and in November chalked up a reelection victory tally of 69 percent.

### **The run for the White House**

The election of 1976 would bring a Democrat back into the White House. Jimmy Carter of Georgia, however, was not a Kennedy Democrat. The ideological divide between the two was profound. Even though the Massachusetts senator had pursued some pro-business policies such as deregulating airlines, he believed in an active government that some would call intrusive; Carter tended to be more conservative. Senator Kennedy thought Carter's health care programs were timid. The president sometimes resented Senator Kennedy's celebrity status, especially when foreign leaders consulted with the senator.

The divisions only widened over Carter's first term. When the Democrats held a mid-term conference in Memphis in December 1978, it was dominated by the senator's nautical metaphor. "Sometimes a party must sail against the wind," he said. "We cannot afford to drift or lie at anchor. We cannot heed the call of those who say it is time to furl the sail." Carter's response to a group of Democratic congressmen: If Senator Kennedy did challenge him in the next election, "I'll whip his ass."

Shortly before he announced that challenge, however, Senator Kennedy stumbled in an interview with CBS's Roger Mudd. The commentator's question seemed simple: Why was he running for president.

"Well, I'm - were I to make the announcement and to run," Senator Kennedy said, "the reasons that I would run is because I have a great belief in this country. That it is - there's more natural resources than any nation in the world; the greatest education population in the world; the greatest technology of any country in the world; the greatest capacity for innovation in the world; and the greatest political system in the world."

His responses to questions about Chappaquiddick sounded rehearsed, and the interview was widely considered a disaster. He would not recover.

On Nov. 7, 1979, three days after the interview was broadcast, the 47-year-old senator formally declared his candidacy for the 1980 Democratic presidential nomination, saying he was "compelled by events and by my commitment to public life."

"For many months, we have been sinking into crisis. Yet we hear no clear summons from the center of power," he said, standing on the stage of Faneuil Hall before a giant painting of Daniel Webster, a longtime US senator from Massachusetts who never became president.

Unable to persuade Democrats to abandon a Democratic president, Senator Kennedy won only 10 of the 35 presidential primaries. In August, he reluctantly endorsed Carter at the Democratic National Convention in New York and offered his own anthem to the Democratic Party. He cited Jefferson, Jackson, Franklin Roosevelt, and those he had met at "the closed factories and the stalled assembly lines." After congratulating Carter, he said, "For me, a few hours ago, this campaign came to an end. For all those whose cares have been our concern, the work goes on, the cause endures, the hope still lives, and the dream shall never die."

### **The lion of the Senate**

In 1981, because of Ronald Reagan's coattails, Senator Kennedy was in the Senate minority for the first time. But he was accustomed to reaching across the aisle for support. Throughout his career, Senator Kennedy's name animated Republican fund-raising efforts. In reality, the GOP's bete noire cooperated with party leaders from Barry Goldwater to John McCain, a list that included conservative stalwarts Robert Dole, Orrin Hatch, and Alan Simpson.

Senator Kennedy's success owed more to craftsmanship than charm, more to diligence than blarney. In 1985, outside the hearing room of the Armed Service Committee, a reporter encountered Senator John Warner, a Republican of Virginia, who spontaneously volunteered praise of his liberal colleague from Massachusetts: "This man works as hard as anyone. When he knows his subject, he really knows it. He listens, he learns, and he's an asset to this committee."

In the 1960s, the young senator had learned a lesson from Senator Philip Hart of Michigan, who said of the Senate, "you measure accomplishments not by climbing mountains, but by climbing molehills."

In the 1980s, those molehills amounted to the renewal of the Voting Rights Act; an overhaul of federal job training (co-sponsored by a freshman senator from Indiana, Dan Quayle); and, with his Massachusetts colleagues from the House, Speaker O'Neill and Representative Edward P. Boland, a steady assault on Reagan administration policies in Central America.

In 1985, Senator Kennedy renounced presidential ambitions, saying to Bay State voters, "I will run for reelection to the Senate. I know that this decision means that I may never be president. But the pursuit of the presidency is not my life. Public service is."

"When he finally lifted the curse from himself that Kennedys had to be president, he truly became a legislator," said Simpson, a Wyoming Republican who served 18 years in the Senate with Kennedy. "In fact, he immersed himself in legislation."

Others in the Kennedy clan would join him in such efforts.

In 1986, he watched with pride as his nephew Joseph won the seat vacated by O'Neill and in 1994 as his son, Patrick, won a congressional seat from Rhode Island.

Not all family matters, however, were a source of pride. In 1991, the senator had to testify in Palm Beach about rape charges brought against his nephew William Kennedy Smith in the aftermath of a drinking party organized by Senator Kennedy. The incident embarrassed the senator into silence during judiciary committee hearings into allegations of sexist conduct against Clarence Thomas, later confirmed as a Supreme Court justice.

Senator Kennedy's behavior continued to provide fodder to gossip sheets. His reputation as a roustabout lingered until, years after he and Joan divorced in 1982, Senator Kennedy met Victoria Reggie, a Washington lawyer and divorced mother of two who was 22 years younger than the senator. They wed in 1992 and began a partnership that brought equilibrium and focus to his life.

In 1994, when Republicans recaptured the House for the first time in 40 years, no Democrat was safe, even the leading lion of liberalism in Massachusetts. A Republican businessman, Mitt Romney, captured the attention of some Bay Staters until, in a Faneuil Hall debate, Senator Kennedy proved his mastery of the issues.

For the senator, it was a relatively close call. He won with 58 percent of the vote, his smallest margin since his first election in 1962.

Senator Kennedy returned to form in subsequent reelections, winning by lopsided margins in 2000 and 2006 over lesser Republican competitors.

In Washington, he continued to work on issues subtle and unsubtle. In the latter category was one of his favorites, raising the minimum wage, a perennial struggle because its recipients lacked the Washington lobbies that support business interests.

As he had done for more than half his time in Washington, Senator Kennedy launched his crusade on behalf of those who daily do the menial work that make everyone else's day cleaner, brighter, and safer. "The minimum wage," he often said, "was one of the first and is still one of the best antipoverty programs we have."

During the administration of Republican George W. Bush, Senator Kennedy led the Senate's antiwar faction as the president pressed Congress for the authorization to use military force against Iraq.

In a speech at Johns Hopkins University about a year after the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, Senator Kennedy said the administration had failed to make the case for a preemptive attack.

"I do not accept the idea that trying other alternatives is either futile or perilous, that the risks of waiting are greater than the risk of war," Senator Kennedy said, recalling his brother's restraint in dealing with the Soviet Union during the Cuban missile crisis of October 1962.

Two weeks later, the House and Senate passed the Iraq war resolution by wide margins. Senator Kennedy was among 21 Democrats who voted in opposition.

But Senator Kennedy displayed a willingness to be helpful when he thought Bush was right. He was a force behind the Bush administration's chief domestic policy achievement in its first term, No Child Left Behind, the sweeping education bill that mandated testing to measure student progress. Senator Kennedy was a lead author and attended the signing ceremony in February 2002.

When Bush introduced him, the president said: "He is a fabulous United States senator. When he's against you, it's tough. When he's with you, it is a great experience."

In early 2008, shortly before his cancer diagnosis, Senator Kennedy surprised much of the political world by endorsing Senator Barack Obama for president over Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton. The endorsement was seen as a passing of the Kennedy torch to the man aspiring to be the nation's first black president.

With less than two weeks before Obama would face the far better-known Clinton in "Super Tuesday" contests in about half the states of the country, Senator Kennedy's endorsement came at an optimal moment. Obama held Clinton to a draw in those contests, setting him up for his nomination and election as president.

Though Obama lost the Massachusetts primary to Clinton in what some saw as a sign of Senator Kennedy's declining influence many analysts believed that Senator Kennedy's support helped spur Obama to major victories in states where delegates were chosen in caucuses of party activists, many of whom had decades of allegiance to the longtime senator.

Despite his illness, Senator Kennedy made a forceful appearance at the Democratic convention in Denver, exhorting his party to victory and declaring that the fight for universal health insurance had been "the cause of my life."

He pursued that cause vigorously, and even as his health declined, he spent days reaching out to colleagues to win support for a sweeping overhaul; when members of Obama's administration questioned the president's decision to spend so much political capital on the seemingly intractable health care issue, Obama reportedly replied, "I promised Teddy." ■

## His Life's Work, Up to the End

By Ann Gerhart and Dan Balz  
Washington Post Staff Writers  
Thursday, August 27, 2009

Several weeks ago, Vicki Kennedy sent an e-mail to the extended Kennedy family -- relatives, friends, colleagues - - with one of her regular updates on her husband. We're doing fine, she wrote. "He's a miracle man."

By that time, [Ted Kennedy](#) was in serious decline. The cancer he had battled for more than a year had gained the upper hand. The drugs he was using to fight off the disease were taking an enormous toll on his body. Many days were bad. He was having trouble speaking, though on occasion friends could hear his voice in the background when his wife was on the phone.

Toward the end, Vicki Kennedy kept up a steady stream of reports to the Kennedy network. He's fighting, she would say. He's the most determined man I know. On his better days, if there was a bit of a breeze, he went sailing.

This indomitable spirit gave many of the couple's intimates hope that the senator would manage one more visit to the White House, to have President Obama place the Medal of Freedom around his neck on Aug. 12. Instead, his daughter, Kara, accepted the honor in his place.

Her father had used up his strength the night before, to put on a crisp white shirt and a tie, comb his gray hair and travel to the family's private gathering in Hyannis Port, Mass., for his sister Eunice Kennedy Shriver.

"Ted, he's having his own struggles right now," his nephew Bobby Kennedy Jr. acknowledged after Shriver's death. "But he's doing well. He's sailing. I saw him out on the boat yesterday. He's going sailing every day. He's keeping up with his work."

Ted Kennedy was the only one of the remarkable Kennedy brothers who lived to earn the indignities and frailty of old age, with its opportunities for wisdom and suffering. In wrapping up nearly 90 hours of interviews with the senator shortly before his diagnosis, oral historian James S. Young of the University of Virginia discovered a reflective man whose credo in his work was: "Don't let the perfect be the enemy of the good." If that pragmatic idea helped Kennedy struggle back from numerous personal failings, it also enabled him to wring a quality of life from his final 15 months, friends said, and move toward a good death.

In those months, Kennedy was determined to carry on as long as he could with his last projects. His memoir, "True Compass," which will be published Sept. 14, was just one that occupied him. He partnered with Bob Shrum, his longtime wordsmith, to make a last, deeply personal plea for his life's work, health-care reform. In a Newsweek essay, published July 27, Kennedy gave an unadorned assessment: He had a malignant brain tumor, surgeons had removed part of it, he had undergone "proton-beam radiation," but he knew he would not be cured.

When his longtime friend [Chris Dodd](#), a senator from Connecticut, came twice for dinner in Hyannis Port, they talked health care. When the president called from Rome in July, after hand-delivering a letter from

Kennedy to the pope, they talked health care. Kennedy wrote that he kept pushing to ensure that "when there is a cure for the disease I now have, no American who needs it will be denied it."

When he was healthier, he would pick up the phone and call old friends. Bill Carrick, who worked for Kennedy in the 1980s, remembered his last call with the senator, several months ago. Kennedy talked about the memoir he was laboring to finish. "He was very upbeat," Carrick said.

Even as his cancer moved deeper into his brain, he maintained his interest and involvement in the Institute of Politics at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government, a living testament to the work of his brother, the former president.

Kennedy prided himself on his near-perfect record of attendance at the institute's board meetings. In April, he was preparing to go to a meeting when swine flu began to spread. His doctors concluded it wasn't safe for him to be there, so he participated by telephone.

"He called in and said, 'This still counts. I'm at this meeting,' " recalled Heather Champion, a fellow board member and friend of the Kennedy family.

Champion said Kennedy was blessed in the final months of his life by the love, comfort and protection afforded by his wife, Vicki. "If you were going to pick a person to manage a crisis, it would be Vicki," she said. "She's someone you absolutely want by your side marshaling all the resources, keeping in touch with everyone -- and there were a lot of people to keep in touch with."

Vicki Kennedy orchestrated the comings and goings at the Kennedy family compound at Hyannis Port. She prepared dinners, invited guests, managed the phone calls and kept up the stream of e-mail reports on her husband's condition. Last winter, she arranged for the acquisition of a new dog, named Captain Courageous -- Cappy for short.

She saw to it that Kennedy was able to continue sailing as long as his body could take it, and those who knew him best said his hours on the water were restorative, bringing out the best in his personality. When it became difficult for him to get on the boat at its usual mooring, the craft was moved to a more private location.

Kennedy spent much of the year on Cape Cod but was in Florida during the winter. Shrum went sailing with him there, and to the senator's amusement he barely managed to make it from the dinghy to the sailboat with an unorthodox series of steps that nearly landed him in the water. "Kennedy spent the next 24 hours laughing, talking about the Shrum spread," the longtime adviser and speechwriter said.

The pace at the family compound -- often the scene of lively gatherings, with children running around, guests filling the swimming pool, and rounds of activities and conversations -- slowed after Kennedy became ill. One friend recalled a quiet evening spent with the senator last winter on the cape, calling it "much more controlled and peaceful."

In his final days, his grandchildren were held back from his bedside, said one intimate, to protect the memory they would carry forward.

But his children were there often, and the final weeks were "a very joyous time, because we have had so much more time than any of the doctors had predicted," said son Patrick Kennedy, a congressman from Rhode Island.

"It's been a chance for us to bond and be together and share a special time together that we would never have had together had he been taken from us," Patrick Kennedy said in an interview with the Associated

Press a few weeks ago. "And that's a big gift. [It] let us have the chance to tell him how much we love him. And him to be there to hear it."

*Research editor Alice Crites contributed to this report.*

# A torch extinguished: Ted Kennedy dead at 77

 AP Associated Press

By CALVIN WOODWARD and GLEN JOHNSON, Associated Press Writers

44 mins ago

HYANNIS PORT, Mass. – The greatest heights eluded Ted Kennedy over a lifetime of achievement and pain. No presidency. No universal health care, chief among his causes.

Instead, Kennedy built his Washington monument stone by stone, his imprint distinct on the Senate's most important works over nearly half a century. He toiled across the Potomac River from the graveyard of his fallen brothers.

The last of the Kennedys who fascinated the nation with their ambition, style, idealism, tragedies — and sometimes sheer recklessness — Edward Moore Kennedy died late Tuesday night at 77. A black shroud and vase of white roses sat Wednesday on his Senate desk, which John Kennedy had used before him.

So dropped the final curtain on "Camelot," the already distant era of the Kennedy dynasty.

The Massachusetts senator's extended political family of fellow Democrats and rival Republicans, steeled for his death since his brain-tumor diagnosis a year ago yet still jarred by it, joined in mourning. Kennedy was the Senate's dominant liberal and one of its legendary dealmakers.

Just last year he jumped into a fractious Democratic presidential nomination fight to side with Barack Obama, giving the Illinois senator a boost that had the air of a family anointment.

"For his family, he was a guardian," Obama said Wednesday. "For America, he was a defender of a dream."

The president, vacationing in Martha's Vineyard, was awakened after 2 a.m. and told of Kennedy's death. He spoke soon after with the senator's widow, Victoria, and ordered flags flown at half-staff on all federal buildings.

Kennedy will be buried Saturday at Arlington National Cemetery after a funeral Mass in Boston, where Obama is to deliver a eulogy.

Kennedy will lie in repose at the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum in Boston before that.

Also buried at Arlington, the military cemetery overlooking the capital city, are John and Robert Kennedy; John Kennedy's wife, Jacqueline; their baby son, Patrick, who died after two days, and their stillborn child.

To Americans and much of the world, Kennedy was best known as the last surviving son of the nation's most glamorous political family. Of nine children born to Joseph and Rose Kennedy, Jean Kennedy Smith is the only one alive.

To senators of both parties, he was one of their own.

"Even when you expect it, even when you know it's coming, in this case it hurts a great deal," said Democrat Patrick Leahy of Vermont.

Politicians also calculated the consequences for Obama's push for expanded health coverage. For several months, at least, Kennedy's death will deprive the Democrats of a vote that could prove crucial for his signature cause of health reform.

His illness had sidelined him from an intense debate that would have found him at the core any other time. Conservative Sen. Orrin Hatch of Utah, his improbable Republican partner on children's health insurance, volunteerism, student aid and more, said the Senate probably would have had a health care deal by now if Kennedy had been healthy enough to work with him.

"Iconic, larger than life," Hatch said of his friend. "We were like fighting brothers."

He was the last of the famous Kennedy brothers: John the assassinated president, Robert the assassinated senator and presidential candidate, Joseph the aviator killed in action in World War II when Ted was 12.

He lost his sister, Eunice Kennedy Shriver, less than two weeks ago, saw the bright promise of nephew John F. Kennedy Jr. end in a plane crash in 1999 and struggled with excesses of his own until he became a settled elder statesman.

Like Obama, Kennedy was a master orator. But the words that live for the ages seem to be those he uttered in tragedy or defeat.

Older Americans remember his eulogy of Robert Kennedy, when he asked history not to idealize his brother but remember him "simply as a good and decent man who saw wrong and tried to right it, saw suffering and tried to heal it, saw war and tried to stop it."

Remembered, too, is his speech conceding the 1980 Democratic presidential nomination to the incumbent Jimmy Carter. "For all those whose cares have been our concern, the work goes on, the cause endures, the hope still lives and the dream shall never die," he said.

By then, his hopes of reaching the White House had been damaged by his behavior a decade earlier in the scandal known as Chappaquiddick.

On the night of July 18, 1969, Kennedy drove his car off a bridge and into a pond on Chappaquiddick Island, on Martha's Vineyard, and swam to safety while companion Mary Jo Kopechne drowned in the car. He pleaded guilty to leaving the scene of an accident; a judge said his actions probably contributed to the young woman's death. He received a suspended sentence and probation.

Kennedy's legislative legacy includes health insurance for children of the working poor, the landmark 1990 Americans with Disabilities Act, family leave and the Occupational Safety and Health Administration. He was also key to passage of the No Child Left Behind Education law and a Medicare drug benefit for the elderly,

both championed by Republican President George W. Bush.

In the Senate, Republicans respected and often befriended him. But his essential liberalism marked him as a lightning rod, too. He proved a handy fundraising foil motivating Republicans to open their wallets to fight anything he stood for.

In 1980, Kennedy's task of dislodging a president of his own party was compounded by his fumbling answer to a question posed by CBS' Roger Mudd: Why do you want to be president?

"Well, I'm, uh, were I to, to make the, the announcement, to run, the reasons that I would run is because I have a great belief in this country," he began.

It's a question that all savvy politicians ever since make sure won't catch them unprepared.

In his later years, Kennedy cut a barrel-chested profile, with a swath of white hair, a booming voice and a thick, widely imitated Boston accent. He coupled fist-pumping floor speeches with charm and formidable negotiating skills.

"I think that once he realized he was never going to be president — that that was not the legacy he had to follow — he really worked at becoming the best senator he possibly could," Leahy said. "And he did."

He was first elected to the Senate in 1962, taking the seat that his brother John had occupied before winning the White House, and he served longer than all but two senators in history.

Kennedy was diagnosed with a cancerous brain tumor in May 2008 and underwent surgery and a grueling regimen of radiation and chemotherapy.

He made a surprise return to the Capitol last summer to cast a decisive vote for the Democrats on Medicare. He made sure he was there again in January to see his former Senate colleague sworn in as president but suffered a seizure at a celebratory luncheon afterward.

His survivors include a daughter, Kara Kennedy Allen; two sons, Edward Jr. and Patrick, a congressman from Rhode Island, and two stepchildren, Caroline and Curran Raclin.

Edward Jr. lost a leg to bone cancer in 1973 at age 12. Kara had a cancerous tumor removed from her lung in 2003. In 1988, Patrick had a non-cancerous tumor pressing on his spine removed. He also has struggled with depression and addiction and recently spent time at an addiction treatment center.

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Woodward reported from Washington. Associated Press writer Laurie Kellman in Washington, Philip Elliott in Oak Bluffs, Mass., and Bob Salsberg contributed to this report.