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To be a revolutionary you have to be a human being. You have to care about people who have no power.

Jane Fonda

The true revolutionary is guided by a great feeling of love.

Che Guevara

A revolution is not a dinner party, or writing an essay, or painting a picture, or doing embroidery; it cannot be so refined.

Mao Zedong

God forbid we should ever be twenty years without such a rebellion.

Thomas Jefferson

The fundamental principle is that no battle, combat or skirmish is to be fought unless it will be won.

Che Guevara

The path that leads from moral standards to political activity is strewn with our dead selves.

André Malraux

The concessions of the privileged to the unprivileged are seldom brought about by any better motive than the power of the unprivileged to extort them.

John Stuart Mill

A populace never rebels from passion for attack, but from impatience of suffering.

Edmund Burke

Revolution by the Have-Nots has a way of inducing a moral revolution among the Haves.

Saul Alinsky

All civilization has from time to time become a thin crust over a volcano of revolution.

Havelock Ellis

Revolution is the festival of the oppressed.

Germaine Greer

The purity of a revolution can last a fortnight.

Jean Cocteau

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To André Limozin

SIR Paris Nov. 13. 1787.

It is some time since I have had the honour of acknowleging regularly the receipt of your favors. Those of Oct. 11. and 20. and Nov. 2. and [9.] have come duly to hand. I am very glad the American sailors have found the protection of so good a friend. I have been for some time in daily expectation of communicating to you some interesting regulations on our commerce. But as yet the minister has not finished them. These will render it necessary that our commerce in the ports of France be put under a regular superintendance, which I hope we shall be enabled to do ere long. It would be of great service to us could we by any means know what proportion of the American productions brought in[to] the several ports of France are paid for in productions and manufactures of this country, adding thereto the monies expended in the country by the ships and crews. Will you be so good as to tell me whether such a thing will be practicable.—I have taken the liberty of sending to your address by water a package containing the bust of the Marquis de la Fayette to be forwarded to the Governor of Virginia by any vessel going into James or York rivers, of which I will beg your care. I have the honor to be with much esteem Sir Your most obedient humble servant, TH: JEFFERSON

PrC (DLC).

To James Maury

DEAR SIR Paris Nov. 13. 1787.

I received your favor of Oct. 25. the day before yesterday only. It would be needless for me therefore to add to what you already know on the subject of peace and war. The principal minister here is so intent on domestic improvements, and on peace as necessary to give leisure for them, that it will not be his fault if it be disturbed again. It will be equally unnecessary for me to give you a formal attestation of your being a citizen of the United states. Should any occasion for it arise hereafter I shall be always ready to certify it.—With respect to tobacco the contract with Mr. Morris and the order of Berni cease with this year. I am obtaining an arrangement for the five years which yet remain of the present lease to the farmers general, by which they will be obliged to take all the tobacco for which they shall have occasion from America,

except about one fifth Northern, which they represent necessary. They will be obliged to take such only as comes directly from America, without having touched at any European port, in *French* or *American* bottoms, and to make the purchase *in France*. It will be particularly watched that they purchase not a single hogshead in England. By this I hope to have completely effected the diverting so much of the tobacco trade as amounts to their own consumption from England to France. I am glad to find also by your letter that this operation will have the effect to raise the price of this commodity at the English market. 24000 hhds. of tobacco a year, less at that market than heretofore, must produce some change, and it could not be for the worse. The order to the farmers will name only 14,000 hhds. a year, but it is certain they must extend it themselves nearly or quite to 24,000, as their consumption is near 30,000. I am endeavoring to bring hither also, directly, the rice of America, consumed in this country. At present they buy it from London. I am of opinion they could consume the whole of what is made in America, especially if the rice states will introduce the culture of the Piedmont and Egyptian rices also, both of which qualities are demanded here in concurrence with that of Carolina. I have procured for them the seed from Egypt and Piedmont. The indulgences given to American whale oil will ensure it's coming here directly. In general I am in hopes to ensure here the transportation of all our commodities which come to this country, in American and French bottoms exclusively, which will countervail the effect of the British navigation act on our carrying business. The returns in French instead of English manufactures will take place by degrees. Supposing that these details cannot but be agreeable to you as a merchant and as an American, I trouble you with them; being with much sincerity and on all occasions, Dear Sir Your friend & servant,

TH: JEFFERSON

PrC (DLC).

To William Stephens Smith

DEAR SIR Paris Nov. 13. 1787.

I am now to acknolege the receipt of your favors of October the 4th. 8th. and 26th. In the last you apologize for your letters of introduction to Americans coming here. It is so far from needing apology on your part, that it calls for thanks on mine. I endeavor

to shew civilities to all the Americans who come here, and who will give me opportunities of doing it: and it is a matter of comfort to know from a good quarter what they are, and how far I may go in my attentions to them.—Can you send me Woodmason's bills for the two copying presses for the M. de la fayette, and the M. de Chastellux? The latter makes one article in a considerable account, of old standing, and which I cannot present for want of this article.—I do not know whether it is to yourself or Mr. Adams I am to give my thanks for the copy of the new constitution. I beg leave through you to place them where due. It will be yet three weeks before I shall receive them from America. There are very good articles in it: and very bad. I do not know which preponderate. What we have lately read in the history of Holland, in the chapter on the Stadtholder, would have sufficed to set me against a Chief magistrate eligible for a long duration, if I had ever been disposed towards one: and what we have always read of the elections of Polish kings should have forever excluded the idea of one continuable for life. Wonderful is the effect of impudent and persevering lying. The British ministry have so long hired their gazetteers to repeat and model into every form lies about our being in anarchy, that the world has at length believed them, the English nation has believed them, the ministers themselves have come to believe them, and what is more wonderful, we have believed them ourselves. Yet where does this anarchy exist? Where did it ever exist, except in the single instance of Massachusets? And can history produce an instance of a rebellion so honourably conducted? I say nothing of it's motives. They were founded in ignorance, not wickedness. God forbid we should ever be 20. years without such a rebellion. The people can not be all, and always, well informed. The part which is wrong will be discontented in proportion to the importance of the facts they misconceive. If they remain quiet under such misconceptions it is a lethargy, the forerunner of death to the public liberty. We have had 13. states independant 11. years. There has been one rebellion. That comes to one rebellion in a century and a half for each state. What country before ever existed a century and half without a rebellion? And what country can preserve it's liberties if their rulers are not warned from time to time that their people preserve the spirit of resistance? Let them take arms. The remedy is to set them right as to facts, pardon and pacify them. What signify a few lives lost in a century or two? The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is it's natural manure. Our Convention

has been too much impressed by the insurrection of Massachusets: and in the spur of the moment they are setting up a kite to keep the hen yard in order. I hope in god this article will be rectified before the new constitution is accepted.—You ask me if any thing transpires here on the subject of S. America? Not a word. I know that there are combustible materials there, and that they wait the torch only. But this country probably will join the extinguishers.—The want of facts worth communicating to you has occasioned me to give a little loose to dissertation. We must be contented to amuse, when we cannot inform. Present my respects to Mrs. Smith, and be assured of the sincere esteem of Dear Sir Your friend & servant,

TH: JEFFERSON

PrC (DLC).

It was to Adams that TJ owed the COPY OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION (see Adams to TJ, 10 Nov. 1787), and, thanks to the French chargé d'affaires in New York, TJ was wrong in thinking that it would be THREE WEEKS before he would receive other copies from America: Otto's copies arrived two days after the present letter was written (see Otto to TJ, 25 Sep. 1787).

From Madame Townsend

le 13 9bre. 1787

J'ai reçu l'honneur de votre lettre Monsieur, et depuis ce tems n'ai pas quittée, la Campagne. Je ne saurois vous exprimer combien je suis fachée de vous avoir importuné par une demande sur la quelle vous voulés bien prendre la peine d'entrer dans des details. Je sais que l'on a beaucoup de peine dans ce moment a réaliser des fonds, c'est ce qui fait que j'avois pris le parti d'aller a Londres pour vendre a la Banck. Je vous prie Monsieur de recevoir mes regrets de vous avoir importuné dans cette circonstance et de me croire tres sincerement votre tres humble et obeissante s.,

TOWNSEND

Voulés vous avoir la bonté de me dire le plus sure moyen d'envoyer une lettre en Dánmark?

RC (MoSHi); endorsed. Recorded in SJL as received 13 Nov. 1787.

There is no evidence that TJ replied to the present letter, though he may have done so in response to the query in the postscript, which would seem to be a none-too-subtle hint that the fruitless outcome of her appeals to TJ was about to be communicated to John Paul Jones.

From the Commissioners of the Treasury

Board of Treasury, 13 Nov. 1787. Omitted mentioning in their letter of 10 Nov. "that in a late Report made by this Board to Congress, on the



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I included another letter as well which talks about the generations and each generation needing to change laws, constitutions, etc. I have starred the passages most important to you.

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epochs & sit as long as they please, instead of meeting only when, & sitting only as long as the king pleases as in England. There is a difference of opinion whether the king shall have an absolute, or only a qualified Negative on their acts. The parliaments will probably be suppressed; & juries provided in criminal cases perhaps even in civil ones. This is what appears probable at present. The Assembly is this day discussing the question whether they will have a declaration of rights. Paris has been led by events to assume the government of itself. It has hitherto worn too much the appearance of conformity to continue thus independently of the will of the nation. Reflection will probably make them sensible that the security of all depends on the dependance of all on the national legislature. I have so much confidence on the good sense of man, and his qualifications for self-government, that I am never afraid of the issue where reason is left free to exert her force; and I will agree to be stoned as a false prophet if all does not end well in this country. Nor will it end with this country. Hers is but the first chapter of the history of European liberty.

The capture of the Baron Besenval is very embarrassing for the States general. They are principled against retrospective laws, & will make it one of the corner stones of their new building. But it is very doubtful whether the antient laws will condemn him, and whether the people will permit him to be acquitted. The Duke de la Vauguyon also & his son are taken at Havre.—In drawing the parallel between what England is, & what France is to be I forgot to observe that the latter will have a real constitution, which cannot be changed by the ordinary legislature; whereas England has no constitution at all: that is to say there is not one principle of their government which the parliament does not alter at pleasure. The omnipotence of parliament is an established principle with them.—Postponing my departure to America till the end of September I shall hope to have the pleasure of seeing you at Paris before I go, & of renewing in person to yourself & Madame la Comtesse assurances of those sentiments of respect & attachment with which I have the honor to be Dear Sir your most obedient humble serv[t]

P. S. It is rumored & beleived in Paris that the English have fomented with money the tumults of this place, & that they are arming to attack France. I have never seen any reason to believe either of these rumors.

"THE EARTH BELONGS TO THE LIVING"

To James Madison

Paris, September 6, 1789

DEAR SIR,—I sit down to write to you without knowing by what occasion I shall send my letter. I do it because a subject comes into my head which I would wish to develope a little more than is practicable in the hurry of the moment of making up general despatches.

The question Whether one generation of men has a right to bind another, seems never to have been started either on this or our side of the water. Yet it is a question of such consequences as not only to merit decision, but place also, among the fundamental principles of every government. The course of reflection in which we are immersed here on the elementary principles of society has presented this question to my mind; and that no such obligation can be transmitted I think very capable of proof. I set out on this ground which I suppose to be self evident, "*that the earth belongs in usufruct to the living*;" that the dead have neither powers nor rights over it. The portion occupied by an individual ceases to be his when himself ceases to be, and reverts to the society. If the society has formed no rules for the appropriation of its lands in severalty, it will be taken by the first occupants. These will generally be the wife and children of the decedent. If they have formed rules of appropriation, those rules may give it to the wife and children, or to some one of them, or to the legatee of the deceased. So they may give it to his creditor. But the child, the legatee or creditor takes it, not by any natural right, but by a law of the society of which they are members, and to which they are subject. Then no man can by *natural right* oblige the lands he occupied, or the persons who succeed him in that occupation, to the paiment of debts contracted by

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him. For if he could, he might during his own life, eat up the usufruct of the lands for several generations to come, and then the lands would belong to the dead, and not to the living, which would be reverse of our principle. What is true of every member of the society individually, is true of them all collectively, since the rights of the whole can be no more than the sum of the rights of individuals. To keep our ideas clear when applying them to a multitude, let us suppose a whole generation of men to be born on the same day, to attain mature age on the same day, and to die on the same day, leaving a succeeding generation in the moment of attaining their mature age all together. Let the ripe age be supposed of 21. years, and their period of life 34. years more, that being the average term given by the bills of mortality to persons who have already attained 21. years of age. Each successive generation would, in this way, come on and go off the stage at a fixed moment, as individuals do now. Then I say the earth belongs to each of these generations during it's course, fully, and in their own right. The 2d. generation receives it clear of the debts and incumbrances of the 1st., the 3d. of the 2d. and so on. For if the 1st. could charge it with a debt, then the earth would belong to the dead and not the living generation. Then no generation can contract debts greater than may be paid during the course of it's own existence. At 21. years of age they may bind themselves and their lands for 34. years to come: at 22. for 33: at 23 for 32. and at 54 for one year only: because these are the terms of life which remain to them at those respective epochs. But a material difference must be noted between the succession of an individual and that of a whole generation. Individuals are parts only of a society, subject to the laws of a whole. These laws may appropriate the portion of land occupied by a decedent to his creditor rather than to any other, or to his child, on condition he satisfies his creditor. But when a whole generation, that is, the whole society dies, as in the case we have supposed, and another generation or society succeeds, this forms a whole, and there is no superior who can give their territory to a third society, who may have lent money to their predecessors beyond their faculty of paying.

What is true of a generation all arriving to self-government

on the same day, and dying all on the same day, is true of those on a constant course of decay and renewal, with this only difference. A generation coming in and going out entire, as in the first case, would have a right in the 1st year of their self dominion to contract a debt for 33. years, in the 10th. for 24. in the 20th. for 14. in the 30th. for 4. whereas generations changing daily, by daily deaths and births, have one constant term beginning at the date of their contract, and ending when a majority of those of full age at that date shall be dead. The length of that term may be estimated from the tables of mortality, corrected by the circumstances of climate, occupation &c. peculiar to the country of the contractors. Take, for instance, the table of M. de Buffon wherein he states that 23,994 deaths, and the ages at which they happened. Suppose a society in which 23,994 persons are born every year and live to the ages stated in this table. The conditions of that society will be as follows. 1st. it will consist constantly of 617,703 persons of all ages. 2dly. of those living at any one instant of time, one half will be dead in 24. years 8. months. 3dly. 10,675 will arrive every year at the age of 21. years complete. 4thly. it will constantly have 348,417 persons of all ages above 21. years. 5ly. and the half of those of 21. years and upwards living at any one instant of time will be dead in 18. years 8. months, or say 19. years as the nearest integral number. Then 19. years is the term beyond which neither the representatives of a nation, nor even the whole nation itself assembled, can validly extend a debt.

To render this conclusion palpable by example, suppose that Louis XIV. and XV. had contracted debts in the name of the French nation to the amount of 10.000 milliards of livres and that the whole had been contracted in Genoa. The interest of this sum would be 500 milliards, which is said to be the whole rent-roll, or nett proceeds of the territory of France. Must the present generation of men have retired from the territory in which nature produced them, and ceded it to the Genoese creditors? No. They have the same rights over the soil on which they were produced, as the preceding generations had. They derive these rights not from their predecessors, but from nature. They then and their soil are by nature clear of the debts of their predecessors. Again suppose

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Louis XV. and his contemporary generation had said to the money lenders of Genoa, give us money that we may eat, drink, and be merry in our day; and on condition you will demand no interest till the end of 19. years, you shall then forever after receive an annual interest of* 12.5 per cent. The money is lent on these conditions, is divided among the living, eaten, drank, and squandered. Would the present generation be obliged to apply the produce of the earth and of their labour to replace their dissipations? Not at all.

I suppose that the received opinion, that the public debts of one generation devolve on the next, has been suggested by our seeing habitually in private life that he who succeeds to lands is required to pay the debts of his ancestor or testator, without considering that this requisition is municipal only, not moral, flowing from the will of the society which has found it convenient to appropriate the lands become vacant by the death of their occupant on the condition of a paiment of his debts; but that between society and society, or generation and generation there is no municipal obligation, no umpire but the law of nature. We seem not to have perceived that, by the law of nature, one generation is to another as one independant nation to another.

The interest of the national debt of France being in fact but a two thousandth part of it's rent-roll, the paiment of it is practicable enough; and so becomes a question merely of honor or expediency. But with respect to future debts; would it not be wise and just for that nation to declare in the constitution they are forming that neither the legislature, nor the nation itself can validly contract more debt, than they may pay within their own age, or within the term of 19. years? And that all future contracts shall be deemed void as to what shall remain unpaid at the end of 19. years from their date? This would put the lenders, and the borrowers also, on their guard. By reducing too the faculty of borrowing within its natural limits, it would bridle the spirit of war, to which too free a course has been procured by the inattention of money

*100£ at a compound interest of 6 per cent makes at the end of 19 years an aggregate of principal and interest of £252.14 the interest of which is £12.5.0 which is nearly 12 p. cent on the first capital of £100.

lenders to this law of nature, that succeeding generations are not responsible for the preceding.

On similar ground it may be proved that no society can make a perpetual constitution, or even a perpetual law. The earth belongs always to the living generation. They may manage it then, and what proceeds from it, as they please, during their usufruct. They are masters too of their own persons, and consequently may govern them as they please. But persons and property make the sum of the objects of government. The constitution and the laws of their predecessors extinguished them, in their natural course, with those whose will gave them being. This could preserve that being till it ceased to be itself, and no longer. Every constitution, then, and every law, naturally expires at the end of 19. years. If it be enforced longer, it is an act of force and not of right.

It may be said that the succeeding generation exercising in fact the power of repeal, this leaves them as free as if the constitution or law had been expressly limited to 19. years only. In the first place, this objection admits the right, in proposing an equivalent. But the power of repeal is not an equivalent. It might be indeed if every form of government were so perfectly contrived that the will of the majority could always be obtained fairly and without impediment. But this is true of no form. The people cannot assemble themselves; their representation is unequal and vicious. Various checks are opposed to every legislative proposition. Factions get possession of the public councils. Bribery corrupts them. Personal interests lead them astray from the general interests of their constituents; and other impediments arise so as to prove to every practical man that a law of limited duration is much more manageable than one which needs a repeal.

This principle that the earth belongs to the living and not to the dead is of very extensive application and consequences in every country, and most especially in France. It enters into the resolution of the questions Whether the nation may change the descent of lands holden in tail? Whether they may change the appropriation of lands given antiently to the church, to hospitals, colleges, orders of chivalry, and otherwise in perpetuity? whether they may abolish the charges and privileges attached on lands, including the whole catalogue

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ecclesiastical and feudal? it goes to hereditary offices, authorities and jurisdictions; to hereditary orders, distinctions and appellations; to perpetual monopolies in commerce, the arts or sciences; with a long train of *et ceteras*: and it renders the question of reimbursement a question of generosity and not of right. In all these cases the legislature of the day could authorize such appropriations and establishments for their own time, but no longer; and the present holders, even where they or their ancestors have purchased, are in the case of *bona fide* purchasers of what the seller had no right to convey.

Turn this subject in your mind, my Dear Sir, and particularly as to the power of contracting debts, and develope it with that perspicuity and cogent logic which is so peculiarly yours. Your station in the councils of our country gives you an opportunity of producing it to public consideration, of forcing it into discussion. At first blush it may be rallied as a theoretical speculation; but examination will prove it to be solid and salutary. It would furnish matter for a fine preamble to our first law for appropriating the public revenue; and it will exclude, at the threshold of our new government the contagious and ruinous errors of this quarter of the globe, which have armed despots with means not sanctioned by nature for binding in chains their fellow-men. We have already given, in example one effectual check to the Dog of war, by transferring the power of letting him loose from the executive to the Legislative body, from those who are to spend to those who are to pay. I should be pleased to see this second obstacle held out by us also in the first instance. No nation can make a declaration against the validity of long-contracted debts so disinterestedly as we, since we do not owe a shilling which may not be paid with ease principal and interest, within the time of our own lives. Establish the principle also in the new law to be passed for protecting copy rights and new inventions, by securing the exclusive right for 19. instead of 14. years [*a line entirely faded*] an instance the more of our taking reason for our guide instead of English precedents, the habit of which fetters us, with all the political heresies of a nation. equally remarkable for it's encitement from some errors, as long slumbering under others. I write you no news, because when an occasion occurs I shall write a separate letter for that.

ADIEU TO FRANCE

To Madame d'Enville

New York, April 2, 1790

I had hoped, Madame la Duchesse, to have again had the honor of paying my respects to you in Paris, but the wish of our government that I should take a share in its administration, has become a law to me. Could I have persuaded myself that public offices were made for private convenience, I should undoubtedly have preferred a continuance in that which placed me nearer to you; but believing on the contrary that a good citizen should take his stand where the public authority marshals him, I have acquiesced. Among the circumstances which reconcile me to my new position the most powerful is the opportunities it will give me of cementing the friendship between our two nations. Be assured that to do this is the first wish of my heart. I have but one system of ethics for men & for nations—to be grateful, to be faithful to all engagements and under all circumstances, to be open & generous, promotes in the long run even the interests of both; and I am sure it promotes their happiness. The change in your government will approximate us to one another. You have had some checks, some horrors since I left you; but the way to heaven, you know, has always been said to be strewed with thorns. Why your nation have had fewer than any other on earth, I do not know, unless it be that it is the best on earth. If I assure you, Madam, moreover, that I consider yourself personally as with the foremost of your nation in every virtue, it is not flattery, my heart knows not that, it is a homage to sacred truth, it is a tribute I pay with cordiality to a character in which I saw but one error; it was that of treating me with a degree of favor I did not merit. Be assured I shall ever retain a lively sense of all your goodness to me, which was a circumstance of principal happiness to me during my stay in Paris. I hope that by this time you have seen that my prognostications of a successful issue to your revolution have been verified. I feared for you during a short interval; but after the declaration of the army, tho' there might be episodes of distress, the denoument was out of doubt. Heaven send that the glorious example of your country may be but

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"What constitutes a State?
Not high-raised battlements, or labor'd mound,
Thick wall, or moated gate;
Not cities proud, with spires and turrets crown'd;
No: men, high minded men;
Men, who their duties know;
But know their rights; and knowing, dare maintain.
These constitute a State."

In the General Government, the House of Representatives is mainly republican; the Senate scarcely so at all, as not elected by the people directly, and so long secured even against those who do elect them; the Executive more republican than the Senate, from its shorter term, its election by the people, in *practice*, (for they vote for A only on an assurance that he will vote for B,) and because, *in practice also*, a principle of rotation seems to be in a course of establishment; the judiciary independent of the nation, their coercion by impeachment being found nugatory.

If, then, the control of the people over the organs of their government be the measure of its republicanism, and I confess I know no other measure, it must be agreed that our governments have much less of republicanism than ought to have been expected; in other words, that the people have less regular control over their agents, than their rights and their interests require. And this I ascribe, not to any want of republican dispositions in those who formed these constitutions, but to a submission of true principle to European authorities, to speculators on government, whose fears of the people have been inspired by the populace of their own great cities, and were unjustly entertained against the independent, the happy, and therefore orderly citizens of the United States. Much I apprehend that the golden moment is past for reforming these heresies. The functionaries of public power rarely strengthen in their dispositions to abridge it, and an unorganized call for timely amendment is not likely to prevail against an organized opposition to it. We are always told that things are going on well; why change them? *"Chi sta bene, non si muove,"* said the Italian, "let him who stands well, stand still." This is true; and I verily believe they would go on well

with us under an absolute monarch, while our present character remains, of order, industry and love of peace, and restrained, as he would be, by the proper spirit of the people. But it is while it remains such, we should provide against the consequences of its deterioration. And let us rest in the hope that it will yet be done, and spare ourselves the pain of evils which may never happen.

On this view of the import of the term *republic*, instead of saying, as has been said, "that it may mean anything or nothing," we may say with truth and meaning, that governments are more or less republican as they have more or less of the element of popular election and control in their composition; and believing, as I do, that the mass of the citizens is the safest depository of their own rights, and especially, that the evils flowing from the duperies of the people, are less injurious than those from the egoism of their agents, I am a friend to that composition of government which has in it the most of this ingredient. And I sincerely believe, with you, that banking establishments are more dangerous than standing armies; and that the principle of spending money to be paid by posterity, under the name of funding, is but swindling futurity on a large scale.

I salute you with constant friendship and respect.

REFORM OF THE VIRGINIA CONSTITUTION

To Samuel Kercheval

Monticello, July 12, 1810

SIR,—I duly received your favor of June the 13th, with the copy of the letters on the calling a convention, on which you are pleased to ask my opinion. I have not been in the habit of mysterious reserve on any subject, nor of buttoning up my opinions within my own doublet. On the contrary, while in public service especially, I thought the public entitled to frankness, and intimately to know whom they employed. But I am now retired: I resign myself, as a passenger, with confidence to those at present at the helm, and ask but for rest, peace and good will. The question you propose, on equal rep-

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resentation, has become a party one, in which I wish to take no public share. Yet, if it be asked for your own satisfaction only, and not to be quoted before the public, I have no motive to withhold it, and the less from you, as it coincides with your own. At the birth of our republic, I committed that opinion to the world, in the draught of a constitution annexed to the "Notes on Virginia," in which a provision was inserted for a representation permanently equal. The infancy of the subject at that moment, and our inexperience of self-government, occasioned gross departures in that draught from genuine republican canons. In truth, the abuses of monarchy had so much filled all the space of political contemplation, that we imagined everything republican which was not monarchy. We had not yet penetrated to the mother principle, that "governments are republican only in proportion as they embody the will of their people, and execute it." Hence, our first constitutions had really no leading principles in them. But experience and reflection have but more and more confirmed me in the particular importance of the equal representation then proposed. On that point, then, I am entirely in sentiment with your letters; and only lament that a copy-right of your pamphlet prevents their appearance in the newspapers, where alone they would be generally read, and produce general effect. The present vacancy too, of other matter, would give them place in every paper, and bring the question home to every man's conscience.

But inequality of representation in both Houses of our legislature, is not the only republican heresy in this first essay of our revolutionary patriots at forming a constitution. For let it be agreed that a government is republican in proportion as every member composing it has his equal voice in the direction of its concerns (not indeed in person, which would be impracticable beyond the limits of a city, or small township, but) by representatives chosen by himself, and responsible to him at short periods, and let us bring to the test of this canon every branch of our constitution.

In the legislature, the House of Representatives is chosen by less than half the people, and not at all in proportion to those who do choose. The Senate are still more disproportionate, and for long terms of irresponsibility. In the Executive, the Governor is entirely independent of the choice of the people, and of their control; his Council equally so, and at best but a fifth wheel to a wagon. In the Judiciary, the judges of the highest courts are dependent on none but themselves. In England, where judges were named and removable at the will of an hereditary executive, from which branch most misrule was feared, and has flowed, it was a great point gained, by fixing them for life, to make them independent of that executive. But in a government founded on the public will, this principle operates in an opposite direction, and against that will. There, too, they were still removable on a concurrence of the executive and legislative branches. But we have made them independent of the nation itself. They are irremovable, but by their own body, for any depravities of conduct, and even by their own body for the imbecilities of dotage. The justices of the inferior courts are self-chosen, are for life, and perpetuate their own body in succession forever, so that a faction once possessing themselves of the bench of a county, can never be broken up, but hold their county in chains, forever indissoluble. Yet these justices are the real executive as well as judiciary, in all our minor and most ordinary concerns. They tax us at will; fill the office of sheriff, the most important of all the executive officers of the county; name nearly all our military leaders, which leaders, once named, are removable but by themselves. The juries, our judges of all fact, and of law when they choose it, are not selected by the people, nor amenable to them. They are chosen by an officer named by the court and executive. Chosen, did I say? Picked up by the sheriff from the loungings of the court yard, after everything respectable has retired from it. Where then is our republicanism to be found? Not in our constitution certainly, but merely in the spirit of our people. That would oblige even a despot to govern us republicanly. Owing to this spirit, and to nothing in the form of our constitution, all things have gone well. But this fact, so triumphantly misquoted by the enemies of reformation, is not the fruit of our constitution, but has prevailed in spite of it. Our functionaries have done well, because generally honest men. If any were not so, they feared to show it.

But it will be said, it is easier to find faults than to amend

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them. I do not think their amendment so difficult as is pretended. Only lay down true principles, and adhere to them inflexibly. Do not be frightened into their surrender by the alarms of the timid, or the croakings of wealth against the ascendency of the people. If experience be called for, appeal to that of our fifteen or twenty governments for forty years, and show me where the people have done half the mischief in these forty years, that a single despot would have done in a single year; or show half the riots and rebellions, the crimes and the punishments, which have taken place in any single nation, under kingly government, during the same period. The true foundation of republican government is the equal right of every citizen, in his person and property, and in their management. Try by this, as a tally, every provision of our constitution, and see if it hangs directly on the will of the people. Reduce your legislature to a convenient number for full, but orderly discussion. Let every man who fights or pays, exercise his just and equal right in their election. Submit them to approbation or rejection at short intervals. Let the executive be chosen in the same way, and for the same term, by those whose agent he is to be; and leave no screen of a council behind which to skulk from responsibility. It has been thought that the people are not competent electors of judges *learned in the law*. But I do not know that this is true, and, if doubtful, we should follow principle. In this, as in many other elections, they would be guided by reputation, which would not err oftener, perhaps, than the present mode of appointment. In one State of the Union, at least, it has long been tried, and with the most satisfactory success. The judges of Connecticut have been chosen by the people every six months, for nearly two centuries, and I believe there has hardly ever been an instance of change; so powerful is the curb of incessant responsibility. If prejudice, however, derived from a monarchical institution, is still to prevail against the vital elective principle of our own, and if the existing example among ourselves of periodical election of judges by the people be still mistrusted, let us at least not adopt the evil, and reject the good, of the English precedent; let us retain amovability on the concurrence of the executive and legislative branches, and nomination by the executive alone. Nomination to office

is an executive function. To give it to the legislature, as we do, is a violation of the principle of the separation of powers. It swerves the members from correctness, by temptations to intrigue for office themselves, and to a corrupt barter of votes; and destroys responsibility by dividing it among a multitude. By leaving nomination in its proper place, among executive functions, the principle of the distribution of power is preserved, and responsibility weighs with its heaviest force on a single head.

The organization of our county administrations may be thought more difficult. But follow principle, and the knot unties itself. Divide the counties into wards of such size as that every citizen can attend, when called on, and act in person. Ascribe to them the government of their wards in all things relating to themselves exclusively. A justice, chosen by themselves, in each, a constable, a military company, a patrol, a school, the care of their own poor, their own portion of the public roads, the choice of one or more jurors to serve in some court, and the delivery, within their own wards, of their own votes for all elective officers of higher sphere, will relieve the county administration of nearly all its business, will have it better done, and by making every citizen an acting member of the government, and in the offices nearest and most interesting to him, will attach him by his strongest feelings to the independence of his country, and its republican constitution. The justices thus chosen by every ward, would constitute the county court, would do its judiciary business, direct roads and bridges, levy county and poor rates, and administer all the matters of common interest to the whole country. These wards, called townships in New England, are the vital principle of their governments, and have proved themselves the wisest invention ever devised by the wit of man for the perfect exercise of self-government, and for its preservation. We should thus marshal our government into, 1, the general federal republic, for all concerns foreign and federal; 2, that of the State, for what relates to our own citizens exclusively; 3, the county republics, for the duties and concerns of the county; and 4, the ward republics, for the small, and yet numerous and interesting concerns of the neighborhood; and in government, as well as in every other business of life, it is by

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division and subdivision of duties alone, that all matters, great and small, can be managed to perfection. And the whole is cemented by giving to every citizen, personally, a part in the administration of the public affairs.

The sum of these amendments is, 1. General Suffrage. 2. Equal representation in the legislature. 3. An executive chosen by the people. 4. Judges elective or amovable. 5. Justices, jurors, and sheriffs elective. 6. Ward divisions. And 7. Periodical amendments of the constitution.

I have thrown out these as loose heads of amendment, for consideration and correction; and their object is to secure self-government by the republicanism of our constitution, as well as by the spirit of the people; and to nourish and perpetuate that spirit. I am not among those who fear the people. They, and not the rich, are our dependence for continued freedom. And to preserve their independence, we must not let our rulers load us with perpetual debt. We must make our election between *economy and liberty*, or *profusion and servitude*. If we run into such debts, as that we must be taxed in our meat and in our drink, in our necessaries and our comforts, in our labors and our amusements, for our callings and our creeds, as the people of England are, our people, like them, must come to labor sixteen hours in the twenty-four, give the earnings of fifteen of these to the government for their debts and daily expenses; and the sixteenth being insufficient to afford us bread, we must live, as they now do, on oatmeal and potatoes; have no time to think, no means of calling the mismanagers to account; but be glad to obtain subsistence by hiring ourselves to rivet their chains on the necks of our fellow-sufferers. Our landholders, too, like theirs, retaining indeed the title and stewardship of estates called theirs, but held really in trust for the treasury, must wander, like theirs, in foreign countries, and be contented with penury, obscurity, exile, and the glory of the nation. This example reads to us the salutary lesson, that private fortunes are destroyed by public as well as by private extravagance. And this is the tendency of all human governments. A departure from principle in one instance becomes a precedent for a second; that second for a third; and so on, till the bulk of the society is reduced to be mere automatons of misery, and to have no sensibilities

left but for sinning and suffering. Then begins, indeed, the *bellum omnium in omnia*, which some philosophers observing to be so general in this world, have mistaken it for the natural, instead of the abusive state of man. And the fore horse of this frightful team is public debt. Taxation follows that, and in its train wretchedness and oppression.

Some men look at constitutions with sanctimonious reverence, and deem them like the ark of the covenant, too sacred to be touched. They ascribe to the men of the preceding age a wisdom more than human, and suppose what they did to be beyond amendment. I knew that age well; I belonged to it, and labored with it. It deserved well of its country. It was very like the present, but without the experience of the present; and forty years of experience in government is worth a century of book-reading; and this they would say themselves, were they to rise from the dead. I am certainly not an advocate for frequent and untried changes in laws and constitutions. I think moderate imperfections had better be borne with; because, when once known, we accommodate ourselves to them, and find practical means of correcting their ill effects. But I know also, that laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind. As that becomes more developed, more enlightened, as new discoveries are made, new truths disclosed, and manners and opinions change with the change of circumstances, institutions must advance also, and keep pace with the times. We might as well require a man to wear still the coat which fitted him when a boy, as civilized society to remain ever under the regimen of their barbarous ancestors. It is this preposterous idea which has lately deluged Europe in blood. Their monarchs, instead of wisely yielding to the gradual change of circumstances, of favoring progressive accommodation to progressive improvement, have clung to old abuses, entrenched themselves behind steady habits, and obliged their subjects to seek through blood and violence rash and ruinous innovations, which, had they been referred to the peaceful deliberations and collected wisdom of the nation, would have been put into acceptable and salutary forms. Let us follow no such examples, nor weakly believe that one generation is not as capable as another of taking care of itself, and of ordering its own affairs.

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Let us, as our sister States have done, avail ourselves of our reason and experience, to correct the crude essays of our first and unexperienced, although wise, virtuous, and well-meaning councils. And lastly, let us provide in our constitution for its revision at stated periods. What these periods should be, nature herself indicates. By the European tables of mortality, of the adults living at any one moment of time, a majority will be dead in about nineteen years. At the end of that period, then, a new majority is come into place; or, in other words, a new generation. Each generation is as independent as the one preceding, as that was of all which had gone before. It has then, like them, a right to choose for itself the form of government it believes most promotive of its own happiness; consequently, to accommodate to the circumstances in which it finds itself, that received from its predecessors; and it is for the peace and good of mankind, that a solemn opportunity of doing this every nineteen or twenty years, should be provided by the constitution; so that it may be handed on, with periodical repairs, from generation to generation, to the end of time, if anything human can so long endure. It is now forty years since the constitution of Virginia was formed. The same tables inform us, that, within that period, two-thirds of the adults then living are now dead. Have then the remaining third, even if they had the wish, the right to hold in obedience to their will, and to laws heretofore made by them, the other two-thirds, who, with themselves, compose the present mass of adults? If they have not, who has? The dead? But the dead have no rights. They are nothing; and nothing cannot own something. Where there is no substance, there can be no accident. This corporeal globe, and everything upon it, belong to its present corporeal inhabitants, during their generation. They alone have a right to direct what is the concern of themselves alone, and to declare the law of that direction; and this declaration can only be made by their majority. That majority, then, has a right to depute representatives to a convention, and to make the constitution what they think will be the best for themselves. But how collect their voice? This is the real difficulty. If invited by private authority, or county or district meetings, these divisions are so large that few will attend; and their voice will be imperfectly, or falsely pronounced. Here, then, would be one of the advantages of the ward divisions I have proposed. The mayor of every ward, on a question like the present, would call his ward together, take the simple yea or nay of its members, convey these to the county court, who would hand on those of all its wards to the proper general authority; and the voice of the whole people would be thus fairly, fully, and peaceably expressed, discussed, and decided by the common reason of the society. If this avenue be shut to the call of sufferance, it will make itself heard through that of force, and we shall go on, as other nations are doing, in the endless circle of oppression, rebellion, reformation; and oppression, rebellion, reformation, again; and so on forever.

These, Sir, are my opinions of the governments we see among men, and of the principles by which alone we may prevent our own from falling into the same dreadful track. I have given them at greater length than your letter called for. But I cannot say things by halves; and I confide them to your honor, so to use them as to preserve me from the gridiron of the public papers. If you shall approve and enforce them, as you have done that of equal representation, they may do some good. If not, keep them to yourself as the effusions of withered age and useless time. I shall, with not the less truth, assure you of my great respect and consideration.

"NEVER AN INFIDEL, IF NEVER A PRIEST"

To Mrs. Samuel H. Smith

Monticello, August 6, 1816

I have received, dear Madam, your very friendly letter of July 21st, and assure you that I feel with deep sensibility its kind expressions towards myself, and the more as from a person than whom no others could be more in sympathy with my own affections. I often call to mind the occasions of knowing your worth, which the societies of Washington furnished; and none more than those derived from your much valued visit to Monticello. I recognize the same motives of goodness in the solicitude you express on the rumor supposed

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into a new race of men, whose labor and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world. Americans are the western pilgrims, who are carrying along with them that great mass of arts, sciences, vigor, and industry which began long since in the east; they will finish the great circle. The Americans were once scattered all over Europe; here they are incorporated into one of the finest systems of population which has ever appeared, and which will hereafter become distinct by the power of the different climates they inhabit. The American ought therefore to love his country much better than that wherein he or his forefathers were born. Here the rewards of his industry follow with equal steps the progress of his labor; his labor is founded on the basis of nature, *self-interest;* can it want a stronger allurement? Wives and children, who before in vain demanded of him a morsel of bread, now, fat and frolicsome, gladly help their father to clear those fields whence exuberant crops are to arise to feed and clothe them all; without any part being claimed, either by a despotic prince, a rich abbot, or a mighty lord. Here religion demands but little of him; a small voluntary salary to the minister, and gratitude to God; can he refuse these? The American is a new man, who acts upon new principles; he must therefore entertain new ideas, and form new opinions. From involuntary idleness, servile dependence, penury, and useless labor, he has passed to toils of a very different nature, rewarded by ample subsistence.

MICHEL GUILLAUME JEAN DE CRÈVECOEUR, *Letters of an American Farmer,* 1782

. . . its soul, its climate, its equality, liberty, laws, people, and manners. My God! how little do my countrymen know what precious blessings they are in possession of, and which no other people on earth enjoy!

THOMAS JEFFERSON, letter to Monroe, June 17, 1785

I have often and often in the course of the Session, and the vicissitudes of my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that behind the President without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting. But now at length I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting Sun.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Report of the Constitutional Convention, September 17, 1787. On the back of the President's chair a sunburst was painted, and Franklin made the remark as the last members signed the Constitution.

Our new federal government is very acceptable to a great majority of our citizens and will certainly be adopted immediately by *nine* and in the

course of a year or 18 months by *all then* to be a citizen of the United St to be a citizen of the freest, purest, face of the earth.

BENJAMIN RUSH, letter ber 28, 1787

At the close of the eighteenth centur ranted the belief that even the mate removed. Radicals as extreme as Th were contented with avowing no hig reproduce the simpler forms of Eu European vices; and even this their United States had thus far made a s Old World,—they had agreed to try t continent in one republican system; bu confidence in their success, that Jeffe American idea as vital; he would not s tion. "Whether we remain in one co form into Atlantic and Mississippi con portant to the happiness of either part.' cast a spell so strong, that he thought in political confederation "not very im The task of overcoming popular in new, and seemed to offer peculiar diffi lead the way, and without a wealthy cl ment, the people of the United States of their problems, to become a specul could do little without changing their learning to love novelty for novelty's sa money had been proportioned to the forward they were under every induce quent losses in order to win occasionall tate they had naturally accepted old p experience as final authority. As an ind tinent to civilize, they could not afford pean examples, but must devise new which assumed that what had been m order to make the Americans a scie to feel the necessity of scientific trainin knowledge was money, they would not i

example that will protect the independent Am
ack so long as this government stands. . .
ance and perpetuation of government and rul
om government and rule by men, and in thi
principles basic to the Constitution of the Un
lestroy the system when we reduce it to the im
en who operate it. We shall strengthen it and
ustice and liberty for all men more certain wh
straint, we maintain it on the high plane on wh

udiciary Committee, 1937, reporting unfavor
Roosevelt's "Court-Packing Bill"

t one is entitled to in America. It is the righ
a to be treated by other citizens as an equal.

WENDELL L. Wil

y nationalities, many races, many religions—bu
nity, the unity of freedom and equality. Who
ality against another, seeks to degrade all nation
set one race against another seeks to enslave
o set one religion against another seeks to dest
ing for a free America—for a country in which
equal rights to liberty and justice. I am fight
t, for the rights of the little man as well as the
well as the strong, for those who are helple
an help themselves.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

eatest power on earth. To that tremendous po

S. TRUMAN, address at opening of Conferenc
Nations Organization, San Francisco, 1945

use we are infallible, but we are infallible onl

H. JACKSON, of the Supreme Court, *Bro*
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LOVE OF COUNTRY

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You will think me transported with enthusiasm, but I am not. I am well aware of the toil, and blood, and treasure, that it will cost us to maintain this declaration, and support and defend these States. Yet, through all the gloom, I can see the rays of ravishing light and glory. I can see that the end is more than worth all the means, and that posterity will triumph in that day's transaction, even although we should rue it, which I trust in God we shall not. . . . The second day of July, 1776, will be the most memorable epoch in the history of America. I am apt to believe that it will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary festival. It ought to be commemorated as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty. It ought to be solemnized with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations, from one end of this continent to the other, from this time forward for evermore.

JOHN ADAMS, letter to Mrs. Adams, July 3, 1776

I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country.

NATHAN HALE, last words before being hanged as a spy by the British, New York, September 22, 1776

That the flag of the thirteen United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and blue; that the union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation.

Resolution of Continental Congress, June 14, 1777

I wish the Bald Eagle had not been chosen as the Representative of our Country; he is a Bird of bad moral Character; like those among Men who live by Sharping and Robbing, he is generally poor, and often very lousy.

The Turkey is a much more respectable Bird, and withal a true original Native of America.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, letter to Sarah Bache, Jan. 26, 1784

The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than appellatives derived from local discriminations.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, "Farewell Address," Sept. 17, 1796

grants who, with their descendants, are now numbered among our best citizens.

Grover Cleveland (1837-1908), 22nd and 24th President of the United States (D-NY). 1897.

13. What did they come here for? Why do not they go back *[to Italy]* and stay there?

William E. Cox (1861-1942), U.S. Congressman (D-IN). In reference to Italian immigrants. House debate, 1917.

14. They *[the Americans]* are a mixture of British, Scotch, Irish, French, Dutch, Germans, and Swedes. From this promiscuous breed, that race called Americans have now arisen.

Michel-Guillaume-Jean de Crèvecoeur (J. Hector St. John) (1735-1813), French Consul in New York City, writer, and agriculturalist. *Letters from an American Farmer*, 1782.

15. Immigrants are alone, ignorant strangers, a prey to all manner of anarchical and wild notions. Except to their employer they have no value until they get a vote.

Richard Croker (1841-1922), Tammany Hall leader, New York City. Quoted by William Thomas Stead, *The Review of Reviews*, Oct. 1897.

16. If you want me to release ten million Chinese to come to the United States, I'll be glad to do so.

Deng Xiaoping, Premier of China. Quoted by Jimmy Carter, *Keeping Faith*, 1982.

17. The silly ancestors of the Americans called it "national development" when they imported millions of foreigners to take up the public lands and left nothing for their own children.

Ignatius Donnelly (1831-1901), U.S. Congressman (Populist-MN). *Caesar's Way*, 1891.

18. Citizenship obtained through naturalization is not a second-class citizenship.

William O. Douglas (1898-1980), U.S. Supreme Court Justice. *Knauer* v. *United States*, 1945.

19. Don't forget, we have a disposal problem.

Allen W. Dulles (1893-1969), Director, Central Intelligence Agency. Remark to President Kennedy in 1961 about the fifteen thousand Cubans recruited for the Bay of Pigs invasion who were still in the United States. Quoted in *The New York Times*, Aug. 20, 1989.

20. *America. Emigration.* In the distinctions of the genius of the American race it is to be considered that it is not indiscriminate masses of Europe that are shipped hitherward, but the Atlantic is a sieve through which only or chiefly the liberal, adventurous, sensitive, *America-loving* part of each city, clan, family are brought. It is the light complexion, the blue eyes of Europe that come: the black eyes, the black drop, the Europe of Europe, is left *[in Europe]*.

Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882), American writer. *Journals*, June 1851.

21. I see with joy the Irish emigrants landing at Boston, at New York, and say to myself, There they go – to school.

Ralph Waldo Emerson. *Journals*, July 1866.

22. The typical immigrant of the present does not really live in America at all, but, from the point of view of nationality, in Italy, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, or some other foreign country.

Henry Pratt Fairchild (1880-1956), professor, New York University. *Immigration*, 1913.

23. A closed country is a dying country.

Edna Ferber (1887-1968), American novelist. Radio broadcast, 1947.

24. Asia is the continent of origination; Europe the continent of differentiation; and America the continent of reunions.

François Guizot (1787-1874), Premier of France. 1871.

25. My whole family has been having trouble with immigrants ever since we came to this country.

Edgar Y. Harburg (1896-1981), American playwright and songwriter. *Finian's Rainbow.*

26. The banishment *[of Russian Jews]*, whether by direct decree or by not less certain indirect methods, of so large a number of men and women is not a local question. A decree to leave one's country is in the nature of things an order to enter another – some other.

Benjamin Harrison (1833-1901), 23rd President of the United States (R-IN). Message to Congress, Dec. 9, 1891.

27. Make it *[the United States]* the home of the skillful, the industrious, the fortunate, the happy, as well as the asylum of the distressed.... Let but this, our celebrated goddess, Liberty, stretch forth her fair hand toward the people of the old world – tell them to come, and bid them welcome.

Patrick Henry (1736-1799), Member, Continental Congress and Virginia House of Burgesses, Governor of Virginia, and Member of the Virginia Constitutional Ratification Convention. Speech, Virginia House of Delegates, 1783.

28. The melting pot failed to function in one crucial area. Religions and nationalities, however differ-

51. A nation united can never be conquered.
Thomas Jefferson. Letter to John Adams, Jan. 11, 1816.

52. Robbery is a crime; rape is a crime; murder is a crime; treason is a crime and crime must be punished. The law provides for it, and the courts are open. Treason must be made infamous and traitors must be impoverished.
Andrew Johnson (1808-1875), 17th President of the United States (War Democrat-TN). Quoted in George W. Julian, *Recollections*, 1884.

53. Patriotism is the last refuge of the scoundrel.
Samuel Johnson (1709-1784), British writer and lexicographer. Quoted in James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson*, Apr. 7, 1775.

54. I criticize America because I love her. I want to see her stand as a moral example to the world.
Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929-1968), American clergyman and civil rights leader. Quoted on National Public Radio, Apr. 21, 1989.

55. Pacifism is patriotism.
Fiorello H. La Guardia (1882-1947), U.S. Congressman (R and Socialist) and Mayor of New York City (R and Fusion Party). Quoted in *The Harlemite*, Apr. 23, 1923.

56. Treason is more often the result of weakness than of a deliberate plan to betray.
François de La Rochefoucauld (1613-1680), French nobleman and writer. *Reflexions ou Sentences et Maximes Morales*, 1665.

57. True patriotism sometimes requires of men to act exactly contrary, at one period, to that which it does at another.
Robert E. Lee (1807-1870), General in Chief, Confederate Army. Quoted in *The New York Times*, Jan. 19, 1957.

58. Gold is good in its place, but living, brave, patriotic men are better than gold.
Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865), 16th President of the United States (R-IL). Quoted by Carl Schurz in Simon Wolf's 70th Year Book, 1903.

59. Hope is the mainspring of patriotism.
David Lloyd George, 1st Earl of Dwyfor (1863-1945), Prime Minister of Great Britain (Liberal). Speech, House of Commons, Oct. 30, 1919.

60. Let us abandon this narrow conception of patriotism, which consists of the doctrine, "My country right or wrong." There is a nobler doctrine ... "My country must always be right."
Meyer London (1871-1926), U.S. Congressman (Socialist-NY). Speech to Congress, Jan. 18, 1916.

61. If Fascism ever came to America it would be on a program of Americanism.
Huey P. Long (1893-1935), Governor of Louisiana and U.S. Senator (D-LA). Quoted in *U.S. Army Orientation Fact Sheet No. 64*, Mar. 24, 1945.

62. Newfangled and artificial treasons have been the great engines by which violent factions, the natural offspring of free government, have usually wreaked their alternate malignity on each other.
James Madison (1751-1836), 4th President of the United States (Democratic Republican-VA). *The Federalist*, No. 10, Nov. 23, 1787.

63. Patriotism is a kind of religion; it is the egg from which wars are hatched.
Guy de Maupassant (1850-1893), French writer. *My Uncle Sosthenes.*

64. The issue between the Republicans and the Democrats is clearly drawn. It has been deliberately drawn by those who have been in charge of twenty years of treason.
Joseph R. McCarthy (1908-1957), U.S. Senator (R-WI). Speech, Charleston, WV, Feb. 4, 1954.

65. Every Frenchman has two mistresses: his own, and France.
Napoléon I (1769-1821), military leader and Emperor of France. *Maxims.*

66. While it is dangerous to see nothing wrong in America, it is wrong to see nothing right in America.
Richard M. Nixon, 37th President of the United States (R-CA). Presidential nomination acceptance address, Republican National Convention, Chicago, IL, July 27, 1960.

67. There are things a man must not do to save a nation.
John O'Leary (1830-1907), Irish patriot and separatist. Quoted by W. B. Yeats, *Autobiographies*, 1927.

68. The Communism of the English intellectual is something explicable enough. It is the patriotism of the deracinated.
George Orwell (Eric Blair) (1903-1950), English writer. *A Collection of Essays*, 1954.

69. Patriotism is usually stronger than class-hatred, and always stronger than internationalism.
George Orwell. *A Collection of Essays*, 1954.

44 The only foes that threaten America are the enemies at home, and these are ignorance, superstition and incompetence.

ELBERT HUBBARD, in *The Philistine* magazine, published from 1895–1915.

45 An American Religion: Work, play, breathe, bathe, study, live, laugh, and love.

ELBERT HUBBARD, *The Roycroft Dictionary and Book of Epigrams,* 1923.

46 O, yes,
I say it plain,
America never was America to me.
And yet I swear this oath—
America will be!

LANGSTON HUGHES, "Let America Be America Again," in *The Poetry of the Negro,* 1949.

47 We are the standard-bearers in the only really authentic revolution, the democratic revolution against tyrannies. Our strength is not to be measured by our military capacity alone, by our industry, or by our technology. We will be remembered, not for the power of our weapons, but for the power of our compassion, our dedication to human welfare.

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, *The Cause Is Mankind,* 1964.

48 The union shall be preserved.

ANDREW JACKSON, in a letter to Martin Van Buren, July 23, 1831.

49 America is American: that is incontestable.

HENRY JAMES, in a letter to Grace Norton, 1870.

50 One loves America above all things, for her youth, her greenness, her plasticity, innocence, good intentions, friends, everything.

WILLIAM JAMES, in a letter to Mrs. Henry Whitman, 1899.

51 It is part of the American character to consider nothing as desperate, to surmount every difficulty by resolution and contrivance.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, in a letter to Martha Jefferson, March 28, 1787.

52 I do believe we shall continue to grow, to multiply and prosper until we exhibit an association powerful, wise, and happy beyond what has yet been seen by men.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, in a letter to John Adams, January 21, 1812.

53 I pray we are still a young and courageous nation, that we have not grown so old and so fat and so prosperous that all we can think about is to sit back with our arms around our money bags. If we choose to do that I have no doubt that the smoldering fires will burst into flame and consume us—dollars and all.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON, in a speech in Congress, May 7, 1947.

54 The Great Society is a place where every child can find knowledge to enrich his mind and to enlarge his talents. . . . It is a place where the city of man serves not only the needs of the body and the demands of commerce but the desire for beauty and the hunger for community. . . . It is a place where men are more concerned with the quality of their goals than the quantity of their goods.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON, in a speech at Ann Arbor, Michigan, May 22, 1964.

55 For this is what America is all about. It is the uncrossed desert and the unclimbed ridge. It is the star that is not reached and the harvest that is sleeping in the unplowed ground.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON, in his inaugural address, January 20, 1965.

56 A rich harvest in a hungry land is impressive. The sight of healthy children is impressive. These—not mighty arms—are the achievements which the American nation believes to be impressive.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON, in a speech at Johns Hopkins University, April 7, 1965.

57 I cannot see why, if we have the will to do it, we can't provide for our own happiness, education, health, and environment. . . . We're greedy but not short on the wherewithal to meet our problems.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON, quoted in Doris Kearns, *Lyndon Johnson and the American Dream,* 1976.

IN GENERAL

•

ENCOMIUMS

America is a hell of a success.

JOSEPH GURNEY ("UNCLE JOE") CANNON

If there is a country in the world where concord, according to common calculation, would be least expected, it is America. Made up, as it is, of people from different nations, accustomed to different forms and habits of government, speaking different languages, and more different in their modes of worship, it would appear that the union of such a people was impracticable. But by the simple operation of constructing government on the principles of society and the rights of man, every difficulty retires, and the parts are brought into cordial unison.

THOMAS PAINE

I must soon quit the scene, but you may live to see our country flourish; as it will amazingly and rapidly after the war is over; like a field of young Indian corn, which long fair weather and sunshine had enfeebled and discolored, and which in that weak state, by a sudden gust of violent wind, hail, and rain, seemed to be threatened with absolute destruction; yet the storm being past, it recovers fresh verdure, shoots up with double vigor, and delights the eye not of its owner only, but of every observing traveler.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, letter to Washington, March 5, 1780

What then is the American, this new man? He is either an European, or the descendant of an European, hence that strange mixture of blood, which you will find in no other country. I could point out to you a family whose grandfather was an Englishman, whose wife was Dutch, whose son married a French woman, and whose present four sons now have four wives of different nations. *He* is an American, who, leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced, the new government he obeys, and the new rank he holds. He became an American by being received in the broad lap of our great *Alma Mater*. Here individuals of all nations are melted

Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson on August 10, 1776, and adopted on June 20, 1782.

3 As for America, it is the ideal fruit of all your youthful hopes and reforms. Everybody is fairly decent, respectable, domestic, bourgeois, middle-class, and tiresome. There is absolutely nothing to revile except that it's a bore.

HENRY ADAMS, in a letter to Charles Milnes Gaskell, December 17, 1908.

4 American society is a sort of flat, fresh-water pond which absorbs silently, without reaction, anything which is thrown into it.

HENRY ADAMS, in a letter to Royal Cortissoz, September 20, 1911.

5 I always consider the settlement of America with reverence and wonder, as the opening of a grand scene and design in providence, for the illumination of the ignorant and the emancipation of the slavish part of mankind all over the earth.

JOHN ADAMS, in his notes for "A Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law," 1765.

6 Our country is too big for union, too sordid for patriotism, too democratic for liberty.

FISHER AMES, in a letter to Thomas Dwight, October 26, 1903.

7 I like it here, just because it is the Great Void where you have to balance without handholds.

W.H. AUDEN, in a letter to Naomi Mitchison, 1942.

8 In America, we have people who are too rich, people who are too poor, people who are hungry, people who are sick, people who are homeless, people who are imprisoned, people who are bored, people who are strung-out, people who are lonely, people who are exploited, people who lose and can't find their way, people who give up on life. America, we better live as sisters and brothers. Let us take care of our land. We cannot stand up for every other land. Stand up for ourselves.

PEARL BAILEY, *Hurry Up, America, and Spit,* 1976.

9 America! America!
God shed His grace on thee
And crown thy good with brotherhood
From sea to shining sea!

KATHERINE LEE BATES, "America the Beautiful," published in *The Congregationalist,* July 4, 1895.

10 I have fallen in love with American names,
The sharp names that never get fat,
The snakeskin titles of mining claims,
The plumed war-bonnet of Medicine Hat,
Tucson and Deadwood and Lost Mule
Flat. . . .
You may bury my body in Sussex grass,
You may bury my tongue at Champmedy.
I shall not be there. I shall rise and pass.
Bury my heart at Wounded Knee.

STEPHEN VINCENT BENÉT, "American Names," 1927.

11 It is a noble land that God has given us: a land that can feed and clothe the world; a land whose coastlines would enclose half the countries of Europe; a land set like a sentinel between the two imperial oceans of the globe.

ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE, in a speech in Indianapolis, Indiana, September 16, 1898.

12 My country, 'tis of thee
Sweet land of felony
Of thee I sing—
Land where my father fried
Young witches and applied
Whips to the Quaker's hide
And made him spring.

AMBROSE BIERCE, "A Rational Anthem," *Black Beetles in Amber,* 1892.

13 The twentieth century ideals of America have been the ideals of the Jew for more than twenty centuries.

LOUIS D. BRANDEIS, "A Call to the Educated Jew," in the *Menorah Journal,* January, 1915.

14 All I want is the same thing you want. To have a nation with a government that is as good and honest and decent and competent and compassionate and as filled with love as are the American people.

JIMMY CARTER, in a speech at Sacramento, California, May 20, 1976.

15 We bec
mosaic. Dif
yearnings, c

JIMMY
Penns

16 The Co
an indestru
ble States.

SALMO
Texas

17 Nothing
is going to

ALIST
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18 Americ
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nies.

JAMES
Demo

19 The res
too full, in
gion, tyran
and afflict n
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are simple
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20 What t
is either a
European,
which you
point out t
Englishma
married a
sons have
is an Ame
ancient pr
from the
new gover
holds.

Ibid.

So the little minutes,
Humble though they be,
Make the mighty ages
Of eternity.

—JULIA CARNEY, *Little Things*, 1845

1 Little deeds of kindness,
Little words of love
Help to make earth happy
Like the heaven above.

—*Ibid.*

2 Our life is frittered away by detail. —HENRY DAVID THOREAU, "Where I Lived and What I Lived For," *Walden*, 1854

[More at SIMPLICITY.]

3 God is in the details.

—ANONYMOUS

[Probably of European origin, popularized here by architect Ludwig Mies van der Rohe and others. Sometimes attributed to Gustave Flaubert: "*Le bon Dieu est dans le détail.*" A variant is "The devil is in the details."]

4 Small is beautiful. —E. F. SCHUMACHER, *Small Is Beautiful: Economics As If People Mattered*, 1973

DETECTIVES

See CRIME, CRIMINALS, & DETECTIVES

DETERMINATION, EFFORT, PERSISTENCE, & PERSEVERANCE

See also ACTION & DOING; COMMITMENT; ENTHUSIASM & ZEAL; ENDURANCE; PATIENCE; RESISTANCE; WILL

5 There are no gains without pains. —BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, *Poor Richard's Almanack*, 1745

[This proverbial wisdom was used also by Adlai Stevenson in accepting the Democratic party's presidential nomination in 1952.]

6 Little strokes
Fell great oaks. —BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, *Poor Richard's Almanack*, August 1750

[Proverbial. For example, in the 16th century, John Lyly included in his *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit*: "Many strokes overthrow the tallest oaks." And in *Henry VI, Part III*, Shakespeare wrote: "Many strokes, though with a little axe, / Hew down and fell the hardest timber'd oak."]

7 We should never despair; our situation before has been unpromising and has changed for the better, so I trust, it will again. If new difficulties arise, we must only put forth new exertions and proportion our efforts to the exigency of the times. —GEORGE WASHINGTON, letter to Maj. Gen. Philip Schuyler on the fall of Fort Ticonderoga, July 15, 1777

8 I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—AND I WILL BE HEARD!

—WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, *The Liberator*, first issue, Boston, Jan. 1, 1831

[More at SLAVERY.]

A republic if you can keep it. —BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, answer to the question, "Well, doctor, what have we got, a republic or a monarchy?" Sept. 18, 1787 1

[The dialogue was recorded by James McHenry, an aide to George Washington. The conversation took place in Philadelphia. A Mrs. Powel posed the question.]

No human power can now stop the march of a nation destined to exert its influence all over the world, and perhaps to dominate it. 2

—DOMINIQUE DUFOUR DE PRADT, *Des Colonies et de la Révolution actuelle de l'Amérique*, 1817

[The Abbé de Pradt had been Napoleon's chaplain.]

Who reads an American book, or goes to an American play, or looks at an American picture or statue? 3

—SYDNEY SMITH, *Edinburgh Review*, 1820

[Rev. Smith's famous taunt dated rapidly, as Longfellow became a best-seller in England, Poe was taken up by the French, and so on to the situation today, in which American culture more than holds its own.]

Wherever the standard of freedom and independence has been unfurled, there will [America's] heart, her benedictions, and her prayers be. But she goes not abroad in search of monsters to destroy. 4

—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, June 4, 1821

[The resolve to stay home weakened in the 19th century. In the 20th, the question of when to try to destroy monsters abroad has been one of the great, recurring issues facing the nation. Adams predicted that if America became involved in foreign wars, gradually the principle of force would replace love of liberty. He concluded, "She might become dictatress of the world; she would no longer be the ruler of her own spirit." Will Rogers noted irreverently, "If we ever pass out as a great nation, we ought to put on our tombstone, 'America died of the delusion that she had moral leadership,'" *The Autobiography of Will Rogers*, 1949.]

The happy union of these states is a wonder; their Constitution a miracle; their example the hope of liberty throughout the world. 5

—JAMES MADISON, "Outline" notes, Sept. 1829

[Inscribed in Madison Memorial Hall of the Library of Congress.]

The whole people [Americans] appear to be divided into an almost endless variety of religious factions. 6

—FRANCES TROLLOPE, *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, 1832

[She made this observation in 1828, according to *American Heritage*, June 1976.]

I know of no country, indeed, where the love of money has taken a stronger hold on the affections of men. 7

—ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE, *Democracy in America*, 1835

[See also Tocqueville at MONEY & THE RICH.]

America is a land of wonders, in which everything is in constant motion and every change seems an improvement. . . . No natural boundary seems to be set to the efforts of man; and in his eyes, what is not yet done is only what he has not yet attempted to do. 8

—*Ibid.*

376-10
205-5
148-7

East, no West, to which I owe any allegiance.
HENRY CLAY, Speech in U.S. Senate, 1848.

1
The gentleman speaks of Virginia being my country. The Union, sir, is my country.
HENRY CLAY, Speech in U.S. Senate, 1848.

2
They talk defensively of "states' rights" when they and we well know that there can be no such thing as a state's right to default on a national duty.
LEROY COLLINS, Address before Greater Columbia (S.C.) Chamber of Commerce, 3 Dec., 1963. Collins, himself a Southerner, was assailing in particular extremist Southern politicians.

3
The North! the South! the West! the East!
No one the most and none the least,
But each with its own heart and mind,
Each of its own distinctive kind,
Yet each a part and none the whole,
But all together form one soul;
That soul Our Country at its best,
No North, no South, no East, no West,
No yours, no mine, but always Ours,
Merged in one Power with lesser powers,
For no one's favor, great or small,
But all for Each and each for All.
EDMUND VANCE COOKE, *Each for All.*

4
Then join hand in hand, brave Americans all,—
By uniting we stand, by dividing we fall!
JOHN DICKINSON, *Liberty Song.* (First published in the Boston *Gazette,* 18 July, 1768.)

A song for our banner! The watchword recall
Which gave the Republic her station:
"United we stand, divided we fall!"
It made and preserves us a nation!
The union of lakes, the union of lands,
The union of States none can sever,
The union of hearts, the union of hands,
And the flag of our union forever!
GEORGE P. MORRIS, *The Flag of Our Union.*

5
This glorious Union shall not perish! Precious legacy of our fathers, it shall go down honored and cherished to our children. Generations unborn shall enjoy its privileges as we have done; and if we leave them poor in all besides, we will transmit to them the boundless wealth of its blessings!
EDWARD EVERETT, Speech at Union Meeting, Faneuil Hall, Boston.

6
Yes, we must, indeed, all hang together, or, most assuredly, we shall all hang separately.
Attributed to BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, in replying to John Hancock. The latter, just before the signing of the Declaration of Independence, had addressed the Continental Congress as follows: "It is too late to pull different ways; the members of the Continental Congress must hang together."

7
I am not a Virginian, but an American.
PATRICK HENRY, Speech in the Continental Congress, 5 Sept., 1774.

8
One flag, one land, one heart, one hand,
One nation, evermore!
O. W. HOLMES, *Voyage of the Good Ship Union.*

9
Our federal Union, it must be preserved.
ANDREW JACKSON, Toast, offered at a banquet in Washington, D.C., 13 April, 1830, on Jefferson's birthday.

10
The cement of this Union is the heart blood of every American.
THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Writings,* vol. xiv.

11
When any one State in the American Union refuses obedience to the Confederation by which they have bound themselves, the rest have a natural right to compel obedience.
THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Writings,* vol. xvii.

12
These are the United States—a united people with a united purpose. Our American unity does not depend upon unanimity. We have differences but now, as in the past, we can derive from those differences strength, not weakness; wisdom, not despair.
LYNDON B. JOHNSON, Address to joint session of Congress, 27 Nov., 1963—his first major speech after his accession to the presidency.

13
This, then, is the state of the union: free and restless, growing and full of hope. So it was in the beginning. So it shall always be, while God is willing, and we are strong enough to keep the faith.
LYNDON B. JOHNSON, State of the Union message, 4 Jan., 1965.

14
Let us now join reason to faith, and action to experience, to transform our unity of interest into a unity of purpose. For the hour and the day and the time are here to achieve progress without strife, to achieve change without hatred; not without difference of opinion, but without the deep and abiding divisions which scar the Union for generations.
LYNDON B. JOHNSON, Inaugural Address, 20 Jan., 1965.

(The Home Book of American Quotations by Bartlett)

hands, and with an equal power to maintain their rights.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, *Life*, vol. iv, p. 224.

1

I don't object to a dictatorship as violently as some people do because I realize that not all people in this world are ready for democratic processes. . . . If they have to have a dictator in order to keep Communism out, then I don't think we can object to that.

BARRY GOLDWATER, Statement on television program *Issues and Answers*, American Broadcasting Co., 7 Apr., 1963.

2

Would shake hands with a king upon his throne,
And think it kindness to his majesty.

FITZ-GREENE HALLECK, *Connecticut*.

3

A representative democracy, where the right of election is well secured and regulated, and the exercise of the legislative, executive, and judiciary authorities is vested in select persons, chosen really and not nominally by the people, will, in my opinion, be most likely to be happy, regular, and durable.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, *Works*, vol. ix, p. 72.

4

Democracy—the ballot box—has few worshippers any longer except in America.

DEAN W. R. INGE. (MARCHANT, *Wit and Wisdom of Dean Inge*. No. 216)

5

The republican is the only form of government which is not eternally at open or secret war with the rights of mankind.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, Reply to Address, 1790.

6

I know no safe depository of the ultimate powers of society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, Letter to W. C. Jarvis, 28 Sept., 1820.

7

Governments are republican only in proportion as they embody the will of the people, and execute it.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Writings*, vol. xv, p. 33.

8

No government can continue good but under the control of the people.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Writings*, vol. xv, p. 234.

9

The qualifications of self-government in society are not innate. They are the result of habit and long training, and for these it will require time and probably much suffering.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Writings*, vol. xvi, p. 22.

10

Men, by their constitutions, are naturally divided into two parties: 1. Those who fear and distrust the people, and wish to draw all powers from them into the hands of the higher classes. 2. Those who identify themselves with the people, have confidence in them, cherish and consider them as the most honest and safe, although not the most wise depository of the public interests. . . . In every country these two parties exist. . . . The appellation of Aristocrats and Democrats is the true one, expressing the essence of all.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Writings*, vol. xvi, p. 73.

11

It is an axiom in my mind that our liberty can never be safe but in the hands of the people themselves.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Writings*, vol. xix, p. 24.

12

I may not be a great President, but as long as I am here, I am going to try to be a good President and do my dead level best to keep this system preserved, because when the final chips are down, it is not going to be the number of people we have or the number of acres or the number of resources that will be the thing that is going to make us win or lose system of government.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON, Interview (televised nationally from Washington, D.C., 17 Mar., 1964. These were his concluding words.

13

In a democracy, the people have to want to do what must be done.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON, Speech at graduation exercises of the National Cathedral School for Girls, Washington, D.C., 7 June, 1965.

14

Democracy which began by liberating man politically has developed a dangerous tendency to enslave him through the tyranny of majorities and the deadly power of public opinion.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN, *The Modern Drama*, p. 17.

15

It is very easy to talk about being against communism. It is equally important to believe those things which provide a satisfying

Our conflict is not likely to cease so soon as every good man would wish. The measure of iniquity is not yet filled . . . Speculation, production, engrossing, forestalling . . . affording too many melancholy proofs of the decay of public virtue . . . and too glaring instances of its being the interest and desire of too many who would wish to be thought friends, to prolong the war.

Letter to a friend, March 31, 1779.

Is the paltry consideration of a little dirty pelf to individuals to be placed in competition keeping with the essential rights and liberties of the present generation, and of millions yet unborn?

Shall a few designing men for their own aggrandizement, and to gratify their own avarice, overset the goodly fabric we have been rearing at the expense of so much time, blood and treasure? And shall we at last become the victims of our own abominable lust for gain? *Ibid.*

Our cause is noble, it is the cause of mankind! And the danger to it is to be apprehended from ourselves. *Ibid.*

I wish the Constitution, which is offered, had been made more perfect; but I sincerely believe it is the best that could be obtained at this time. And, as a constitutional door is opened for amendment hereafter, the adoption of it, under the present circumstances of the Union, is in my opinion desirable.

Letter to Patrick Henry, from Mount Vernon, September 24, 1787.

As for instance on the ineligibility of the same person for President, after he should have served a certain course of years, I confess I differ widely myself from Mr. Jefferson and you as to the necessity or expedience of rotation in that appointment. There cannot, in my opinion, be the least danger that the President will, by any intrigue, ever be able to continue himself one moment in office, much less perpetuate himself in it. Under an extended view of part of this subject, I can see no propriety in precluding ourselves from the service of any man, who, in some great emergency, shall be deemed universally most capable of serving the public.

Letter to Lafayette, April 28, 1788; quoted by Senator Wright Patman, May 15, 1944, Congressional Record, in defense of a fourth term.

The administration of justice is the firmest pillar of government.

Letter to Randolph, 1789.

The liberty enjoyed by the people of these States of worshipping Almighty God, agreeably to their consciences, is not only among the choicest of their *blessings*, but also of their *rights*. *Message to Quakers, 1789.*

As mankind becomes more liberal, they will be more able to allow that those who conduct themselves as worthy members of the community are equally entitled to the protection of civil government. I hope ever to see America among the foremost nations in examples of justice and liberality.

Message to Catholics, 1789.

The Citizens of the United States of America have a right to applaud themselves for having given to mankind examples of an enlarged and liberal policy—a policy worthy of imitation. All possess alike liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship. It is now no more that toleration is spoken of, as if it was by the indulgence of one class of people that another enjoyed the exercise of their inherent natural rights. For happily the government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection should demean

themselves as good citizens in giving it on all occasions their effectual support.

To the Jewish Congregation, New Port, Rhode Island, August, 1790.

May the children of the Stock of Abraham, who dwell in this land, continue to merit and enjoy the good will of the other inhabitants, while every one shall sit in safety under his own vine and fig-tree, and there shall be none to make them afraid. *Ibid.*

Of all the animosities which have existed among mankind, those which are caused by a difference of sentiments in religion appear to be the most inveterate and distressing, and ought most to be deprecated. I was in hopes that the enlightened and liberal policy, which has marked the present age, would at least have reconciled Christians of every denomination so far that we should never again see their religious disputes carried to such a pitch as to endanger the peace of society.

Letter to Edward Newenham, October 20, 1792.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric.

Promote then as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion be enlightened.

Farewell Address to the People of the United States, September, 1796.[*]

[*] This address was never delivered; it was published in *Claypole's Daily Advertiser.* The general ideas were Washington's, but Jefferson, Madison, and Hamilton, notably Hamilton, were said to have written parts.

The nation, which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. *Ibid.*

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. *Ibid.*

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances, with any portion of the foreign world. *Ibid.*

It is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another. *Ibid.*

Guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism. *Ibid.*

The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government. *Ibid.*

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberations and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. *Ibid.*

I never mean, unless some particular circumstance should compel me to do it, to possess another slave by purchase, it being among my first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery in this country may be abolished by law. *Ibid.*

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, (I conjure you to believe me fellow-citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. *Ibid.*

Franklin Pierce
1804-1869
American. US President

> But if your America's past is limited, your future is boundless.
>
> -- Inaugural address, March 4, 1853

Born: November 23, 1804 in Hillsboro, NH. Died: October 8, 1869 in Concord, NH.
Career Highlights: Dem., 14th pres., 1853-57; tried unsuccessfully to end sectional controversy over slavery.

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Thomas Jefferson
1743-1826
American. US President

> I am persuaded that the good sense of the people will always be found to be the best army.
>
> -- Letter, Edward Carrington, 1787

Born: April 13, 1743 in Albemarle County, VA. Died: July 4, 1826 in Albemarle County, VA.
Career Highlights: Third pres., 1801-09; wrote Declaration of Independence, 1776; negotiated LA Purchase, 1803; organized Lewis, Clark expedition, 1803.

Also known as: Red Fox

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Thomas Paine
1737-1809
American. Philosopher, Author

> Not a place upon earth might be so happy as America. Her situation is remote from all the wrangling world, and she has nothing to do but to trade with them.
>
> -- The American Crisis, no. 1 (December 23, 1776)

Born: January 29, 1737 in Thetford, England. Died: June 8, 1809 in New York, NY.
Career Highlights: Advocated colonial independence in Common Sense, Jan 1776.

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John Adams
1735-1826
American. US President

> I must study politics and war that my sons may have liberty to study mathematics and philosophy. My sons ought to study mathematics and philosophy, geography, natural history, naval architecture, navigation, commerce, and agriculture, in order to give their children a right to study painting, poetry, music, architecture, statuary, tapestry, and porcelain.
>
> -- Letter to Abigail Adams (May 12, 1780)

Born: October 30, 1735 in Braintree, MA. Died: July 4, 1826 in Quincy, MA.

Career Highlights: Signed Declaration of Independence, 1776; second US pres., 1797-1801; helped draw up Treaty of Paris, 1793, ending American Revolution.

Also known as: The Atlas of Independence

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negotiations and lost political ground at home. See William Allen White's memorial editorial at EPITAPHS & GRAVESTONES.]

1 I don't know how a lot of these other nations have existed as long as they have till we could get some of our people around and show 'em how to be pure and good like us. —WILL ROGERS, *More Letters*, Feb. 27, 1932

2 In the field of world policy, I would dedicate this nation to the policy of the good neighbor—the neighbor who resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others—the neighbor who respects his obligations and who respects the sanctity of his agreements in and with a world of neighbors. —FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1933

3 He may be a son of a bitch, but he's our son of a bitch.
—FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, referring to the Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza, attributed in a number of sources, including William Pfaff in *The New Yorker*, May 27, 1985.

[Some forty years later, CIA chief William Casey, discussing the Panamanian dictator Manuel Noriega, said, "He's a bastard, but he's our bastard." This comment, made to U.S. Rep. Lee Hamilton, chair of the House Intelligence Committee, was reported in Haynes Johnson's *Sleepwalking Through History: America in the Reagan Years*, 1991.]

4 Local defense must be reinforced by the further deterrent of massive retaliatory power. —JOHN FOSTER DULLES, speech to the Council on Foreign Relations, Jan. 12, 1954

[Dulles was secretary of state under Eisenhower from 1953 to 1959, during the Cold War with Russia. His call for "massive retaliatory power"—almost immediately condensed by the media into "massive retaliation"—implied that the United States would respond with overwhelming nuclear strikes to any military threats by Communist nations, even if made only with conventional forces. An attraction of "massive retaliation" was that it was cheaper—in the short run, at least—than maintaining large conventional forces. In the words of then Defense Secretary Charles W. Wilson, it offered "a bigger bang for the buck." It was also a lot scarier since it was coupled with Dulles's predilection for "brinksmanship"; see below. Ernest Gross, who was in the audience for the "massive retaliation" speech, said later, "We all shook our heads and were really worried," *American Heritage*, June 1971.]

5 You have to take chances for peace, just as you must take chances in war. The ability to get to the verge without getting into the war is the necessary art. If you cannot master it, you inevitably get into war. If you try to run away from it, if you are scared to go to the brink, you are lost. . . . We walked to the brink and we looked it in the face.
—JOHN FOSTER DULLES, interview with James Shepley, *Life* magazine, Jan. 16, 1956

[Dulles's willingness to face down Russian and Chinese communists, even if it meant going to the brink of nuclear war was derided by Adlai Stevenson and other Democrats as "brinksmanship," a term that probably was inspired by the popularity of Stephen Potter's humorous book *Gamesmanship* (1947). In 1953 and 1954, Dulles faced a series of crises in the Far East, centering on the Korean peace talks, the French defeat in Indo-China, and China's desire to recover Taiwan. He reacted with dramatic vigor. As John Kenneth Galbraith observed in a letter to Pres. John F. Kennedy, "The greatest difficulty with Dulles was his yearning for new and exciting variants in policy," October 9, 1961.]

You can lead a horticulture, but you can't make her think. 1
—DOROTHY PARKER, attributed in *The Ten-Year Lunch*, documentary on the Algonquin Round Table [1987]

[Parker is said to have made this pun during a round of a word game played by wits who gathered at the Algonquin Hotel in Manhattan. She was challenged to use the word *horticulture* in a sentence.]

When eras die, their legacies 2
Are left to strange police.
Professors in New England guard
The glory that was Greece.
—CLARENCE DAY, *Thoughts on Deaths*, in *Thoughts Without Words*, 1928

School days, I believe, are the unhappiest in the whole span of human existence. They are full of dull, unintelligible tasks, new and unpleasant ordinances, brutal violations of common sense and common decency. 3
—H. L. MENCKEN, "Travail," *Baltimore Evening Sun*, Oct. 8, 1928

[Princeton University:] A quaint ceremonious village of puny demigods on stilts. 4
—ALBERT EINSTEIN, letter to the Queen of Belgium, Nov. 20, 1933

My boyhood saw 5
Greek islands floating over Harvard Square.
—HORACE GREGORY, *Chorus for Survival*, 1935

[The speaker is Ralph Waldo Emerson.]

He who enters a university walks on hallowed ground. 6
—JAMES BRYANT CONANT, *Notes on the Harvard Tercentenary*, 1936

Education is what survives when what has been learnt has been forgotten. 7
—B. F. SKINNER, *Education in 1984*

[Similarly, Mark Twain wrote in his *Notebook*, published posthumously in 1935, "Education consists mainly in what we have unlearned."]

The whole educational system has become one massive quiz program, with the prizes going to the most enterprising, most repulsively well-informed person—the man with his hand up first. 8
—HAROLD TAYLOR, conference, 1947

[Dr. Taylor, chosen at age thirty to head Sarah Lawrence College, was the youngest college president in the United States. In later years, he pursued a distinguished career in education, the arts, and in support of world peace. He also observed, "What is wrong with a great deal of higher education in America is that it is simply boring." Both quotes here are from his *New York Times* obituary, February 2, 1993.]

Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. 9
—EARL WARREN, *Brown v. Board of Education*, May 17, 1954

[More at AMERICAN HISTORY: MEMORABLE MOMENTS and THE CONSTITUTION.]

Like so many aging college people, Pnin had long since ceased to notice the existence of students on campus. 10
—VLADIMIR NABOKOV, *Pnin*, 1957

[Nabokov taught at Cornell.]

1 It is an axiom in political science that unless a people are educated and enlightened it is idle to expect the continuance of civil liberty or the capacity for self-government. —TEXAS DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, March 2, 1836

2 Let the children of the rich and poor take their seats together and know of no distinction save that of industry, good conduct, and intellect.
—TOWNSEND HARRIS

[Harris, a merchant, served on and headed New York City's board of education, and was the chief advocate for founding the present College of the City of New York in 1847. In the 1850s, he served successfully as a diplomat in Japan.]

3 Education . . . is a great equalizer of the conditions of men—the balance wheel of the social machinery. —HORACE MANN, report as Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, 1848

4 What does education often do? It makes a straight-cut ditch of a free meandering brook. —HENRY DAVID THOREAU, *Journal*, 1850

5 The public school system of the several states is the bulwark of the American republic. —REPUBLICAN PARTY, national platform, 1876

[This platform called for a constitutional amendment to forbid using public funds for any sectarian school.]

6 The free school is the preserver of that intelligence which is to preserve us as a free nation. —REPUBLICAN PARTY, national platform, 1888

7 Soap and education are not as sudden as a massacre, but they are more deadly in the long run. —MARK TWAIN, *The Facts Concerning the Recent Registration*, in *Sketches New and Old*, 1867

8 Training is everything. The peach was once a bitter almond; cauliflower is nothing but cabbage with a college education.
—MARK TWAIN, *Pudd'nhead Wilson's Calendar*, in *Pudd'nhead Wilson*, 1894

[But see also the note under Skinner below.]

9 In the first place God made idiots. This was for practice. Then he made school boards. —MARK TWAIN, *Pudd'nhead Wilson's New Calendar*, in *Following the Equator*, 1897

10 *Education, n.* That which discloses to the wise and disguises from the foolish their lack of understanding. —AMBROSE BIERCE, *The Devil's Dictionary*, 1906

11 They know enough who know how to learn.
—HENRY BROOKS ADAMS, *The Education of Henry Adams*, 1907

12 A teacher affects eternity. He can never tell where his influence stops.
—*Ibid.*

13 Who dares to teach must never cease to learn.
—JOHN COTTON DANA, motto of Kean College of New Jersey, 1912

[Dana, a librarian in Newark, was asked to find a suitable inscription for a new building at Newark State College, Union, N.J., which later became Kean College. Apparently lacking a good dictionary of quotations, he wrote this maxim, which eventually the college adopted as its motto.]

A recession is when your neighbor loses his job; a depression is when you lose yours. 1

—ANONYMOUS

[Pres. Harry S. Truman used this line, according to Ralph Keyes's *Nice Guys Finish Seventh*; so did Ronald Reagan in his 1980 presidential campaign.]

I'm always looking for a one-armed economist [one who can't say "On the other hand"] 2

—HARRY S. TRUMAN, attributed by Howell Raines, editorial page editor of *The New York Times*

[Peter J. Boyer, writing in *The New Yorker*, August 22 & 29, 1994, quoted Raines as saying that just as Truman looked for one-armed economists, he himself wanted one-armed editorial writers.]

There is nothing sacred about the pay-as-you-go idea so far as I am concerned, except that it represents the soundest principle of financing that I know. 3

—HARRY S. TRUMAN, quoted in *The New York Times*, article on the proposed balanced-budget amendment to the Constitution [Jan. 26, 1995]

If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich. 4

—JOHN F. KENNEDY, Inaugural Address, 1961

[See also Andrew Carnegie at RICH & POOR.]

I stressed to the President the importance of realizing that in economics, the majority is always wrong. 5

—JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH, c. 1962

[Quoted in *Plain Tales from the Embassy*, excerpts from letters and quotes dating from Mr. Galbraith's tenure as ambassador to India, *American Heritage*, October 1969.]

Voodoo economics. 6

—GEORGE BUSH, speech, April 1980

[In the Republican presidential primary race in Pennsylvania, Bush thus derisively characterized the "supply side" economic theory espoused by his opponent, Ronald Reagan. According to this theory, a tax cut would actually increase government revenues by stimulating the economy. After Bush became Reagan's running mate, the phrase came back to haunt him. "God I wish I hadn't said that," he remarked. He had it right, though. Pres. Reagan's budget chief David Stockman confided to a reporter for the *The Atlantic* magazine, that supply-side economics was "a Trojan horse," adding, "None of us really understands what is going on with all these numbers," November 1981. At a meeting on June 5, 1981, presidential chief of staff James Baker asked jokingly [sort of], "You mean it really is voodoo economics after all?" By 1988, Pres. Reagan—assisted by a Democratic Congress—had run up the national debt to a record $2 trillion. In 1991, the economy was the central theme in Bill Clinton's presidential campaign. See James Carville at POLITICAL SLOGANS.]

EDUCATION

See also BOOKS & READING; KNOWLEDGE & INFORMATION

Where the press is free and every man able to read, all is safe. 7

—THOMAS JEFFERSON, letter to Charles Yancey, 1816

[See also Jefferson under THE PRESS.]

It is, Sir, as I have said, a small college. And yet *there are those who love it.* 8

—DANIEL WEBSTER, argument in the U.S. Supreme Court case *Trustees of Dartmouth College v. Woodward*, March 10, 1818

E

EATING *See* FOOD, WINE, & EATING

ECONOMICS *See also* BUSINESS; CAPITALISM & CAPITAL V. LABOR; COMMUNISM; DEPRESSION, THE; MONEY & THE RICH; POVERTY & HUNGER; RICH & POOR, WEALTH & POVERTY; SOCIALISM

1 A national debt, if it is not excessive, will be to us a national blessing.
—ALEXANDER HAMILTON, letter to Robert Morris, April 30, 1781
[But see Hamilton below on debt and taxes.]

2 To extinguish a debt which exists and to avoid contracting more are ideas almost always favored by public feeling and opinion, but to pay taxes for the one or the other purpose, which are the only means of avoiding the evil, is always more or less unpopular.
—ALEXANDER HAMILTON, c. 1790–94
[Professor Thomas McGraw of the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration drew attention to this comment by Hamilton in *The New York Times*, May 2, 1993. He added that Hamilton had observed that one commonly sees the very people who declaim against public debt "vehement against every plan of taxation which is proposed to discharge old debts, or to avoid new." The debt that worried Hamilton and Pres. George Washington as well was the huge Revolutionary War bill of $75.4 million, fifteen times annual revenues. U.S. debt in 1993 was four times annual revenues. See also Andrew Jackson below.]

3 Not worth a continental.
—ANONYMOUS, c. 1790
[A popular expression for worthlessness. The "continental currency" was paper money issued by Congress after the Revolution. The nation was deep in debt and could not back up the currency. The continental quickly inflated to the point that one silver dollar was equal to $40 in continentals.]

4 As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible.
—GEORGE WASHINGTON, Farewell Address, Sept. 17, 1796

1 Democracy never lasts long. It soon wastes, exhausts, and murders itself. There never was a democracy yet that did not commit suicide.
—JOHN ADAMS, letter to John Taylor, April 15, 1814

[For another perspective on democracy and survival see under AMERICA & AMERICANS for Abraham Lincoln's 1838 speech at the Young Men's Lyceum in Springfield, Ill.]

2 The tendency of democracy is, in all things, to mediocrity.
—JAMES FENIMORE COOPER, *The American Democrat*, 1838

3 Democracy as I understand it, requires me to sacrifice myself *for* the masses, not *to* them. Who knows not that, if you would save the people, you must often oppose them.
—ORESTES A. BROWNSON, *An Oration on the Scholar's Mission*

4 The ballot is stronger than the bullet. —ABRAHAM LINCOLN, speech, May 19, 1856

5 Government of the people, by the people, for the people.
—ABRAHAM LINCOLN, Gettysburg Address, Nov. 19, 1863

[More at GETTYSBURG ADDRESS.]

6 I will not gloss over the appalling dangers of universal suffrage.
—WALT WHITMAN, *Democratic Vistas*, 1871

7 The rise of democracy as an effective force in the nation came in with western preponderance under Jackson and William Henry Harrison, and it meant the triumph of the frontier—with all of its good and all of its evil elements.
—FREDERICK J. TURNER, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History*, 1893

8 The democracy born of free land, strong in selfishness and individualism, intolerant of administrative experience and education, and pressing individual liberty beyond its proper bounds, has dangers as well as its benefits.
—*Ibid.*

[See also THE FRONTIER; INDIVIDUALITY & INDIVIDUALISM.]

9 The world must be made safe for democracy.
—WOODROW WILSON, speech to the U.S. Congress, April 2, 1917

[More at WORLD WAR I. For Franklin D. Roosevelt's call for the U.S. to be the arsenal of democracy, see under AMERICAN HISTORY: MEMORABLE MOMENTS.]

10 The cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy!
—H. L. MENCKEN, *Notes on Democracy*, 1926

11 I swear to the Lord
I still can't see
Why Democracy means
Everybody but me. —LANGSTON HUGHES, *The Black Man Speaks*, in *Jim Crow's Last Stand*, 1943

[See also Hughes at AMERICA & AMERICANS.]

12 The blind lead the blind. It's the democratic way.
—HENRY MILLER, *With Edgard Varèse in the Gobi Desert*, in *The Air-Conditioned Nightmare*, 1945

XYZ

YOUTH

See also AGES; CHILDREN

1 In our youth is our strength, in our inexperience, our wisdom.
—HERMAN MELVILLE, *White-Jacket*, 1850

[More at AMERICA & AMERICANS.]

2 A boy's will is the wind's will,
And the thoughts of youth are long, long thoughts.
—HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW, *My Lost Youth*, 1858

3 So nigh is grandeur to our dust,
So near is God to man,
When Duty whispers low, *Thou must*,
The youth replies, *I can*.
—RALPH WALDO EMERSON, *Voluntaries*, 1867

4 In America, the young are always ready to give to those who are older than themselves the full benefits of their inexperience.
—OSCAR WILDE, *The American Invasion*, in *Court and Society Review*, March 1887

5 One may return to the place of his birth.
He cannot go back to his youth.
—JOHN BURROUGHS, *The Return*, in *Bird and Bough*, 1906

6 One could do worse than be a swinger of birches.
—ROBERT FROST, *Birches*, 1916

7 All lovely things will have an ending,
All lovely things will fade and die,
And youth that's now so bravely spending,
Will beg a penny by and by.
—CONRAD AIKEN, *All Lovely Things*, in *Twins and Moves*, 1916

[Aiken's own youth was blighted at age ten, when he heard gun shots and found the bodies of his father and mother—killed by his father in a murder-suicide.]

My friend, you are half right.

At a reception when a guest told him that "in my State they say that the welfare of the nation depends on God and Abraham Lincoln"

I laugh because I must not cry.

Ulysses S. Grant

I know only two tunes; one of them is "Yankee Doodle" and the other isn't.

Theodore Roosevelt

It is not the critic who counts; not the man who points out how the strong man stumbled, or where the doer of deeds could have done them better. The credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena; whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood; who strives valiantly; who errs and comes short again and again; who knows the great enthusiasms, the great devotions, and spends himself in a worthy cause; who at the best knows in the end the triumph of high achievement; and who at the worst, if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly, so that his place shall never be with those cold and timid souls who know neither victory nor defeat.

Don't hit at all if it is honorably possible to avoid hitting; but *never* hit soft.

Woodrow Wilson

Benevolence or Justice? I don't care how benevolent the master is going to be, I will not live under a master.

The New Freedom, 1912

I fancy that it is just as hard to do your duty when men are sneering at you as when they are shooting at you.

Speech, May, 1914

I would never read a book if it were possible for me to talk half an hour with the man who wrote it.

the struggle for existence had passed it by."

Van Wyck Brooks
New England: Indian Summer
1940

* * *

"All protestantism, even the most cold and passive, is a form of dissent. But the religion most prevalent in our northern colonies [New England] is a refinement of the principle of resistance: it is the dissidence of dissent, and the protestantism of the Protestant religion."

Edmund Burke
"Speech on Conciliation with America"
March 22, 1775

* * *

"If the United States had been settled from the Pacific Coast eastwards, New England would still be undiscovered."

Alistair Cooke
One Man's America
1952

* * *

"I [the devil] have helped your grandfather, the constable, when he lashed the Quaker women so smartly through the streets of Salem; and it was I that brought your father a pine-pitch knot, kindled at my heart, to set fire to an Indian village. . . . I had a very general acquaintance here in New England."

Nathaniel Hawthorne
Young Goodman Brown
1835

* * *

"I felt the ground shake under my feet at my first contact with [a] New England Town Meeting."

Thomas Jefferson
Quoted by Clifton Fadiman
American Treasury 1455–1955
1955

* * *

"The nursery of the Revolutionary spirit."

Benjamin Lassing, 18th-century historian
Quoted in *American Heritage*
June, 1968

* * *

"Where was it that New England bred the men
Who quartered the Leviathan's fat flanks
And fought the British Lion to his knees?"

Robert Lowell
"Salem"
Lord Weary's Castle
1946

* * *

"New England at the time that Emerson emerged was much like my own town in Illinois. Self-repression was a feature of the Puritan religion, and distrust of nature was something enjoined upon the mind and heart."

Edgar Lee Masters
The Living Thought of Ralph Waldo Emerson
1958

* * *

"The two or three main ideas which constitute the basis of the social theory of the United States were first combined in . . . the states of New England. The principles of New England spread at first to the neighboring states; they then passed successively to the more distant ones; and at length they imbued the whole Confederation. They now extend their influence beyond its limits over the whole American world. The civilization of New England has been like a beacon lit upon a hill, which after it had diffused its warmth around, tinges the distant horizon with its glow."

Alexis de Tocqueville
Democracy in America
1835

* * *

"In the laws of . . . New England, we find the germ and gradual development of that township independence which is the life and mainspring of American liberty at the present day. The political existence of the majority of the nations of Europe commenced in the superior ranks of society, and was gradually and imperfectly communicated to the different members of the social body. In America, on the other hand, it may be said that the township was organized before the county, the county before the state, the state before the Union."

Alexis de Tocqueville
Democracy in America
1835

* * *

"I see that *Life* magazine calls the New England town meeting the quintessence of democracy; but one of my neighbors, who has probably attended more of them than the editors of *Life*, had another name for it. 'Well,' he said, as he climbed into our car balancing a pot of baked beans wrapped in a paper bag, 'here we go to the Chase and Sanborn hour.' "

E.B. White
"Town Meeting"
1940

* * *

"We shall find that the God of Israel is among us, when 10 of us shall be able to resist 1,000 of our enemies; when he shall make us a praise and a glory, that men shall say of succeeding plantations, 'The Lord make it like that of *New England*.' For we must

unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance."

President Franklin D. Roosevelt
Inaugural Address
1933

* * *

[On America and World War II]: "We are all in it—all the way."

President Franklin D. Roosevelt
Radio address
Dec. 7, 1941

* * *

"Yesterday, Dec. 7, 1941—a date which will live in infamy—the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the empire of Japan."

President Franklin D. Roosevelt
Message to Congress
Dec. 8, 1941

* * *

[After the loss of the Philippines to the Japanese]: "It was bitter for us not to be able to land a million men from a thousand ships in the Philippine Islands."

President Franklin D. Roosevelt
State of the Union address
1942

* * *

"The only limit to America's realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith."

President Franklin D. Roosevelt
Speech at Warm Springs, Georgia
April 12, 1945

* * *

"I believe in the future of America; but I believe in it only as I believe in Easter—after it has passed through Good Friday."

The Rev. Fulton J. Sheen
Radio talk
April 6, 1941

* * *

"Perhaps America since the Depression will never be so young again."

Gertrude Stein
Everybody's Autobiography
1937

* * *

[On the destruction of crops to raise prices during the depression]: "The people come with nets to fish for potatoes in the river, and the guards hold them back; they come in rattling cars to get the dumped oranges, but the kerosene is sprayed. And they stand still and watch the potatoes float by, listen to the screaming pigs being killed in a ditch and covered with quicklime, watch the mountains of oranges slop down to a putrefying ooze; and in the eyes of the people there is the failure; and in the eyes of the hungry there is a growing wrath. In the souls of the people the grapes of wrath are filling and growing heavy, growing heavy for the vintage."

John Steinbeck
The Grapes of Wrath
1939

* * *

"The idealists who will have helped put us into another war for democracy or the survivors among them will live to see democracy slain in America by the war they sought."

Norman Thomas, American socialist leader
Radio speech
June 29, 1941

* * *

"If we desire isolation [as a foreign policy], we shall have it—the isolation of a prison camp."

Dorothy Thompson
Speech in Toronto
1941

* * *

"We are fighting [World War II] because we have the best way of life yet learned by mankind and we want to preserve it."

Philip Wylie
Generation of Vipers
1942

Superpower and Beyond

"Great men have done great things here, and will again, and we can make America what America must become."

James Baldwin
The Fire Next Time
1963

* * *

"America is a pivotal point in the world where the future of man is at stake. To like America or not to like her; these words have no sense. Here is a battlefield, and one can only follow with excitement the struggle she carries on within herself, the stakes of which are beyond measure."

Simone de Beauvoir
America Day by Day
1947

* * *

"The great attraction that America holds for me consists in the fact that it appears as a realm still in

* * *

"The leadership of black people in the United States has always been overwhelmingly of mixed ancestry. The whiter you look, the more qualified you are to be a black leader. Going back to slavery, the abolitionists who allegedly were fighting for our rights always selected mulattoes, the children of slave masters, to educate and to force on us as leaders.... Today, in the late '70s, the same thing exists. Most black leaders do not look like me. I look African. I can pass in any country as African. The average black leader cannot."

Roy Innis, national director,
Congress of Racial Equality
Quoted in *Los Angeles Herald Examiner*
Oct. 9, 1978

* * *

"Despite all of the publicity about the new South, the election of a Southern president [Carter], no more riots, no more demonstrations, there is still hostility. I'm impressed with the fact that blacks and whites are associating in social ways, but beneath that sugar-coating there is that hostility—and the black middle class, the educators, are being severed."

Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, civil rights leader
Quoted in *New York Times*
March 23, 1978

* * *

"The opinion, that they [blacks] are inferior in the faculties of reason and imagination, must be hazarded with great diffidence.... I advance it as a suspicion only, that the blacks, whether originally a distinct race, or made distinct by time and circumstances, are inferior to the whites in the endowments both of body and mind."

Thomas Jefferson
Notes on the State of Virginia
1787

* * *

[On the indefensibility of slavery]: "And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever; that considering numbers, nature and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events..."

Thomas Jefferson
Notes on the State of Virginia
1787

* * *

"The race question involves the saving of black America's body and white America's soul."

James Weldon Johnson
The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man
1912

* * *

"And this nation, for all its hopes and all its boasts, will not be fully free until all its citizens are free."

President John F. Kennedy
TV speech on desegregation of Univeristy of Alabama
July 11, 1963

* * *

"At lilac evening I walked with every muscle aching among the lights of 27th and Welton in the Denver colored section, wishing I were a Negro, feeling that the best the white world had offered was not enough ecstasy for me, not enough life, joy, kicks, darkness, music, not enough night."

Jack Kerouac
On the Road
1955

* * *

"I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal."

The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.
"I Have a Dream"
Speech at Lincoln Memorial during march on Washington
1963

* * *

"There will be some black men who can remember that, with silent tongue, and clenched teeth, and steady eye, and well-poised bayonet, they have helped mankind on to this great consummation [end of Civil War]; while, I fear, there will be some white ones, unable to forget that, with malignant heart, and deceitful speech, they have strove to hinder it."

President Abraham Lincoln
Public letter
1864

* * *

[At memorial to black Civil War regiment]:
"Two months after marching through Boston
half the regiment was dead;
at the dedication
William James could almost hear the bronze
Negroes breathe."

Robert Lowell
"For the Union Dead"
1964

* * *

"The people who wrote the Constitution of the United States said the people of the United States shall be protected in their life, liberty and property. They didn't say life, liberty and welfare, or life, liberty and food stamps. They said life, liberty and property. The ownership of property and the right of free people to acquire property is the most important part of human rights, and without that right we don't have any other right."

Howard Jarvis
NBC-TV's "Meet the Press"
June 18, 1978

* * *

"I consider the foundation of the Constitution as laid on this ground: That 'all powers not delegated to the United States, by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states or to the people . . .' To take a single step beyond the boundaries thus specially drawn around the powers of Con-g is to take possession of a boundless field of power, no longer susceptible of any definition."

Thomas Jefferson
Letter to George Washington
1791

* * *

"I have never had a feeling, politically, that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence."

Abraham Lincoln
Speech in Independence Hall, Philadelphia
1861

* * *

"The actual history of the Constitution, as everyone knows, has been a history of the gradual abandon- of all such impediments to governmental tyr- . Today we live frankly under a government of men, not of laws."

H.L. Mencken
"On Government"
Prejudices: Fourth Series
1924

* * *

"In the Declaration of Independence—as in the ear- Virginia Bill of Rights—equality was given the supreme rank and the rights to liberty are posited as derived from equality. This logic was even more c ly expressed in Jefferson's original formulation of the first of the 'self-evident truths:' 'All men are c d equal *and from that equal creation* they derive rights inherent and unalienable, among which are the preservation of life and liberty and the pursuit of happiness.'"

Gunnar Myrdal
An American Dilemma
1942

* * *

"The worship of the Constitution also is a most flagrant violation of the American Creed which, as far as the technical arrangements for executing the power of the people are concerned, is strongly opposed to stiff formulas. Jefferson actually referred to the American form of government as an experiment. The young Walt Whitman, among many other liberals before and after him, expressed the spirit of the American Revolution more faithfully when he demanded 'continual additions to our great experiment of how much liberty society will bear.' Modern historical studies of how the Constitution came to be as it is reveal that the Constitutional Convention was a plot against the common people."

Gunnar Myrdal
An American Dilemma
1942

* * *

"The humanitarian idealism of the Declaration [of Independence] has always echoed as a battle cry in the hearts of those who dream of an America dedicated to democratic ends. It cannot be long ignored or repudiated, for sooner or later it returns to plague the council of practical politics. It is constantly breaking out in fresh revolt. . . . Without its freshening influence our political history would have been much more sordid and materialistic."

Vernon L. Parrington
Main Currents in American Thought
1930

* * *

"I see where there is a bill up in Congress now to amend the Constitution. It means the men who drew up this thing years ago didn't know much, and we are just now getting a bunch of real fellows who can take the old parchment and fix it up like it should have been all these years."

Will Rogers
The Best of Will Rogers
1979

* * *

[On the superiority of the federal Constitution to those of the states]: "An attentive observer will soon remark that the business of the Union is incomparably better conducted than that of any individual state. The conduct of the federal government is more fair and more temperate than that of the states; its designs are more fraught with wisdom, its projects are more durable and more skillfully combined, its measures are put into execution with more vigor and consistency."

Alexis de Tocqueville
Democracy in America
1835

* * *

"Human affections, like the solar heat, lose their intensity as they depart from the center. . . .On these principles, the attachment of the individual will be first and forever secured by state governments."

Alexander Hamilton
Speech to New York Constitutional Convention
1787

* * *

"Gentlemen indulge too many unreasonable apprehensions of danger to the state governments; they seem to suppose that the moment you put men into a national council [federal government], they become corrupt and lose all their affection for their fellow citizens."

Alexander Hamilton
Speech to New York Constitutional Convention
1787

* * *

"Our federal union. It must and shall be preserved."

President Andrew Jackson
Toast at dinner

"The Union—next to our liberty, the most dear."

Vice President John C. Calhoun
Toast replying to Jackson's
1830

* * *

"I believe this [to be] the strongest government on earth."

President Thomas Jefferson
Inaugural address
1801

* * *

"Too often our Washington reflex is to discover a problem and then throw money at it, hoping it will go away."

Kenneth Keating, U.S. senator
Quoted in *New York Times*
Dec. 24, 1961

* * *

"The government of the United States has been emphatically termed a government of laws, and not of men. It will certainly cease to deserve this high appellation, if the laws furnish no remedy for the violation of a vested legal right."

John Marshall, Supreme Court chief justice
Marbury vs. Madison decision
1803

* * *

"It is, for example, one of my firmest and most sacred beliefs, reached after an inquiry extending over a score of years and supported by incessant prayer and meditation, that the government of the United States, in both its legislative arm and its executive arm, is ignorant, incompetent, corrupt, and disgusting—and from this judgment I except no more than 20 living lawmakers and no more than 20 executioners of their laws."

H.L. Mencken
"On Being an American"
Prejudices: Third Series
1922

* * *

". . . I am not so much alarmed at the excessive liberty which reigns in that country [America], as at the very inadequate securities which exist against tyranny. When an individual or a party is wronged in the United States, to whom can he apply for redress? If to public opinion, public opinion constitutes the majority; if to the legislature, it represents the majority, and implicitly obeys its injunctions; if to the executive power, it is appointed by the majority . . . remains a passive tool in its hands; the public troops consist of the majority under arms; the jury is the majority invested with the right of hearing judicial cases; and in certain states even the judges are elected by the majority."

Alexis de Tocqueville
Democracy in America
1835

* * *

"I have seen a number of legislatures, and there was a comfortable majority in each of them that knew just about enough to come in when it rained, and that was all."

Mark Twain
"Letters from the Sandwich Islands"
1866

* * *

"Government accomplishes little that is good. . . . The granting of acts of incorporation, bounties, special privileges, favors, and profligate legislation . . . is shocking."

Gideon Welles, secretary of the navy
Diary entry
July, 1866

* * *

"I have to convey what seems to me the most significant and pregnant thing of all. . . . I think it is best indicated by saying that the typical American has no 'sense of the state.' I do not mean that he is not passionately and vigorously patriotic. But I mean that he has no perception that his business activities, his private employments, are constituents in a large collective process; that they affect other people and the world forever, and cannot, as he imagines, begin

FREEDOM

See also CONSTITUTION, THE; DEMOCRACY; FREE SPEECH; INDEPENDENCE DAY; RIGHTS

Without freedom of thought there can be no such thing as wisdom, and no such thing as liberty without freedom of speech. 1

—BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, *Dogood Papers*, 1722

[An early expression of the revolutionary spirit in the colonies. Franklin was sixteen when he wrote these essays for *The New England Courant* under the pen name Silence Dogood.]

Proclaim liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof. 2

—BIBLE, *Leviticus* 25:10, inscribed on the Liberty Bell, 1752

Those who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety. 3

—BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, speech, Pennsylvania Assembly, Nov. 11, 1755

[A variant of this appears on a plaque in the stairwell of the Statue of Liberty on Bedloe's Island in New York Harbor.]

One of the most essential branches of English liberty is the freedom of one's house. A man's house is his castle. 4

—JAMES OTIS, argument on the Writs of Assistance, Boston, 1761

[More at PRIVACY.]

The God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time. 5

—THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Summary View of the Rights of British America*, 1775

Do thou, great liberty, inspire our souls, 6
And make our lives in thy possession happy
Or our deaths glorious in thy just defense.

—JOSEPH ADDISON, *Cato*, 1713, used as the motto of the *Massachusetts Spy*, Nov. 22, 1771, to April 6, 1775

[*Cato* may have been the first play published in America, and was very popular. Nathan Hale borrowed from it in his final statement before execution; see AMERICAN REVOLUTION. The *Massachusetts Spy*, a weekly newspaper, was published by Isaiah Thomas, who went on to become the foremost book publisher in the newly independent United States.]

Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death! 7

—PATRICK HENRY, speech, Virginia Convention, March 23, 1775

[A ringing declaration, but probably apocryphal. Neither Washington nor Jefferson, who were there, ever mentioned Henry's speech. As in the case of Henry's "if this be treason" challenge, cited in AMERICAN HISTORY: MEMORABLE MOMENTS, this speech was reconstructed many years after the fact by Henry's biographer William Wirt.]

Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves. 1
—ABRAHAM LINCOLN, letter to H. L. Pierce et al., April 6, 1859

When I found I had crossed that line, I looked at my hands to see if I was the same person. There was such a glory over everything. 2
—HARRIET TUBMAN, description of her first escape to the North, quoted in Sarah H. Bradford, *Harriet, the Moses of Her People*, 1869

[She got away for good in 1849, and dedicated herself to freeing others, leading more than 300 slaves out of bondage via the Underground Railroad. In the Civil War, she worked for the Union forces in coastal South Carolina, acting as a nurse, laundress, and spy. She was as eloquent as she was courageous.]

I had reasoned this out in my mind: There was two things I had a right to, liberty and death. If I could not have one, I would have the other, for no man should take me alive. 3
—*Ibid.*

Free at last! Free at last! 4
Thank God Almighty, we are free at last!
—ANONYMOUS, spiritual

[Quoted by Martin Luther King, Jr., to conclude his speech at the Lincoln Memorial in the march on Washington in 1963; see AMERICAN HISTORY: MEMORABLE MOMENTS. This is his epitaph at South View Cemetery in Atlanta.]

That buoyancy and exuberance which comes with freedom. 5
—FREDERICK J. TURNER, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History*, 1893

[More from this passage at AMERICA & AMERICANS.]

The cost of liberty is less than the price of repression. 6
—W. E. B. DU BOIS, *The Legacy of John Brown*, 1909

You can only protect your liberties in this world by protecting the other man's freedom. You can only be free if I am free. 7
—CLARENCE DARROW, *People v. Lloyd*, 1920

I always say . . . if my fellow citizens want to go to hell, I will help them. It's my job. 8
—OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, JR., letter to Harold J. Laski, March 4, 1920

The right to be let alone—the most comprehensive of rights. 9
—LOUIS D. BRANDEIS, *Olmstead v. the United States*, 1928

[More at PRIVACY.]

Freedom is never given; it is won. —A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, keynote speech, Second National Negro Congress, 1937 10

[Randolph was the founder of the railway porters' union. He unionized the Pullman company, and was influential in persuading Pres. Harry Truman that the U.S. armed services should be integrated. Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., made the same point some twenty-five years later; see below.]

In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms. 11
—FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, State of the Union message, Jan. 6, 1941

[The four freedoms cited by the president were: freedom of speech, freedom of

1 Where liberty dwells, there is my country.

—BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, attributed

[Also sometimes attributed to James Otis in the form of the Latin motto: *Ubi libertas, ibi patria.* For Franklin, the root of the attribution may be in a letter to David Hartley, December 4, 1789, in which Franklin wrote: "God grant that not only the love of liberty but a thorough knowledge of the rights of man may pervade all the nations of the earth, so that a philosopher may set his foot anywhere on its surface and say: 'This is my country.'"]

2 Can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gifts of God? That they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just.

—THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, 1781–1785

[Jefferson was warning in particular that slavery violated God's gift of liberty for us all.]

3 The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is its natural manure.

—THOMAS JEFFERSON, letter to Col. William S. Smith, Nov. 13, 1787

4 Wherever the standard of freedom and independence has been unfurled, there will [America's] heart, her benedictions, and her prayers be.

—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, July 4, 1821

[More at AMERICA & AMERICANS.]

5 Independence now and forever!

—DANIEL WEBSTER, eulogy, August 2, 1826

[Webster spoke in memory of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, who both died on July 4, 1826. Four days earlier, when asked to suggest a toast to be made in his name, Adams had said, "It is my living sentiment, and by the blessing of God, it shall be my dying sentiment, Independence now and Independence forever." See also INDEPENDENCE DAY.]

6 Liberty and independence, forever!

—DAVID CROCKETT, Alamo journal, March 5, 1836, in *Colonel Crockett's Exploits and Adventures in Texas* [1837]

[These are the final words of the journal attributed to Crockett, killed later that day, along with all the other defenders of the San Antonio fortress, by Mexicans under General Santa Anna. The entire last paragraph reads: "Pop, pop, pop! Bom, bom, bom! throughout the day. No time for memorandums now. Go ahead! Liberty and independence forever!" For more on the Alamo and Crockett, see William Barrett Travis at AMERICAN HISTORY: MEMORABLE MOMENTS.]

7 We should be men first, and subjects afterward.

—HENRY DAVID THOREAU, *Civil Disobedience*, 1849

8 Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

—WENDELL PHILLIPS, *Public Opinion*, speech, Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, Jan. 28, 1852

[Sometimes attributed to Thomas Jefferson or Patrick Henry. The true source seems to be the Irish magistrate and orator John Philpot Curran, who in a speech delivered on July 10, 1790, stated: "The condition upon which God hath given liberty to man is eternal vigilance."]

Abraham Lincoln Quotes



"The probability that we may fail in the struggle ought not to deter us from the support of a cause we believe to be just."

"If the good people, in their wisdom, shall see fit to keep me in the background, I have been too familiar with disappointments to be very much chagrined."

"As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master. This expresses my idea of democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference, is no democracy."
(From "The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln.")

"Die when I may, I want it said of me that I plucked a weed and planted a flower wherever I thought a flower would grow."

"It is said an Eastern monarch once charged his wise men to invent him a sentance, to be ever in view, and which should be true and appropriate in all times and situations. They presented him the words: "And this, too, shall pass away." How much it expresses! How chastening in the hour of pride! How consoling in the depths of affliction!"
(Address to the Wisconsin State Agricultural Society.)

"No one, not in my situation, can appreciate my feeling of sadness at this parting. to this place, and the kindness of these people, I owe everything. Here I have lived a quarter of a century, and have passed from a young to an old man. Here my children have been born, and one is buried. I now leave, not knowing when or if ever I may return, with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washington. Without the assistance of that Divine Being who ever attended him, I cannot succeed. With that assistance I cannot fail. Trusting in Him who can go with me, and remain with you, and be everywhere for good, let us confidently hope that all will yet be well."
(Farewell Address, Springfield, Illinois)

"I desire so to conduct the affairs of this administration that if at the end, when I come to lay down the reigns of power, I have lost every other friend on earth, I shall at least have one friend left, and that friend shall be down inside me."
(Reply to Missouri Committee of Seventy)

"With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the

right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have bourne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."
(Second Inaugural Address)

"I have always thought that all men should be free; but if any should be slaves, it should be first those who desire it for themselves, and secondly those who desire it for othres. Whenever I hear anyone arguing for slavery, I feel a strong impulse to see it tried on him personally."
(Address to an Indiana Regiment)

"Prohibition... goes beyond the bounds of reason in that it attempts to control a man's appetite by legislation and makes a crime out of things that are not crimes... A prohibition law strikes a blow at the very principles upon which our government was founded."
(December 1840)

"Important principles may and must be inflexible."
(Last public address, Washington, D.C.)

"It is the duty of nations as well as of men to own their dependence upon the overruling power of God."

"My concern is not whether God is on our side; my great concern is to be on God's side."

"The best way to destroy your enemy is to make him your friend."



This site was awarded a Times Pick by the Los Angeles Times on 2/12/97.

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Dr. Alan Snyder's Selected Great Quotes

Samuel Adams

The rights of the colonists as Christians . . . may be best understood by reading and carefully studying the institutes of the great Lawgiver and Head of the Christian Church, which are to be found clearly written and promulgated in the New Testament.

A general dissolution of principles and manners will more surely overthrow the liberties of America than the whole force of the common enemy. While the people are virtuous they cannot be subdued; but when once they lose their virtue they will be ready to surrender their liberties to the first external or internal invader. . . . If virtue and knowledge are diffused among the people, they will never be enslaved. This will be their great security.

Let divines and philosophers, statesmen and patriots, unite their endeavors to renovate the age, by impressing the minds of men with the importance of educating their little boys and girls, of inculcating in the minds of youth the fear and love of the Deity and universal philanthropy, and, in subordination to these great principles, the love of their country; of instructing them in the art of self-government without which they never can act a wise part in the government of societies, great or small; in short, of leading them in the study and practice of the exalted virtues of the Christian system.

Other Great Quotes by:

Adams, John | Adams, Samuel | Chambers, Whittaker | Franklin, Benjamin | Grotius, Hugo | Jefferson, Thomas | Johnson, Paul | Kilpatrick, William Kirk | Lewis, C.S. | Madison, James | Veith, Gene Edward, Jr. | Washington, George | Webster, Noah

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Robertson School of Government

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1 One is hip or one is square, one is a rebel or one conforms, one is a frontiersman in the Wild West of American night life, or else a square cell, trapped in the totalitarian tissues of American society, doomed willy-nilly to conform if one is to succeed. —NORMAN MAILER, *The White Negro,* 1957

INFORMATION

See KNOWLEDGE & INFORMATION

INJUSTICE

See also JUSTICE

2 This is an age of the world where nations are trembling and convulsed. A mighty influence is abroad, surging and heaving the world, as with an earthquake. And is America safe? Every nation that carries in its bosom great and unredressed injustice has in it the elements of this last convulsion.
—HARRIET BEECHER STOWE, *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* 1852

[This is from the last chapter. The book's immense popularity itself contributed to the coming convulsion.]

3 Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.
—MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., letter from Birmingham city jail, 1963

4 There comes a time when . . . men are no longer willing to be plunged into an abyss of injustice.
—*Ibid.*

[More at RESISTANCE.]

INSTITUTIONS

See also GOVERNMENT

5 An institution is the lengthened shadow of one man.
—RALPH WALDO EMERSON, *Self-Reliance,* in *Essays: First Series,* 1841

[In his *Journal,* in 1832, Emerson wrote, "We do not make a world of our own, but fall into institutions already made, and have to accommodate ourselves to them to be useful at all."]

6 In a changing world, worthy institutions can be conserved only by adjusting them to the changing time. —FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, speech, Syracuse, N.Y., Sept. 29, 1936

INSULTS

See also ELITE, THE (Adlai Stevenson and Spiro Agnew); FAULTS & FAILINGS; FOOLS & STUPIDITY; HARDING, WARREN G.

7 You and I were long friends: you are now my enemy, and I am
Yours,
B. Franklin
—BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, letter to William Strahan, of London, England, July 5, 1775

[Strahan was a fellow printer (of Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language,* among other works) as well as—the occasion for this letter—a Member of Parliament. Franklin was thinking of patriot blood shed at Lexington and Bunker Hill when he wrote this letter, but he did what wise people generally do with letters that are written in anger: he never mailed it. Thus, the old friends remained friends despite the war between their nations.]

KNOWLEDGE & INFORMATION

See also EDUCATION; FACTS

1 Forewarned, forearmed.

—BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, *Poor Richard's Almanack*, 1736

[Another proverb recycled by Franklin. Cervantes included it in *Don Quixote*, 1615.]

2 Knowledge . . . is the great sun in the firmament. Life and power are scattered with all its beams.

—DANIEL WEBSTER, speech at the laying of the cornerstone, Bunker Hill Monument, June 17, 1825

3 Knowledge is the knowing that we cannot know.

—RALPH WALDO EMERSON, *Representative Men*, 1850

4 It is better to know nothing than to know what ain't so.

—JOSH BILLINGS, *Josh Billings' Encyclopedia of Wit and Wisdom*, 1874

[This is essentially a proverb, used in various forms by Benjamin Franklin and others. Abroad, Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche wrote in *Thus Spake Zarathustra* (1883–91), "Better know nothing than half know many things." John Maynard Keynes opined, "It is better to be approximately right than precisely wrong." See also Thomas Jefferson at THE PRESS—the note after his comment on there being nothing in newspapers that can be believed.]

5 Many men are stored full of unused knowledge . . . they are stuffed with useless ammunition.

—HENRY WARD BEECHER, *Proverbs from Plymouth Pulpit*, 1887

6 Knowledge is the recognition of something absent; it is a salutation, not an embrace.

—GEORGE SANTAYANA, *The Life of Reason: Reason in Common Sense*, 1905–1906

7 Knowledge is always accompanied with accessories of emotion and purpose.

—ALFRED NORTH WHITEHEAD, *Adventures of Ideas*, 1933

8 Die knowing something. You are not here long.

—WALKER EVANS,
unpublished text for his subway photographs, c. 1940, quoted in Belinda Rathbone, *Walker Evans* [1995]

[The full passage runs: "Stare. It is the way to educate your eye, and more. Stare, pry, listen, eavesdrop. Die knowing something . . . (etc.)." Evans was one of America's great photographers, most remembered for his photos of Alabama tenant farmers in the Depression, published in *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*, 1938, with a text by James Agee.]

9 Everybody gets so much information all day long that they lose their common sense.

—GERTRUDE STEIN, untitled essay from 1946, in *Reflection on the Atomic Bomb* [1973]

10 To live effectively is to live with adequate information.

—NORBERT WIENER, *The Human Use of Human Beings*, 1954

11 So much has already been written about everything that you can't find out anything about it.

—JAMES THURBER, *The New Vocabularianism*, in *Lanterns and Lances*, 1961

No man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent. 1
—ABRAHAM LINCOLN, speech, Peoria, Ill., Oct. 16, 1854

Government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth. 2
—ABRAHAM LINCOLN, Gettysburg Address, Nov. 19, 1863

[More at GETTSYBURG ADDRESS.]

A public office is a public trust. 3
—ANONYMOUS, motto of Pres. Grover Cleveland's administrations

[The thought was phrased many ways over the years. Henry Clay, in a speech in Ashland, Kentucky, in 1829, said: "Government is a trust, and the officers of the government are trustees, and both the trust and the trustees are created for the benefit of the people." John C. Calhoun, speaking on February 13, 1835, said: "The very essence of a free government consists in considering offices as public trusts, bestowed for the good of the country, and not for the benefit of an individual or party." In 1872, Charles Sumner noted, "The phrase 'public office is a public trust' has of late become common property." Grover Cleveland, among many references to this concept, wrote in accepting the Democratic presidential nomination in 1892: "Public officers are the trustees of the people." See also Thomas Jefferson on assuming a public trust at POLITICS & POLITICIANS.]

Government is force. 4
—JOHN ADAMS INGALLS, article, New York *World*, 1890

[For more see under Ingalls at POLITICS & POLITICIANS.]

It is perfectly true that the government is best which governs least. It is equally true that the government is best which provides most. 5
—WALTER LIPPMANN, *A Preface to Politics*, 1913

[A response to John L. O'Sullivan; see above.]

Neither snow, nor rain, nor heat, nor gloom of night stays these couriers from the swift completion of their appointed rounds. 6
—GENERAL POST OFFICE, NEW YORK CITY, inscription, 1913

[Adapted from a passage in Herodotus, *The Histories*, 5th cent. B.C. More at NATURE: WEATHER.]

Our government is the potent, the omnipresent teacher. For good or ill, it teaches the whole people by its example. Crime is contagious. If the government becomes the lawbreaker, it breeds contempt for law, it invites every man to become a law unto himself, it invites anarchy. 7
—LOUIS BRANDEIS, *Olmstead v. U.S.*, dissenting opinion, 1928

I am against government by crony. 8
—HAROLD L. ICKES, resigning as Secretary of the Interior, Feb. 1946

No man should be in public office who can't make more money in private life. 9
—THOMAS E. DEWEY, maxim, cited in Richard Norton Smith, *Thomas E. Dewey* [1982]

The worst government is the most moral. One composed of cynics is often very tolerant and humane. But when fanatics are on top, there is no limit to oppression. 10
—H. L. MENCKEN, *Minority Report: H. L. Mencken's Notebooks* [1956]

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Common sense is the collection of prejudices acquired by age eighteen
Albert Einstein

Computer : a million morons working at the speed of light
David Ferrier

Computers aren't intelligent; they only think they are.
Anonymous

Confusion now hath made his masterpiece.
William Shakespeare (Macbeth)

Conscience is the inner voice that warns us that someone might be looking.
H. L. Mencken

Conservatives are not necessarily stupid, but most stupid people are conservative.
John Stuart Mill

Constant dripping hollows out a stone.
Lucretius

"Contrariwise", continued Tweedledee, "if it was so, it might be; and if it were so, it would be; but as it isn't, it ain't. That's logic."
Lewis Carroll

Conversation is the slowest form of human communication.
Anonymous

Computers are useless. They can only give you answers.
Pablo Picasso

Courtesy while you're thinking what to say. It saves time.
Lewis Carroll

Creativity often consists of merely turning up what's already there. Did you know that right and left shoes were thought up only a little more than a century ago?
Bernice Fitz-Gibbon

Crito, I owe a cock to Asclepius; will you remember to pay the debt?
Socrates

Cudgel thy brains no more about it.
William Shakespeare (Hamlet)

Curiosity has its own reason for existence.
Albert Einstein

Curiouser and curiouser.
Lewis Carroll

Of all debts, men are least willing to pay taxes. What a satire is this on government! —RALPH WALDO EMERSON, *Politics*, in *Essays: First Series*, 1844 1

The beggar is taxed for a corner to die in. —JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, *The Vision of Sir Launfal*, 1848 2

The thing generally raised on city land is taxes. —CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER, *My Summer in a Garden*, 1870 3

The tax-gatherer is viewed as a representative of oppression. —FREDERICK J. TURNER, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History*, 1893 4

[Life on the frontier promotes individualism, Turner wrote, adding: "The tendency is anti-social. It produces antipathy to control"—including imposition of taxes. See also Turner at AMERICA & AMERICANS.]

I am in favor of an income tax. When I find a man who is not willing to bear his share of the burdens of the government which protects him, I find a man who is unworthy to enjoy the blessings of a government like ours. —WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, speech, Democratic National Convention, July 8, 1896 5

What is the difference between a taxidermist and a tax collector? The taxidermist takes only your skin. —MARK TWAIN, notebook entry, Dec. 30, 1902, in Albert B. Paine, ed., *Mark Twain's Notebook* [1935] 6

Taxes are what we pay for civilized society. —OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, JR., *Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas v. Collector of Internal Revenue*, 1904 7

The income tax has made more liars out of the American people than golf has. —WILL ROGERS, *The Illiterate Digest*, 1924 8

[This first appeared as one of his weekly articles, April 8, 1923, entitled "Helping the Girls with their Income Taxes."]

The power to tax is not the power to destroy while this court sits. —OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, JR., *Panhandle Oil Co., v. Mississippi ex rel. Knox*, 1930 9

Taxes are paid in the sweat of every man who labors. —FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, speech, Pittsburgh, Oct. 19, 1932 10

Anyone may arrange his affairs so that his taxes may be as low as possible; he is not bound to choose the pattern which will best pay the Treasury; there is not even a patriotic duty to increase one's taxes. —LEARNED HAND, *Helvering v. Gregory*, 1934 11

[One keeps taxes low through the use of legal tax umbrellas. As explained in an anonymous verse, probably from this era, "The rain, it raineth all around, / Upon the just and unjust fellas, / But more upon the just because / The unjust have the just's umbrellas," *American Heritage*, Dec. 1973.]

Taxes, after all, are the dues that we pay for the privileges of membership in an organized society. —FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, campaign speech, Worcester, Mass., Oct. 21, 1936 12

The believing we do something when we do nothing is the first illusion of tobacco. 1
—RALPH WALDO EMERSON, *Journal*, 1859

Some things are better eschewed than chewed; tobacco is one of them. 2
—GEORGE DENNISON PRENTICE, *Prenticeana*, 1860

A man of no conversation should smoke. 3
—RALPH WALDO EMERSON, *Journal*, 1866

The roots of tobacco plants must go clear through to hell. 4
—THOMAS ALVA EDISON, diary, July 12, 1885
[Edison had a tobacco habit; he chewed tobacco, smoked heavy cigars and knew they were making him sick. Still, he lived to be eighty-four. This day's diary entry was cited in *American Heritage*, Dec. 1970.]

I have made it a rule never to smoke more than one cigar at a time. I have no other restrictions as regards smoking. 5
—MARK TWAIN, speech, on his seventieth birthday, Delmonico's, New York City, Dec. 5, 1905
[Twain confided that (like Edison) he didn't exercise either; see PHYSICAL FITNESS.]

Tobacco is as indispensable as the daily ration. We must have thousands of tons of it without delay. 6
—JOHN JOSEPH PERSHING, cable to Washington, 1917
[Gen. Pershing was commander in chief of the American Expeditionary Force in World War I.]

What this country needs is a really good five-cent cigar. 7
—THOMAS RILEY MARSHALL, remark in the U.S. Senate, reported in the *New York Tribune*, Jan. 4, 1920
[Vice President Marshall, a former governor of Indiana, reportedly made this remark to John Crockett, chief clerk of the Senate, during a tedious Senate debate on the needs of the nation. See under VICE PRESIDENCY for another astute Marshall observation.]

TOLERANCE

The highest result of education is tolerance. 8
—HELEN KELLER, *Optimism*, 1903

Shallow understanding from people of goodwill is more frustrating than absolute misunderstanding. Lukewarm acceptance is much more bewildering than outright rejection. 9
—MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., letter from Birmingham city jail, 1963

TRAVEL

[Traveling] makes men wiser but less happy. 10
—THOMAS JEFFERSON, letter to Peter Carr, August 10, 1787

No man should travel until he has learned the language of the country he visits. Otherwise he voluntarily makes himself a great baby—so helpless and so ridiculous. 11
—RALPH WALDO EMERSON, *Journal*, 1833

in his history, but his hero, a man of peace, was evidently modeled on the Ojibway leader of that name who founded the Iroquois Confederacy.

The poem has inspired a number of parodies, including *The Song of Milkanwatha* by George A. Strong, included in Franklin P. Adams, *Innocent Merriment*, 1942: "When he killed the Mudjokivis, / Of the skin he made him mittens, / Made them with the fur side inside, / Made them with the skin side outside; / He, to get the warm side inside, / Put the inside skin side outside; / He, to get the cold side outside, / Put the warm side fur side inside. / That's why he put the fur side inside, / Why he put the skin side outside, / Why he turned them inside outside."]

All I ask for the Negro is that if you do not like him, let him alone. If God gave him but little, that little let him enjoy. 1

—ABRAHAM LINCOLN, speech, July 17, 1858

The destiny of the colored American is the destiny of America. 2

—FREDERICK DOUGLASS, speech, Emancipation League, Boston, Mass., Feb. 12, 1862

The relation subsisting between the white and colored people of this country is the great, paramount, imperative and all-commanding question for this age and nation to solve. 3

—FREDERICK DOUGLASS, speech, Church of the Puritans, New York City, May 1863

[See also W. E. B. Du Bois, below.]

The earth is the mother of all people, and all people should have equal rights upon it. 4

—JOSEPH THE YOUNGER, *An Indian's View of Indian Affairs*, in *The North American Review*, no. 269, vol. 128, 1879

[More at EQUALITY and TALK.]

There are surely bad races and good races . . . and the Irish belong to the category of the impossible. 5

—HENRY JAMES, letter to Mrs. Henry James, Sr., Feb. 7, 1881

[More quotes on the Irish are at NATIONS.]

In all the relations of life and death, we are met by the color line. 6

—FREDERICK DOUGLASS, speech, Convention of Colored Men, Louisville, Ky., Sept. 24, 1883

The only good Indians I ever saw were dead. 7

—PHILIP H. SHERIDAN, remark to the Comanche chief Toch-a-way, Jan. 1869

[According to various accounts of the time, Gen. Sheridan uttered this retort to the chief at Fort Cobb in Indian Territory after Toch-a-way identified himself as a "good Indian." The remark was widely reported and popularly condensed to: "The only good Indian is a dead Indian." Sheridan denied that he had ever made the comment, and it is possible that the quote became attached to him because of his reputation as an Indian fighter. Or, some believe, the culprit may have been a subordinate, possibly Capt. Charles Nordstrum. Certainly, the sentiment was not original to Sheridan. Ralph Keyes reports in *Nice Guys Finish Seventh* that Rep. J. M. Cavanaugh of Montana told the House on May 28 of the previous year, "I have never in my life seen a good Indian (and I have seen thousands) except when I have seen a dead Indian."]

1 Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he then be trusted with the government of others?

—*Ibid.*

[Jefferson was optimistic. He answered the question affirmatively, characterizing the new American form of government as "the world's best hope." But at the same time, he accepted resistance to government as natural and sometimes desirable; see RESISTANCE and REVOLUTION.]

2 The care of human life and happiness, and not their destruction, is the first and only legitimate object of good government.

—THOMAS JEFFERSON, message to the citizens of Washington County, Maryland, March 31, 1809

[A few years later, Jefferson restated this view a little more broadly: "The only orthodox object of the institution of government is to secure the greatest degree of happiness possible to the general mass of those associated under it," letter to F. A. van der Kemp, March 22, 1812.]

3 The world is too much governed. —FRANCIS P. BLAIR, motto of the *Washington Globe*, Dec. 1830

[Blair, editor of the *Argus of Western America* in Kentucky, was summoned to Washington in 1830 to found a newspaper that would express the views of Pres. Andrew Jackson and his supporters. See also O'Sullivan below.]

4 It is, Sir, the people's Constitution, the people's government, made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people.

—DANIEL WEBSTER, speech, U.S. Senate, Jan. 26, 1830

[Webster was replying to Sen. Robert Y. Hayne of South Carolina, and indirectly to Vice President John C. Calhoun. They had proposed that states had the right within their boundaries to nullify any federal law. Webster countered that the Constitution belonged not to individual states but to the people. See GETTSYBURG ADDRESS and the note on Lincoln's reference to "government of the people, by the people, for the people."]

5 All government is evil. . . . The best government is that which governs least.

—JOHN L. O'SULLIVAN, *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, 1837

[This view was prevalent in the era—see Emerson below, for example—and prevalent especially among Democrats. See above for the motto Francis Blair chose for the *Washington Globe*. The motto of the *Democratic Review* was: "That government is best which governs least." Among Democrats, mistrust of central government was allied with support for states' rights, and this alliance with Southern views eventually cost the party dearly.

For a response to the least-is-best concept, see Walter Lippman below. For a modern Republican view, see Ronald Reagan under AMERICA & AMERICANS.]

6 The less government we have, the better.

—RALPH WALDO EMERSON, *Politics*, in *Essays: Second Series*, 1844

[In the same year, Thoreau, in the opening of his essay *Civil Disobedience*, used the quote, "That government is best which governs least"; see John L. O'Sullivan above.]

7 In every society some men are born to rule, and some to advise.

—RALPH WALDO EMERSON, *The Young American*, in *Addresses and Lectures*, 1849

GOODNESS *See* ETHICS & MORALITY; KINDNESS; VIRTUE

GOVERNMENT *See also* BUSINESS; CITIES (Pocatello; Washington, D.C.); CONGRESS; DEMOCRACY; ECONOMICS; INSTITUTIONS; MAJORITIES & MINORITIES; MANAGEMENT TECHNIQUES; POLITICS & POLITICIANS; PRESIDENCY, THE; SUPREME COURT

Society in every state is a blessing, but government, even in its best state, is but a necessary evil; in its worst state, an intolerable one. 1
—THOMAS PAINE, *Common Sense*, 1776

Government, like dress, is the badge of lost innocence; the palaces of kings are built upon the ruins of the bowers of paradise. 2
—*Ibid.*

The happiness of society is the end of government. 3
—JOHN ADAMS, *Thoughts on Government*, 1776

The legitimate powers of government extend to such acts only as are injurious to others. 4
—THOMAS JEFFERSON,
Note on the State of Virginia, 1784

[In coming years, Jefferson came to see a broader role for government; see below. See also Jefferson at THE PEOPLE.]

Why has government been instituted at all? Because the passions of men will not conform to the dictates of reason and justice, without constraint. 5
—ALEXANDER HAMILTON, *Federalist*, No. 15, 1787–88

What is government itself, but the greatest of all reflections on human nature? If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary. In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this; you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself. 6
—JAMES MADISON, *Federalist* No. 51, 1788

The natural progress of things is for liberty to yield and government to gain ground. 7
—THOMAS JEFFERSON,
letter to Col. Edward Carrington, 1788

[This may be the genesis of another quotation commonly but apparently incorrectly attributed to Jefferson: "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." See Wendell Phillips at FREEDOM.]

The whole art of government consists in being honest. 8
—THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Works*, VI

The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey established government. 9
—GEORGE WASHINGTON, Farewell Address, Sept. 17, 1796

What more is necessary to make us wise and happy people? Still one thing more, fellow citizens—a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, which shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government, and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities. 10
—THOMAS JEFFERSON, First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1801

1 You ain't heard nothin' yet, folks.

—AL JOLSON, *The Jazz Singer*, 1927

[This was the first talking motion picture. The line was ad-libbed.]

2 I'll think of it all tomorrow at Tara. . . . After all, tomorrow is another day.

—MARGARET MITCHELL, *Gone with the Wind*, 1936

3 In a foreseeable future we shall be smothered by our own numbers. . . . Preoccupation with survival has set the stage for extinction.

—JOHN STEINBECK, *Sweet Thursday*, 1954

4 Time and space—time to be alone, space to move about—these may well be the greatest scarcities of tomorrow.

—EDWIN WAY TEALE, *Autumn Across America*, 1956

5 The coming century is probably going to be one in which the amount of suffering reaches its maximum. —LINUS PAULING, quoted in *The New York Times*, obituary, August 21, 1994

[For a place striving to prevent the future, see VERMONT, the quote from Charles Kuralt.]

The frontier has gone, and with its going has closed the first period of American history. 1

—*Ibid.*

[Turner, a young scholar—just thirty-two years old—at the University of Wisconsin, recognized the significance of a little noticed passage in a bulletin from the Superintendent of Census for 1890: "Up to and including 1880, the country had a frontier of settlement, but at present the unsettled area has been so broken into by isolated bodies of settlement that there can hardly be said to be a frontier line. . . . It can not, therefore, any longer have a place in the census reports." But Turner foresaw that the expansionist spirit of Americans would continue: "He would be a rash prophet who should assert that the expansive character of American life has now entirely ceased. Movement has been its dominant fact, and, unless this training has no effect upon people, the American energy will continually demand a wider field for its exercise."]

If there was a road, I could not make it out in the faint starlight. There was nothing but land: not a country at all, but the material out of which countries are made. 2

—WILLA CATHER, *My Antonia*, 1918

[This is Nebraska—Black Hawk in the novel, Red Cloud in reality.]

We stand today at the edge of a new frontier. 3

—JOHN F. KENNEDY, presidential nomination acceptance speech, Democratic National Convention, Los Angeles, July 15, 1960

[More at POLITICAL SLOGANS.]

FUTURE, THE

See also ENVIRONMENT, THE

I know no way of judging the future but by the past. 4

—PATRICK HENRY, speech, Virginia Convention, March 23, 1775

I like the dreams of the future better than the history of the past. 5

—THOMAS JEFFERSON, letter to John Adams, August 1, 1816

We shall be obliged to gnaw the very crust of the earth for nutriment. 6

—HENRY DAVID THOREAU, *Travel in Concord*, in *Excursions*, 1863

[Thoreau was reacting to the wholesale cutting of timber and the view that this kind of timbering is a basic right, "as if individual speculators were to be allowed to export the clouds out of the sky, or the stars out of the firmament, one by one."]

The day will come when no badge or uniform or star will be worn. 7

—RALPH WALDO EMERSON, quoted in Lewis Mumford, *Have Courage!*, in *American Heritage* magazine, Feb. 1969

The future is no more uncertain than the present. 8

—WALT WHITMAN, *Song of the Broad-Axe*, 1856

I have seen the future and it works. 9

—LINCOLN STEFFENS, letter to Marie Howe, after visiting Russia, April 3, 1919

[In his *Autobiography*, published in 1931, Steffens states that he made almost the same remark to Bernard Baruch at about the same time: "I have been over into the future and it works." Steffens used the observation repeatedly.]

worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. The "Four Freedoms" speech is quoted on a plaque in the stairwell of the Statue of Liberty. In 1839, John L. O'Sullivan, who coined the phrase, "manifest destiny," also spoke of the American mission to spread four freedoms; his four were "freedom of conscience, freedom of person, freedom of trade and business pursuits, universality of freedom and equality."]

1 Freedom means the supremacy of human rights everywhere. —*Ibid.*

2 Liberty is so much latitude as the powerful choose to accord to the weak.
—LEARNED HAND, speech, University of Pennsylvania Law School, May 21, 1944

3 Caged birds accept each other but flight is what they long for.
—TENNESSEE WILLIAMS, *Camino Real*, 1953

4 Freedom is not a luxury that we can indulge in when at last we have security and prosperity and enlightenment; it is, rather an antecedent to all of these, for without it, we can have neither security nor prosperity nor enlightenment.
—HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, *Freedom, Loyalty, Dissent*, 1954

5 And this nation, for all its hopes and boasts, will not be fully free until all its citizens are free. —JOHN F. KENNEDY, civil rights speech to the nation, June 11, 1963

6 Freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. —MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., letter from Birmingham city jail, 1963

[See A. Philip Randolph, above.]

FREE SPEECH

See also CONSTITUTION, THE; CENSORSHIP; FREEDOM; PRESS, THE

7 The most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man in falsely shouting fire in a theater and causing a panic.
—Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., *Schenck v. U.S.*, 1919

[In the case at hand, the Supreme Court unanimously upheld the conviction of Charles T. Schenck, secretary of the Socialist party, for distributing a circular intended to encourage men to peacefully resist military recruitment. The decision set the precedent that the First Amendment freedoms of press and speech may be abridged when they constitute "a clear and present danger" to the community. Holmes emphasized the imperatives of war, but the doctrine was used in the 1930s and 1940s to sustain convictions of people considered to be politically subversive.]

8 When men have realized that time has upset many fighting faiths, they may come to believe . . . that the ultimate good desired is better reached by the free trade in ideas—that the best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market. . . . That at any rate is the theory of our Constitution.
—OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, JR., dissent, *Abrams v. U.S.*, 1919

[George F. Kennan, longtime U.S. ambassador to Russia, pointed out: "The truth is sometimes a poor competitor in the market place of ideas—complicated, unsatisfying, full of dilemmas, always vulnerable to misinterpretation and abuse," *American Diplomacy: 1900–1950* (1951). See also TRUTH.

Note that Justice Holmes's opinion is a dissent—one of many. He was dubbed "the Great Dissenter."]

Great nations like great men, should keep their word. 1
—HUGO BLACK, dissent, *Federal Power Commission and New York Power Authority v. Tuscarora Indian Nation*, 1960

[Justice Black sided with the Indians in their losing suit to prevent the Niagara Power Authority from taking part of their reservation. He continued most eloquently: "The record does not leave the impression that the lands of their reservation are the most fertile, the landscape the most beautiful or their homes the most splendid specimens of architecture. But this is their home—their ancestral home. There they, their children, and their forebears were born. They, too, have their memories and their loves. Some things are worth more than money and the costs of a new enterprise. I regret that this court is the government agency that breaks faith with this dependent people." Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justice William O. Douglas joined in this opinion.]

Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate. 2
—JOHN F. KENNEDY, Inaugural Address, Jan. 20, 1961

A policy that can be accurately, though perhaps not prudently, defined as one of "peaceful coexistence." 3
—JAMES W. FULBRIGHT, speech in the U.S. Senate, March 27, 1964

["Peaceful co-existence" gradually became the desired conclusion to the Cold War. According to political lexicographer William Safire, the phrase may be of Russian origin. It surfaced at the Ninth All-Russian Congress of the Soviets in the form "peaceful and friendly co-existence." An early U.S. citation comes from a press conference with Pres. Dwight D. Eisenhower on June 30, 1954; both a reporter and the president used the phrase. The phrase became front-page news when it was used by the Russian leader Nikita Khrushchev in a speech on January 6, 1961, just prior to the inauguration of John F. Kennedy.]

The struggle between right and wrong, good and evil. 4
—RONALD REAGAN, speech to the National Association of Evangelicals, March 9, 1983

[Pres. Reagan here was characterizing the conflict between the U.S. and Russia in the last years of the Cold War. In the same speech, he called Russia "an evil empire," borrowing the name of the galactic enemy in the 1977 film *Star Wars* by George W. Lucas, Jr. Naturally, two weeks later, when Reagan proposed constructing a space-based missile-defense system—the Strategic Defense Initiative—the system was immediately dubbed "star wars."]

FOREIGNERS

See also FOREIGN POLICY; NATIONS; RACES & PEOPLES; TRAVEL

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence . . . the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. 5
—GEORGE WASHINGTON, Farewell Address, Sept. 17, 1796

[Thomas Jefferson, too, held a baneful view of foreigners, at least those in cities; see under CITIES.]

They spell it Vinci and pronounce it Vinchy; foreigners always spell better than they pronounce. 6
—MARK TWAIN, *The Innocents Abroad*, 1869

Give me your tired, your poor, 7
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free.
—EMMA LAZARUS, *The New Colossus: Inscription for the Statue of Liberty*, 1883

[More at AMERICAN HISTORY: MEMORABLE MOMENTS.]

Jordan Tamagni
01/21/98 04:39:19 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Michael Waldman/WHO/EOP

cc:
Subject: Bible

Not much yet.

Genesis 12:2

"**I will make you into a great nation** and I will bless you; I will make your name great, and you will be a blessing.

Exodus 33:13

If you are pleased with me, teach me your ways so I may know you and continue to find favor with you. **Remember that this nation is your people.**"

Matthew 7:21-27

"Therefore everyone who hears these words of mine and puts them into practice is like a **wise man who built his house on the rock.**
25The rain came down, the streams rose, and the winds blew and beat against that house; yet it did not fall, because it had its foundation on the rock.
26But everyone who hears these words of mine and does not put them into practice is like a foolish man who built his house on sand.
27The rain came down, the streams rose, and the winds blew and beat against that house, and it fell with a great crash."

Genesis 35:11

And God said to him, "I am God Almighty [1]; be fruitful and increase in number. A nation and a community of nations will come from you, and kings will come from your body.

Deuteronomy 4:6

Observe them carefully, for this will show your wisdom and understanding to the nations, who will hear about all these decrees and say, "Surely this great nation is a wise and understanding people."

Hebrews 11:10

For he was looking forward to the city with foundations, whose architect and builder is God.

Peter 2:7

Now to you who believe, this stone is precious. But to those who do not believe, "The stone the builders rejected has become the capstone

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CHAPTER XVIII

Jackson and Liberty

PRIOR TO THE Jackson Administration Francis Scott Key looked upon politics as sordid and repulsive. But after Jackson entered the White House, a great political controversy arose which not only bound him with a strong bond of affection to the old warrior, but also captured his interest in politics. It was the famous upheaval over Nullification.

The tariff act of 1828 had been obnoxious to the South; and in 1830 Senator Robert Y. Hayne enunciated the doctrine of Nullification — that a State had the right to ignore any act of Congress which did not please the State. "The South," declared the Senator, "is acting on a principle she has always held sacred — resistance to unauthorized taxation."

Daniel Webster, in his immortal reply to the South Carolinian, presented the Constitutional view of the Nationalists — that the people had declared the Constitution to be the supreme law of the land; that the right to decide on the validity of acts of Congress rested in the Judiciary; and that the assumption by the several States of this authority would destroy the foundations of the Republic. Key, an ardent patriot and a Nationalist at heart, was delighted with Senator Webster's logic and majestic eloquence. The closing tribute to the Stars and Stripes — the flag which Webster called "the glori-

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ous ensign of the republic" — brought a particular thrill to the Poet of the Flag:

> When my eyes shall be turned to behold, for the last time, the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once-glorious Union; on States dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the glorious ensign of the republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original luster, not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured, bearing for its motto no such miserable interrogatory as "What is all this worth?" nor those other words of delusion and folly, "Liberty, first, and Union afterwards"; but everywhere, spread all over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every American heart — "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!"

Among the statesmen of the day there was a wide difference of opinion regarding the seriousness of the dangers that threatened the Republic. There were some men, like Senator Benton, who were unable to detect any sign of approaching calamity. These men hooted at the very idea that America was in peril. There were others like Justice Story, who were so greatly alarmed that they cried out that nothing but a miracle could save the Union from destruction. Francis Scott Key did not underestimate the seriousness of the situation. He admitted, as the troubled weeks passed, that he was worried by the prospect of fratricidal war. But in April, 1830 — a few months after Webster's reply to Hayne — an utterance

of President Jackson gave immeasurable encouragement to the soul of the poet lawyer. Up to this time the old patriot had not expressed himself publicly on the question of Nullification. Since he had come from the South, many of the Southern politicians thought that he would sympathize with the Nullifiers. But at the Jefferson Day banquet in Washington, when he was called upon for a toast, he stood up, like a Banquo looking at an ugly spectre; and hurled defiance at the Nullifiers with the thrilling toast: "Our Federal Union: It must be preserved!" It was a prophetic utterance: four bloody years of war — to be witnessed by Taney, but not by Jackson and Key — were necessary for its fulfillment.

President Jackson's defiance of the Nullifiers enraged the South — especially the hotheads in South Carolina — and the insistence of the Southern leaders in favor of Nullification grew each day fiercer and more determined. Key detested the theory of Nullification. Like Jackson and Taney, he saw the danger in the doctrine that a State could resist a law merely because the law was distasteful. But, relying on Providence in time of peril to give America men of patriotism and courage like General Washington and General Jackson, the pious lawyer felt confident that the Constitution would endure. Even though Civil War should come, he predicted that not a single star would ever be removed from the Star-Spangled Banner. Gazing into the future, he gave utterance to his prediction that while clashes would occur between the States, the storms would be calmed, and the Union would be preserved. "But," he asked, speaking of the troubles between the North

and the South, "do they portend a dissolution of our Union?" "No!" he replied. "The tree of Liberty may be shaken by these blasts, but its roots are in all our hearts, and it will stand."

This prophecy was contained in an oration which Key delivered in the rotunda of the Capitol on July 4, 1831. For weeks a committee of prominent men had been planning the Fourth of July celebration for Washington, including a patriotic ceremony at noon, at which the author of *The Star-Spangled Banner* was to be the speaker. This was to be followed by a banquet in the afternoon and fireworks at night.

Before noon of that day a large crowd had assembled at the Capitol. Atop the stately building the American flag floated in the breeze. The meridian salute gave notice for the opening of the exercises. The cylindrical walls of the rotunda beneath the great dome echoed the martial tones of the United States Marine Band.

Mayor John P. Van Ness of Washington, a former Congressman from New York, who was chairman of the committee of arrangements, called the meeting to order. He first called on Edward Van Ness to read the Declaration of Independence. He then introduced the lawyer from Georgetown as the orator of the day.

Francis Scott Key, slender of build, vibrant with energy, now approaching fifty-two, stepped forward like one half his years. It had been nearly seventeen years since he had written the National Anthem. With each passing year he had become more widely known not only as the author of a popular patriotic song but also as a man of dynamic personality.

In his opening remarks, Key said that the crowd before him had assembled for the purpose of discharging a holy duty. "We have opened the records of time," he declared, "and read that bright page that proclaimed to the world the solemn purpose of the Fathers of our Country, and the sacred pledge they gave for its fulfillment. The pledge has been redeemed — the purpose is accomplished — and we are here, in the rich possession of what valor has won, and wisdom has preserved for us."[1]

For some minutes the speaker described the scene in the Continental Congress in 1776, when the Declaration of Independence was unrolled and the members of the Congress pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor. This, he said, was a scene of grandeur, and the names of the Signers have gone forth to an admiring world and will be handed down to distant generations. "They sleep," he said, "in honored graves, a rescued land their monument, and their names engraven on the hearts of their countrymen." All of them had passed away except one — the venerable Charles Carroll of Carollton, now approaching ninety-four, whose days had been prolonged so "that he might see the rich fruits of a patriot's labors and that the world might see, in the grateful homage of a thankful people, the reward that awaits such labors."

The theme of Key's speech was "The Blessing of Liberty." He referred to the United States as a "broad and beautiful land" rich in the gifts of Heaven. He mentioned the in-

1.—*Oration Delivered by Francis S. Key, Esq., in the Rotunda of the Capitol, July 4, 1831.* Rare Book Room, Library of Congress. Subsequent references to Key's address are from the same source.

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heritance of this favored portion of the earth as one of the blessings of Providence. "But human happiness," he declared, "requires more than any land, however enriched by Nature and adorned by art, can give."

Another blessing which called for thanksgiving was the rescue of America from the grip of Great Britain. "But," Key declared, "had this been all, had nothing further been effected for the security and happiness of a delivered people, it might have proved a short-lived joy. Too often have such struggles terminated, even when successful, only in a change of masters. Too often some new misrule has started up in the weakness and disorder of a period of revolution, more intolerable than that which was overthrown."

No dictatorship had appeared in this country. At the outbreak of the Revolution, the patriot leaders looked ahead to the close of the war. At the very moment when they were planning resistance to the British Crown, they declared not only "what they meant to put down" but also "what they meant to set up." Consequently they succeeded. "Had their measures been dictated by less wisdom or courage, they would have made it a much less work, a far inferior project. They might have determined upon resistance, blindly leaving it to circumstances to guide them in its course and in its results." They might have given allegiance to some other Power, in consideration of protection. Or they might have established a new dynasty, calling the head of some favored family to the throne. For either of these schemes "very respectable authorities" could be found. But the Founding Fathers had been

raised up by God for the special purpose of establishing this Republic:

> That a people could govern themselves — a people neither born nor bred to such a business — would never have been the opinion of men who took their views from the learning of that day, which had been made the pensioned advocate of power. In those days, if a writer was inclined to defend popular governments, there were not many parts of the world where it could be done with safety; while the doctrines that denounced such governments had hosts of retainers, everywhere maintained and richly rewarded.... Under such circumstances, and in such times, no ordinary men could have put forth the Declaration of American Independence. And the men who made this fearless appeal to God and the world, in behalf of the long violated and almost forgotten rights of mankind, were no ordinary men. They were fitted by Providence to the exigency to which they were called. There were men of learning among them, but they were also men of wisdom. There were many others summoned from their farms and workshops, to whom politics was, in a great measure, a new study. But they brought to it strong minds and devoted hearts, and, bowing to no human authority, determined to work out its questions for themselves. They were not ignorant of man and the affairs of the world, and they knew perfectly the men they represented and the things around them. With such qualifications it is not wonderful that they mastered their subject, and became legislators and statesmen, such as the world has rarely witnessed. From such men, no evil of sophistry could hide the truth; and no fear of man could deter them from maintaining it. Hence we see in the declaration of their purpose that bold and eloquent avowal of the great principles of Truth and Freedom to which we have been listening. Hence they put at issue, in the holy strife upon which they were entering, the establish-

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ment of a government which should rest upon no other foundation than the will of the people.

The orator explained how the wisdom of the members of the Continental Congress was manifested in American victory. "It was the avowal of these principles and this purpose," he maintained, "that sanctified their Cause, justified their appeal to Heaven, and gave it its success." In the Common Cause the Nation was welded together. The people saw that "their dearest rights were to be sustained or lost forever." Thus did the Colonies become a Nation of Patriots. "The friends of Civil Liberty were awakened. They saw that upon our fields was to be decided the fate of Nations, the destiny of Man. The benevolent of every land gave us their sympathy and prayers, some gave us — a gift never to be forgotten — themselves." And so he agreed with the poet that such a Cause is seldom unsuccessful:

> Power usurp'd
> Is weakness when oppos'd: conscious of wrong,
> 'Tis pusillanimous and prone to flight.
> But men that once conceive the glowing thought
> Of Freedom, in that hope itself possess
> All that the contest calls for — spirit, strength,
> The scorn of danger and united hearts:
> The surest presage of the good they seek.

"It is, therefore," exclaimed Francis Scott Key, "that I invite you this day to remember not only the defeat of Usurpation but the establishment of Freedom — that we are not only relieved from a yoke of bondage, but exalted above kings — and that to the men whose deeds we this day commem-

orate, we are indebted for the wisdom which devised and secured to the land they had delivered the blessing of a free Constitution. This was the crown of their labours — this is the crown of our rejoicing."

At this point the orator allued to the difficulties that confronted the framers of the Constitution in 1787. "They were no common difficulties that presented themselves," he declared, "when the principles they had proclaimed were to be brought into a system, adapted to the situation and circumstances of the community for which it was intended." According to Francis Scott Key, these problems were happily solved. "The people," he explained, "were to form a General Government of limited and defined powers, intended to secure the common interest — the States to be independent republics, in all other respects having exclusive power in whatsoever concerned their separate interests." But, the orator continued, it was not to be expected that the boundaries of power could be defined with such a degree of exactness that all doubt and controversy would forever be prevented. "Human language," he asserted, "cannot make nice distinctions with perfect accuracy, and if we resort to the spirit of an instrument for its construction, we enter a still broader field of disputation."

Thereupon Key urged that the Federal Government be kept free from encroachments by the States, and that the States be protected from Federal usurpation:

> From the nature of institutions thus organized, it follows of necessity that they must in some measure be exposed to two opposite dangers. The one is, that

as the tendency of power is ever encroaching, the General Government may become a vast consolidated dominion, with immense resources and unlimited patronage, dangerous to the power of the States and the rights of the people. The other is, that the States will gradually weaken the powers of the General Government and dissolve the Union.

It is not easy to see how these dangers could have been removed, or more effectually guarded against. It must be left (as it is) to the good sense of the people to exercise their vigilance towards both. Experience will determine (if it has not already done so) which is the most to be apprehended and how the tendencies of each are to be checked. On whichever side encroachments may appear, let a double guard be set to arrest its progress, and let us patiently wait the correcting voice of the people, expressed as the Constitution prescribes. We must become a very different people from those who devised this Constitution, if, with the remedy in our hands and the dangers foreseen, they are permitted to come upon us.

The speaker now referred to the trials of the young Re public. Fifty-five years had passed since the Continental Congress proclaimed American independence. The Constitution had been found to be our bulwark of freedom, and nothing less than "degenerates" were those citizens who failed to uphold it:

May we not take hope and courage from the past? More than half a century has gone over us. Many trials have been endured. Times of peace, of war, of general and local excitements have passed away — and we are safe. Our scheme of Government was looked upon by the world as an experiment. The friends of Arbitrary Power predicted its failure, the friends of Freedom regarded it with apprehension. It has outlived these hopes and fears — and most unworthy of our inheritance, degenerate sons of our Fathers shall we be, if we suffer it to perish in our hands.

Here the lawyer from Georgetown extolled America as a prosperous country. With pride in his native land and his American citizenship, Key declared that the United States enjoyed the respect of every Nation in the world.

Is there anything in the aspect of the present to throw a gloom upon our joy? Are any of the blessings of Providence withheld from us? Any of the improvements of Art or Science denied to us? Is not the face of our country rich in the beauties of Nature, the labors of industry, the profusion of plenty? Where can the patriot look without saying with glistening eye and heart of rapture, "This is my own, my native land"? And are not the kingdoms of the earth looking to us with respect, as the Nation that will "neither do nor suffer wrong"? And are not the oppressed of the world thronging to our happy shores, to behold and partake our joy? Are not our people improving like their country? Growing not only in physical but intellectual strength? Where is benevolent enterprise more active and untiring? Where are the charities of life more cherished, and where does Religion, the great promoter of happiness, achieve more successfully her peaceful triumph?

Step by step the poet lawyer prepared his audience for eulogy of Andrew Jackson.

If thus improved and improving in other things, are we deteriorating in patriotism? Is our country less loved, as it becomes more worthy of our love? This is the preserving virtue of republics. This was most conspicuously the virtue of Americans: shining not

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only among the chiefs and leaders of the Nation, but pervading all classes of the people and animating the humblest follower in the ranks. Splendid instances of this in our history will recur to your memories. The men of those days were in nothing more remarkable than in their disinterested devotion to the public good. The workings of selfish ambition, so natural to the corrupt heart of man, were subdued to the all-absorbing love of country. Sacrifices of personal interests and feelings to the Common Cause seemed not only submitted to, but to be sought for; and the zeal and energy of those days were seen, not in seeking the honors and emoluments of office, but in the faithful discharge of its duties.

Key was now ready to compare Jackson with Georg Washington. "Are these virtues still extant?" he inquire "Is there no generous enthusiasm to follow these bright e amples? Can we point to no instance of high official statio seeking the man who would not seek it? Can we find no ma drawing the eyes of an admiring and grateful country upo him only by the splendor of his services?" He was read of course, to answer these questions. "Yes, my countrymen he exclaimed, "we have such a man. It may yet be said our land, as of Rome, 'she hath not lost the breed of nob men, and we have a people, wise and patriotic, who delig to honor him.'"

It was at this juncture that Key alluded to the clamo the South for Nullification. With President Jackson's oath allegiance to the Constitution — "Our Federal Union: It m be preserved!" — ringing in his ears, strengthening his fa in the solidarity of the Nation, Key exclaimed:

Are the dangers, to which I have alluded as threatening the perpetuity of our institutions, more formidable at present than in past periods of our history? There are (as there often have been) agitation and loud complaints of oppression in some of our States. But do they portend a dissolution of our Union? Is there any portion of our country that will not bear much wrong, and bear it long, before so desperate a remedy is resorted to? Let them appeal to the great body of their countrymen; and let them patiently abide the result of that appeal. To determine upon the justice of their complaints may require time.... But it can not be believed that the Nation, when it sees undoubted evidence of the unjust and unequal operation of a system, will desire or permit any portion of the country to bear burthens for another. Patriotism, like charity, (of which virtue it is a branch) will teach the complainers to "suffer long and be kind." And the same virtue will teach their opponents to bear with their complaints, examine them emphatically, and not "seek their own" (particularly through doubtful questions) to the injury of their brethren. This is the Constitutional remedy for wrongs. It is a safe one; and, sooner, or later, it is a sure one. The people... may occasionally err, but they always mean to do right, and give them time and information, and they will seldom do otherwise. These agitations will be thus calmed. The tree of Liberty may be shaken by these blasts; but its roots are in all our hearts, and it will stand.

So much for the danger of weakening the General Government. Now the opposite danger: that the General Government might become "a vast consolidated dominion, with immense resources and unlimited patronage, dangerous to the power of the States and the rights of the people." An illustration of this peril was to be seen in the demand for internal

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improvements. In 1830 Congress passed an act to build a highway in Kentucky. President Jackson vetoed it, thus challenging the principle of internal improvements advocated by John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun. The veto indicated to Mr. Calhoun that he was losing his influence in the Democratic party; and indeed the President, by his attitude on the Kentucky road, did rob Calhoun of his favorite policies and "weakened him so much that his enemies dared to proceed to destroy him utterly." Francis Scott Key commended the President for vetoing the Kentucky road bill. He saw the grave danger that lay in placing unlimited powers in the hands of the President. In praising General Jackson for curbing internal improvements at the expense of the Federal Government he declared:

> Let us remember that it has been said "The Union must be preserved"—and that he who said it hath already done much to maintain it.

Having paid a glowing tribute to the old warrior in the White House, Key now moved toward his conclusion. Urgently he appealed for patriotism:

> I have said that patriotism is the preserving virtue of republics. Let this virtue wither, and selfish ambition assume its place as the motive for action, and the Republic is lost. Here, my countrymen, is the sole ground of danger. We are in a state of unexampled national prosperity, and to nations as to individuals great are the hazards and responsibilities of such a state. Times of difficulty and danger give men their virtues, and prove and exalt them. We become listless and luxurious in times of ease and security. Men who inherit an estate generally prize it and enjoy it less than the ancestor who earned it; and we who inherit Freedom may learn to value it less than the men who won it. Let us not indulge the unworthy thought that to us is left the privilege of enjoyment, without the obligations of duty. We are responsible for the most sacred of trusts,—to our country,—to the world —to our God. Let us not imagine that nothing is left for us to do. This is never the condition of an individual or a nation. Patriotism may still find its appropriate labours among us. There are yet things to be done. . . . Abundant as are the blessings around us, there are evils to be seen—not to be hid in despair or mourned over in heartless despondency, but to be looked at, and met, and overcome, with the spirit of men who think nothing that concerns its honour and happiness above the power of such a country to accomplish. Many and great will be the toils and triumphs of patriotism before our whole land shall present to the eye of Heaven what Heaven has given us the means of making it—a picture of human happiness without a blot. The spirit of this virtue still abides among us. Let us exercise and cherish it. . . . The present time then is a time for joy; another year has passed over us and adds its proof to that of those before it of the stability of the blessings of Freedom.

The speaker now came to the climax of his oration. If Freedom flourishes in this country, will the rest of the world look on in apathy? His answer was an eloquent appeal to the American people to keep burning the fire that had been kindled by their Fathers in 1776:

> No, my countrymen, we hold a rich deposit in trust for ourselves and for all our brethren of mankind. It is the fire of Liberty. If it becomes extinguished, our darkened land will cast a mournful shadow over the

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> nations — if it lives, its blaze will enlighten and gladden the whole earth. Already hath its pure flame ascended, and kindled more than one noble strife. The kingdoms of the earth are moved. The friends of man are awakened, and the arm of the patriot is strong and his heart steadfast, as he thinks of our glory . . . . We hold too this deposit from God, who warmed the hearts of our Fathers with a sense of their rights and their duties, and heard their appeal — and we hold it for Him, to sustain it for His great purpose in bestowing it — the good of man.

And so, convinced that the world is growing better, Francis Scott Key had faith in the prophecy that men would beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks. He prophesied that the world would establish a "Holy family of Nations" — bound together by love; not by law or by armaments — to make Isaiah's dream come true:

> However darkly we may speculate upon the future destiny of nations, we have a light shining on distant days which cannot mislead us — the holy light of prophecy. This tells us of the coming of a brighter day than has ever shone upon a fallen world — a day when man will find no foe in man — when "nations will learn war no more" — but live together in love as members of one great family upon earth under the care of the common Father of us all. There are signs in the times in which we live, which indicate the dawning of that day of brightness.

In an eloquent conclusion Key pictured the glorious privilege that is his who engages in the cause of international peace:

> Is it not a glorious privilege to be permitted to labour in such a cause and for such a consummation? To see that in promoting the freedom and the happiness of the world, by sustaining our own, we work with the bounteous Giver of Good in effecting His purposes of love to man; and that we work for Him — for the glory of His name and the welfare of His creation. He it is who rules the nations and reigns in the hearts of men. May we look to Him that we may understand and feel and fulfill the high duties He has placed before us. And as the world advances to this sure period of its destined blessedness, and as people after people put forth their strength and join the Holy Family of Nations that love us as brethren and "learn war no more," shall not this, our land, and this, our day, be "freshly remembered"? And that which is now celebrated as the birthday of Freedom to a Nation be honoured as the birthday of Freedom to the World?

In the crowd that had gathered in the rotunda there were few, if any, of the followers of Henry Clay. Indeed, Mr. Clay's friends considered the Fourth of July celebration as a shrewd political trick — a scheme to promote the candidacy of President Jackson for reëlection. As a matter of fact, the National Republicans had arranged for a Fourth of July celebration of their own, entirely apart from that arranged by Mayor Van Ness and his committee. Duff Green, no longer a friend of Jackson, revealed that the Democrats had placed the arrangements for the Fourth of July celebration in the hands of a "Jackson committee"; that the ceremonies were partisan, not patriotic; and that the friends of Mr. Clay had "no option but to celebrate it by themselves." Accordingly, at the time Key was delivering his oration in the Capitol, Philip Richard

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Fendall, an enemy of President Jackson, was delivering an oration in the City Hall to the friends of Henry Clay.

In the late afternoon the Jacksonians held a dinner in Carusi's assembly hall. It was an elegant affair. Among those at the banquet table were members of the Cabinet, foreign diplomats, and others prominent in Washington society. The Marine Band added to the gaiety of the occasion.

The banquet was followed by a great array of toasts, each accompanied by a salute from the artillery. First came thirteen toasts specially arranged by the committee. A musical selection accompanied each toast. Key's anthem was the tenth on the list. The following were the toasts and songs that accompanied them: (1) The Day: the principles it has consecrated are extending throughout the world; *Hail Columbia;* (2) Our Country; *Yankee Doodle;* (3) the Union of the States and the preservation of our Liberties: they are inseparable; *The Meeting of the Waters;* (4) The President of the United States; *Jackson's March;* (5) The Memory of Washington and Jefferson; *Roslin Castle;* (6) Lafayette; *Marseillaise Hymn;* (7) Charles Carroll and our Revolutionary Fathers; *Auld Lang Syne;* (8) The People; *Jefferson's March;* (9) Our Foreign Relations; *Hail to the Chief;* (10) The Army and Navy; *The Star-Spangled Banner;* (11) A Free Press; *Franklin's March;* (12) General Information; *Washington's March;* (13) The Fair: Gallantry is born to defend them; *Come Haste to the Wedding.*

After the thirteen toasts had been drunk, Mayor Van Ness called on M. Serrurier, Minister from France. He responded

with a toast to "The Two Anniversaries of July: equally dear to the friends of self-government and of a strong and wise liberty in the United States and in France."

The Chargé d'Affaires of the Portuguese Embassy, when called upon by the Mayor, showed his familiarity with Key's anthem when he said in a toast to the President of the United States: "And may, as long as the world shall last, the Star-Spangled Banner continue to shine as the prosperous emblem of the happiest confederation!"

Then followed an array of toasts from the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, the Postmaster General, and the Acting Secretary of the Treasury; from Amos Kendall and W. B. Lewis, members of the Kitchen Cabinet; and from a score of others. A letter was read from Attorney General Taney, expressing his regret that he was prevented from attending the banquet by important engagements in Annapolis.

During the long program virtually all the officials in the administration were honored. To the poet lawyer a toast was offered by Dr. Robert Mayo: "To Francis S. Key, Orator of the Day, and Author of *The Star-Spangled Banner*: his eloquence and poetry alike inspired by the loftiest spirit of patriotism."

Two days later—July 6, 1831—the Jackson leaders of the District of Columbia who lived west of Rock Creek met in the Lancaster school house in Georgetown. Dr. Charles A. Waitty presided. Resolutions were presented by Francis Scott Key, praising Andrew Jackson's record as President and

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pledging hearty coöperation in the campaign for his reëlec
tion. Referring to Jackson's candidacy as "the great cause o
the people," Key recommended that a committee of fift
voters be appointed by Dr. Beatty to give support to the cam
paign. In addition to Key, Col. Thomas Corcoran, Jame
Dunlop and General John Mason spoke in support of th
resolutions. After the resolutions were adopted, Key wa
named on the committee of fifty. It was still ten months befor
the Democratic Convention. But the pious lawyer, who hereto
fore had cried out so frequently against party spirit, was no
one of the first politicians to take the stump for Gener
Jackson.

In the Spring of 1832 the President was nominated
Baltimore. Mr. Clay was chosen as the candidate of t
National Republicans. As the parties were launching th
campaigns, a tariff act was passed by Congress impos
additional duties on imported goods. Again the people
South Carolina were infuriated. The spectre of Secess
raised its head.

As the Fourth of July approached again, the poet law
was called upon to write a hymn to be sung by the childr
of the Sunday Schools of Georgetown on Independence D
In this hymn—a fine example of patriotic ardor and
spirit of thanksgiving—Key wrote that America was
enjoying "peace and rest," and implored the "God of
Sires" to continue to vouchsafe His never-failing aid to "
favor'd land." This is the hymn which was sung at the c
bration by the children of Georgetown:

Hymn for July 4, 1832

I

Before the Lord we bow,
The God who reigns above,
And rules the world below,
Boundless in pow'r and love.
Our thanks we bring,
In joy and praise
Our hearts we raise
To heav'n's high King.

II

The nation thou hast blest
May well thy love declare,
Enjoying peace and rest,
Protected by thy care.
For this fair land,
For this bright day,
Our thanks we pay,
Gifts of thine hand!

III

Our fathers sought thee, Lord!
And on thy help relied:
Thou heard'st and gav'st the word,
And all their need supplied.
Led by thy hand
To victory,
They hail'd a free
And rescued land.

IV

God of our Sires! that hand
Be now, as then, display'd
To give this favor'd land
Thy never-failing aid.

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Still may it be
Thy fix'd abode!
Be thou, our God!
Thy people, we!

V

May ev'ry mountain height,
Each vale and forest green,
Shine in thy word's pure light,
And it's rich fruits be seen!
May ev'ry tongue
Be tun'd to praise,
And joined to raise
A grateful song!

VI

Earth! hear thy Maker's voice,
The great Redeemer own!
Believe, obey, rejoice,
Bright is the promis'd crown.
Cast down thy pride,
Thy sin deplore,
And bow before
The Crucified.

VII

And when, in pow'r He comes,
O! may our native land,
From all it's rending tombs
Send forth a glorious band,
A countless throng
Ever to sign
To heav'n's high King,
Salvation's song!

The campaign between President Jackson and Mr. Cl
ended with an overwhelming victory for the old warrior i

the White House. Key was elated by the tremendous majorities. But in midst of the rejoicing there came distressing news from the South. On November 24, 1832, the South Carolina Convention, called to consider the Nullification Ordinance, declared that the tariff acts were "null, void, and no law, nor binding upon this State, its officers or citizens." The Ordinance not only directed the Legislature to take measures to prevent the enforcement of the tariff acts within the State, but set forth that, if the Federal Government attempted to enforce the law, the people of South Carolina would hold themselves "absolved from all further obligation to maintain or preserve their political connection with the people of the other States."

President Jackson, claiming that his reëlection expressed the people's approval of his attitude on Nullification, decided to issue a Proclamation setting forth his views on the subject. The Congress convened on December 3rd; but the President's Message made no allusion to the imminence of Civil War. Nevertheless, on the very day that his Message was read in Congress, the brave old patriot was preparing his appeal to the American people. It was almost midnight. Before his fireplace in the White House he sat puffing his pipe and meditating. The Message had been prepared by his Secretary of State: but he would add the final touches. "Going over to the table on which always stood the picture of his Rachel, and the Bible to which she had been devoted," says one of Jackson's biographers, "he wrote a conclusion to the Proclamation in the nature of a touching appeal to the patriotic memories of the South Carolinians." On December 10, 1832, the old war-

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rior issued the historic Proclamation in answer to the defian
of South Carolina. The President denied the right of a St
to nullify an act of Congress; announced his resolve to cru
Nullification as treason; and warned that the authority of t
National Government would be maintained at any cost. T
grim old patriot appealed to the American people to sustai
him, and his Proclamation thrilled the Nation like a bugl
call.

Francis Scott Key watched with increasing anxiety th
dramatic procession of events. He wanted to do his part t
uphold the Constitution. He was delighted with the Procla
mation. He pledged his support to the President in maintain
ing the Union. Even Daniel Webster and John Quincy Adam
modified their opinions about General Jackson, constrained
as they were to give their support to him in his crusade for th
preservation of the Republic.

There was no one more aware than Key that President
Jackson despised any man who gave the slightest comfort to
the Nullifiers. When, for instance, Thomas Charlton wrote to
Key from Savannah in November, 1832, to ask for help in
seeking an appointment from the President, the Georgetown
cousin replied: "It has occurred to me however that this is
a matter that will certainly be settled by your Representa-
tives in Congress. . . . I hope you are not a Nullifier. For if
you are, I think that will nullify all your hopes."

The people looked on with intense interest when Mr.
Calhoun took his seat in the Senate. The old warrior in the
White House was ready to seize him and imprison him for
treason. But the day of Secession had not yet arrived. The

pious lawyer at Georgetown, a zealous advocate of peace,
breathed a sigh of relief when he heard that Senator Clay
had proposed a compromise measure which won the support
of Senator Calhoun. Then, early in 1833, came the news
from Charleston that the Nullifiers had decided to suspend
the Ordinance of Nullification pending the discussions in Con-
gress. And eventually the tariff bill sponsored by Senator
Clay was passed by Congress and was signed by President
Jackson.

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