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OA/ID Number: 13743
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Underwood

Theodore Roosevelt

THEODORE ROOSEVELT CYCLOPEDIA

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ROOSEVELT HOUSE

NEW YORK CITY

baseness, awake to his own duties as well as to his rights, following the higher law with reverence, and in this world doing all that in him lies, so that when death comes he may feel that mankind is in some degree better because he has lived. (Before Young Men's Christian Association, New York City, December 30, 1900.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 535; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 499.

CHRISTIANITY. We must be doers—not hearers only. I am sure every one who tries to be a good Christian must feel a peculiar shame when he sees a hypocrite, or one who so conducts himself as to bring reproach upon Christianity. The man who observes all the ceremonials of the laws of the church but who does not carry them out in his daily life, is not a true Christian. To be doers of the Word it is necessary that we must be first hearers of the Word. Yet attendance at church is not enough. We must learn the lessons. We must study the Bible, but we must not let it end there. We must apply it in active life. The first duty of a man is to his own house. The necessity of heroic action on a great scale arises but seldom, but the humdrum of life is with us every day.

In business and in work, if you let Christianity stop as you go out of the church door, there is little righteousness in you. You must behave to your fellowmen as you would have them behave to you. You must have pride in your work if you would succeed. A man should get justice for himself, but he should also do justice to others. Help a man to help himself, but do not expend all your efforts in helping a man who will not help himself. (At Trinity Reformed Church, Chicago, early September 1901.) C. E. Banks and L. Armstrong, *Theodore Roosevelt, Twenty-Sixth President of the United States. A Typical American.* (Chicago, 1901), p. 163.

————. Civilization can only be permanent and continue a blessing to any people if, in addition to promoting their material well-being, it also stands for an orderly individual liberty, for the growth of intelligence, and for equal justice in the administration of law. Christianity alone meets these fundamental requirements. (At celebration of Methodist Episcopal Church, Washington, January 18, 1909.) *Mem. Ed.* XVIII, 352; *Nat. Ed.* XVI, 267.

————. In the wreck of the Old World, Christianity was all that the survivors had to cling to; and the Latin version of the Bible put it at their disposal. (At Pacific Theological Seminary, Spring 1911.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 606; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 642.

————. We need to have our Christianity made what it originally was, a religion primarily for the people as a whole; and, while it should meet the religious needs of every class, yet most of all should it keep in view the needs and hopes and desires and lives of those whom Abraham Lincoln called "the plain people." *Outlook,* January 27, 1912, p. 161.

CHRISTIANITY AS A GUIDE. Our success in striving to help our fellow-men, and therefore to help ourselves, depends largely upon our success as we strive, with whatever shortcomings, with whatever failures, to lead our lives in accordance with the great ethical principles laid down in the life of Christ, and in the New Testament writings which seek to expound and apply his teachings. *Outlook,* May 27, 1911, p. 224.

CHRISTIANITY. *See also* BIBLE; CHURCH; JESUITS; MISSIONARIES; PIONEER PREACHERS; RELIGION; RELIGIOUS TEACHERS.

CHRISTMAS — RECOLLECTIONS OF. Christmas was an occasion of literally delirious joy. In the evening we hung up our stockings—or rather the biggest stockings we could borrow from the grown-ups—and before dawn we trooped in to open them while sitting on father's and mother's bed; and the bigger presents were arranged, those for each child on its own table, in the drawing-room, the doors to which were thrown open after breakfast. I never knew any one else have what seemed to me such attractive Christmases, and in the next generation I tried to reproduce them exactly for my own children. (1913.) *Mem. Ed.* XXII, 10; *Nat. Ed.* XX, 9.

CHRISTMAS CELEBRATIONS. I wonder whether there ever can come in life a thrill of greater exaltation and rapture than that which comes to one between the ages of say six and fourteen, when the library door is thrown open and you walk in to see all the gifts, like a materialized fairyland, arrayed on your special table? (To Corinne Roosevelt Robinson, December 26, 1903.) *Mem. Ed.* XXI, 514; *Nat. Ed.* XIX, 456.

CHURCH—FUNCTION OF THE. A living church organization should, more than any other, be a potent force in social uplifting. Churches are needed for all sorts and conditions of men under every kind of circumstances; but surely the largest field of usefulness is open to that church in which the spirit of brotherhood is a living and vital force, and not a cold formula;

in which the rich and poor gather together to aid one another in work for a common end. Brother can best help brother, not by almsgiving, but by joining with him in an intelligent and resolute effort for the uplifting of all. (*McClure's,* March 1901.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 205; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 267.

————. The Church must be a living, breathing, vital force or it is no real Church. . . . Every serious student of our social and industrial conditions has learned to look with discomfort and alarm upon the diminishing part which churches play in the life of our great cities—for I need hardly say that no increase in the number of fashionable churches and of wealthy congregations in any shape or way atones for the diminution in the number of the churches in the very localities where there is most need for them. If ever the Christian Church ceases to be the Church of the plain people, it will cease to be the Christian Church. (Introduction dated April 7, 1906.) George Hodges and John Reichert, *The Administration of an Institutional Church.* (Harper & Bros., N. Y., 1906), p. ix.

————. The church must fit itself for the practical betterment of mankind if it is to attract and retain the fealty of the men best worth holding and using. (1917.) *Mem. Ed.* XXI, 136; *Nat. Ed.* XIX, 135.

CHURCH ACTIVITIES — PARTICIPATION IN. The church is, of all places, that in which men should meet on the basis of their common humanity under conditions of sympathy and mutual self-respect. All must work alike in the church in order to get the full benefit from it; but it is not the less true that we have a peculiar right to expect systematic effort from men and women of education and leisure. Such people should justify by their work the conditions of society which have rendered possible their leisure, their education, and their wealth. Money can never take the place of service, and though here and there it is absolutely necessary to have the paid worker, yet normally he is not an adequate substitute for the volunteer. (*McClure's,* March 1901.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 206-207; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 268.

CHURCH AND STATE. Washington and his associates believed that it was essential to the existence of this Republic that there should never be any union of Church and State; and such union is partially accomplished wherever a given creed is aided by the State or when any public servant is elected or defeated because of his creed. (Before Knights of Columbus, New York City, October 12, 1915.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 454; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 389.

CHURCH ATTENDANCE. In this actual world a churchless community, a community where men have abandoned and scoffed at or ignored their religious needs, is a community on the rapid down grade.

It is perfectly true that occasional individuals or families may have nothing to do with church or with religious practices and observances and yet maintain the highest standard of spirituality and of ethical obligation.

But this does not affect the case in the world as it now is, any more than that exceptional men and women under exceptional conditions have disregarded the marriage tie without moral harm to themselves interferes with the larger fact that such disregard if at all common means the complete moral disintegration of the body politic. . . .

On Sunday go to church. Yes—I know all the excuses. I know that one can worship the Creator and dedicate oneself to good living in a grove of trees, or by a running brook, or in one's own house, just as well as in church. But I also know that as a matter of cold fact the average man does not thus worship or thus dedicate himself. If he stays away from church he does not spend his time in good works or in lofty meditation. He looks over the colored supplement of the newspaper; he yawns; and he finally seeks relief from the mental vacuity of isolation by going where the combined mental vacuity of many partially relieves the mental vacuity of each particular individual. *Ladies' Home Journal,* October 1917, p. 12.

CHURCH IN A DEMOCRACY. Under the tense activity of modern social and industrial conditions the church, if it is to give real leadership, must grapple zealously, fearlessly and cool-headedly with these problems. Unless it is the poor man's church it is not a Christian church at all in any real sense. The rich man needs it, heaven knows, and is needed by it. But unless in the church he can work with all his toiling brothers for a common end, for their mutual benefit and for the benefit of those without its walls, the church has come short of its mission and its possibilities. Unless the church in a mining town or factory town or railway center is a leading force in the effort to secure cleaner and more wholesome surroundings, moral and physical, for the people, unless it concerns itself with the people's living and working conditions, with their workshops and houses and playgrounds, it has for-

waste of life that this would have entailed Governor Altgeld would have been primarily responsible. It was a most fortunate thing that the action at Washington was so quick and so emphatic. (*Forum,* February 1895.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 8-9; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 7-8.

ALTGELD, JOHN PETER. *See also* BRYAN, W. J.; ELECTION OF 1896.

AMBASSADORS AS PUBLIC SERVANTS. There are a large number of well-meaning ambassadors and ministers, and even consuls and secretaries, who belong to what I call the pink-tea type, who merely reside in the service instead of working in the service, and these I intend to change whenever the need arises. . . .

I shall not make a fetish of keeping a man in, but if a man is a *really* good man he will be kept in. A pink-tea man shall stay in or go out, just as I find convenient. Of course, most places at embassies and legations are pink-tea places. A few are not, and in these we need real men, and these real men shall be rewarded. (To Richard Harding Davis, January 3, 1905.) *Mem. Ed.* XXIII, 410; Bishop I, 356.

————. You come in the category of public servants who desire to do public work, as distinguished from those whose desire is merely to occupy public place—a class for whom I have no particular respect. . . . The trouble with our ambassadors in stations of real importance is that they totally fail to give us real help and real information, and seem to think that the life work of an ambassador is a kind of glorified pink tea party. (To George von L. Meyer, December 26, 1904.) *Mem. Ed.* XXIII, 409; Bishop I, 356.

AMBASSADORS. *See also* DIPLOMATIC SERVICE; HAY, JOHN.

AMERICAN, THE AVERAGE. I hold that the average American is a decent, self-respecting man, with large capacities for good service to himself, his country and the world if a right appeal can be made to him and the right response evoked. Therefore, I hold that it is not best that he and his kind should perish from the earth. The great problem of civilization is to secure a relative increase of the valuable as compared with the less valuable or noxious elements in the population. (*Metropolitan,* October 1917.) *Mem. Ed.* XXI, 163; *Nat. Ed.* XIX, 157.

AMERICAN, THE BEST. That man is the best American who has in him the American spirit, the American soul. Such a man fears not the strong and harms not the weak. He scorns what is base or cruel or dishonest. He looks beyond the accidents of occupation or social condition and hails each of his fellow citizens as his brother, asking nothing save that each shall treat the other on his worth as a man, and that they shall all join together to do what in them lies for the uplifting of this mighty and vigorous people. (Before Society of Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, New York City, March 17, 1905.) *Mem. Ed.* XVIII, 50; *Nat. Ed.* XVI, 44.

AMERICAN, THE BLATANT AND THE SERVILE. The raw conceit of the vulgar "spread-eagle" American, screaming foolish defiance at Europe, and boasting with vainglorious ignorance of everything, good and bad, in this country, is distasteful to others and harmful to himself and to those who believe him; but it is on the whole rather preferable to the attitude of self-depreciation and apologetic servility habitually adopted in relation to their own land by some of our people, who though they dwell here are in reality by education and instinct entirely un-American. (*Cosmopolitan,* December 1892.) *Mem. Ed.* XIV, 368; *Nat. Ed.* XII, 302.

————. The screaming vulgarity of the foolish spread-eagle orator who is continually yelling defiance at Europe, praising everything American, good and bad, and resenting the introduction of any reform because it has previously been tried successfully abroad, is offensive and contemptible to the last degree; but after all it is scarcely as harmful as the peevish, fretful, sneering, and continual fault-finding of the refined, well-educated man, who is always attacking good and bad alike, who genuinely distrusts America, and in the true spirit of servile colonialism considers us inferior to the people across the water. (Before the Liberal Club, Buffalo, N. Y., January 26, 1893.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 73; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 290.

AMERICAN HISTORY. *See* HISTORY.

AMERICAN LITERATURE. *See* LITERATURE.

AMERICAN PEOPLE. We Americans are the children of the crucible. The crucible does not do its work unless it turns out those cast into it in one national mould; and that must be the mould established by Washington and his fellows when they made us into a nation. We must be Americans; and nothing

else. Yet the events of the past three years bring us face to face with the question whether in the present century we are to continue as a separate nation at all or whether we are to become merely a huge polyglot boarding-house and counting-house, in which dollar-hunters of twenty different nationalities scramble for gain, while each really pays his soul-allegiance to some foreign power. (New York *Times,* September 10, 1917.) *Mem. Ed.* XXI, 35; *Nat. Ed.* XIX, 30.

————. We are a nation coming from many different race strains, a new nation growing up in this new continent; closer akin to some of the nations of the Old World than others, but somewhat different from each and all. The worst deed that any man can do here, so far as the national life is concerned, is to try to keep himself apart from his fellow Americans, and to perpetuate Old World differences, whether of race, of speech, of religion, or of religious hatred, or on the other hand to try to discriminate against his fellow Americans because they may come of a different race stock from his. (Address, October 11, 1897.) *Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Old Dutch Church of Sleepy Hollow,* (First Reformed Church, Tarrytown, N. Y., 1898), p. 104.

————. We are a new people; we differ from all other peoples; we are neither English nor Irish, neither German nor French; we are Americans, and only Americans. We are bound to treat all other nations on their conduct, and only on their conduct, in each crisis as it arises. (1918.) *Mem. Ed.* XXI, 342; *Nat. Ed.* XIX, 312.

————. Some latter-day writers deplore the enormous immigration to our shores as making us a heterogeneous instead of a homogeneous people; but as a matter of fact we are less heterogeneous at the present day than we were at the outbreak of the Revolution. Our blood was as much mixed a century ago as it is now. (1889.) *Mem. Ed.* X, 20; *Nat. Ed.* VIII, 17-18.

————. Recent English writers, and some of our own as well, have foretold woe to our nation, because the blood of the Cavalier and the Roundhead is being diluted with that of "German boors and Irish cotters." The alarm is needless. As a matter of fact the majority of the people of the middle colonies at the time of the Revolution were the descendants of Dutch and German boors and Scotch and Irish cotters; and in less degree the same was true of Georgia and the Carolinas. Even in New England, where the English stock was purest, there was plenty of other admixture, and two of her most distinguished Revolutionary families bore, one the Huguenot name of Bowdoin, and the other the Irish name of Sullivan. Indeed, from the very outset, from the days of Cromwell, there has been a large Irish admixture in New England. When our people began their existence as a nation, they already differed in blood from their ancestral relatives across the Atlantic much as the latter did from their forebears beyond the German Ocean; and on the whole, the immigration since has not materially changed the race strains in our nationality; a century back we were even less homogeneous than we are now. It is no doubt true that we are in the main an offshoot of the English stem; and cousins to our kinsfolk of Britain, we perhaps may be; but brothers we certainly are not. (1888.) *Mem. Ed.* VIII, 286-287; *Nat. Ed.* VII, 247.

————. Before the outbreak of the Revolution the American people, not only because of their surroundings, physical and spiritual, but because of the mixture of blood that had already begun to take place, represented a new and distinct ethnic type. This type has never been fixed in blood. All through the colonial days new waves of immigration from time to time swept hither across the ocean, now from one country, now from another. The same thing has gone on ever since our birth as a nation; and for the last sixty years the tide of immigration has been at the full. The newcomers are soon absorbed into our eager national life, and are radically and profoundly changed thereby, the rapidity of their assimilation being marvellous. But each group of newcomers, as it adds its blood to the life, also changes it somewhat, and this change and growth and development have gone on steadily, generation by generation, throughout three centuries. (At Jamestown Exposition, April 26, 1907.) *Mem. Ed.* XII, 587-588; *Nat. Ed.* XI, 307.

————. The American people are good-natured to the point of lax indifference; but once roused, they act with the most straightforward and practical resolution. (1891.) *Mem. Ed.* IX, 415; *Nat. Ed.* X, 530.

————. If any man is thrown into close contact with any large body of our fellow citizens it is apt to be the man's own fault if he does not grow to feel for them a very hearty regard and, moreover, grow to understand that,

on the great questions that lie at the root of human well-being, he and they feel alike. (At Labor Day Picnic, Chicago, September 3, 1900.) *Mem. Ed.* XVI, 512; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 483.

————. We Americans are a separate people. We are separated from, although akin to, many European peoples. The old Revolutionary stock was predominantly English, but by no means exclusively so; for many of the descendants of the Revolutionary New Yorkers, Pennsylvanians, and Georgians have, like myself, strains of Dutch, French, Scotch, Irish, Welsh, and German blood in their veins. During the century and a quarter that has elapsed since we became a nation, there has been far more immigration from Germany and Ireland and probably from Scandinavia than there has been from England. We have a right to ask all of these immigrants and the sons of these immigrants that they become Americans and nothing else; but we have no right to ask that they become transplanted or second-rate Englishmen. (*Metropolitan,* October 1915.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 328; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 282.

AMERICAN PEOPLE—ADVANCE OF THE. I am inclined to think that on the whole our people are, spiritually as well as materially, on the average better and not worse off than they were a hundred years ago. (To Sir George Otto Trevelyan, March 9, 1905.) *Mem. Ed.* XXIV, 172; Bishop II, 147.

AMERICAN PEOPLE—FAITH IN. I have immense faith ultimately in the sober judgment of the American people. I believe that they are a law-abiding and an upright people, and I know that Republican government is worth preserving only on the supposition that in the long run the mass of the voters will stand for honesty and decency. (Before Liberal Club of Buffalo, N. Y., September 10, 1895.) *Mem. Ed.* XVI, 287; *Nat. Ed.* XIV, 206.

AMERICAN PEOPLE—HERITAGE OF THE. To us as a people it has been granted to lay the foundations of our national life in a new continent. We are the heirs of the ages, and yet we have had to pay few of the penalties which in old countries are exacted by the dead hand of a bygone civilization. We have not been obliged to fight for our existence against any alien race; and yet our life has called for the vigor and effort without which the manlier and hardier virtues wither away. Under such conditions it would be our own fault if we failed; and the success which we have had in the past, the success which we confidently believe the future will bring, should cause in us no feeling of vainglory, but rather a deep and abiding realization of all which life has offered us; a full acknowledgment of the responsibility which is ours; and a fixed determination to show that under a free government a mighty people can thrive best, alike as regards the things of the body and the things of the soul. (Inaugural Address as President, Washington, March 4, 1905.) *Mem. Ed.* XVII, 311; *Nat. Ed.* XV, 267.

AMERICAN PEOPLE—OBLIGATION OF THE. We, here in America, hold in our hands the hope of the world, the fate of the coming years; and shame and disgrace will be ours if in our eyes the light of high resolve is dimmed, if we trail in the dust the golden hopes of men. If on this continent we merely build another country of great but unjustly divided material prosperity, we shall have done nothing; and we shall do as little if we merely set the greed of envy against the greed of arrogance, and thereby destroy the material well-being of all of us. . . . The worth of our great experiment depends upon its being in good faith an experiment—the first that has ever been tried—in true democracy on the scale of a continent, an a scale as vast as that of the mightiest empires of the Old World. Surely this is a noble ideal, an ideal for which it is worth while to strive, an ideal for which at need it is worth while to sacrifice much; for our ideal is the rule of all the people in a spirit of friendliest brotherhood toward each and every one of the people. (At Carnegie Hall, New York City, March 20, 1912.) *Mem. Ed.* XIX, 223; *Nat. Ed.* XVII, 170.

AMERICAN PEOPLE—QUALITIES OF THE. From the very beginning our people have markedly combined practical capacity for affairs with power of devotion to an ideal. The lack of either quality would have rendered the possession of the other of small value. Mere ability to achieve success in things concerning the body would not have atoned for the failure to live the life of high endeavor; and, on the other hand, without a foundation of those qualities which bring material prosperity there would be nothing on which the higher life could be built. (At Union League, Phila., November 22, 1902.) *Mem. Ed.* XVIII, 479; *Nat. Ed.* XVI, 356.

AMERICAN PEOPLE—UNITY OF THE. In this country we must all stand together absolutely without regard to our several lines

of descent, as Americans and nothing else; and, above all, we must do this as regards moral issues. The great issues with which we must now deal are moral even more than material; and on these issues every good American should be with us, without the slightest regard to the land from which his forefathers came. (1916.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 250; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 216.

————. We are all of us Americans, and nothing else; we all have equal rights and equal obligations; we form part of one people, in the face of all other nations, paying allegiance only to one flag; and a wrong to any one of us is a wrong to all the rest of us. (New York *Times,* September 10, 1917.) *Mem. Ed.* XXI, 43; *Nat. Ed.* XIX, 37.

AMERICAN POSSESSIONS. *See also* ALASKA; HAWAII, INSULAR POSSESSIONS; PHILIPPINES; PORTO RICO.

AMERICAN PROTECTIVE ASSOCIATION. *See* RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION.

AMERICAN SYSTEM. *See* DEMOCRACY.

AMERICANISM. There is no room in this country for fifty-fifty Americanism. (March 2, 1918.) *Roosevelt in the Kansas City Star,* 111.

————. I cannot be with you, and so all I can do is to wish you Godspeed. There must be no sagging back in the fight for Americanism merely because the war is over. There are plenty of persons who have already made the assertion that they believe the American people have a short memory and that they intend to revive all the foreign associations which most directly interfere with the complete Americanization of our people. . . .

Any man who says he is an American, but something else also, isn't an American at all. We have room for but one flag, the American flag, and this excludes the red flag, which symbolizes all wars against liberty and civilization just as much as it excludes any foreign flag of a nation to which we are hostile. (To President of the American Defense Society, January 3, 1919; last message, read at meeting in New York, January 5, 1919.) *Mem. Ed.* XXIV, 554-555; Bishop II, 474.

————. Americanism is a question of principle, of purpose, of idealism, of character; . . . not a matter of birthplace, or creed, or line of descent. (At unveiling of monument to Gen. Phil Sheridan, Washington, November 25, 1908.) *Mem. Ed.* XII, 478; *Nat. Ed.* XI, 222.

————. There is one point upon which I wish to lay especial stress; that is, the necessity for a feeling of broad, radical, and intense Americanism, if good work is to be done in any direction. Above all, the one essential for success in every political movement which is to do lasting good, is that our citizens should act as Americans. . . . It is an outrage for a man to drag foreign politics into our contests, and vote as an Irishman or German or other foreigner, as the case may be. . . . But it is no less an outrage to discriminate against one who has become an American in good faith, merely because of his creed or birthplace. Every man who has gone into practical politics knows well enough that if he joins good men and fights those who are evil, he can pay no heed to lines of division drawn according to race and religion. (1890.) *Mem. Ed.* IX, 217; *Nat. Ed.* X, 360.

————. Americanism means many things. It means equality of rights and, therefore, equality of duty and of obligation. It means service to our common country. It means loyalty to one flag, to our flag, the flag of all of us. It means on the part of each of us respect for the rights of the rest of us. It means that all of us guarantee the rights of each of us. It means free education, genuinely representative government, freedom of speech and thought, equality before the law for all men, genuine political and religious freedom and the democratizing of industry so as to give at least a measurable equality of opportunity for all, and so as to place before us as our ideal in all industries where this ideal is possible of attainment, the system of co-operative ownership and management, in order that the tool users may, so far as possible, become the tool owners. Everything is un-American that tends either to government by a plutocracy or government by a mob. To divide along the lines of section or caste or creed is un-American. All privileges based on wealth, and all enmity to honest men merely because they are wealthy, are un-American —both of them equally so. Americanism means the virtues of courage, honor, justice, truth, sincerity, and hardihood—the virtues that made America. The things that will destroy America are prosperity-at-any-price, peace-at-any-price, safety-first instead of duty-first, the love of soft living and the get-rich-quick theory of life. (To S. S. Menken, January 10, 1917; read before National Security League, Washington, January 26, 1917.) *Proceedings of the Congress of Constructive Patriotism.* (New York, 1917), p. 172.

AMERICANISM AND INTERNATIONALISM. I believe in nationalism as the absolute prerequisite to internationalism. I believe in patriotism as the absolute prerequisite to the larger Americanism. I believe in Americanism because unless our people are good Americans first, America can accomplish little or nothing worth accomplishing for the good of the world as a whole. (1916.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 529; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 454.

AMERICANISM AND PEACE. Let ours be true Americanism, the greater Americanism, and let us tolerate no other. Let us prepare ourselves for justice and efficiency within our own border during peace, for justice in international relations, and for efficiency in war. Only thus shall we have the peace worth having. (1916.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 260; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 224.

AMERICANISM AS A CLOAK. There are plenty of scoundrels always ready to try to belittle reform movements or to bolster up existing iniquities in the name of Americanism; but this does not alter the fact that the man who can do most in this country is and must be the man whose Americanism is most sincere and intense. Outrageous though it is to use a noble idea as the cloak for evil, it is still worse to assail the noble idea itself because it can thus be used. The men who do iniquity in the name of patriotism, of reform, of Americanism, are merely one small division of the class that has always existed and will always exist—the class of hypocrites and demagogues, the class that is always prompt to steal the watchwords of righteousness and use them in the interests of evildoing. (*Forum,* April 1894.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 15; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 13.

AMERICANISM VERSUS COSMOPOLITANISM. Whatever may be the case in an infinitely remote future, at present no people can render any service to humanity unless as a people they feel an intense sense of national cohesion and solidarity. . . . The United States can accomplish little for mankind, save in so far as within its borders it develops an intense spirit of Americanism. A flabby cosmopolitanism, especially if it expresses itself through a flabby pacifism, is not only silly, but degrading. It represents national emasculation. (1916.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 233; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 201.

AMERICANISM VERSUS SECTIONALISM. The great lesson that all of us need to learn and to keep is the lesson that it is unimportant whether a man lives North or South, East or West, provided that he is genuinely and in good faith an American; that he feels every part of the United States as his own, and that he is honestly desirous to uphold the interests of all other Americans in whatever sections of the country they may dwell. (*Outlook,* September 10, 1910.) *Mem. Ed.* XVIII, 28; *Nat. Ed.* XVI, 25.

AMERICANISM. *See also* ALLEGIANCE; FLAG; FOURTH OF JULY; KNOW NOTHING MOVEMENT; LOYALTY; NATIONALISM; PATRIOTISM.

AMERICANIZATION. The process of assimilating, or as we should now say, of Americanizing, all foreign and non-English elements was going on almost as rapidly a hundred years ago as it is at present. A young Dutchman or Huguenot felt it necessary, then, to learn English, precisely as a young Scandinavian or German does now; and the churches of the former at the end of the last century were obliged to adopt English as the language for their ritual exactly as the churches of the latter do at the end of this. The most stirring, energetic, and progressive life of the colony was English; and all the young fellows of push and ambition gradually adopted this as their native language, and then refused to belong to congregations where the service was carried on in a less familiar speech. (1888.) *Mem. Ed.* VIII, 287; *Nat. Ed.* VII, 248.

————. The one overshadowing fact in this process of complete Americanization, the one side of the question that should be always borne in mind, is the enormous benefit it confers upon the person who is Americanized. The gain to the country is real, but the gain to the individual himself is everything. Immigrants who remain aliens, whether in language or in political thought, are of comparatively little benefit to the country; but they themselves are the individuals most damaged. The man who becomes completely Americanized—who celebrates our Constitutional Centennial instead of the Queen's Jubilee, or the Fourth of July rather than Saint Patrick's Day, and who "talks United States" instead of the dialect of the country which he has of his own free will abandoned—is not only doing his plain duty by his adopted land, but is also rendering to himself a service of immeasurable value.

This last point is one that cannot be too often insisted on. The chief interest served by Americanization is that of the individual himself. A man who speaks only German or Swedish may nevertheless be a most useful American citizen; but it is impossible for him to derive the full

benefit he should from American citizenship. And, on the other hand, it is impossible for him, under any circumstances, to retain the benefits incident to being a member of the nation of which he has left. It would be hard to imagine another alternative where the advantage was so wholly on one side. The case stands thus: by becoming completely Americanized the immigrant gains every right conferred upon citizenship in the country to which he has come; but, if he fails to become Americanized, he nevertheless loses all share and part in the nation which he has left, and gains nothing in return. He cannot possibly remain an Englishman, a German, or a Scandinavian; all he can do is to refuse to become an American, and thereby make himself a kind of mongrel waif, of no importance anywhere. *America,* April 14, 1888, p. 2.

————. It is our duty from the standpoint of self-defense to secure the complete Americanization of our people; to make of the many peoples of this country a united nation, one in speech and feeling, and all, so far as possible, sharers in the best that each has brought to our shores.

The foreign-born population of this country must be an Americanized population. . . . It must possess American citizenship and American ideals—and therefore we native-born citizens must ourselves practise a high and fine idealism, and shun as we would the plague the sordid materialism which treats pecuniary profit and gross bodily comfort as the only evidences of success. (Before Knights of Columbus, New York City, October 12, 1915.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 468; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 401.

————. What we should have done, what we must do, is see to it that the immigrant is taken in hand and given a square deal. We must see to it that a real effort is made to Americanize him—he should have the opportunity to become Americanized. He should be given an opportunity, should be compelled to learn the English language, and if at the end of a stated period he has failed to do so, he should be sent back to the place from which he came. He must not be left to the agitator and the demagogue to exploit.

It is foolish to imagine that the immigrant will automatically and of his own will be converted into an American by his mere presence among us, so long as he comes here in masses, and settles down among his own kind, as ignorant of our ways, our customs, and our institutions as he is. (Fall 1917; reported by Leary.) *Talk with T. R. From the diaries of John J. Leary, Jr.* (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1920), p. 148.

AMERICANIZATION — ESSENTIAL FOR. I ask you to make a special effort to de with Americanization, the fusing into o nation, a nation necessarily different from a other nations, of all who come to our shore Pay heed to the three principal essentials: (1 The need of a common language, English, wi a minimum amount of illiteracy; (2) the ne of a common civil standard, similar ideal beliefs, and customs symbolized by the oath allegiance to America; and (3) the need of high standard of living, of reasonable equali of opportunity, and of social and industri justice. (Before Knights of Columbus, Ne York City, October 12, 1915.) *Mem. Ed.* X 470; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 403.

AMERICANIZATION AND LANGUAG America is a Nation and not a mosaic of natio alities. The various nationalities that come he are not to remain separate, but to blend in the one American nationality—the nationali of Washington and Lincoln, of Muhlenbe and Sheridan. Therefore, we must have but o language, the English language. Every imm grant who comes here should be required with five years to learn English or to leave the cou try, for hereafter every immigrant should treated as a future fellow citizen and n merely as a labor unit. English should be t only language taught or used in the prima schools. We should provide by law so that aft a reasonable interval every newspaper in th country should be published in English. (Ap 27, 1918.) *Roosevelt in the Kansas City Sta* 143.

AMERICANIZATION. *See also* IMM GRANTS; LANGUAGE; PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

AMERICANS, HYPHENATED. We we come the German or the Irishman who becom an American. We have no use for the Germa or Irishman who remains such. We do not wis German-Americans and Irish-Americans wh figure as such in our social and political life we want only Americans, and, provided th are such, we do not care whether they are native or of Irish or of German ancestry. W have no room in any healthy American com munity for a German-American vote or a Irish-American vote, and it is contemptib demagogy to put planks into any party pla form with the purpose of catching such a vot We have no room for any people who do n act and vote simply as Americans and nothin

AMERICANS

else. (*Forum*, April 1894.) *Mem. Ed.* XV. 24; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 21.

————————. The one being abhorrent to the powers above the earth and under them is the hyphenated American—the "German-American," the "Irish-American," or the "native-American." Be Americans, pure and simple! If you don't act on the theory that every man who in good faith assumes the duties and responsibilities of an American citizen in a spirit of true Americanism is an American, and is to be treated as such, . . . you are yourselves unfit to take part in managing our government and you are bound to make a failure if you try to better the condition of our cities. (Before Liberal Club, Buffalo, N. Y., September 10, 1895.) *Mem. Ed.* XVI, 276; *Nat. Ed.* XIV, 196.

————————. I am among those Americans whose ancestors include men and women from many different European countries. The proportion of Americans of this type will steadily increase. I do not believe in hyphenated Americans. I do not believe in German-Americans or Irish-Americans; and I believe just as little in English-Americans. I do not approve of American citizens of German descent forming organizations to force the United States into practical alliance with Germany because their ancestors came from Germany. Just as little do I believe in American citizens of English descent forming leagues to force the United States into an alliance with England because their ancestors came from England. (*Metropolitan*, October 1915.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 328; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 281.

————————. There is no room in this country for hyphenated Americanism. When I refer to hyphenated Americans, I do not refer to naturalized Americans. Some of the very best Americans I have ever known were naturalized Americans, Americans born abroad. But a hyphenated American is not an American at all. This is just as true of the man who puts "native" before the hyphen as of the man who puts German or Irish or English or French before the hyphen. Americanism is a matter of the spirit and of the soul. Our allegiance must be purely to the United States. We must unsparingly condemn any man who holds any other allegiance. But if he is heartily and singly loyal to this Republic, then no matter where he was born, he is just as good an American as any one else.

The one absolutely certain way of bringing this nation to ruin, of preventing all possibility of its continuing to be a nation at all, would be to permit it to become a tangle of squabbling nationalities, an intricate knot of German-Americans, Irish-Americans, English-Americans, French-Americans, Scandinavian-Americans, or Italian-Americans, each preserving its separate nationality, each at heart feeling more sympathy with Europeans of that nationality than with the other citizens of the American Republic. The men who do not become Americans and nothing else are hyphenated Americans; and there ought to be no room for them in this country. The man who calls himself an American citizen and who yet shows by his actions that he is primarily the citizen of a foreign land, plays a thoroughly mischievous part in the life of our body politic. He has no place here; and the sooner he returns to the land to which he feels his real heart-allegiance, the better it will be for every good American. (Before Knights of Columbus, New York City, October 12, 1915.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 456; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 392.

————————. Among the very many lessons taught by the last year has been the lesson that the effort to combine fealty to the flag of an immigrant's natal land with fealty to the flag of his adopted land, in practice means not merely disregard of, but hostility to, the flag of the United States. When two flags are hoisted on the same pole, one is always hoisted undermost. The hyphenated American always hoists the American flag undermost. (*Metropolitan*, October 1915.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 324; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 278.

AMERICANS, HYPHENATED. *See also* ALLEGIANCE; GERMAN-AMERICANS; IRISH-AMERICANS; LOYALTY; NATIONALISM; PATRIOTISM.

AMERICANS IN POLITICS. We have a right to demand that every man, native born or foreign born, shall in American public life act merely as an American. (Speech at Boston, November 1893.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 34; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 275.

————————. It is exceedingly unlikely that I shall ever again be a candidate for office, but, if I am, no man will be wise who votes for me under the idea that I am anything but a straight-cut American. I care nothing for a man's creed, or his birthplace, or descent! but I regard him as an unworthy citizen unless he is an American and nothing else. (To Rev. Gustavus E. Hiller, February 4, 1916.) *Mem. Ed.* XXIV, 472; Bishop II, 401.

————————. Americans should organize politically as Americans and not as bankers, or lawyers, or farmers, or wage-workers. (September 12, 1918.) *Roosevelt in the Kansas City Star*, 215.

AMERICANS IN POLITICS. *See also* POLITICAL ASSOCIATES.

AMUSEMENTS. The average individual will not spend the hours in which he is not working in doing something that is unpleasant, and absolutely the only way permanently to draw average men or women from occupations and amusements that are unhealthy for soul or body is to furnish an alternative which they will accept. To forbid all amusements, or to treat innocent and vicious amusements as on the same plane, simply insures recruits for the vicious amusements. (*Century*, October 1900.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 428; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 375.

AMUSEMENTS. *See also* LEISURE; SPORTS.

ANARCHISTS. The anarchist, and especially the anarchist in the United States, is merely one type of criminal, more dangerous than any other because he represents the same depravity in a greater degree. The man who advocates anarchy directly or indirectly, in any shape or fashion, or the man who apologizes for anarchists and their deeds, makes himself morally accessory to murder before the fact. The anarchist is a criminal whose perverted instincts lead him to prefer confusion and chaos to the most beneficent form of social order. His protest of concern for working men is outrageous in its impudent falsity; for if the political institutions of this country do not afford opportunity to every honest and intelligent son of toil, then the door of hope is forever closed against him. The anarchist is everywhere not merely the enemy of system and of progress, but the deadly foe of liberty. If ever anarchy is triumphant, its triumph will last for but one red moment, to be succeeded for ages by the gloomy night of despotism. (First Annual Message, Washington, December 3, 1901.) *Mem. Ed.* XVII, 97; *Nat. Ed.* XV, 84-85.

ANARCHISTS — TREATMENT OF. I treated anarchists and the bomb-throwing and dynamiting gentry precisely as I treated other criminals. Murder is murder. It is not rendered one whit better by the allegation that it is committed on behalf of "a cause." It is true that law and order are not all-sufficient; but they are essential; lawlessness and murderous violence must be quelled before any permanence of reform can be obtained. (1913.) *Mem. Ed.* XXII, 561; *Nat. Ed.* XX, 482.

ANARCHISTS. *See also* BOLSHEVISM; IMMIGRATION; INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

ANARCHY. Anarchy is always and everywhere the handmaiden of Tyranny and Liberty's deadliest foe. No people can permanently remain free unless it possesses the stern self-control and resolution necessary to put down anarchy. Order without liberty and liberty without order are equally destructive. (1918.) *Mem. Ed.* XXI, 377; *Nat. Ed.* XIX, 342.

ANARCHY. *See also* LIBERTY; ORDER; REVOLUTION; VIOLENCE.

ANDRE, JOHN, AND NATHAN HALE. Poor André! His tragedy was like that of Nathan Hale; and the tragedy was the same in the case of the brilliant young patrician, brilliant, fearless, devoted, and the plain, straightforward yeoman who just as bravely gave up his life in performing the same kind of duty. It was not a pleasant kind of duty; and the penalty was rightly the same in each case; and the countrymen of each man are also right to hold him in honor and to commemorate his memory by a monument. (To Sir George Otto Trevelyan, January 1, 1908.) *Mem. Ed.* XXIV, 198; Bishop II, 169.

ANDREWS, AVERY D. *See* POLICE COMMISSIONER.

ANGLO-SAXONS. *See* AMERICAN PEOPLE.

ANGLOMANIA AND ANGLOPHOBIA. I am sure you will agree with me that in our political life, very unlike what is the case in our social life, the temptation is toward Anglophobia, not toward Anglomania. . . . If an Anglomaniac in social life goes into political life he usually becomes politically an Anglophobiac, and the occasional political Anglophobiac whose curious ambition it is to associate socially with 'vacuity trimmed with lace' is equally sure to become an Anglomaniac in his new surroundings. (To Finley Peter Dunne, November 1904.) *Mem. Ed.* XXIII, 400; Bishop I, 348.

ANIMALS—ADAPTATION OF. With all wild animals it is a noticable fact that a course of contact with man continuing over many generations of animal life causes a species so to

of the most high-minded and upright public servants it has ever been my good fortune to meet. (To Secretary Long, May 6, 1898.) *Papers of John Davis Long.* (Mass. Hist. Soc., 1939), p. 115.

LOUISIANA PURCHASE. This immense region was admittedly the territory of a foreign power, of a European kingdom. None of our people had ever laid claim to a foot of it. Its acquisition could in no sense be treated as rounding out any existing claims. When we acquired it we made evident once for all that consciously and of set purpose we had embarked on a career of expansion, that we had taken our place among those daring and hardy nations who risk much with the hope and desire of winning high position among the great powers of the earth. As is so often the case in nature, the law of development of a living organism showed itself in its actual workings to be wiser than the wisdom of the wisest. (At Louisiana Purchase Exposition, St. Louis, April 30, 1903.) *Mem. Ed.* XII, 598-599; *Nat. Ed.* XI, 316.

LOVE. There is no other such happiness on earth as there is for a true lover, and a sweet, fair girl beloved. (To H. C. Lodge, October 10, 1891.) Lodge *Letters* I, 117.

————. I think that the love of the really happy husband and wife—*not* purged of passion, but with passion heatened to a white heat of intensity and purity and tenderness and consideration, and with many another feeling added thereto—is the loftiest and most ennobling influence that comes into the life of any man or woman, even loftier and more ennobling than wise and tender love for children. The cheapest, most degrading, and most repulsive cynicism is that which laughs at, or describes as degraded, this relation. (To L. F. Abbott, October 21, 1909.) Lawrence F. Abbott, *Impressions of Theodore Roosevelt.* (Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City, N. Y., 1919), p. 189.

LOVE OF COUNTRY. The man shows little wisdom and a low sense of duty who fails to see that love of country is one of the elemental virtues, even though scoundrels play upon it for their own selfish ends. (*Forum,* April 1894.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 15; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 13.

————. Love of country is an elemental virtue, like love of home, or like honesty or courage. No country will accomplish very much for the world at large unless it elevates

itself. The useful member of a community is the man who first and foremost attends to his own rights and his own duties, and who therefore becomes better fitted to do his share in the common duties of all. The useful member of the brotherhood of nations is that nation which is most thoroughly saturated with the national idea, and which realizes most fully its rights as a nation and its duties to its own citizens. This is in no way incompatible with a scrupulous regard for the rights of other nations, or a desire to remedy the wrongs of suffering peoples. (*The Bachelor of Arts,* March 1896.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 229; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 172.

LOVE OF COUNTRY. *See also* ALLEGIANCE; AMERICANISM; LOYALTY; NATIONALISM; PATRIOTISM; TREASON.

LOWELL, JAMES RUSSELL. I have all of Lowell with me [in Africa]; I care more and more for his Biglow Papers, especially the second series; I like his literary essays; but what a real mugwump he gradually became, as he let his fastidiousness, his love of ease and luxury, and his shrinking from the necessary roughness of contact with the world grow upon him! I think his sudden painting of Dante as a mugwump is deliciously funny. I suppose that his character was not really strong, and that he was permanently injured by association with the Charles Eliot Norton type, and above all by following that impossible creature, Godkin. (To H. C. Lodge, September 10, 1909.) Lodge *Letters* II, 347.

LOYALTY. Our loyalty is due entirely to the United States. It is due to the President only and exactly to the degree in which he efficiently serves the United States. It is our duty to support him when he serves the United States well. It is our duty to oppose him when he serves it badly. (April 6, 1918.) *Roosevelt in the Kansas City Star,* 130.

————. We hold that our loyalty is due solely to the American Republic, and to all our public servants exactly in proportion as they efficiently and faithfully serve the Republic. Our opponents, in flat contradiction of Lincoln's position, hold that our loyalty is due to the President, not the country; to one man, the servant of the people, instead of to the people themselves. In practice they adopt the fetishism of all believers in absolutism, for every man who parrots the cry of "stand by the President" without adding the proviso "so far as he serves the Republic" takes an attitude

as essentially unmanly as that of any Stuart royalist who championed the doctrine that the king could do no wrong. No self-respecting and intelligent freeman can take such an attitude. (1918.) *Mem. Ed.* XXI, 321; *Nat. Ed.* XIX, 293.

LOYALTY, DIVIDED. Any man who tries to combine loyalty to this country with loyalty to some other country inevitably, when the strain arises, becomes disloyal to this country. (New York *Times,* September 10, 1917.) *Mem. Ed.* XXI, 40; *Nat. Ed.* XIX, 34.

————. The larger Americanism demands that we insist that every immigrant who comes here shall become an American citizen and nothing else; if he shows that he still remains at heart more loyal to another land, let him be promptly returned to that land; and if, on the other hand, he shows that he is in good faith and whole-heartedly an American, let him be treated as on a full equality with the native-born. This means that foreign-born and native-born alike should be trained to absolute loyalty to the flag, and trained so as to be able effectively to defend the flag. The larger Americanism demands that we refuse to be sundered from one another along lines of class or creed or section or national origin; that we judge each American on his merits as a man; that we work for the well-being of our bodily selves, but also for the well-being of our spiritual selves; that we consider safety, but that we put honor and duty ahead of safety. (*Metropolitan,* February 1916.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 301; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 258.

LOYALTY TO CLASS OR NATION. I have no patience with the man, whether a multimillionaire or a wage-worker, whether the member of a big corporation or the member of a labor-union, who does not recognize the fact that as an American citizen his first loyalty is due to the nation, and to his fellow citizens no matter what position they occupy as long as those fellow citizens are decent men. His first loyalty must be to the nation and to decency in citizenship. He cannot be a good citizen if he puts loyalty to any other organization above loyalty to the nation, if he puts loyalty to any class above loyalty to good citizenship as such. (At Pacific Theological Seminary, Spring 1911.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 634; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 667.

LOYALTY TO FRIENDS OR JUSTICE. I entirely appreciate loyalty to one's friends, but loyalty to the cause of justice and honor stands above it. (To a Senator from Oregon,

May 15, 1905.) *Mem. Ed.* XXIII, 508; Bishop I, 443.

LOYALTY. *See also* ALLEGIANCE; AMERICANISM; AMERICANS, HYPHENATED; CITIZENSHIP; DISLOYALTY; IMMIGRANTS; NATIONALISM; PATRIOTISM; TREASON.

LUNATIC FRINGE. It is vitally necessary to move forward and to shake off the dead hand, often the fossilized dead hand, of the reactionaries; and yet we have to face the fact that there is apt to be a lunatic fringe among the votaries of any forward movement. (*Outlook,* March 29, 1913.) *Mem. Ed.* XIV, 406; *Nat. Ed.* XII, 148.

————. Among the wise and high-minded people who in self-respecting and genuine fashion strive earnestly for peace, there are the foolish fanatics always to be found in such a movement and always discrediting it—the men who form the lunatic fringe in all reform movements. (1913.) *Mem. Ed.* XXII, 247; *Nat. Ed.* XX, 212.

————. The various admirable movements in which I have been engaged, have always developed among their members a large lunatic fringe; and I have had plenty of opportunity of seeing individuals who in their revolt against sordid baseness go into utterly wild folly. (To H. C. Lodge, February 27, 1913.) Lodge *Letters* II, 434.

LUNATIC FRINGE. *See also* PAINTING; POLITICAL QUACKS; REFORM; REFORMERS.

LUSITANIA—SINKING OF THE. This represents not merely piracy, but piracy on a vaster scale of murder than old-time pirates ever practised. This is the warfare which destroyed Louvain and Dinant and hundreds of men, women, and children in Belgium. It is warfare against innocent men, women, and children, travelling on the ocean, and our own fellow countrymen and countrywomen, who are among the sufferers. It seems inconceivable that we can refrain from taking action in this matter, for we owe it not only to humanity but to our own self-respect. (Statement to press, May 8, 1915.) *Mem. Ed.* XXIV, 443; Bishop II, 376.

LUSITANIA CRISIS — AMERICAN WEAKNESS IN. To sink a hundred American men, women, and children on the *Lusitania,* in other words, to murder them, was an evil thing; but it was not quite as evil and it

partly depends upon this first fact. Where neither party ventures to have any real convictions upon the vital issues of the day it is normally impossible to use either as an instrument for meeting these vital issues. (*Century Magazine,* October 1913.) *Mem. Ed.* XIX, 532; *Nat. Ed.* XVII, 390.

————————. Four years ago I declined to make a fetich of the Republican party, when to do so meant dishonor to the nation, and this year I declined to make a fetich of the Progressive party when to do so meant dishonor to honor. I agree with you that issues and men are the things that count. A party is good only as a means to an end. Nevertheless, we have to face the fact that has been made strikingly evident during the past four years that with ninety per cent of our country-men the party name of itself has a certain fetichistic power, and we would be very foolish if we did not take this into account in endeavoring to work for good results. Moreover, it is unfortunately true that the dead hand of a party sometimes paralyzes its living members. The ancestral principles of the Democratic party are so bad it seems to be entirely impossible for it to be useful to the country except in spasms. (To a Mrs. Nicholson, of Oregon, July 18, 1916.) Corinne Roosevelt Robinson, *My Brother Theodore Roosevelt,* 308.

PARTY SYSTEM—FUNCTION OF. It is only through the party system that free governments are now successfully carried on, and yet we must keep ever vividly before us that the usefulness of a party is strictly limited by its usefulness to the State, and that in the long run, he serves his party best who most helps to make it instantly responsive to every need of the people, and to the highest demands of that spirit which tends to drive us onward and upward. (Inaugural Address as Governor, Albany, January 2, 1899.) *Mem. Ed.* XVII, 4; *Nat. Ed.* XV, 4.

PARTY SYSTEM. *See also* BOSS; INDEPENDENT; MACHINE; ORGANIZATION; PLATT, T. C.; POLITICAL PARTIES; POLITICS; PRIMARIES.

PATRIOTIC CELEBRATIONS. *See* FOURTH OF JULY; MEMORIAL DAY.

PATRIOTIC SOCIETIES. Societies that cultivate patriotism in the present by keeping alive the memory of what we owe to the patriotism of the past, fill an indispensable function in this Republic. (Before Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, Washington, D. C., May 2, 1902.) *Presidential Addresses and State Papers* I, 36.

PATRIOTIC SONGS. Probably no one capable of feeling a generous thought of love for country can really judge quite dispassionately the songs which recite the great deeds done by the men of his own land. We Americans hold very high the memory of the men who "proved their truth by their endeavor," in the days of Lincoln and Grant, of Lee and Jackson and Farragut. It may be true that we cannot estimate what is said or sung of these with the absolute indifference of pure criticism; and of necessity it must appeal to us as it cannot appeal to others. Nevertheless, making every allowance for this feeling, it may still be safely said that on the whole no other contest has produced such poetry as our own Civil War. (*Cosmopolitan,* December 1892.) *Mem. Ed.* XIV, 376; *Nat. Ed.* XII, 309.

PATRIOTISM. Patriotism should be an integral part of our every feeling at all times, for it is merely another name for those qualities of soul which make a man in peace or in war, by day or by night, think of his duty to his fellows, and of his duty to the nation through which their and his loftiest aspirations must find their fitting expression. (1916.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 234; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 201.

————————. Never yet was there a country worth living in which did not develop among her sons something at least of that nobility of soul which makes men not only serve their country when they are starving, but when death has set its doom on their faces. (At Cooper Union, New York City, November 3, 1916.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 522; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 448.

————————. I believe in that ardent patriotism which will make a nation true to itself by making it secure justice for all within its own borders, and then so far as may be, aid in every way in securing just and fair treatment for all the nations of mankind. (*Metropolitan,* May 1916.) *Mem. Ed.* XXI, 149; *Nat. Ed.* XIX, 146.

————————. Patriotism is an affair of deeds, and patriotic words are good only in so far as they result in deeds. . . . Patriotism means service to the nation; and only those who render such service are fit to enjoy the privilege of citizenship. (At Lincoln, Neb., June 14, 1917.) *Mem. Ed.* XXI, 191; *Nat. Ed.* XIX, 181, 182.

————————. Patriotism stands in national matters as love of family does in private life. Nationalism corresponds to the love a man bears for his wife and children. (Lafayette Day exercises, New York City, September 6, 1918.) *Mem. Ed.* XXI, 410; *Nat. Ed.* XIX, 372.

PATRIOTISM—DEMANDS UPON. America will cease to be a great nation whenever her young men cease to possess energy, daring, and endurance, as well as the wish and the power to fight the nation's foes. No citizen of a free State should wrong any man; but it is not enough merely to refrain from infringing on the rights of others; he must also be able and willing to stand up for his own rights and those of his country against all comers, and he must be ready at any time to do his full share in resisting either malice domestic or foreign levy. (Preface to Hero Tales, with H. C. Lodge, 1895.) *Mem. Ed.* IX, xxii; *Nat. Ed.* X, xxiii.

————————. Patriotism is as much a duty in time of war as in time of peace, and it is most of all a duty in any and every great crisis. To commit folly or do evil, to act inconsiderately and hastily or wantonly and viciously, in the name of patriotism, represents not patriotism at all, but a use of the name to cloak an attack upon the thing. Such baseness or folly is wrong, at every time and on every occasion. But patriotism itself is not only in place on every occasion and at every time, but is peculiarly the feeling which should be stirred to its deepest depths at every serious crisis. . . . Patriotism, for far from being incompatible with performance of duty to other nations, is an indispensable prerequisite to doing one's duty toward other nations. Fear God; and take your own part! If this nation had feared God it would have stood up for the Belgians and Armenians; if it had been able and willing to take its own part there would have been no murderous assault on the *Lusitania,* no outrages on our men and women in Mexico. True patriotism carries with it not hostility to other nations but a quickened sense of responsible good-will toward other nations, a good-will of acts and not merely of words. (1916.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 234-235; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 202-203.

————————. The policies of Americanism and preparedness taken together mean applied patriotism. Our first duty as citizens of the nation is owed to the United States, but if we are true to our principles, we must also think of serving the interests of mankind at large. In addition to serving our own country, we must shape the policy of our country so as to secure the cause of international right, righteousness, fair play and humanity. (At Lewiston, Me., August 1916.) Corinne Roosevelt Robinson, *My Brother Theodore Roosevelt,* 320.

————————. In America to-day all our people are summoned to service and sacrifice. Pride is the portion only of those who know bitter sorrow or the foreboding of bitter sorrow. But all of us who give service, and stand ready for sacrifice, are the torch-bearers. We run with the torches until we fall, content if we can then pass them to the hands of other runners. The torches whose flame is brightest are borne by the gallant men at the front, and by the gallant women whose husbands and lovers, whose sons and brothers are at the front. These men are high of soul, as they face their fate on the shell-shattered earth, or in the skies above or in the waters beneath; and no less high of soul are the women with torn hearts and shining eyes; the girls whose boy lovers have been struck down in their golden morning, and the mothers and wives to whom word has been brought that henceforth they must walk in the shadow.

These are the torch-bearers; these are they who have dared the Great Adventure. (*Metropolitan,* October 1918.) *Mem. Ed.* XXI, 267; *Nat. Ed.* XIX, 246.

PATRIOTISM—FOUNDATION OF. There can be no genuine feeling of patriotism of the kind that makes all men willing and eager to die for the land, unless there has been some measure of success in making the land worth living in for all alike, whatever their station, so long as they do their duty; and on the other hand, no man has a right to enjoy any benefits whatever from living in the land in time of peace, unless he is trained physically and spiritually so that if duty calls he can and will do his part to keep the land against all alien aggression. (At Cooper Union, New York City, November 3, 1916.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 518; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 445.

PATRIOTISM—FUTURE OF. There are philosophers who assure us that, in the future, patriotism will be regarded not as a virtue at all, but merely as a mental stage in the journey toward a state of feeling when our patriotism will include the whole human race and all the world. This may be so; but the age of which these philosophers speak is still several eons distant. In fact, philosophers of this type are so very advanced that they are of no practical

service to the present generation. It may be, that in ages so remote that we cannot now understand any of the feelings of those who will dwell in them, patriotism will no longer be regarded as a virtue, exactly as it may be that in those remote ages people will look down upon and disregard monogamic marriage; but as things now are and have been for two or three thousand years past, and are likely to be for two or three thousand years to come, the words "home" and "country" mean a great deal. Nor do they show any tendency to lose their significance. (*Forum*, April 1894.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 19; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 16-17.

PATRIOTISM—MEANING OF. Patriotism means to stand by the country. It does not mean to stand by the President or any other public official save exactly to the degree in which he himself stands by the country. It is patriotic to support him in so far as he efficiently serves the country. It is unpatriotic not to oppose him to the exact extent that by inefficiency or otherwise he fails in his duty to stand by the country. In either event, it is unpatriotic not to tell the truth—whether about the President or about any one else—save in the rare cases where this would make known to the enemy information of military value which would otherwise be unknown to him. (1918.) *Mem. Ed.* XXI, 316; *Nat. Ed.* XIX, 289.

PATRIOTISM, GERMAN AND JAPANESE. We should in all humility imitate not a little of the spirit so much in evidence among the Germans and the Japanese, the two nations which in modern times have shown the most practical type of patriotism, the greatest devotion to the common weal, the greatest success in developing their economic resources and abilities from within, and the greatest far-sightedness in safeguarding the country against possible disaster from without. (New York *Times*, November 29, 1914.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 205; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 176.

PATRIOTISM AND COSMOPOLITANISM. The man who has in him real fighting blood is sure to be more deeply stirred by the deeds of his own people than by those of any other folk, though to these likewise he may pay glad and sincere homage. Every man to his own! We Americans cannot but feel our blood run quickest at the recital of the prowess of our own forefathers. Of course, if this feeling does not exist by nature it cannot be cultivated—there can be no self-conscious simulation of Americanism; but the man in whom intense

love of country is wanting is a very despicable creature, no matter how well equipped with all the minor virtues and graces, literary, artistic, and social. (*Cosmopolitan*, December 1892.) *Mem. Ed.* XIV, 380; *Nat. Ed.* XII, 313.

———. I am no advocate of a foolish cosmopolitanism. I believe that a man must be a good patriot before he can be, and as the only possible way of being, a good citizen of the world. Experience teaches us that the average man who protests that his international feeling swamps his national feeling, that he does not care for his country because he cares so much for mankind, in actual practice proves himself the foe of mankind; that the man who says that he does not care to be a citizen of any one country, because he is a citizen of the world, is in very fact usually an exceedingly undesirable citizen of whatever corner of the world he happens at the moment to be in. . . . However broad and deep a man's sympathies, however intense his activities, he need have no fear that they will be cramped by love of his native land. . . . So far from patriotism being inconsistent with a proper regard for the rights of other nations, I hold that the true patriot, who is as jealous of the national honor as a gentleman is of his own honor, will be careful to see that the nation neither inflicts nor suffers wrong, just as a gentleman scorns equally to wrong others or to suffer others to wrong him. (At the Sorbonne, Paris, April 23, 1910.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 373-374; *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 526-527.

———. Each people can do justice to itself only if it does justice to others, but each people can do its part in the world movement for all only if it first does its duty within its own household. The good citizen must be a good citizen of his own country first before he can with advantage be a citizen of the world at large. *Outlook*, May 14, 1910, p. 74.

PATRIOTISM. *See also* ALLEGIANCE; AMERICANISM; AMERICANS, HYPHENATED; BIG STICK; COSMOPOLITANS; FLAG; GERMAN PATRIOTISM; INTERNATIONALISM; LOVE OF COUNTRY; LOYALTY; NATIONALISM.

PATRONAGE. I feel sure that the possession of the patronage damages rather than benefits a party; but it is certainly also true that for one party to refrain from all use of patronage, while not by law enacting that its opponent must likewise refrain, would work little lasting benefit to the public service, and would probably insure party defeat. . . .

It is therefore perfectly plain that the remedy lies in changing the system. For honest politicians to refrain from meddling with patronage, while leaving dishonest politicians full liberty to do so, is in the long run to work harm rather than good. The offices must be taken out of reach of all politicians, good or bad, by some permanent system of law. (*Century*, February 1890.) *Mem. Ed.* XVI, 167, 168; *Nat. Ed.* XIV, 107.

———. I have done all I could, and I think I may say more than any other President has ever done, in the direction of getting rid of the system of appointing and removing men for political considerations. But enough remains to cause me many hours of sordid and disagreeable work, which yet must be done under penalty of losing the good-will of men with whom it is necessary that I should work. (To Sir George Otto Trevelyan, May 13, 1905.) *Mem. Ed.* XXIV, 174; Bishop II, 149.

———. The use of government offices as patronage is a handicap difficult to overestimate from the standpoint of those who strive to get good government. Any effort for reform of any sort, national, State, or municipal, results in the reformers immediately finding themselves face to face with an organized band of drilled mercenaries who are paid out of the public chest to train themselves with such skill that ordinary good citizens when they meet them at the polls are in much the position of militia matched against regular troops. Yet these citizens themselves support and pay their opponents in such a way that they are drilled to overthrow the very men who support them. . . . Patronage does not really help a party. It helps the bosses to get control of the machinery of the party—as in 1912 was true of the Republican party—but it does not help the party. On the average, the most sweeping party victories in our history have been won when the patronage was against the victors. All that the patronage does is to help the worst element in the party retain control of the party organization. (1913.) *Mem. Ed.* XXII, 158; *Nat. Ed.* XX, 135, 136.

PATRONAGE. *See also* APPOINTMENTS; CIVIL SERVICE REFORM; OFFICE; SPOILS SYSTEM.

PAUNCEFOTE, SIR JULIAN. *See* HAY-PAUNCEFOTE TREATY; PANAMA CANAL.

PEACE. Peace is generally good in itself, but it is never the highest good unless it comes as the handmaid of righteousness; and it becomes

a very evil thing if it serves merely as a m for cowardice and sloth, or as an instrument further the ends of despotism or anarchy. *Ou look*, May 7, 1910, p. 19.

———. Work for peace will nev be worth much unless accompanied by courag effort, and self-sacrifice. (*Independent*, Janua 4, 1915.) *Mem. Ed.* XX, 179; *Nat. Ed.* XVI 154.

———. Scant attention is paid to th weakling or the coward who babbles of peac but due heed is given to the strong man wi sword girt on thigh who preaches peace, n from ignoble motives, not from fear or distru of his own powers, but from a deep sense moral obligation. (1900.) *Mem. Ed.* XV, 28 *Nat. Ed.* XIII, 335.

———. Our business is to create th beginnings of international order out of th world of nations as these nations actually exi We do not have to deal with a world of pa ficists and therefore we must proceed on th assumption that treaties will never acquire san tity until nations are ready to seal them wi their blood. We are not striving for peace heaven. That is not our affair. What we we bidden to strive for is "peace on earth an good-will toward men." To fulfil this injunctio it is necessary to treat the earth as it is and m as they are, as an indispensable prerequisite making the earth a better place in which to li and men better fit to live in it. It is inexcusab moral culpability on our part to pretend to car out this injunction in such fashion as to nulli it; and this we do if we make believe that th earth is what it is not and if our professions bringing good-will toward men are in actu practice shown to be empty shams. Peace co gresses, peace parades, the appointment and cel bration of days of prayer for peace, and th like, which result merely in giving the partic pants the feeling that they have accomplish something and are therefore to be excused fro hard, practical work for righteousness, are emp shams. (New York *Times*, November 29, 1914 *Mem. Ed.* XX, 199; *Nat. Ed.* XVIII, 171.

———. Peace is not a question names. It is a question of facts. If murders o cur in a city, and if the police force is so i competent that no record is made of them of cially, that does not interfere with the fact th murders have been committed and that life unsafe. In just the same way, if lives are tak by violence between nations, it is not of th slightest consequence whether those responsib

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THE PUBLIC PAPERS AND ADDRESSES OF FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

COMPILED WITH SPECIAL MATERIAL AND EXPLANATORY NOTES BY

SAMUEL I. ROSENMAN

1944-45 Volume

VICTORY AND THE THRESHOLD OF PEACE

HARPER & BROTHERS PUBLISHERS
NEW YORK

147 ¶ Statement on the Anniversary of the Attacks on Norway and Denmark.

April 9, 1945

TODAY marks the anniversary of the infamous and ruthless attack on Denmark and Norway. For five long years the Danish and Norwegian peoples have suffered under the heel of the Nazi oppressor. Yet never has their courage lagged. Never have they ceased to resist. Very soon their period of martyrdom will be ended. Then, as the peoples of Denmark and Norway have fought as allies in the common struggle against the forces of aggression, so will they work with the other like-minded Nations to insure the maintenance of world peace and security.

148 ¶ "Let Us Move Forward with Strong and Active Faith" — Undelivered Address Prepared for Jefferson Day. April 13, 1945

AMERICANS are gathered together this evening in communities all over the country to pay tribute to the living memory of Thomas Jefferson — one of the greatest of all democrats; and I want to make it clear that I am spelling that word "democrats" with a small *d*.

I wish I had the power, just for this evening, to be present at all of these gatherings.

In this historic year, more than ever before, we do well to consider the character of Thomas Jefferson as an American citizen of the world.

148. Undelivered Address for Jefferson Day

As Minister to France, then as our first Secretary of State and as our third President, Jefferson was instrumental in the establishment of the United States as a vital factor in international affairs.

It was he who first sent our Navy into far-distant waters to defend our rights. And the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine was the logical development of Jefferson's far-seeing foreign policy.

Today this Nation which Jefferson helped so greatly to build is playing a tremendous part in the battle for the rights of man all over the world.

Today we are part of the vast Allied force — a force composed of flesh and blood and steel and spirit — which is today destroying the makers of war, the breeders of hatred, in Europe and in Asia.

In Jefferson's time our Navy consisted of only a handful of frigates headed by the gallant U.S.S. *Constitution — Old Ironsides* — but that tiny Navy taught Nations across the Atlantic that piracy in the Mediterranean — acts of aggression against peaceful commerce and the enslavement of their crews — was one of those things which, among neighbors, simply was not done.

Today we have learned in the agony of war that great power involves great responsibility. Today we can no more escape the consequences of German and Japanese aggression than could we avoid the consequences of attacks by the Barbary Corsairs a century and a half before.

We, as Americans, do not choose to deny our responsibility.

Nor do we intend to abandon our determination that, within the lives of our children and our children's children, there will not be a third world war.

We seek peace — enduring peace. More than an end to war, we want an end to the beginnings of all wars — yes, an end to this brutal, inhuman, and thoroughly impractical method of settling the differences between governments.

The once powerful, malignant Nazi state is crumbling. The Japanese war lords are receiving, in their own homeland, the retribution for which they asked when they attacked Pearl Harbor.

But the mere conquest of our enemies is not enough.

We must go on to do all in our power to conquer the doubts and the fears, the ignorance and the greed, which made this horror possible.

Thomas Jefferson, himself a distinguished scientist, once spoke of "the brotherly spirit of Science, which unites into one family all its votaries of whatever grade, and however widely dispersed throughout the different quarters of the globe."

Today, science has brought all the different quarters of the globe so close together that it is impossible to isolate them one from another.

Today we are faced with the preeminent fact that, if civilization is to survive, we must cultivate the science of human relationships — the ability of all peoples, of all kinds, to live together and work together, in the same world, at peace.

Let me assure you that my hand is the steadier for the work that is to be done, that I move more firmly into the task, knowing that you — millions and millions of you — are joined with me in the resolve to make this work endure.

The work, my friends, is peace. More than an end of this war — an end to the beginnings of all wars. Yes, an end, forever, to this impractical, unrealistic settlement of the differences between governments by the mass killing of peoples.

Today, as we move against the terrible scourge of war — as we go forward toward the greatest contribution that any generation of human beings can make in this world — the contribution of lasting peace, I ask you to keep up your faith. I measure the sound, solid achievement that can be made at this time by the straight edge of your own confidence and your resolve. And to you, and to all Americans who dedicate themselves with us to the making of an abiding peace, I say:

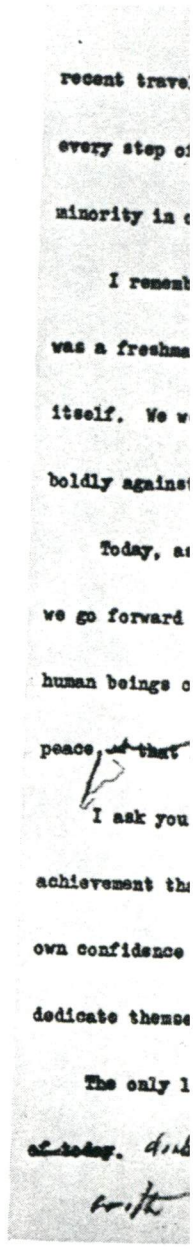
148. Undelivered Address for Jefferson Day

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

NOTE: This is the latest draft of the President's proposed speech. The last sentence was written into the typed draft in his own hand. The draft was not the final one; the preparation of the final draft was prevented by death.

The President died at 4:35 P.M. Eastern Standard Time, April 12, 1945, at Warm Springs, Georgia.

I think this is referred to as his Warm Springs speech. (FDR)


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recent travels -- that the other peoples of the world will be with us every step of the way. The thin-blooded timid souls who are now in a minority in our country are also in a minority in the world.

I remember saying, once upon a time in the long, long ago when I was a freshman, that the only thing our people had to fear was fear itself. We were in fear then of economic collapse. We struck back boldly against that fear, and we overcame it.

Today, as we move against ~~an even more~~ terrible scourge, and as we go forward towards the greatest contribution that any generation of human beings can make in this world -- the contribution of lasting peace, ~~that little admonition of thirteen years ago comes back to me.~~

I ask you to keep up your faith. I measure the sound, solid achievement that can be made at this time by the straight-edge of your own confidence and your resolve. And to you, and to all Americans who dedicate themselves with us to the making of an abiding peace, I say:

The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our ~~doubts of today~~ doubts of Today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith.

Facsimile of last page of the draft for address President Roosevelt planned to deliver on Jefferson Day, 1945. The President was working on this draft on the day before his death, and the last word he wrote for public utterance was the word "faith."

↳ Jennifer – This might be a good story for a religious/ X-mas speech.

4429 O, it sets my heart a-clickin' like the tickin' of a clock,
When the frost is on the punkin and the fodder's in the shock.
—*James Whitcomb Riley*

4430 My sorrow when she's here with me,
Thinks these dark days of autumn rain
Are beautiful as days can be;
She loves the bare, the withered tree;
She walks the sodden pasture lane.
—*Robert Frost*

4431 Dread autumn, harvest season of the Goddess of Death.—*Horace*

4432 In autumn the tide ebbs; leaf and petal look down to the soil whence they came as if they heard a call and longed to go back and intermingle with their kin; softly the petal flings herself down, and the leaf is not long in following.—*Mary Webb*

4433 How bravely Autumn paints upon the sky
The gorgeous fame of Summer which is fled.
—*Thomas Hood*

Christmas

4434 Hark the herald angels sing,
"Glory to the new-born king."
Peace on earth, and mercy mild,
God and sinners reconciled!
—*Charles Wesley*

4435 Away in a manger, no crib for a bed,
The little Lord Jesus laid down His sweet head.
—*Martin Luther*

4436 Heap on more wood!—the wind is chill;
But let it whistle as it will,
We'll keep our Christmas merry still.
—*Sir Walter Scott*

4437 At Christmas play and make good cheer,
For Christmas comes but once a year.
—*Thomas Tusser*

4438 God rest you merry, gentlemen,
Let nothing you dismay,
For Jesus Christ, our Saviour,
Was born upon this day.

4439 Although the birthday of Christ was celebrated on various dates as early as the third century, its observance was not sanctioned officially until a century later. Until then, church fathers withheld their blessing because they feared the occasion would be tied in with pagan festivals. Finally, to satisfy growing Christian desire, Julius I, Bishop of Rome, authorized an investigation to determine Christ's probable birth date. This led to the selection of December 25. On that date in 354 A.D., the feast of the Nativity was first observed in Rome. —*Sunshine Magazine*

4440 Among the most popular Christmas decorations—along with holly and mistletoe—are the pine cones, which are used in their natural state, or are painted in bright colors, or in silver or gold. There is an interesting German legend which explains the origin of the pine cone, widely used at Christmastime. It tells of a poor woman climbing a mountain to pick up pine cones for fuel. She was approached by an elf who told her to "take only the cones under this tree." The good woman picked up the cones indicated and when she arrived home she found that they had all turned to pure silver. Thus, the silver pine cone which we know today.—*Sunshine Magazine*

4441 Christmas is a widely observed holiday on which neither the past nor the future is of so much interest as the present.—*F. G. Kernan*

4442 How seldom Christmas comes—only once a year; and how soon it is over—a night and a day! If that is the whole of it, it seems not much more durable than the little toys that one buys of a fakir on the street corner. They run for an hour, and then the spring breaks, and the legs come off, and nothing remains but a contribution to the dust heap.

But surely that need not and ought not be the whole of Christmas—only a single day of generosity, ransomed from the dull servitude of a selfish year—only a single night of merry-making, celebrated in the slave quarters of a selfish race! If every gift is the token of a personal thought, a friendly feeling, an unselfish interest in the joys of others, then the thought, the feeling, the interest may remain long after the gift is forgotten.—*Henry Van Dyke*

4443 In many countries, the Christmas crèche resembles a rainbow in coloring. Portuguese representations of the Adoration in glazed ceramics are often exotically tinted in vivid blue, cerise, and bright green. Their artists also add such unexpected touches as a throne for the Christ Child's cradle and chickens as well as cattle around the crèche. In the wine countries of France, ground-up cork may

not there

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release December 21, 1989

THE DAILY "POINT OF LIGHT"

The President today named the Tero Mauldin Coleman of Washington, DC as his twenty-third daily "Point of Light." Ms. Coleman is a volunteer with the Retired Senior Volunteer Program (RSVP) at the Simpson-Hamline United Methodist Church. She is 101 years.

Ms. Coleman has been volunteering for 11 years with RSVP. She is one of 26 centenarians currently volunteering with the program nationwide. She calls elderly home-bound worshipers, answers the church telephone, and helps out in any other way she can.

The President expresses his heartfelt thanks to Tero Mauldin Coleman for her selfless service to others. She reminds us that everyone in America has gifts to give.

# # #

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT: John Galletta (202) 456-6266

12/4/90

Jennifer -

DC-area DPOL's who will probably attend the Xmas tree ceremony. (None are confirmed so far.)

Pls. let me know if you have any questions.

Tracey

- ~~not confirmed~~ yet
- ~~but probable~~ not there

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE April 23, 1990

The President today named The Midnight Basketball League, Inc. of Hyattsville, Maryland as the one hundred twenty-fourth "Daily Point of Light." This initiative, a late night summer basketball league, is committed to teaching teenagers discipline and teamwork.

The Midnight Basketball League was initiated by G. Van Standifer, the former town manager, in response to escalating crime rates and drug related activities in the Glenarden township. He recognized that basketball is a magnet which may be used to lure young adults off the street and into a productive environment. Since its founding, incoming reports of crimes have dropped by 60 percent.

The program operates between 10:00 p.m. and 2:00 a.m., three nights weekly during the summer months. Young men between the ages of 17 and 21 are eligible to participate. The League is supported by members of the law enforcement community, many of whom actively participate as coaches and referees. Local business community members donate funds and sponsor teams.

The league coordinates three games each night and professionals offer workshops on the dangers of drug involvement and educational opportunities between each game. An additional benefit is the large spectator attendance the games attract. Young people who would ordinarily congregate on street corners now meet in the Glenarden Community Center Gym. The participants' competitive spirit compels them to stay off drugs in order to play well.

The President salutes the Midnight Basketball League as the one hundred twenty-fourth "Daily Point of Light." Daily Point of Light recognition is intended to call every individual, group, and organization in America to claim society's problems as their own by taking direct and consequential action; to identify, enlarge, and multiply successful initiatives, like the Midnight Basketball League; and to discover, encourage, and develop new leaders in community service, reflecting the President's conviction that, "From now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others."

# # #

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT: Tracey Taylor or Robert Marbut
(202) 456-6266

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

EMBARGOED FOR RELEASE
UNTIL JANUARY 20, 1990

January 19, 1990

THE DAILY "POINT OF LIGHT"

The President today named Mary's House in Rockville, Maryland as his forty-sixth daily "Point of Light." This center is devoted to providing housing to the elderly along with an opportunity for them to interact with school children.

Founded in 1985, the home provides residence for fifteen elderly people at one-half the cost of regular nursing care. The first floor of the building houses the St. Mary's Elementary School, while community efforts transformed the second floor from an abandoned convent into Mary's House. Residents are provided with three meals a day, housekeeping services, and assistance with bathing, dressing, and grooming if needed. The children from the grammar school supply youth, joy, and energy to the lives of these people.

The President praises Mary's House for recognizing a need within their community and utilizing an existing resource to solve the problem. By combining the positive influence of youth and energy with adequate housing and care, Mary's House effectively challenges one of the most trying problems of our time.

# # #

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT: Lucy Carney (202) 456-6266

America is the crucible of God. It is the melting pot where all races are fusing and reforming . . . these are the fires of God you've come to . . . into the crucible with you all. God is making the American.

Israel Zangwill: *The Melting Pot*

PEACE

Peace—good will effectively asserted against greed.

Anonymous

With every recurring Christmas morning the prospects of the world's peace grow brighter, and the practice of universal brotherhood comes a little nearer to the door.

Anonymous

Thou hast touched me and I have been translated into thy peace.

St. Augustine: *Confessions,* Bk. X, ch. 27

Peace is our final good.

St. Augustine: *The City of God,* XV

That peace which the world cannot give.

Book of Common Prayer: Evening Prayer

The pessimist's darkest suspicion is that the human race, deep down in its heart, hates peace.

Reprinted by special permission of *The* (Boston) *Globe*

If there is righteousness in the heart there will be beauty in the character. If there be beauty in the character, there is harmony in the home, there will be order in the nation. When there is order in the nation, there will be peace in the world.

Chinese Proverb

I prefer the most unfair peace to the most righteous war.

Cicero: *Epistola ad Atticum*

Peace is liberty in tranquility.

Cicero: *Philippics*

Nor is heaven always at peace.

Claudian: *De Bello Gothico,* l. 62

Peace is the evening star of the soul, as virtue is its sun; and the two are never far apart.

Charles Caleb Colton

Those Christians best deserve the name
Who studiously make peace their aim;
Peace, both the duty and the prize
Of him that creeps and him that flies.

William Cowper: *The Nightingale and Glow-Worm*

If we will have Peace without a worm in it, lay we the foundations of Justice and Righteousness.

Oliver Cromwell: *Speech,* January 23, 1656 (*Letters and Speeches,* IV, 13)

In his will is our peace.

Alighieri Dante: *Paradiso,* Bk. III, l. 85

The world will never have lasting peace so long as men reserve for war the finest human qualities. Peace, no less than war, requires idealism and self-sacrifice and a righteous and dynamic faith.

John Foster Dulles

I could not live in peace if I put the shadow of a wilful sin between myself and God.

George Eliot

With peace in his soul a man can face the most terrifying experiences. But without peace in his soul he cannot manage even as simple a task as writing a letter.

An English psychiatrist

With God in charge of our defenses, there will be peace within.

T. T. Faichney

Speak, move, act in peace, as if you were in prayer. In truth, this is prayer.

François de Salignac de La Mothe Fénelon

4455 By the time a man has the shape for the job, his kids no longer believe in Santa Claus.

4456 In Scandinavian countries a little elf called Julenissen brings toys to good children on Christmas Eve. In England it is Father Christmas who brings the gifts. In France the gift-bearer is known as Bonhomme Noël and he is accompanied by Père Fouettard (Father Whipper), who leaves a birch rod for the unfortunate child who has been naughty during the year. In Spain and some other Spanish-speaking countries it is Balthazar, one of the Wise Men, who brings the gifts on the eve of Epiphany. In Syria the Good Camel brings the gifts. According to legend, he was the youngest of the camels that bore the Wise Men on their journey to the Christ Child. A little old woman called Befana brings the gifts in Italy. According to legend, the Wise Men were on their way to Bethlehem when they encountered the old lady cleaning her house. They asked her to join them on their journey, but she said she was too busy. And since that time she has been wandering around seeking the child Jesus.—*Survey Bulletin*

4457 "Father," asked Junior, "what is a financial genius?"

"A financial genius, my son," replied his father thoughtfully, "is a man who can pay his family's Christmas bills in January."

4458 Blessed is the season that engages the whole world in a conspiracy of love.—*Hamilton Wright Mabie*

4459 The world is filled with the sounds of Christmas. If you listen with your outer ears, you will hear carols, bells, and laughter, and now and then a sob of loneliness. If you listen with the inner ear, you will hear the sound of angels' wings, the hush of inner expectation, and the sacred sound of the deepest silence, the vibrant whisper of the eternal Word.

The world is filled with the sights of Christmas. If you look with your outer eyes, you will see gay trees, tinseled stars, flaming candles, and a crèche. If you look with the inner eye, you will see the Star of Bethlehem in your own heart. —*Anna May Nielson, Sunshine Magazine*

4460 A group of youngsters in a California school were told to draw the pictures for Christmas cards they would give their parents, but to copy the verse from a card they found at home.

That's why one mother and father received this greeting from their daughter: "It's been a pleasure to do business with you."

4461 It is good to be children sometimes, and never better than at Christmas when its mighty Founder was a child Himself.—*Charles Dickens*

4462 Christmas, of course, belongs largely to children. So it is fitting to note here a few touching passages from a little boy's diary:

Dec. 25: Got an air gun for Christmas, but it's raining, can't go hunting.

Dec. 26: Still raining, can't go hunting.

Dec. 27: Still raining, can't go hunting.

Dec. 28: Still raining. Shot Uncle Edgar.—*Hugh Scott, Today*

4463 A little girl was saying her prayers a few nights before Christmas when she stopped suddenly and asked her mother a question with a worried look: "What are we giving God for Christmas? What does God want for Christmas?"

We smile, but it is an important question. Is God on your Christmas list?— *Halford E. Luccock, Christian Herald*

4464 One of the first things a boy learns who gets a chemistry set for Christmas is that he isn't likely ever to get another one.

4465 Christmas is over. Uncork your ambition! Back to the battle. Come on, competition! Down with all sentiment, can scrupulosity! For the other 364 days. —*Franklin P. Adams*

4466 A five-year-old rehearsing at home for the school Christmas program sang:

"Hark, the herald angels sing
Glory to the new-born king!
Peace on earth and mercy mild,
God and sitters reconciled."
—*Delta Kappa Gamma Bulletin*

4467 It was on Christmas Eve that one of the most beloved classics came into being. High in the Austrian Alps, in the little hamlet of Oberndorf, two men, Father Joseph Mohr and the village schoolmaster and organist, Franz Gruber, faced the alarming prospect of Christmas Eve services with no music. The church organ was broken! To provide a song that could be "sung without the organ accompaniment," the two men brought forth the beautiful carol "Silent Night, Holy Night." Since that night in 1818 this lovely favorite carol has been translated into sixty-eight languages.

4468

We ring the bells and we raise the strain.
We hang up garlands everywhere

be used instead of straw for the manger; the Mexican Christ Child is hailed by a gaudily painted Indian with wings and a feather headdress.—*Catholic Digest*

4444 Charles Dickens was inspired to write his masterpiece, *A Christmas Carol,* to arouse the people to the need of improving the conditions of the poor. The idea came to him after he had attended the ceremonies of the new Athenaeum at Manchester during the first week of October 1843. One week later he returned to London and started his composition. Unaware that he was writing a classic, he later admitted that as the story took form he fell under its spell, laughing and weeping in turn with his characters. For seven weeks he labored on the manuscript. On December 18, 1843, the first edition of six thousand copies appeared on the bookstalls of London, and within twenty-four hours was entirely sold out.—*Sunshine Magazine*

4445 Christmas is many things. It is a star shining brightly to guide Magi from the East to the baby Jesus. It is shepherds gazing with awe and wonder at the heavenly visitors who announced the birth of the King of Kings. It is peace in a world of war and unrest, joy in a time of bewilderment and sorrow, hope in a situation of anxiety and apprehension. But most of all Christmas is the Son of God cradled in the arms of Mary. God's great gift of salvation and reconciliation to all mankind.—*War Cry*

4446 I sometimes think we expect too much of Christmas Day. We try to crowd into it the long arrears of kindliness and humanity of the whole year.—*David Grayson*

4447 And it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed. . . .

And all went to be taxed, every one into his own city.

And Joseph also went up from Galilee, out of the city of Nazareth, into Judaea, unto the city of David, which is called Bethlehem, (because he was of the house and lineage of David,)

To be taxed with Mary his espoused wife, being great with child.

And so it was, that, while they were there, the days were accomplished that she should be delivered.

And she brought forth her firstborn son, and wrapped him in swaddling clothes, and laid him in a manger; because there was no room for them in the inn.—*Luke 2:1–7*

4448 God rest ye, little children; let nothing you affright,
For Jesus Christ, your Saviour, was born this happy night;
Along the hills of Galilee the white flocks sleeping lay,
When Christ, the Child of Nazareth, was born on Christmas Day.
—*Dinah Maria Mulock Craik*

4449 For unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord.—*Luke 2:11*

4450 It came upon the midnight clear,
That glorious song of old,
From angels bending near the earth
To touch their harps of gold;
"Peace on the earth, good will to men
From Heaven's all-gracious King"—
The world in solemn stillness lay
To hear the angels sing.
—*E. H. Sears*

4451 O little town of Bethlehem,
How still we see thee lie!
Above thy deep and dreamless sleep
The silent stars go by.
Yet in thy dark street shineth
The everlasting Light;
The hopes and fears of all the years
Are met in thee tonight.
—*Phillips Brooks*

4452 Let's dance and sing and make good cheer,
For Christmas comes but once a year.
—*G. MacFarren*

4453 Last night John Elzy, watchman at the Grand Eagle Department Store, while making his rounds of the bargain basement, found the body of a man lying under a counter. He was thin to the point of emaciation, apparently in his middle thirties, and was shabbily dressed. His pockets were empty and there were no marks of identification upon his person. Store officials believe that he was trampled in the Christmas rush and crawled under the counter for shelter. But they are unable to account for what appear to be nail wounds in his hands. The police are investigating.—*The Saturday Review*

4454 A youngster walked into a bank the other day to open an account with $25. The bank's vice president gave him a benign smile and asked how he had accumulated so much money.

"Selling Christmas cards," said the lad.

"Well, you've done very well. Sold them to lots of people, obviously."

"Nope," said the little boy proudly. "I sold all of them to one family—their dog bit me."

NOTE: For the official statement on the Atlantic Charter, and subsequent comments by the President on the Atlantic Charter, see Items 74, 76, 77, and 78, 1941 volume; Item 82, 1942 volume; Item 90, 1943 volume; and Item 120, this volume.

122 ¶ Christmas Eve Address to the Nation. December 24, 1944

IT IS NOT easy to say "Merry Christmas" to you, my fellow Americans, in this time of destructive war. Nor can I say "Merry Christmas" lightly tonight to our armed forces at their battle stations all over the world — or to our allies who fight by their side.

Here, at home, we will celebrate this Christmas Day in our traditional American way — because of its deep spiritual meaning to us; because the teachings of Christ are fundamental in our lives; and because we want our youngest generation to grow up knowing the significance of this tradition and the story of the coming of the immortal Prince of Peace and Good Will. But, in perhaps every home in the United States, sad and anxious thoughts will be continually with the millions of our loved ones who are suffering hardships and misery, and who are risking their very lives to preserve for us and for all mankind the fruits of His teachings and the foundations of civilization itself.

The Christmas spirit lives tonight in the bitter cold of the front lines in Europe and in the heat of the jungles and swamps of Burma and the Pacific islands. Even the roar of our bombers and fighters in the air and the guns of our ships at sea will not drown out the messages of Christmas which come to the hearts of our fighting men. The thoughts of these men tonight will turn to us here at home around our Christmas trees, surrounded by our children and grandchildren and their Christmas stockings and gifts — just as our own thoughts go out to them, tonight and every night, in their distant places.

We all know how anxious they are to be home with us, and

they know how anxious we are to have them — and how determined every one of us is to make their day of home-coming as early as possible. And — above all — they know the determination of all right-thinking people and Nations, that Christmases such as those that we have known in these years of world tragedy shall not come again to beset the souls of the children of God.

This generation has passed through many recent years of deep darkness, watching the spread of the poison of Hitlerism and Fascism in Europe — the growth of imperialism and militarism in Japan — and the final clash of war all over the world. Then came the dark days of the fall of France, and the ruthless bombing of England, and the desperate battle of the Atlantic, and of Pearl Harbor and Corregidor and Singapore.

Since then the prayers of good men and women and children the world over have been answered. The tide of battle has turned, slowly but inexorably, against those who sought to destroy civilization.

On this Christmas day, we cannot yet say when our victory will come. Our enemies still fight fanatically. They still have reserves of men and military power. But, they themselves know that they and their evil works are doomed. We may hasten the day of their doom if we here at home continue to do our full share.

And we pray that that day may come soon. We pray that until then, God will protect our gallant men and women in the uniforms of the United Nations — that He will receive into His infinite grace those who make their supreme sacrifice in the cause of righteousness, in the cause of love of Him and His teachings.

We pray that with victory will come a new day of peace on earth in which all the Nations of the earth will join together for all time. That is the spirit of Christmas, the holy day. May that spirit live and grow throughout the world in all the years to come.

is credited with saving taxpayers $12 million. And an award winner in the Navy pioneered changes that, it's estimated, will save some $300 million. And you know, even in Washington $300 million is real money. [*Laughter*]

Even more important than these specific savings and advances—each of you has provided an example, an inspiration to others in the civil service, to work hard and to be more conscientious of the great trust that is shared by all in public service. Through your personal achievement, you, whom we honor today, have improved the lives of millions of your fellow citizens throughout our nation. And these awards represent the appreciation that each of us feels for you having accomplished so much for so many.

On behalf of all Americans, permit me to offer my heartfelt congratulations on a job well done. Thank you all, and God bless you. And now, Connie, if you'll get up here and do your chore, I'll step over here and do mine.

Note: The President spoke at 11:30 a.m. in Room 450 of the Old Executive Office Building. Constance Horner, Director of the Office of Personnel Management, read the names of the recipients. The 1985 award recipients were: Valdus V. Adamkus, Richard C. Armstrong, Robert N. Battard, Curtis W. Christensen, James E. Colvard, Guy H. Cunningham III, Angelo J. DiMascio, Anthony R. DiTrapani, Robert I. Dodge III, Barry Felrice, Kenneth M. Fogash, Robert M. Forssell, Gerald D. Griffin, Arthur H. Guenther, Richard L. Haver, David A. Israel, Samuel W. Keller, John C. Keeney, Ruth L. Kirschstein, Michael G. Kozak, Jack W. McGraw, James C. McKinney, Alexia L. Morrison, James W. Morrison, Jr., William Y. Nishimura, R. Max Peterson, Stanley M. Silverman, John A. Simpson, Andrew J. Stofan, Naomi R. Sweeney, Margery Waxman, and Larry G. Westfall.

Statement on the Crash of an Airliner Transporting Members of the 101st Airborne Division

December 12, 1985

Nancy and I are deeply shocked and saddened by the report of the tragic crash of a chartered airliner returning U.S. troops to the United States from peacekeeping duty with the United Nations' Multinational Force and Observers in the Sinai. The loss, tragic at any time, is especially painful at this holiday period. I have been advised by the Secretary of Defense that the full resources of the U.S. Army and the U.S. Government are being made available to assist families of victims however possible. Our hearts go out to the loved ones of these brave soldiers who have paid the fullest price in the service of their country and the cause of peace.

Note: Larry M. Speakes, Principal Deputy Press Secretary to the President, read the President's statement to reporters in the Briefing Room at the White House during his daily press briefing, which began at noon. The airliner, which was en route to Fort Campbell, KY, crashed at 6:45 a.m. in Gander, Newfoundland. There were 248 casualties.

Remarks on Lighting the National Christmas Tree

December 12, 1985

My fellow Americans, thank you for joining Nancy and me on this festive evening. The menorah stands lighted in Lafayette Park, for this is also the time of Hanukkah,

and this season is rich in the meaning of our Judeo-Christian tradition. In a moment we'll be lighting the National Christmas Tree, carrying forward what is now a 62-year tradition first begun by Calvin Coolidge.

Tonight we're drawn in warmth to one another as we reflect upon the deeply holy meaning of the miracle we shall soon celebrate. We know that Mary and Joseph reached the stable in Bethlehem sometime after sunset. We do not know the exact moment the Christ Child was born, only what we would have seen if we'd been standing there as we stand here now: Suddenly, a star from heaven shining in our eyes, shining with brilliant beauty across the skies, a star pointing toward eternity in the night, like a great ring of pure and endless light, and then all was calm, and all was bright. Such was the beginning of one solitary life that would shake the world as never before or since. When we speak of Jesus and of His life, we speak of a man revered as a prophet and teacher by people of all religions, and Christians speak of someone greater—a man who was and is divine. He brought forth a power that is infinite and a promise that is eternal, a power greater than all mankind's military might, for His power is Godly love, love that can lift our hearts and soothe our sorrows and heal our wounds and drive away our fears. He promised there will never be a long night that does not end. He promised to deliver us from dark torment and tragedy into the warming sunlight of human happiness, and beyond that, into paradise. He's never been a halfway giver; His generosity is pure and perfect and sure.

This, then, expresses the true meaning of Christmas. If each of us could give but a fraction to one another of what He gave to the whole human family, how many hearts could heal, how much sorrow and pain could be driven away? There's still time for joy and gladness to touch a sad and lonely soul, still time to feed a hungry child, to wrap a present for a kind old man feeling forlorn and afraid, and to reach out to an abandoned mother raising children on her own. There's still time to remember our Armed Forces, to express our profound gratitude to those keeping watch on far-away frontiers of freedom, and to redouble our energies to account for our MIA's. They are not and never will be forgotten. And there's still time to remember the deepest truth of all: that there can be no prisons, no walls, no boundaries separating the members of God's family.

Let us reach out tonight to every person who is persecuted; let us embrace and comfort, support and love them. Let us come together as one family under the fatherhood of God, binding ourselves in a communion of hearts, for tonight and tomorrow and for all time. May we give thanks for an America abundantly blessed, for a nation united, free, and at peace. May we carry forward the happiness of the Christmas spirit as the guiding star of our endeavors 365 days a year. And as we light this magnificent tree, may all the youthful hope and joy of America light up the heavens and make the angels sing.

Merry Christmas, and God bless you all. And now we're going to light the tree.

[*At this point, the National Christmas Tree, which was located on the Ellipse, south of the White House grounds, was lighted.*]

Merry Christmas!

Note: The President spoke at 5:45 p.m. at the South Portico of the White House during the annual Christmas Pageant of Peace.

Nomination of James L. Malone To Be United States Ambassador to Belize

December 13, 1985

The President today announced his intention to nominate James L. Malone, of Virginia, to be Ambassador to Belize. He would succeed Malcolm R. Barnebey.

deferrals are contained in the attached reports.

RONALD REAGAN

The White House,
December 16, 1982.

Note: The attachments detailing the proposed rescission and deferrals are printed in the Federal Register *of December 22, 1982.*

Appointment of Mary Rose Hughes as United States Representative on the Joint Commission on the Environment

December 16, 1982

The President today announced his intention to appoint Mary Rose Hughes to be a Representative of the United States of America on the Joint Commission on the Environment, established by the Panama Canal Treaty of 1977. She would succeed Robert O. Blake.

Ms. Hughes is currently serving as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Environment, Health and Natural Resources at the Department of State. She was an associate with the firm of Perkins, Coie, Stone, Olsen & Williams in Seattle, Wash., in 1979–1982. Previously she was senior associate with Abington Corp. in Washington, D.C., in 1978–1979; and manager, direct sales and marketing, Boeing Aerospace Corp. in 1977–1978.

She graduated from Columbus School of Law, Catholic University of America (J.D., 1979). She was born November 2, 1950.

Remarks on Lighting the National Community Christmas Tree

December 16, 1982

The President. My fellow Americans, the Christmas and Hanukkah decorations are up around the country, and in a moment we'll be lighting the National Christmas Tree here in the Nation's Capital.

In this holiday season, we celebrate the birthday of one who, for almost 2,000 years, has been a greater influence on humankind than all the rulers, all the scholars, all the armies and all the navies that ever marched or sailed, all put together. He brought to the world the simple message of peace on Earth, good will to all mankind.

Some celebrate the day as marking the birth of a great and good man, a wise teacher and prophet, and they do so sincerely. But for many of us it's also a holy day, the birthday of the Prince of Peace, a day when "God so loved the world" that He sent us His only begotten son to assure forgiveness of our sins.

The Yuletide season is characterized in our country by the giving of gifts, a spirit of charity, and, yes, good will, more so than at any other time of the year. Already traditional programs are underway, drives to collect food and clothing for those who are in need. The U.S. Marine Reserves have a toy collection drive to make sure that old St. Nicholas—Santa Claus—has enough to go around. And this is matched in countless American communities by firemen, policemen, churches, religious groups, and service clubs.

Let me give you one specially moving example of what the Christmas spirit can do. I told this the other night. In Bridgeport, Connecticut, the Police Athletic League for years has maintained a kind of Christmas Center. It consists of a ranch-type house, a manger, and all the other things associated with Christmas. And during the holiday season it's manned by a Santa Claus, elves, and helpers. Thousands

of children visit it every year, and thousands of toys are given out to them.

This year, on Tuesday, December 7th, it was destroyed by fire set by a suspected arsonist. The mayor of Bridgeport called an emergency meeting. He asked for constructionists, carpenters, electricians, all the skills that are needed to help rebuild such a place. The answer to his call was instantaneous. More than 250 volunteers worked in shifts around the clock.

On Sunday, December 12th, 5 days later, at about 1:30 p.m. I phoned the mayor. He was officiating at the reopening of that Christmas Center to the cheers of hundreds and hundreds of the citizens of Bridgeport. It had been rebuilt in only the 4 days between the fire and the opening ceremony.

A recent initiative of Postmaster General William Bolger's will make it easier for all of us to do our part. He has instructed post offices across the country to display lists of the Christmas food, clothing, and toy drives in their local areas, a guide to holiday giving open to all Americans.

This holiday season, as we work our way out of a recession, too many still find themselves without jobs, forced to cut back on things that they once thought of as their normal pattern of living. They aren't statistics; they're people. They're our neighbors, friends, and, yes, family, and they make up that group that right now we call the unemployed. Their number's greater than it has been for some time past. Still, for every unemployed individual there are 9 of us who do have jobs, and with that ratio of 1 out of 10 in mind, I'd like to make a suggestion. How about those of us who are employed making sure that those who aren't will nevertheless have a merry Christmas. This is something that needs doing at the community level—neighbor helping neighbor.

The people we're talking about may be members of your church, brothers and sisters in your local union, or that family across the street or down the block in your neighborhood. Surely between the nine of us, we can find a way to make Christmas merry for that one who temporarily can use our help. But remember, time is growing short, and Christmas is almost here, which brings us back to lighting the National Christmas Tree.

This beloved tradition, which began nearly 50 years ago, has a special symbolism for our people. It's as if when we light this tree, we light something within ourselves as well. And during the Christmas season I think most Americans do feel a greater sense of family, friendship, giving, and joy. And there's a special joy in our children at this time of year. I've heard from many of them recently. I wish Nancy and I could personally thank all you children who've written in, but I want you to know how good your cards, letters, and artwork make us feel.

Now, while Christmas is a time for children, it's also a time to think of those who are less fortunate than we are, and let us also remember the constant vigil of the families of our missing in action. As we light this Christmas tree, may it light hope in the hearts of those who are lonely and needy.

In Ephesians we read that "Each of us has been given his gift, his portion of Christ's bounty." Well, let us share our bounty this Christmas season. Let us offer not only our hearts and prayers but a generous hand to those who need our help. And as we light this tree, let us brighten the lives of those here at home and around the world whose Christmas may not be as glowing and as cheerful as ours.

So, to all of you, God bless you and keep you during this cherished holiday season. And now let's turn on the National Christmas Tree.

[*At this point, the President pressed the button which lighted the tree, located at the annual Christmas Pageant of Peace ceremonies site on the Ellipse, near the White House.*]

And there it is. It's lighted.

Mrs. Reagan. Pretty.

The President. Yes. It's surrounded by 57 trees for each State and Territory.

Well, thank you all, and Merry Christmas.

Mrs. Reagan. Merry Christmas.

Note: The President spoke at 5:45 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

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December 17,

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site at Semipalatinsk in September, with observers from both sides present. The purpose of the JVE was to allow each side to demonstrate its preferred verification method for the TTBT and PNET. The results of the test were discussed during this round. We believe the experiments demonstrated the effectiveness and nonintrusive nature of CORRTEX, our preferred method of on-site measurement.

Once the verification provisions for the PNET and TTBT are finalized, the treaties will be submitted to the Senate for advice and consent to ratification. Following ratification, the United States will immediately propose that we and the Soviet Union enter into negotiations on ways to implement a step-by-step parallel program—in association with a program to reduce and ultimately eliminate all nuclear arms—of limiting and ultimately ending nuclear testing.

For the past four decades, a strong nuclear deterrent has ensured the security of the United States and our allies. As long as we must rely on nuclear weapons, we must continue to test to ensure their safety, security, reliability, effectiveness, and survivability. In this context, the United States seeks effective and verifiable agreements with the Soviet Union on nuclear-testing limitations that would strengthen security for all nations. The substantial progress which has been made in this round of the Nuclear Testing Talks is a positive step which reflects the success of the administration's practical and measured approach to nuclear testing.

Executive Order 12659—Delegation of Authority Regarding the Naval Petroleum and Oil Shale Reserves

December 15, 1988

By virtue of the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and laws of the United States of America, including section 301 of title 3 and sections 7427 and 7428 of title 10 of the United States Code, and in order to meet the goals and requirements of the Naval Petroleum and Oil Shale Reserves, it is hereby ordered as follows:

Section 1. The functions vested in the President by sections 7427 and 7428 of title 10 of the United States Code are delegated to the Secretary of Energy.

Sec. 2. On or before June 30, 1991, the Secretary of Energy shall prepare and submit to the President a comprehensive report of the agreements and programs executed under the authority granted under this Order. The authority delegated herein expires after October 1, 1991.

Ronald Reagan

The White House,
December 15, 1988.

[*Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 10:15 a.m., December 16, 1988*]

Remarks on Lighting the National Christmas Tree

December 15, 1988

Merry Christmas, Joe, and a very Merry Christmas to all. Nancy and I are together with you in celebration and reflection—celebration of the great miracle nearly 2,000 years ago that brought the Christ child to us and reflection on the great gifts He has bestowed upon us.

Christmas casts its glow upon us, as it does every year. And it reminds us that we need not feel lonely because we are loved, loved with the greatest love there has ever been or ever will be. In the bustle and rush of daily life, we sometimes forget how very much we have and how much we have to thank God for providing—for things as beautiful as a winter snow or babies who will be seeing their first Christmas, seeing the wonder of its beauty in their eyes. And, yes, from the poorest among us to the most fortunate, we are all blessed.

Christmas reminds us, as well, that He taught us all we need to know about caring for our fellow man and to take responsibility for the very condition of the world. Thus we must reflect: We must ever reflect upon the love we have for others and the joy we take in giving of ourselves to those who are less fortunate. From those who must depend on charity to see that their children

receive a Christmas present to the tragic victims of famine and earthquake worldwide, we know what it is we must do and how ennobling an experience it is to have done it.

We Americans live with bounties that those who lived at the time of the Christ child's birth could never have imagined. The bounties are material, yes, but chiefly they are spiritual. Those who would worship the birth of our Lord may do so in the church of their choosing and in the way of their choosing. Those among us who do not so celebrate the birth are free to share with us in this, our time of joy. In this day, when our freedom to worship is most precious, let us redouble our efforts to bring this and other greatest freedoms to all the peoples of the Earth.

May we give thanks for a free America, an America united in the wonder of a season that includes not only Christmas but Hanukkah as well. And as we light this glorious tree, may Nancy and I offer a final wish to all Americans: that every Christmas that follows will be as full of joy as we have these past years to work in your service. May God bless you all. And now Nancy will help me light the tree.

[*At this point, the National Christmas Tree, which was located on the Ellipse, was lighted.*]

And again, a very Merry Christmas.

Note: The President spoke at 5:52 p.m. from the South Balcony of the White House during the annual Christmas Pageant of Peace. In his opening remarks, he referred to Joe Riley, president of the Pageant.

Remarks and a Question-and-Answer Session With Students and Guests of the University of Virginia in Charlottesville, Virginia

December 16, 1988

Well, thank you very much for that warm welcome. Governor Baliles, Congressman Slaughter, and my very special thanks, too, to Senator Warner and President O'Neil for suggesting this invitation. And you know, as President, I have certain privileges. So, I checked with President O'Neil, and I'm delighted to announce that starting Monday night you all have 4 weeks off.

But here at UVA, we are surrounded with memories of Thomas Jefferson. One of my staff mentioned that Thomas Jefferson's favorite recreation was horseback riding, and I said he was a wise man. [*Laughter*] And another member of the staff said that Thomas Jefferson thought the White House was a noble edifice, and I said he was a man of refined taste. [*Laughter*] And a third staff member noted that, after retiring as President, Thomas Jefferson, in his seventies, didn't sit back and rest, but founded the University of Virginia; and I said, There's always an overachiever which makes it hard for the rest of us.

But no speaker can come to these grounds or see "the lawn" without appreciating the symmetry not just of the architecture but of the mind that created it. The man to whom that mind belonged is known to you as Mr. Jefferson. And I think the familiarity of that term is justified; his influence here is everywhere. And yet while those of you at UVA are fortunate to have before you physical reminders of the power of your founder's intellect and imagination, it should be remembered that all you do here, indeed, all of higher education in America, bears signs, too, of his transforming genius. The pursuit of science, the study of the great works, the value of free inquiry, in short, the very idea of the living the life of the mind—yes, these formative and abiding principles of higher education in America had their first and firmest advocate, and their greatest embodiment, in a tall, fair-headed, friendly man who watched this university take form from the mountainside where he lived, the university whose founding he called a crowning achievement to a long and well-spent life.

Well, you're not alone in feeling his presence. Presidents know about this, too. You've heard many times that during the first year of his Presidency, John F. Kennedy said to a group of Nobel laureates in the State Dining Room of the White House that there had not been such a collection of talent in that place since Jefferson dined

Remarks on Lighting the National Christmas Tree
December 11, 1986

Well, to all of you at the White House, to all those listening on the Ellipse, and to the millions more joining us this evening by way of radio and television: Good evening, and welcome to the lighting of the National Christmas Tree. A special word of greeting to some special people with me here at the White House, members of the Washington, DC, Big Brothers and Big Sisters programs. In these programs, grownups give of their time to youngsters, each adult getting together regularly with a boy or girl—a little brother or a sister—taking him or her to the park or zoo, or on a camping trip, or maybe just answering questions about life. My friends, I can't tell you how honored Nancy and I are to welcome you here this evening to this, the home that belongs to all Americans. For in this Christmas season, you remind us all of the greatest gift we can give to each other is the gift of ourselves.

Now, my friends, beyond the White House lawn—South Lawn, across the street on the Ellipse, in the darkness, there stands a tall shaggy shape—our National Christmas Tree. In a moment Byron Whyte will join Nancy and me in pressing the button, and that dark shape will come alive, blazing with color and light. But before we light the tree, let's just talk for a moment about why Christmas trees have become such an important part of the Christmas celebration.

For some Christmas just marks the birth of a great philosopher and prophet, a great and good man. To others, it marks something still more: the pinnacle of all history, the moment when the God of all creation—in the words of the creed, God from God and light from light—humbled himself to become a baby crying in a manger. To everyone Christmas is a time of happiness and cheer, a time of peace and good will and glad tidings.

And this brings us to the custom of the Christmas tree. For the ancestors from whom we inherited this Christmas tree believed that the glad tidings of Christmas were of such power, of such beauty and life-giving force, that they affected not only the human heart but extended to all creation. And in decorating trees, Christmas trees, they expressed their belief that on one special day of the year nature itself seems to join the angel choirs and little children and all mankind in a great and solemn celebration. The song puts it so well: "O Christmas tree, O Christmas tree, your boughs can teach a lesson. That constant faith and hope sublime, lend strength and comfort through all time."

Well, I've spoken long enough for a wintry evening like this. It's time to push the button used by every President since Calvin Coolidge in lighting our National Christmas Tree. And Nancy and Byron, let's see if we can't turn this cold dark evening into one of light and warmth.

All right. Push the light.

Note: The President spoke at 5:45 p.m. in the Diplomatic Reception Room at the White House during the annual Christmas Pageant of Peace. Eight-year-old Byron Whyte of Prince Georges County, MD, a participant in the Big Brothers program, helped light the tree.

quarterly, so that they can be revised downward whenever possible, without incurring significant government purchases of sugar or encouraging forfeiture of sugar loans beginning in FY 83.

In addition, I realize that the sugar duties and fees may have adverse effects on our major foreign sugar suppliers, particularly those in the Caribbean Basin. I have thus asked appropriate agencies to review this question on a priority basis to see what we can do to mitigate the effects.

Address to the Nation About Christmas and the Situation in Poland
December 23, 1981

Good evening.

At Christmas time, every home takes on a special beauty, a special warmth, and that's certainly true of the White House, where so many famous Americans have spent their Christmases over the years. This fine old home, the people's house, has seen so much, been so much a part of all our lives and history. It's been humbling and inspiring for Nancy and me to be spending our first Christmas in this place.

We've lived here as your tenants for almost a year now, and what a year it's been. As a people we've been through quite a lot—moments of joy, of tragedy, and of real achievement—moments that I believe have brought us all closer together. G. K. Chesterton once said that the world would never starve for wonders, but only for the want of wonder.

At this special time of year, we all renew our sense of wonder in recalling the story of the first Christmas in Bethlehem, nearly 2,000 year ago.

Some celebrate Christmas as the birthday of a great and good philosopher and teacher. Others of us believe in the divinity of the child born in Bethlehem, that he was and is the promised Prince of Peace. Yes, we've questioned why he who could perform miracles chose to come among us as a helpless babe, but maybe that was his first miracle, his first great lesson that we should learn to care for one another.

Tonight, in millions of American homes, the glow of the Christmas tree is a reflection of the love Jesus taught us. Like the shepherds and wise men of that first Christmas, we Americans have always tried to follow a higher light, a star, if you will. At lonely campfire vigils along the frontier, in the darkest days of the Great Depression, through war and peace, the twin beacons of faith and freedom have brightened the American sky. At times our footsteps may have faltered, but trusting in God's help, we've never lost our way.

Just across the way from the White House stand the two great emblems of the holiday season: a Menorah, symbolizing the Jewish festival of Hanukkah, and the National Christmas Tree, a beautiful towering blue spruce from Pennsylvania. Like the National Christmas Tree, our country is a living, growing thing planted in rich American soil. Only our devoted care can bring it to full flower. So, let this holiday season be for us a time of rededication.

Even as we rejoice, however, let us remember that for some Americans, this will not be as happy a Christmas as it should be. I know a little of what they feel. I remember one Christmas Eve during the Great Depression, my father opening what he thought was a Christmas greeting. It was a notice that he no longer had a job.

Over the past year, we've begun the long, hard work of economic recovery. Our goal is an America in which every citizen who needs and wants a job can get a job. Our program for recovery has only been in place for 12 weeks now, but it is beginning to work. With your help and prayers, it will succeed. We're winning the battle against inflation, runaway government spending and taxation, and that victory will mean more economic growth, more jobs, and more opportunity for all Americans.

A few months before he took up residence in this house, one of my predecessors, John Kennedy, tried to sum up the temper of the times with a quote from an author closely tied to Christmas, Charles Dickens. We were living, he said, in the best of times and the worst of times. Well, in some ways that's even more true today. The world is full of peril, as well as promise. Too many of its people, even now, live in the shadow of want and tyranny.

As I speak to you tonight, the fate of a proud and ancient nation hangs in the balance. For a thousand years, Christmas has been celebrated in Poland, a land of deep religious faith, but this Christmas brings little joy to the courageous Polish people. They have been betrayed by their own government.

The men who rule them and their totalitarian allies fear the very freedom that the Polish people cherish. They have answered the stirrings of liberty with brute force, killings, mass arrests, and the setting up of concentration camps. Lech Walesa and other Solidarity leaders are imprisoned, their fate unknown. Factories, mines, universities, and homes have been assaulted.

The Polish Government has trampled underfoot solemn commitments to the UN Charter and the Helsinki accords. It has even broken the Gdansk agreement of August 1980, by which the Polish Government recognized the basic right of its people to form free trade unions and to strike.

The tragic events now occurring in Poland, almost 2 years to the day after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, have been precipitated by public and secret pressure from the Soviet Union. It is no coincidence that Soviet Marshal Kulikov, chief of the Warsaw Pact forces, and other senior Red Army officers were in Poland while these outrages were being initiated. And it is no coincidence that the martial law proclamations imposed in December by the Polish Government were being printed in the Soviet Union in September.

The target of this depression [repression] is the Solidarity Movement, but in attacking Solidarity its enemies attack an entire people. Ten million of Poland's 36 million citizens are members of Solidarity. Taken together with their families, they account for the overwhelming majority of the Polish nation. By persecuting Solidarity the Polish Government wages war against its own people.

I urge the Polish Government and its allies to consider the consequences of their actions. How can they possibly justify using naked force to crush a people who ask for nothing more than the right to lead their own lives in freedom and dignity? Brute force may intimidate, but it cannot form the basis of an enduring society, and the ailing Polish economy cannot be rebuilt with terror tactics.

Poland needs cooperation between its government and its people, not military oppression. If the Polish Government will honor the commitments it has made to human rights in documents like the Gdansk agreement, we in America will gladly do our share to help the shattered Polish economy, just as we helped the countries of Europe after both World Wars.

It's ironic that we offered, and Poland expressed interest in accepting, our help after World War II. The Soviet Union intervened then and refused to allow such help to Poland. But if the forces of tyranny in Poland, and those who incite them from without, do not relent, they should prepare themselves for serious consequences. Already, throughout the Free World, citizens have publicly demonstrated their support for the Polish people. Our government, and those of our allies, have expressed moral revulsion at the police state tactics of Poland's oppressors. The Church has also spoken out, in spite of threats and intimidation. But our reaction cannot stop there.

I want emphatically to state tonight that if the outrages in Poland do not cease, we cannot and will not conduct "business as usual" with the perpetrators and those who aid and abet them. Make no mistake, their crime will cost them dearly in their future dealings with America and free peoples everywhere. I do not make this statement lightly or without serious reflection.

We have been measured and deliberate in our reaction to the tragic events in Poland. We have not acted in haste, and the steps I will outline tonight and others we

may take in the days ahead are firm, just, and reasonable.

In order to aid the suffering Polish people during this critical period, we will continue the shipment of food through private humanitarian channels, but only so long as we know that the Polish people themselves receive the food. The neighboring country of Austria has opened her doors to refugees from Poland. I have therefore directed that American assistance, including supplies of basic foodstuffs, be offered to aid the Austrians in providing for these refugees.

But to underscore our fundamental opposition to the repressive actions taken by the Polish Government against its own people, the administration has suspended all government-sponsored shipments of agricultural and dairy products to the Polish Government. This suspension will remain in force until absolute assurances are received that distribution of these products is monitored and guaranteed by independent agencies. We must be sure that every bit of food provided by America goes to the Polish people, not to their oppressors.

The United States is taking immediate action to suspend major elements of our economic relationships with the Polish Government. We have halted the renewal of the Export-Import Bank's line of export credit insurance to the Polish Government. We will suspend Polish civil aviation privileges in the United States. We are suspending the right of Poland's fishing fleet to operate in American waters. And we're proposing to our allies the further restriction of high technology exports to Poland.

These actions are not directed against the Polish people. They are a warning to the Government of Poland that free men cannot and will not stand idly by in the face of brutal repression. To underscore this point, I've written a letter to General Jaruzelski, head of the Polish Government. In it, I outlined the steps we're taking and warned of the serious consequences if the Polish Government continues to use violence against its populace. I've urged him to free those in arbitrary detention, to lift martial law, and to restore the internationally recognized rights of the Polish people to free speech and association.

The Soviet Union, through its threats and pressures, deserves a major share of blame for the developments in Poland. So, I have also sent a letter to President Brezhnev urging him to permit the restoration of basic human rights in Poland provided for in the Helsinki Final Act. In it, I informed him that if this repression continues, the United States will have no choice but to take further concrete political and economic measures affecting our relationship.

When 19th century Polish patriots rose against foreign oppressors, their rallying cry was, "For our freedom and yours." Well, that motto still rings true in our time. There is a spirit of solidarity abroad in the world tonight that no physical force can crush. It crosses national boundaries and enters into the hearts of men and women everywhere. In factories, farms, and schools, in cities and towns around the globe, we the people of the Free World stand as one with our Polish brothers and sisters. Their cause is ours, and our prayers and hopes go out to them this Christmas.

Yesterday, I met in this very room with Romuald Spasowski, the distinguished former Polish Ambassador who has sought asylum in our country in protest of the suppression of his native land. He told me that one of the ways the Polish people have demonstrated their solidarity in the face of martial law is by placing lighted candles in their windows to show that the light of liberty still glows in their hearts.

Ambassador Spasowski requested that on Christmas Eve a lighted candle will burn in the White House window as a small but certain beacon of our solidarity with the Polish people. I urge all of you to do the same tomorrow night, on Christmas Eve, as a personal statement of your commitment to the steps we're taking to support the brave people of Poland in their time of troubles.

Once, earlier in this century, an evil influence threatened that the lights were going out all over the world. Let the light of millions of candles in American homes give notice that the light of freedom is not going to be extinguished. We are blessed with a freedom and abundance denied to so many. Let those candles remind us that

coalition, to hold political meetings in Bulawayo on the same day. This order was also recently cited as justification for preventing ZAPU-oriented youth from carrying out a demonstration in support of the anniversary of the Soviet revolution.

These new restrictive measures appear unwarranted unless there is evidence not yet made public that Prime Minister Mugabe's government is being more threatened than it appears to be by opposition politicians. From all outward appearances, the Prime Minister is still firmly in control and the threat of political instability continues to diminish.

Prime Minister Mugabe has continued to take steps to reassure the whites by reaffirming his commitment to reconciliation and by stressing the point that Zimbabwe's brand of socialism would not be built on the basis of destroying the present economic infrastructure, but by preserving that structure. At the same time, however, he does not hesitate to castigate those whites who, according to him, have not changed their negative racial attitudes. His decision to fire Health Minister Herbert Ushewokunze, considered one of the more provocatively radical Cabinet members, has been a significant boost to white morale.

The exercise designed to integrate the two former guerrilla armies and the former Rhodesian forces into a single army, which was organized and directed by the British, has been successfully completed. The entire operation took 18 months and involved approximately 58,000 troops. The success of this operation reflects credit on the British, Prime Minister Mugabe, Joshua Nkomo and the white leadership of the former Rhodesian forces. It has also laid to rest the problem of force amalgamation which was one of the most intractable issues in the Anglo-American and Lancaster House settlement efforts.

Prime Minister Mugabe continues to view a Namibian settlement as an urgent issue, and he has stated publicly that Zimbabwe supports recent Contact Group efforts to bring about independence. Zimbabwe's balanced position on key regional issues is important to us in seeking a Namibian settlement and pursuing other U.S. objectives in Africa.

Sincerely,

RONALD REAGAN

Note: This is the text of identical letters addressed to Senator Charles H. Percy, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Representative Clement J. Zablocki, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Remarks on Lighting the National Community Christmas Tree
December 17, 1981

Ladies and gentlemen and fellow Americans:

This is a wonderful occasion, an annual occasion here in Washington, when we turn on the nation's Christmas tree.

Christmas, of course, is, I think for all of us, is a time of memories of our own childhood, of our children, grandchildren—but anyway, it is a time of children. And so, here tonight we're surrounded by children, I'm happy to say, here in the East Room of the White House.

Maybe it's fitting that children should be here and that Christmas is a time for children, because the man whose birthday we celebrate in this season came to us the Prince of Peace, not in a chariot, but as a babe in a manger. I know there are some who celebrate this day, the Christmas Day, as the birthday of a great teacher and philosopher. To others of us, he is more than that; he is also divine. But to all of us, he taught us the way that we could have peace on Earth and good will to men, and that is if we would do unto others as we would have others do unto us.

Now, this button here and this box has been used for turning on the national

Christmas tree since 1923, I believe it was, when President Coolidge first did it. It didn't always get turned on here in the White House. Sometimes it was outdoors and down where the tree is and sometimes it wasn't even in Washington. Harry Truman turned the tree on once with this same switch from Independence, Missouri. Franklin Delano Roosevelt turned it on at times from Hyde Park. But it's going to be turned on here from Washington.

I had hoped that—in fact, I one day said that our grandchild, Cameron Michael, might be able to push the button, but he's 3,000 miles away. All these children are here, and I couldn't pick one of them out of all of this number to push the button, so I'm going to have to do it myself.

And in doing it, we all know that this Christmas is not as happy for some Americans as it could be, not as happy for some people out in other parts of the world. We've had other Christmases in our land—the first one when we were a nation in 1976 [1776], and Washington led his men across the Delaware River in a battle that set the stage for our independence. And legend has it that the path of their march through the snow was one of blood-stained footprints. But we shall live with the hope and the promise of the man of Galilee that Christmases will be better and that we will have peace and good will among men.

And now—[*pressing the button*]—the tree is lighted.

Do you want to look around and you can see the tree over there on the monitor? There it is. All lighted up.

Note: The President spoke at 5:40 p.m. in the East Room at the White House where he pressed the button which lighted the National Christmas tree at the annual Christmas Pageant of Peace ceremonies on the Ellipse.

Excerpt From an Exchange With a Reporter Concerning the Kidnaping of Brigadier General James Dozier

December 18, 1981

Q. Mr. President, can we do anything to try to find General Dozier and free him from the Red Brigades?

The President. Well, I think that everything is being done that can be done. This is, I think, a terrible situation. And it's a most frustrating situation, because I would like to be able to stand sometime—I'm sure that we all would—and say to the people that do these things, they are cowardly bums. They aren't heroes, they don't have a cause that justifies what they're doing. They're cowards. They wouldn't have the guts to stand up to anyone individually in any kind of a fair contest. And I think it is—well, I can't say any more than that.

Yes, we're doing everything we can.

Note: The exchange began at approximately 12:30 p.m. as the President was beginning a luncheon meeting with American automobile industry representatives in the Cabinet Room at the White House.

550 Remarks at the Pageant of Peace Ceremonies. *December 17, 1962*

[Delivered over television and radio at 5:15 p.m.]

Ladies and gentlemen, Secretary Udall, members of the clergy:

With the lighting of this tree, which is an old ceremony in Washington and one which has been among the most important responsibilities of a good many Presidents of the United States, we initiate, in a formal way, the Christmas Season.

We mark the festival of Christmas which is the most sacred and hopeful day in our civilization. For nearly 2,000 years the message of Christmas, the message of peace and good will towards all men, has been the guiding star of our endeavors. This morning I had a meeting at the White House which included some of our representatives from far off countries in Africa and Asia. They were returning to their posts for the Christmas holidays. Talking with them afterwards, I was struck by the fact that in the far off continents Moslems, Hindus, Buddhists, as well as Christians, pause from their labors on the 25th day of December to celebrate the birthday of the Prince of Peace. There could be no more striking proof that Christmas is truly the universal holiday of all men. It is the day when all of us dedicate our thoughts to others; when all are reminded that mercy and compassion are the enduring virtues; when all show, by small deeds and large and by acts, that it is more blessed to give than to receive.

It is the day when we remind ourselves that man can and must live in peace with his neighbors and that it is the peacemakers who are truly blessed. In this year of 1962 we greet each other at Christmas with some special sense of the blessings of peace. This has been a year of peril when the peace has been sorely threatened. But it has been a year when peril was faced and when reason ruled. As a result, we may talk, at this Christmas, just a little bit more confidently of peace on earth, good will to men. As a result, the hopes of the American people are perhaps a little higher. We have much yet to do. We still need to ask that God bless everyone. But yet I think we can enter this season of good will with more than usual joy in our hearts.

And I think all of us extend a special word of gratitude and appreciation to those who serve the United States abroad; to the one million men in uniform who will celebrate this Christmas away from their homes; to those hundreds of young men and women and some older men and women who serve in far off countries in our Peace Corps; to the members of the Foreign Service; to those who work in the various information services, AID agencies, and others who work for us abroad who will celebrate this December 25th thousands of miles from us at sea, on land, and in the air, but with us. It is to them that we offer the best of Christmases and to all of you I send my very best wishes for a blessed and happy Christmas and a peaceful and prosperous New Year.

Thank you.

This [*indicating the electric switch*] was first pressed by President Coolidge in 1923 and succeedingly by President Hoover, Vice President Curtis, by President Franklin Roosevelt on many occasions, by President Harry Truman, by President Eisenhower, by Vice President Johnson. I am delighted to be in that illustrious company and we therefore light the tree.

NOTE: The President spoke just before lighting the National Community Christmas Tree at the Pageant of Peace ceremonies on the Ellipse.

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While I object to the specific measure which this bill proposes to carry out with respect to our employment service, I object even more strongly to the legislative method employed for its enactment. To attach a legislative rider to an appropriation bill restricts the President's exercise of his functions and is contrary to good government.

In view of my past legislative experience, I realize the obligations of the President to the Congress as a coordinate branch of the Government. At the same time, I must be equally aware of the Constitutional responsibility of the President to the people, and of the obligation of the Congress to help him discharge that responsibility.

The Constitution has placed upon the President the duty of considering bills for approval or disapproval. It has always been possible for the Congress to hamper the President's exercise of this duty by combining so many subjects into a single bill that he can not disapprove an objectionable item without holding up necessary legislation.

Partly in order to prevent this practice, it has long been considered a fundamental principle that legislation on a major issue of policy ought not be combined with an appropriation measure. The present bill directly violates that principle. I am obliged to withhold my approval to some very excellent legislation because of the objectionable practice which has been followed by attaching this rider which I cannot possibly approve.

HARRY S. TRUMAN

227 Address at the Lighting of the National Community Christmas Tree on the White House Grounds. *December* 24, 1945

[Broadcast nationally at 5:15 p.m.]

Ladies and gentlemen, and listeners of the radio audience:

This is the Christmas that a war-weary world has prayed for through long and awful years. With peace come joy and gladness. The gloom of the war years fades as once more we light the National Community Christmas Tree. We meet in the spirit of the first Christmas, when the

midnight choir sang the hymn of joy: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men."

Let us not forget that the coming of the Saviour brought a time of long peace to the Roman World. It is, therefore, fitting for us to remember that the spirit of Christmas is the spirit of peace, of love, of charity to all men. From the manger of Bethlehem came a new appeal to the minds and hearts of men: "A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another."

In love, which is the very essence of the message of the Prince of Peace, the world would find a solution for all its ills. I do not believe there is one problem in this country or in the world today which could not be settled if approached through the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount. The poets' dream, the lesson of priest and patriarch and the prophets' vision of a new heaven and a new earth, all are summed up in the message delivered in the Judean hills beside the Sea of Galilee. Would that the world would accept that message in this time of its greatest need!

This is a solemn hour. In the stillness of the Eve of the Nativity when the hopes of mankind hang on the peace that was offered to the world nineteen centuries ago, it is but natural, while we survey our destiny, that we give thought also to our past—to some of the things which have gone into the making of our Nation.

You will remember that Saint Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, and his companions, suffering shipwreck, "cast four anchors out of the stern and wished for the day." Happily for us, whenever the American Ship of State has been storm-tossed we have always had an anchor to the windward.

We are met on the South Lawn of the White House. The setting is a reminder of Saint Paul's four anchors. To one side is the massive pile of the Washington Monument—fit symbol of our first anchor. On the opposite end of Potomac Park is the memorial to another of the anchors which we see when we look astern of the Ship of State—Abraham Lincoln, who preserved the Union that Washington wrought.

Between them is the memorial to Thomas Jefferson, the anchor of democracy. On the other side of the White House, in bronze, rides

Andrew Jackson—fourth of our anchors—the pedestal of his monument bearing his immortal words: "Our Federal Union—it must be preserved."

It is well in this solemn hour that we bow to Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, and Lincoln as we face our destiny with its hopes and fears—its burdens and its responsibilities. Out of the past we shall gather wisdom and inspiration to chart our future course.

With our enemies vanquished we must gird ourselves for the work that lies ahead. Peace has its victories no less hard won than success at arms. We must not fail or falter. We must strive without ceasing to make real the prophecy of Isaiah: "They shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

In this day, whether it be far or near, the Kingdoms of this world shall become indeed the Kingdom of God and He will reign forever and ever, Lord of Lords and King of Kings. With that message I wish my countrymen a Merry Christmas and joyous days in the New Year.

228 Letters to the Members of the Board of Directors on the Termination of the Smaller War Plants Corporation. *December 27, 1945*

[Released December 27, 1945. Dated November 1, 1945]

Dear Maury:

As you know, in line with my reorganization plans, the Smaller War Plants Corporation's functions are being transferred to other agencies. But there is one more job I would like for you to do for small business. It is in connection with little business in world trade.

Sometime ago I authorized you to take a trip to the countries of the Pacific. The purpose of the Mission was to make a report to me concerning the development of small business in these countries and the possibility of stimulating international trade between them and small businesses at home. Particularly, I am interested in the development of American small business in the field of international trade.

you learn! I made one glass of vodka that big—*(indicating a two-inch width with his fingers)* last for about twenty toasts—just about. *(Laughter)*

NOTE: See Item 134 and note, this volume, for the President's statement on the death of Marvin H. McIntyre.

For accounts of the Cairo and Teheran Conferences, see Items 128, 129, 138, and notes, this volume.

138 ¶ "Keep Us Strong in Our Faith That We Fight for a Better Day for Humankind" — Christmas Eve Fireside Chat on Teheran and Cairo Conferences. December 24, 1943

My friends:

I HAVE recently returned from extensive journeyings in the region of the Mediterranean and as far as the borders of Russia. I have conferred with the leaders of Britain and Russia and China on military matters of the present—especially on plans for stepping up our successful attack on our enemies as quickly as possible and from many different points of the compass.

On this Christmas Eve there are over 10,000,000 men in the armed forces of the United States alone. One year ago 1,700,000 were serving overseas. Today, this figure has been more than doubled to 3,800,000 on duty overseas. By next July 1 that number overseas will rise to over 5,000,000 men and women.

That this is truly a world war was demonstrated to me when arrangements were being made with our overseas broadcasting agencies for the time to speak today to our soldiers, sailors, marines, and merchant seamen in every part of the world. In fixing the time for this broadcast, we took into consideration that at this moment here in the United States, and in the Caribbean and on the northeast coast of South America, it is afternoon. In Alaska and in Hawaii and the mid-Pacific, it is still morning. In

Iceland, in Great Britain, in North Africa, in Italy and the Middle East, it is now evening.

In the Southwest Pacific, in Australia, in China and Burma and India, it is already Christmas Day. So we can correctly say that at this moment, in those Far Eastern parts where Americans are fighting, today is tomorrow.

But everywhere throughout the world — throughout this war that covers the world — there is a special spirit that has warmed our hearts since our earliest childhood — a spirit that brings us close to our homes, our families, our friends and neighbors — the Christmas spirit of "peace on earth, good will toward men." It is an unquenchable spirit.

During the past years of international gangsterism and brutal aggression in Europe and in Asia, our Christmas celebrations have been darkened with apprehension for the future. We have said, "Merry Christmas — Happy New Year," but we have known in our hearts that the clouds which have hung over our world have prevented us from saying it with full sincerity and conviction.

And even this year, we still have much to face in the way of further suffering, and sacrifice, and personal tragedy. Our men, who have been through the fierce battles in the Solomons, the Gilberts, Tunisia, and Italy know, from their own experience and knowledge of modern war, that many bigger and costlier battles are still to be fought.

But — on Christmas Eve this year — I can say to you that at last we may look forward into the future with real, substantial confidence that, however great the cost, "peace on earth, good will toward men" can be and will be realized and insured. This year I *can* say that. Last year I could *not* do more than express a hope. Today I express a certainty — though the cost may be high and the time may be long.

Within the past year — within the past few weeks — history has been made, and it is far better history for the whole human race than any that we have known, or even dared to hope for, in these tragic times through which we pass.

A great beginning was made in the Moscow Conference last October by Mr. Molotov, Mr. Eden, and our own Mr. Hull. There and then the way was paved for the later meetings.

At Cairo and Teheran we devoted ourselves not only to military matters; we devoted ourselves also to consideration of the future — to plans for the kind of world which alone can justify all the sacrifices of this war.

Of course, as you all know, Mr. Churchill and I have happily met many times before, and we know and understand each other very well. Indeed, Mr. Churchill has become known and beloved by many millions of Americans, and the heartfelt prayers of all of us have been with this great citizen of the world in his recent serious illness.

The Cairo and Teheran Conferences, however, gave me my first opportunity to meet the Generalissimo, Chiang Kai-shek, and Marshal Stalin — and to sit down at the table with these unconquerable men and talk with them face to face. We had planned to talk to each other across the table at Cairo and Teheran; but we soon found that we were all on the same side of the table. We came to the Conferences with faith in each other. But we needed the personal contact. And now we have supplemented faith with definite knowledge.

It was well worth traveling thousands of miles over land and sea to bring about this personal meeting, and to gain the heartening assurance that we are absolutely agreed with one another on all the major objectives — and on the military means of attaining them.

At Cairo, Prime Minister Churchill and I spent four days with the Generalissimo, Chiang Kai-shek. It was the first time that we had an opportunity to go over the complex situation in the Far East with him personally. We were able not only to settle upon definite military strategy, but also to discuss certain long-range principles which we believe can assure peace in the Far East for many generations to come.

Those principles are as simple as they are fundamental. They involve the restoration of stolen property to its rightful owners,

and the recognition of the rights of millions of people in the Far East to build up their own forms of self-government without molestation. Essential to all peace and security in the Pacific and in the rest of the world is the permanent elimination of the Empire of Japan as a potential force of aggression. Never again must our soldiers and sailors and marines — and other soldiers, sailors, and marines — be compelled to fight from island to island as they are fighting so gallantly and so successfully today.

Increasingly powerful forces are now hammering at the Japanese at many points over an enormous arc which curves down through the Pacific from the Aleutians to the jungles of Burma. Our own Army and Navy, our Air Forces, the Australians and New Zealanders, the Dutch, and the British land, air, and sea forces are all forming a band of steel which is slowly but surely closing in on Japan.

On the mainland of Asia, under the Generalissimo's leadership, the Chinese ground and air forces augmented by American air forces are playing a vital part in starting the drive which will push the invaders into the sea.

Following out the military decisions at Cairo, General Marshall has just flown around the world and has had conferences with General MacArthur and Admiral Nimitz — conferences which will spell plenty of bad news for the Japs in the not too far distant future.

I met in the Generalissimo a man of great vision, great courage, and a remarkably keen understanding of the problems of today and tomorrow. We discussed all the manifold military plans for striking at Japan with decisive force from many directions, and I believe I can say that he returned to Chungking with the positive assurance of total victory over our common enemy. Today we and the Republic of China are closer together than ever before in deep friendship and in unity of purpose.

After the Cairo Conference, Mr. Churchill and I went by airplane to Teheran. There we met with Marshal Stalin. We talked with complete frankness on every conceivable subject connected

with the winning of the war and the establishment of a durable peace after the war.

Within three days of intense and consistently amicable discussions, we agreed on every point concerned with the launching of a gigantic attack upon Germany.

The Russian Army will continue its stern offensives on Germany's eastern front, the Allied armies in Italy and Africa will bring relentless pressure on Germany from the south, and now the encirclement will be complete as great American and British forces attack from other points of the compass.

The Commander selected to lead the combined attack from these other points is General Dwight D. Eisenhower. His performances in Africa, in Sicily, and in Italy have been brilliant. He knows by practical and successful experience the way to coordinate air, sea, and land power. All of these will be under his control. Lieutenant General Carl D. Spaatz will command the entire American strategic bombing force operating against Germany.

General Eisenhower gives up his command in the Mediterranean to a British officer whose name is being announced by Mr. Churchill. We now pledge that new Commander that our powerful ground, sea, and air forces in the vital Mediterranean area will stand by his side until every objective in that bitter theater is attained.

Both of these new Commanders will have American and British subordinate Commanders whose names will be announced in a few days.

During the last two days at Teheran, Marshal Stalin, Mr. Churchill, and I looked ahead to the days and months and years that will follow Germany's defeat. We were united in determination that Germany must be stripped of her military might and be given no opportunity within the foreseeable future to regain that might.

The United Nations have no intention to enslave the German people. We wish them to have a normal chance to develop, in peace, as useful and respectable members of the European fam-

ily. But we most certainly emphasize that word "respectable" — for we intend to rid them once and for all of Nazism and Prussian militarism and the fantastic and disastrous notion that they constitute the "master race."

We did discuss international relationships from the point of view of big, broad objectives, rather than details. But on the basis of what we did discuss, I can say even today that I do not think any insoluble differences will arise among Russia, Great Britain, and the United States.

In these conferences we were concerned with basic principles — principles which involve the security and the welfare and the standard of living of human beings in countries large and small.

To use an American and somewhat ungrammatical colloquialism, I may say that I "got along fine" with Marshal Stalin. He is a man who combines a tremendous, relentless determination with a stalwart good humor. I believe he is truly representative of the heart and soul of Russia; and I believe that we are going to get along very well with him and the Russian people — very well indeed.

Britain, Russia, China, and the United States and their allies represent more than three-quarters of the total population of the earth. As long as these four Nations with great military power stick together in determination to keep the peace there will be no possibility of an aggressor Nation arising to start another world war.

But those four powers must be united with and cooperate with all the freedom-loving peoples of Europe, and Asia, and Africa, and the Americas. The rights of every Nation, large or small, must be respected and guarded as jealously as are the rights of every individual within our own Republic.

The doctrine that the strong shall dominate the weak is the doctrine of our enemies — and we reject it.

But, at the same time, we are agreed that if force is necessary to keep international peace, international force will be applied — for as long as it may be necessary.

It has been our steady policy — and it is certainly a common-

sense policy — that the right of each Nation to freedom must b measured by the willingness of that Nation to fight for freedon And today we salute our unseen allies in occupied countries - the underground resistance groups and the armies of liberatior They will provide potent forces against our enemies, when th day of the counter-invasion comes.

Through the development of science the world has become s much smaller that we have had to discard the geographical yarc sticks of the past. For instance, through our early history th Atlantic and Pacific Oceans were believed to be walls of safety fc the United States. Time and distance made it physically po sible, for example, for us and for the other American Republi to obtain and maintain our independence against infinite stronger powers. Until recently very few people, even milita experts, thought that the day would ever come when we mig have to defend our Pacific coast against Japanese threats of i vasion.

At the outbreak of the first World War relatively few peop thought that our ships and shipping would be menaced by G man submarines on the high seas or that the German militari would ever attempt to dominate any Nation outside of cent Europe.

After the Armistice in 1918, we thought and hoped that t militaristic philosophy of Germany had been crushed; and bei full of the milk of human kindness we spent the next twer years disarming, while the Germans whined so pathetically tl the other Nations permitted them — and even helped them to rearm.

For too many years we lived on pious hopes that aggressor a warlike Nations would learn and understand and carry out doctrine of purely voluntary peace.

The well-intentioned but ill-fated experiments of former yc did not work. It is my hope that we will not try them again. N that is putting it too weakly — it is my intention to do all tha humanly can as President and Commander in Chief to see t that these tragic mistakes shall not be made again.

There have always been cheerful idiots in this country who believed that there would be no more war for us if everybody in America would only return into their homes and lock their front doors behind them. Assuming that their motives were of the highest, events have shown how unwilling they were to face the facts.

The overwhelming majority of all the people in the world want peace. Most of them are fighting for the attainment of peace — not just a truce, not just an armistice — but peace that is as strongly enforced and as durable as mortal man can make it. If we are willing to fight for peace now, is it not good logic that we should use force if necessary, in the future, to keep the peace?

I believe, and I think I can say, that the other three great Nations who are fighting so magnificently to gain peace are in complete agreement that we must be prepared to keep the peace by force. If the people of Germany and Japan are made to realize thoroughly that the world is not going to let them break out again, it is possible, and, I hope, probable, that they will abandon the philosophy of aggression — the belief that they can gain the whole world even at the risk of losing their own souls.

I shall have more to say about the Cairo and Teheran Conferences when I make my report to the Congress in about two weeks' time. And, on that occasion, I shall also have a great deal to say about certain conditions here at home.

But today I wish to say that in all my travels, at home and abroad, it is the sight of our soldiers and sailors and their magnificent achievements which have given me the greatest inspiration and the greatest encouragement for the future.

To the members of our armed forces, to their wives, mothers, and fathers, I want to affirm the great faith and confidence that we have in General Marshall and in Admiral King, who direct all of our armed might throughout the world. Upon them falls the great responsibility of planning the strategy of determining where and when we shall fight. Both of these men have already gained high places in American history, which will record many

evidences of their military genius that cannot be published today.

Some of our men overseas are now spending their third Christmas far from home. To them and to all others overseas or soon to go overseas, I can give assurance that it is the purpose of their Government to win this war and to bring them home at the earliest possible time.

We here in the United States had better be sure that when our soldiers and sailors do come home they will find an America in which they are given full opportunities for education, and rehabilitation, social security, and employment and business enterprise under the free American system — and that they will find a Government which, by their votes as American citizens, they have had a full share in electing.

The American people have had every reason to know that this is a tough and destructive war. On my trip abroad, I talked with many military men who had faced our enemies in the field. These hardheaded realists testify to the strength and skill and resourcefulness of the enemy generals and men whom we must beat before final victory is won. The war is now reaching the stage where we shall all have to look forward to large casualty lists — dead, wounded, and missing.

War entails just that. There is no easy road to victory. And the end is not yet in sight.

I have been back only for a week. It is fair that I should tell you my impression. I think I see a tendency in some of our people here to assume a quick ending of the war — that we have already gained the victory. And, perhaps as a result of this false reasoning, I think I discern an effort to resume or even encourage an outbreak of partisan thinking and talking. I hope I am wrong. For, surely, our first and most foremost tasks are all concerned with winning the war and winning a just peace that will last for generations.

The massive offensives which are in the making — both in Europe and the Far East — will require every ounce of energy and fortitude that we and our allies can summon on the fighting

fronts and in all the workshops at home. As I have said before, you cannot order up a great attack on a Monday and demand that it be delivered on Saturday.

Less than a month ago I flew in a big Army transport plane over the little town of Bethlehem, in Palestine.

Tonight, on Christmas Eve, all men and women everywhere who love Christmas are thinking of that ancient town and of the star of faith that shone there more than nineteen centuries ago.

American boys are fighting today in snow-covered mountains, in malarial jungles, on blazing deserts; they are fighting on the far stretches of the sea and above the clouds, and fighting for the thing for which they struggle. I think it is best symbolized by the message that came out of Bethlehem.

On behalf of the American people — your own people — I send this Christmas message to you who are in our armed forces:

In our hearts are prayers for you and for all your comrades in arms who fight to rid the world of evil.

We ask God's blessing upon you — upon your fathers, mothers, wives and children — all your loved ones at home.

We ask that the comfort of God's grace shall be granted to those who are sick and wounded, and to those who are prisoners of war in the hands of the enemy, waiting for the day when they will again be free.

And we ask that God receive and cherish those who have given their lives, and that He keep them in honor and in the grateful memory of their countrymen forever.

God bless all of you who fight our battles on this Christmas Eve.

God bless us all. Keep us strong in our faith that we fight for a better day for humankind — here and everywhere.

NOTE: Although Congressional leaders wanted the President to make his report on the Teheran and Cairo Conferences in person in the form of a message to the Congress, the President said that he wanted to make his report in connection with Christmas Eve at Hyde Park. He foresaw the early possibility of an organization which would keep world peace, and he wanted to tie in that objective with the natural message of Christmas — peace on earth, good will toward men.

For additional accounts of the Cairo and Teheran Conferences, see Items 128, 129, 137, and notes, this volume.

139 ¶ Presidential Statement and Executive Order on the Seizure and Operation of the Railroads. Executive Order No. 9412. December 27, 1943

The President's statement:

RAILROAD strikes by three Brotherhoods have been ordered for next Thursday. I cannot wait until the last moment to take action to see that the supplies to our fighting men are not interrupted. I am accordingly obliged to take over at once temporary possession and control of the railroads to insure their continued operation. The Government will expect every railroad man to continue at his post of duty. The major military offensives now planned must not be delayed by the interruption of vital transportation facilities. If any employees of the railroads now strike, they will be striking against the Government of the United States.

The Executive Order:

WHEREAS the continuous operation of transportation service in the Nation is necessary for the movement of troops, materials of war, necessary passenger traffic, and supplies and food for the armed forces and the civilian population, and is otherwise essential to the successful prosecution of the war; and

WHEREAS the continuous operation of some transportation systems is threatened by strikes called to commence on December 30, 1943;

NOW, THEREFORE, by virtue of the authority vested in me by

135 ¶ The President's Christmas Eve Message. December 24, 1942

THIS year I am speaking on Christmas Eve not to this gathering at the White House only but to all of the citizens of our Nation, to the men and women serving in our American armed forces and also to those who wear the uniforms of the other United Nations.

I give you a message of cheer. I cannot say "Merry Christmas" — for I think constantly of those thousands of soldiers and sailors who are in actual combat throughout the world — but I can express to you my thought that this is a happier Christmas than last year in the sense that the forces of darkness stand against us with less confidence in the success of their evil ways.

To you who toil in industry for the common cause of helping to win the war, I send a message of cheer — that you can well continue to sacrifice without recrimination and with a look of Christmas cheer — a kindly spirit toward your fellow men.

To you who serve in uniform I also send a message of cheer — that you are in the thoughts of your families and friends at home, and that Christmas prayers follow you wherever you may be.

To all Americans I say that loving our neighbor as we love ourselves is not enough — that we as a Nation and as individuals will please God best by showing regard for the laws of God. There is no better way of fostering good will toward man than by first fostering good will toward God. If we love Him we will keep His Commandments.

In sending Christmas greetings to the armed forces and merchant sailors of the United Nations we include therein our pride in their bravery on the fighting fronts and on all the seas. But we remember in our greetings and in our pride those other men who guard remote islands and bases and will, in all probability, never come into active combat with the common enemy. They are stationed in distant places far from home.

They have few contacts with the outside world, and I want them to know that their work is essential to the conduct of the war — essential to the ultimate victory — and that we have not forgotten them.

It is significant that tomorrow — Christmas Day — our plants and factories will be stilled. That is not true of the other holidays we have long been accustomed to celebrate. On all other holidays work goes on — gladly — for the winning of the war.

So Christmas becomes the only holiday in all the year.

I like to think that this is so because Christmas is a holy day. May all it stands for live and grow throughout the years.

* * *

In the late, reddish, half-dark afternoon of December 24, 1941, as always, the National Christmas Tree on the lawn south of the White House was to be lighted by the president, at the push of a button. The public was invited. The White House gates would be open, and the U.S. Marine Band in its red coats would play *Adeste Fidelis* and more. Washingtonians knew it would be beautiful. This Christmas would be much like those that had gone before, with trees and ornaments and lights and gifts and their families all at home. But when would there be another? Where would their sons, brothers, fathers, husbands be a year from now? How many would even be alive? Draft calls were increasing, and there were long lines of volunteers at the recruiting stations now open twenty-four hours a day. How many of the men in their lives would be home for Christmas in December 1942? How many would never be home again?

They also knew this: When Roosevelt pushed the button this evening, the tree would leap into shining life, he would speak, he would be optimistic and reassuring in those distinctive tones of his, and when he finished he would introduce a visitor—Winston Churchill. Few names on earth, few names in history, so stirred them. It was routine now in the letters to the newspapers for people to say the British so loved Roosevelt and the Americans so loved Churchill the two allies could exchange national leaders and both would be happy—possibly even happier.

Barely two hours after he had returned to the White House from asking Congress to declare war, Roosevelt had cabled Churchill that the United States was at war with Japan. "Today all of us are in the same boat with you and the people of the Empire and it is a ship which will not and cannot be sunk."

Churchill responded the next day. "Now that we are, as you say, 'in the same boat,' would it not be wise for us to have another conference?"

Roosevelt thought it wise, and Churchill arrived by air in total secrecy and moved into the White House on December 22, his presence announced only after he was safely inside and the gates closed. A figure almost none in Washington had ever seen, but who had enchanted Americans with his leadership, his oratory, his appetite for food, cigars and whiskey, his wit. He was there, and he would speak beside the Christmas tree.

Twenty thousand people came to stand in the cold inside and outside the black iron fence. Guards at the gates intoned, "No cameras, no packages." Those carrying Christmas packages from a day's shopping on F Street simply piled them on the grass outside the fence, trusting they would find them when they returned, a lingering aspect of Washington's small-townishness. The prime minister of Great Britain came out with Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt, Harry Hopkins and Crown Prince Olaf and Crown Princess Marthe of Norway, who were refugees and house guests. Roosevelt pressed a button and a huge evergreen down at the lower end of the lawn sprang to light. Applause.

Joseph Corrigan, rector of Catholic University in Northeast Washington, delivered the invocation. "All the material resources with which Thou hast blessed our native land we consecrate to the dread tasks of war."

Roosevelt spoke. "It is in the spirit of peace and good will, and with particular thoughtfulness of those, our sons and brothers, who serve in our armed forces on land and sea, near and far—those who serve and endure for us—that we light our Christmas candles now across this continent from one coast to the other on this Christmas evening."

Now, he said, our visitor, Prime Minister Churchill, wanted to speak to Washington and the world. Churchill stepped forward and spoke in the voice everyone—everyone—knew:

> This is a strange Christmas eve. Almost the whole world is locked in deadly struggle, and with the most terrible weapons which science can devise, the nations advance upon each other. Ill would it be for us this Christmastide if we were not sure that no greed for the land or wealth of any other people, no vulgar ambition, no morbid lust for material gain at the expense of others has led us to the field. Here, in the midst of war, raging and roaring over all the lands and seas, creeping nearer to our hearts and our homes, here, amid all the tumult, we have tonight the peace of the spirit in each cottage home and in each generous heart. Therefore, we may cast aside for this night at least the cares and dangers which beset us, and make for our children an evening of happiness in a world of storm. Here, then, for one night only, each home throughout the English-speaking world should be a brightly lighted island of happiness and peace.

Let the children have their night of fun and laughter. Let the gifts of Father Christmas delight their play. Let us grown-ups share to the full in their unstinted pleasures before we turn again to the stern task and the formidable years that lie before us, resolved that by our sacrifice and daring, these same children shall not be robbed of their inheritance or denied their right to live in a free and decent world.

In God's mercy, a happy Christmas to you all.

Now it was dark. The crowd was silent. They picked up their Christmas packages and moved out through the gates into the street. It was lined with trolley cars, many of them recently brought out of retirement and returned to the streets to meet the needs of a city now desperately overcrowded. Some were nineteenth-century double-ended wooden cars with clerestory windows around the roofs, and when they rolled away through the dark with their pale yellow interior lights they looked like swaying Japanese lanterns lit with candles.

201 Golden West Boulevard
Ojai, California 93023
November 26, 1990

Chriss Winston
Deputy Assistant to the President
for Communications
THE WHITE HOUSE
Washington D.C. 20500

Dear Chriss Winston:

My friends and I wish to express our appreciation for your letter of May 5, 1989 about the "Points of Light" theme.

I have written a beautiful Christmas song with a chorus about Points of Light. I heard yesterday that it is to be on the high school Christmas program at Sedona, Arizona. I am enclosing a copy of the song.

The song evolved from a teaching situation. I work with dyslexic children, and devote the last 10 minutes of the hour to art or musical expression. I brought out a Casio keyboard and improvised a simple melody that would be easy for a boy's hands to play.

As the melody was repeated, it took on the character of a song, and I began searching for words for a theme. Soon, "Gold and Silver Bells" came to mind. Later on, I thought of "Thousand Points of Light." But "million" seems to be a more singable word than "thousand", so for the high school choir that is to sing the song, the second chorus became "million, million points of light." But of course, it could be sung "thousand points of light" if you wished to emphasize the original theme.

If a Christmas program is planned, could you turn this over to the director? I realize it is late, but there might be a chance of its being used. The concept of points of light shining in the darkness of night represents hope in the threat of war situation.

Kit Brighton and friends

Kit Brighton and friends.

Kit Brighton
201 Golden West
Ojai, CA 93023

(805) 646-0036

Gold and Silver Bells

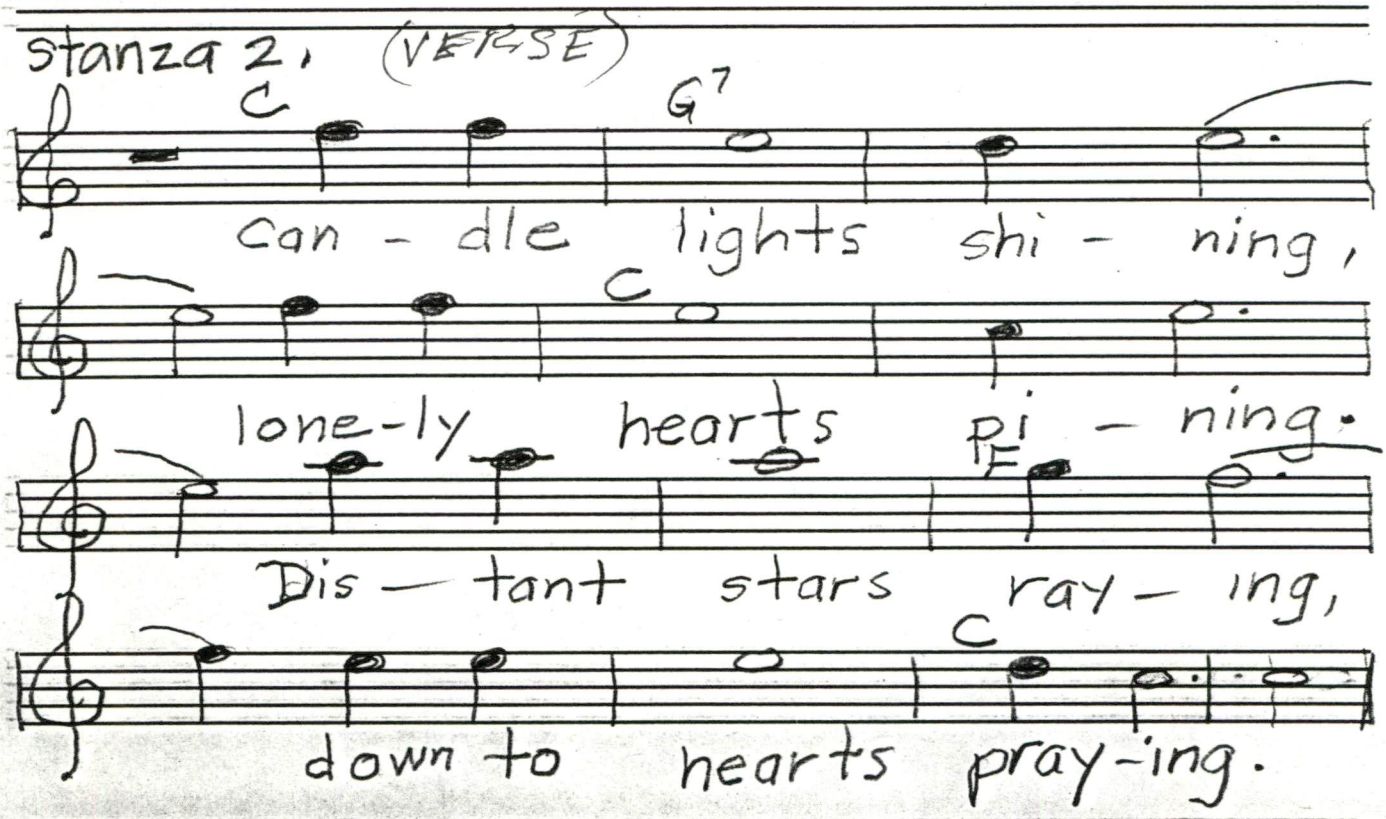
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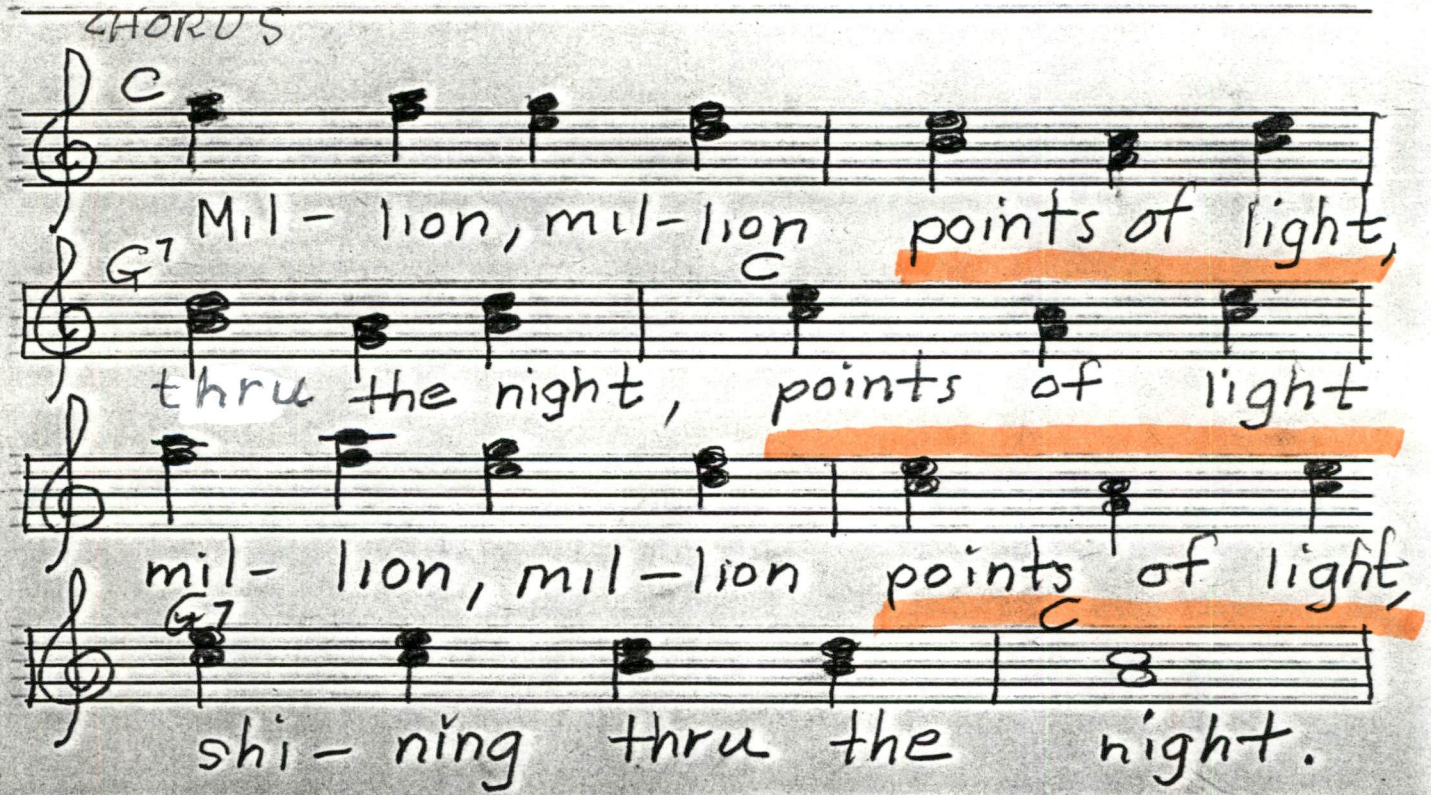


KIT BRIGHTON

Kit Brighton
201 Golden West
Ojai, CA 93023

Gold and Silver Bells.





(Hinchliffe/Grossman)
December 7, 1990 2 p.m.
NEWTREE

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: CHRISTMAS TREELIGHTING CEREMONY
December 13, 1990 4:30 p.m.

Thank you. And a special thanks this year to Sec. Lujan and the Department of the Interior for a new holiday gift: 57 state and territorial trees lining our "Pathway of Peace." They were grown for this celebration on formerly lifeless, **reclaimed mine land**. A wonderful modern-day tale of hope reborn out of despair.

This is always a special moment of the year. People talk of the magic of this season -- well, what can be more magical than the way lights can dispel the darkness. It's been nearly 70 years now that Presidents have taken part in this tradition -- flipping a switch to send thousands of lights sparkling into the chill night sky. For all these years Americans have watched as our national Christmas tree becomes a symbol of hope, of peace.

But as we look at it tonight, we share many emotions. **We feel joy**: for seeing these lights reminds us of the light of freedom that has at last illuminated the dark corners of Eastern Europe. **We feel pride** thinking of our young men and women standing strong in the harsh, distant desert and the cold waters of the Persian Gulf. Together, their bravely burning individual flames make up the bright American torch of liberty which shines across the world -- **the true eternal flame which will never be extinguished**.

But we also feel sadness. For those in this nation and across the globe who are **not** safe and whole and free. So tonight let's pledge that the glow of these holiday lights will stay alive within us throughout the year. That each of us will find

the inner moral North Star that guides us. That we will become beacons of strength and service: bringing **family unity, community caring, and national pride back to the center of all our lives**.

Let us become a constellation of hope helping others -- like the individuals and groups we recognize throughout the year as Points of Light. Groups like the D.C. Central Kitchen, whose representatives are with us tonight, which every day of the year feeds those who hunger. And next week, by serving Christmas dinners, it will turn what would otherwise have been a season of shame into a season of plenty. **That is what each of us must do for each other**. We must make our light shine on all dark streets, and to all people in dark and dreamless sleep. \\

So as we turn on the switch to send this light into the sky, let's pledge that Americans will always form a shining link of light across the world, bringing stars of hope from the Persian Gulf to the inner cities of our own country. So that as individuals and as a nation we will keep forever burning bright the strong glow of peace and hope we light here tonight.

God bless America -- and happy holidays to everyone.

# # # # #

Lillie:

x.7750 --- Jennifer Grossman (speechwriting) is looking for a quote from a letter either from a member of the armed services in Saudi Arabia or from a family member of a troop person that they can use in the President's speech for the Christmas Tree Lighting Ceremony (re: Christmas). I told her that I thought we were already on the lookout for something like this. (Am I right or losing my mind????). AND of course, she would like something by COB TODAY ...

Should we do a lookout????
Other Ideas???

Jan (Your unofficial deputy)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 8, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR BRUCE ZANCA

FROM : Schelly Reid

SUBJECT : **Christmas Tree Lighting Ceremony**

BACKGROUND

As you may recall in our meeting, one of the items on the agenda for promoting "points of light" was the Christmas Tree Lighting Ceremony. This year, the theme is "discovery" which is rife for allegorical possibilities. . . "discover your neighborhood, your inner spirit, your 'distinctive competencies', etc. to help those in need." Points of Light could be woven easily into this scenario. On December 13th, the day of the ceremony, the President will name Daily Point of Light number 325. Just by coincidence, each color strand of light on the tree, according to the General Electric representative, is comprised of approximately 300 plus bulbs.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Incorporate the "points of light" theme into the program through references in the President's remarks;

- Invite the local DPOLs and the individual/organization to be named that day to the event (Perhaps that person could help switch on the lights);

- Have a reference in the printed program that 325 of the lights on the tree are dedicated to the DPOLs; and

- Place all the DPOLs in a VIP section so the cameras can pan in on them when the President acknowledges their presence (You may wish to consider "props", i.e., candles or those lights that people wave at concerts.)

Let me know if you concur with any or all of these suggestions.

3:00PM Bruce said looks good, has potential

PN6081
.P33
1982
WH
Americans

The Quotable Woman

1800-1981

compiled and edited by

Elaine Partnow



FACTS ON FILE, Inc.
460 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10016

3 While [women] live longer than ever before, and longer than men, there is less and less use for them in the only place they have been given—within the family. Many newly useless women are emerging more publicly and visibly into insanity and institutions. Ibid.

4 In addition, asylum life resembles traditional family treatment of the female adolescent in its official imposition of celibacy and its institutional responses to sexuality and aggression—fear, scorn, and punishment. Ibid.

1208. Frances Fitzgerald

(1940–)

1 By intervening in the Vietnamese struggle the United States was attempting to fit its global strategies into a world of hillocks and hamlets, to reduce its majestic concerns for the containment of Communism and the security of the Free World to a dimension where governments rose and fell as a result of arguments between two colonels' wives.
Fire in the Lake, Pt. I, Ch. 1 *1972*

2 Americans see history as a straight line and themselves standing at the cutting edge of it as representatives for all mankind. They believe in the future as if it were a religion; they believe that there is nothing they cannot accomplish, that solutions wait somewhere for all problems, like brides. Ibid.

3 In a sense, the design of the Confucian world resembled that of a Japanese garden where every rock, opaque and indifferent in itself, takes on significance from its relation to the surrounding objects. Ibid.

4 For most Americans, Southeast Asia came to look like the most complicated place in the world. And naturally enough, for the American official effort to fit the new evidence into the old official assumptions was something like the effort of the seventeenth-century astronomers to fit their observations of the planets into the Ptolemaic theory of the universe. Ibid., Ch. 2

5 The Americans began by underestimating the Vietnamese guerrillas, but in the end they made them larger than life. During the invasion of Cambodia in 1970, American officials spoke of plans to capture the enemy's command headquarters for the south as if there existed a reverse Pentagon in the jungle. . . . Paradoxically, the exaggeration diminished them, for in the dimension of mythology all things are fabulous and unaccountable. By turning their enemy into a mirror image of themselves, the Americans obscured the nature of the Vietnamese accomplishment. Ibid., Ch. 4

6 Quite consciously, Ho Chi Minh forswore the grand patriarchal tradition of the Confucian emperors. Consciously he created an "image" of himself as "Uncle Ho"—the gentle, bachelor relative who has only disinterested affection for the children who are *not* his own sons. As a warrior and a politician he acted ruthlessly upon occasion, but in public and as head of state he took pains to promote that family feeling which Vietnamese have often had for their leaders, and which he felt was the proper relationship between the people and their government. Ibid.

7 . . . [Lyndon B.] Johnson condemned his officials who worked on Vietnam to the excruciating mental task of holding reality and the official version of reality together as they moved farther and farther apart.
Ibid., Pt. II, Ch. 13

8 . . . the Americans were once again embarked upon a heroic and (for themselves) almost painless conquest of an inferior race. . . . [They] were white men in Asia, and they could not conceive that they might fail in their enterprise, could not conceive that they could be morally wrong. Ibid.

9 . . . the American government did not want to face the consequences of peace. It was, after all, one thing to wish for an end to the war and quite another to confront the issues upon which the war had begun. President Johnson had wanted to end the war; so, too, had President Kennedy. But to end the war and not to lose it: the distinction was crucial, and particularly crucial after all the American lives that had been spent and all the political rhetoric expended. Ibid., Pt. III, Ch. 17

10 Personally, socially, politically, the disorder of the cities is a highly unstable condition—a vacuum that craves the oxygen of organized society. The Americans might force the Vietnamese to accept the disorder for years, but behind the dam of American troops and American money the pressure is building towards one of those sudden historical shifts when "individualism" and its attendant corruption gives way to the discipline of the revolutionary community. Ibid.

1209. Judy Grahn

(1940–)

1 a woman is talking to death. . . .
"A Woman Is Talking to Death" *1974*

2 . . . I looked into the mirror
and nobody was there to testify.
Ibid.

8. Harriet Martineau

(1802–1876)

1 If a test of civilisation be sought, none can be so sure as the condition of that half of society over which the other half has power—from the exercises of the right of the strongest.
"Women," *Society in America*, Vol. III *1837*

2 . . . there is no country in the world where there is so much boasting of the "chivalrous" treatment she enjoys. . . . In short, indulgence is given her as a substitute for justice. Ibid.

3 There is a profusion of some things being taught which are supposed necessary because everybody learns them. . . . But what is given is, for the most part, passively received; and what is obtained is, chiefly, by means of the memory. Ibid.

4 Religion is a temper, not a pursuit. Ibid.

5 . . . the sum and substance of female education in America, as in England, is training women to consider marriage as the sole object in life, and to pretend that they do not think so. Ibid.

6 . . . fidelity to conscience is inconsistent with retiring modesty. If it be so, let the modesty succumb. It can be only a false modesty which can be thus endangered. Ibid.

7 Persecution for opinion, punishment for all manifestations of intellectual and moral strength, are still as common as women who have opinions and who manifest strength. . . . Ibid.

8 If there is any country on earth where the course of true love may be expected to run smooth, it is America. Ibid., "Marriage"

9 Marriage . . . is still the imperfect institution it must remain while women continue to be ill-educated, passive, and subservient. . . . Ibid.

10 . . . the early marriages of silly children . . . where . . . every woman is married before she well knows how serious a matter human life is. Ibid.

11 In no country, I believe, are the marriage laws so iniquitous as in England, and the conjugal relation, in consequence, so impaired. Ibid.

12 . . . nobody, I believe, defends the arrangement by which . . . divorce is obtainable only by the very rich. The barbarism of granting that as a privilege. . . ! Ibid.

13 Retribution is known to impend over violations of conjugal duty. Ibid.

14 It is clear that the sole business which legislation has with marriage is with the arrangements of property; to guard the reciprocal rights of the children of the marriage and the community. There is no further pretence for the interference of the law, in any way. Ibid.

15 I have no sympathy for those who, under any pressure of circumstances, sacrifice their heart's-love for legal prostitution. Ibid.

16 Any one must see at a glance that if men and women marry those whom they do not love, they must love those whom they do not marry. Ibid.

17 Laws and customs may be creative of vice; and should be therefore perpetually under process of observation and correction: but laws and customs cannot be creative of virtue: they may encourage and help to preserve it; but they cannot originate it. Ibid.

18 For my own part, I had rather suffer any inconvenience from having to work occasionally in chambers and kitchen . . . than witness the subservience in which the menial class is held in Europe. Ibid., "Occupation"

19 Readers are plentiful: thinkers are rare. Ibid.

20 They are better educated by Providence than by men. Ibid.

21 Their charity is overflowing, if it were but more enlightened. . . . Ibid.

22 . . . but is it not the fact that religion emanates from the nature, from the moral state of the individual? Is it not therefore true that unless the nature be completely exercised, the moral state harmonised, the religion cannot be healthy? Ibid.

23 During the present interval between the feudal age and the coming time, when life and its occupations will be freely thrown open to women as to men, the condition of the female working classes is such that if its sufferings were but made known, emotions of horror and shame would tremble through the whole of society. Ibid.

24 What office is there which involves more responsibility, which requires more qualifications, and which ought, therefore, to be more honourable, than that of teaching? Ibid.

25 The progression or emancipation of any class usually, if not always, takes place through the efforts of individuals of that class. . . . Ibid.

26 . . . is it to be understood that the principles of the Declaration of Independence bear no relation to half of the human race? Ibid.

Margaret Fuller 1810-1850

an improvement in the daughters will best aid the reformation of the sons of this age.
"The Great Lawsuit. Man Versus Men. Woman Versus Women," *The Dial July, 1843*

2 "You are not the head of your wife. God has given her a mind of her own."
"I am the head and she is the heart."
"God grant you play true to one another then." Ibid.

3 And knowing that there exists, in the world of men, a tone of feeling towards women as towards slaves, such as is expressed in the common phrase, "Tell that to women and children." . . . Ibid.

4 The female Greek, of our day, is as much in the street as the male, to cry, What news? Ibid.

5 For human beings are not so constituted, that they can live without expansion; and if they do not get it one way, must another, or perish. Ibid.

6 If the negro be a soul, if the woman be a soul, apparelled in flesh, to one master only are they accountable. Ibid.

7 In every-day life the feelings of the many are stained with vanity. Each wishes to be lord in a little world, to be superior at least over one; and he does not feel strong enough to retain a lifelong ascendant over a strong nature. Only a Brutus would rejoice in a Portia. . . . Ibid.

8 Two persons love in one another the future good which they aid one another to unfold. Ibid.

9 Plants of great vigor will almost always struggle into blossom, despite impediments. But there should be encouragement, and a free genial atmosphere for those of more timid sort, fair play for each in its own kind. Ibid.

10 The well-instructed moon flies not from her orbit to seize on the glories of her partner. Ibid.

11 George Sand smokes, wears male attire, wishes to be addressed as Mon frère; perhaps, if she found those who were as brothers indeed, she would not care whether she were a brother or sister. Ibid.

12 Harmony exists in difference no less than in likeness, if only the same key-note govern both parts. Ibid.

13 It has been seen that as the loss of no bond ought to destroy a human being, so ought the missing of none to hinder him from growing. Ibid.

14 The especial genius of women I believe to be electrical in movement, intuitive in function, spiritual in tendency. Ibid.

15 Male and female represent the two sides of the great radical dualism. But, in fact, they are perpetually passing into one another. Fluid hardens to solid, solid rushes to fluid. There is no wholly masculine man, no purely feminine woman. Ibid.

16 Nature provides exceptions to every rule. Ibid.

17 Union is only possible to those who are units. To be fit for relations in time, souls, whether of man or woman, must be able to do without them in the spirit. Ibid.

18 It is a vulgar error that love, *a* love, to woman is her whole existence; she is also born for Truth and Love in their universal energy. Ibid.

19 What I mean by the Muse is that unimpeded clearness of the intuitive powers, which a perfectly truthful adherence to every admonition of the higher instinct would bring to a finely organized human being.
Woman in the 19th Century *1845*

20 It should be remarked that, as the principle of liberty is better understood, and more nobly interpreted, a broader protest is made in behalf of women. As men become aware that few [of them] have had a fair chance, they are inclined to say that no women have had a fair chance. Ibid.

21 What woman needs is not as a woman to act or rule, but as a nature to grow, as an intellect to discern, as a soul to live freely and unimpeded, to unfold such powers as were given her when we left our common home. Ibid.

22 If any individual live too much in relations, so that he becomes a stranger to the resources of his own nature, he falls, after a while, into a distraction, or imbecility, from which he can only be cured by a time of isolation, which gives the renovating fountains time to rise up. With a society it is the same. Ibid.

23 It does not follow because many books are written by persons born in America that there exists an American literature. . . . Before such

Margaret Fuller

can exist, an original idea must animate this nation and fresh currents of life must call into life fresh thoughts along its shores.
Quoted in the *New York Tribune* *1846*

24 Truth is the nursing mother of genius. Ibid.

25 . . . the public must learn how to cherish the nobler and rarer plants, and to plant the aloe, able to wait a hundred years for its bloom, or its garden will contain, presently, nothing but potatoes and pot-herbs. Ibid.

26 Essays, entitled critical, are epistles addressed to the public, through which the mind of the recluse relieves itself of its impressions.
"A Short Essay on Critics," *Art, Literature and the Drama* *1858p*

27 The critic is the historian who records the order of creation. In vain for the maker, who knows without learning it, but not in vain for the mind of his race. Ibid.

28 POET. Yes, that is always the way. You understand me, who never have the arrogance to pretend that I understand myself.
Ibid., "A Dialogue"

29 It is not because the touch of genius has roused genius to production, but because the admiration of genius has made talent ambitious, that the harvest is still so abundant.
Ibid., "The Modern Drama"

30 'Tis, indeed, hard to believe that the drama, once invented, should cease to be a habitual and healthy expression of the mind. . . . But . . . no form of art will succeed with him to whom it is the object of deliberate choice. It must grow from his nature. . . . Ibid.

31 . . . there are two modes of criticism. One which . . . crushes to earth without mercy all the humble buds of Phantasy, all the plants that, though green and fruitful, are also a prey to insects or have suffered by drouth. It weeds well the garden, and cannot believe the weed in its native soil may be a pretty, graceful plant. There is another mode which enters into the natural history of every thing that breathes and lives, which believes no impulse to be entirely in vain, which scrutinizes circumstances, motive and object before it condemns, and believes there is a beauty in natural form, if its law and purpose be understood.
Ibid., "Poets of the People"

32 The lives of the musicians are imperfectly written for this obvious reason. The soul of the great musician can only be expressed in music. . . . We must read them in their works; this, true of artists in every department, is especially so of the high priestesses of sound.
Ibid., "Lives of the Great Composers"

33 We cannot have expression till there is something to be expressed.
Ibid., "American Literature"

34 This was one of the rye-bread days, all dull and damp without.
Diary Entry, *Life of Margaret Fuller-Ossoli*, Ch. 7, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, ed. *1884p*

35 For precocity some great price is always demanded sooner or later in life.
Ibid., Ch. 18

36 Genius will live and thrive without training, but it does not the less reward the watering-pot and pruning-knife. Ibid.

37 It is so true that a woman may be in love with a woman, and a man with a man. It is pleasant to be sure of it, because it is undoubtedly the same love that we shall feel when we are angels, when we ascend to the only fit place for the Mignons, where *sie fragen nicht nach Mann und Weib.*
Quoted in *Margaret Fuller, Whetstone of Genius* by Mason Wade *1940p*

38 I myself am more divine than any I see.
Letter to Emerson (March 1, 1838), *The Feminist Papers*, Alice Rossi, ed. *1973p*

39 . . . men are called on from a very early period to reproduce all that they learn. . . . But women learn without any attempt to reproduce. Their only reproduction is for purposes of display.
Ibid., Lecture, "Conversations" (1839)

40 Beware of over-great pleasure in being popular or even beloved.
Ibid., Letter to Her Brother, Arthur (December 20, 1840)

41 What a difference it makes to come home to a child! Ibid., Letter to Friends (1849)

42 They [the Irish] are looked upon with contempt for their want of aptitude in learning new things; their ready and ingenious lying; their eye-service. These are the faults of an oppressed race, which must require the aid of better circumstances through two or three generations to eradicate. . . . Ibid., Untitled Essay

Suzanne LaFollette (1893- ?)

10 . . . where is the society which does not struggle along under a dead-weight of tradition and law inherited from its grandfathers? Ibid.

11 All political and religious systems have their root and their strength in the innate conservatism of the human mind, and its intense fear of autonomy. Ibid.

12 . . . people never move towards revolution; they are pushed towards it by intolerable injustices in the economic and social order under which they live. Ibid.

13 For man, marriage is regarded as a station; for women, as a vocation.
Ibid., "Women and Marriage"

14 . . . nothing could be more grotesquely unjust than a code of morals, reinforced by laws, which relieves men from responsibility for irregular sexual acts, and for the same acts drives women to abortion, infanticide, prostitution and self-destruction. Ibid.

15 The claim for alimony . . . implies the assumption that a woman is economically helpless. . . .
Ibid.

16 . . . when one hears the argument that marriage should be indissoluble for the sake of children, one cannot help wondering whether the protagonist is really such a firm friend of childhood. . . . Ibid.

17 . . . to institutionalize means in great degree to mechanize. Ibid.

18 It is necessary to grow accustomed to freedom before one may walk in it sure-footedly.
Ibid.

19 It is impossible for a sex or a class to have economic freedom until everybody has it, and until economic freedom is attained for everybody, there can be no real freedom for anybody. Ibid., "What Is to Be Done"

20 Rights that depend on the sufferance of the State are of uncertain tenure. . . . Ibid.

21 No system of government can hope long to survive the cynical disregard of both law and principle which government in America regularly exhibits. Ibid.

22 . . . the automobile had not yet come in and the family had not yet gone out.
Letter to Alice Rossi (July, 1971), *The Feminist Papers*, Alice Rossi, ed.
1973

23 No one . . . who has not known that inestimable privilege can possibly realize what good fortune it is to grow up in a home where there are grandparents. Ibid.

24 I . . . watch with growing concern the disintegration of the Western World—above all our own country—and the steady growth of totalitarian influence and power. . . . Ibid.

637. Margaret Leech

(1893–1974)

1 England was the friend whose policy stood like a bulwark against Continental animosity to the ambitions of the American republic.
In the Days of McKinley, Ch. 11
1959

2 Charity stood ready to atone for the heartlessness of the War Department. Ibid., Ch. 13

3 The colonial fever was mildly infectious in Washington. Some of the President's closest friends and counselors came down with it.
Ibid., Ch. 17

4 Never in history had the Union of the States been joined in such universal sorrow. North and South, East and West, the people mourned [William McKinley] a father and a friend, and the fervent strains of "Nearer, My God, to Thee"* floated, like a prayer and a leavetaking, above the half-masted flags in every city and town. Ibid., Ch. 26

5 Yet, for a space, Americans turned from the challenge and the strangeness of the future. Entranced and regretful, they remembered McKinley's firm, unquestioning faith; his kindly, frock-coated dignity; his accessibility and dedication to the people: the federal simplicity that would not be seen again in Washington.
Ibid.

6 The nation felt another leadership, nervous, aggressive, and strong. Under command of a bold young captain [Theodore Roosevelt], America set sail on the stormy voyage of the twentieth century. Ibid., Epilogue

638. Hesper Le Gallienne

(1893–?)

* * *

1 The loose foot of the wanderer
Is curst as well as blest!
It urges ever, ever on
And never gives him rest.
"The Wanderer"

* McKinley's favorite hymn and last words.

639.

(18

1 "She always believ
them while you're
Gen

2 "I really think th
the best after all,
hand may make y
a diamond and sa

3 So this gentlema
ought to do some
think."

4 . . . I always say
as well as she do
even a yacht.

5 JUDGE. Always go
truth! *Ha*

6 ADDIE. I've always
Mr. Bishop.

7 ADDIE. Why, Ben
without a woma
scissors.

8 ADDIE. I was mal
hardly even know
me and I was kis
found it highly s

9 Of course, every
thing about Moth
it is quite a shoc
so far ahead of t

10 So after a Star h
of those Fan let
must be wonderf
those monitinous

11 For the most ou
ever get is to f
meerly [sic] one
which we Citiz
"cover-up" for t

12 So I am beginn
wouldn't be hap
so much respeck
[sic] a little mor

13 "Why, with a m
me to tell the di
I stand out in t
day Cicero. Dro

554. Elizabeth Kenny

(1886–1952)

1 . . . panic plays no part in the training of a nurse. *And They Shall Walk*, with Martha Ostenso *1943*

2 . . . it is easier to recount grievances and slights than it is to set down a broad redress of such grievances and slights. The reason is that one fears to be thought of as an arrant braggart. Ibid.

3 The record of one's life must needs prove more interesting to him who writes it than to him who reads what has been written. Ibid., Foreword

4 O sleep, O gentle sleep, I thought gratefully, Nature's gentle nurse! Ibid., Ch. 2

5 Fortunately, perhaps, I was completely ignorant of the orthodox theory of the disease [poliomyelitis]. Ibid.

6 He looked at the book, took my name, and consulted his records. Then he informed me that I had been lost at sea and was dead. Under the circumstances, he could not possibly give me any money. . . . Even the fact that he was dealing with someone who had been dead for several days failed to awaken the slightest interest in his official heart. Ibid., Ch. 3

7 I was wholly unprepared for the extraordinary attitude of the medical world in its readiness to condemn anything that smacked of reform or that ran contrary to approved methods of practice. Ibid., Ch. 6

8 Some minds remain open long enough for the truth not only to enter but to pass on through by way of a ready exit without pausing anywhere along the route. Ibid.

9 My mother used to say, "He who angers you, conquers you!" But my mother was a saint. Ibid., Ch. 7

10 His response was remarkable for its irrelevance, if for nothing else. Ibid.

11 A measure of victory has been won, and honors have been bestowed in token thereof. But honors fade or are forgotten, and monuments crumble into dust. It is the battle itself that matters—and the battle must go on. Ibid., Ch. 14

555. Frances Marion

(1886–1973)

1 The thought had taken root in his imagination and grown as a tree grows from a tiny seed until it crowded out all other thoughts in his mind. *Westward the Dream*, Pt. I, Ch. 1 *1948*

2 The land around San Juan Capistrano is the pocket where the Creator keeps all his treasures. Anything will grow there, from wheat and beans to citrus fruit. Ibid., Ch. 3

3 "Do we really know anybody? Who does not wear one face to hide another?" Ibid., Ch. 10

4 What a strange pattern the shuttle of life can weave. . . . Ibid., Pt. II, Ch. 14

5 This is not dead land, it is only thirsty land. Ibid., Ch. 22

6 "A coin, Mr. Fox, can only fall heads or tails, and I'll gamble on heads, they last longer." *Off with Their Heads* *1972*

7 I shall refrain from mentioning to our southern neighbors that San Franciscans look upon the City of the Queen of the Angels as California's floating kidney transplanted from the Middle West. Ibid., "1914 Through 1924"

8 Promises that you make to yourself are often like the Japanese plum tree—they bear no fruit. Ibid.

9 We have a little catch phrase in our family which somehow fits almost everyone in the movie colony: "Spare no expense to make everything as economical as possible." Ibid.

10 One thing you learned when you wrote for the movies: all nationalities were sensitive except Americans. The Arabs were always to be pictured as a sweet, friendly people. So were the Greeks, the Dutch, Turks, Laps, Eskimoes, and so on down the line. Everyone was honest and virtuous, except Americans. You could make them the most sinister villains and never hear a word of protest from Washington. Chicago, Kalamazoo, or all points south. But should you describe a villain belonging to any country but America, you found yourself spread-eagled between the Board of Censors and the diplomatic service of some foreign power. Ibid., "1925 Through 1928"

648. Rachel Lyman Field

(1894–1942)

1 You won't know why, and you can't say now
Such a change upon you came,
But—once you have slept on an island
You'll never be quite the same!
"If Once You Have Slept on an Island," *Taxis and Toadstools* *1926*

* * *

2 Doorbells are like a magic game,
Or the grab-bag at a fair—
You never know when you hear one ring
Who may be waiting there.
"Doorbells"

649. Esther Forbes

(1894–1967)

1 Women have almost a genius for anti-climaxes.
O Genteel Lady! *1926*

2 Most American heroes of the Revolutionary period are by now two men, the actual man and the romantic image. Some are even three men—the actual man, the image, and the debunked remains. *Paul Revere* *1942*

650. Martha Graham

(1894–)

1 Nothing is more revealing than movement.
"The American Dance," *Modern Dance*, Virginia Stewart, ed. *1935*

2 America does not concern itself now with Impressionism. We own no involved philosophy. The psyche of the land is to be found in its movement. It is to be felt as a dramatic force of energy and vitality. We move; we do not stand still. We have not yet arrived at the stock-taking stage. Ibid.

3 We look at the dance to impart the sensation of living in an affirmation of life, to energize the spectator into keener awareness of the vigor, the mystery, the humor, the variety, and the wonder of life. This is the function of the American dance. Ibid.

651. Agnes Kendrick Gray

(1894–?)

* * *

1 Sure, 'tis God's ways is very quare,
An' far beyont my ken,
How o' the selfsame clay he makes
Poets an' useful men.
"The Shepherd to the Poet," St. 4

652. Osa Johnson

(1894–1953)

1 "A woman that's too soft and sweet is like tapioca pudding—fine for them as likes it."
I Married Adventure, Ch. 10 *1940*

2 Theirs, it might be said, was a Utopian existence, for they [pygmies] showed neither hate, greed, vanity, nor any other of the dominatingly unpleasant emotions of our so-called civilized world. Each dusky hop-o'-my-thumb plays his pleasant game of life with no desire to interfere with, and caring little about, the conduct of his fellows. Ibid., Ch. 27

3 When I was most tired, particularly after a hot safari in the dry, dusty plains, I always found relaxation and refreshment in my garden. It was my shop window of loveliness, and Nature changed it regularly that I might feast my hungry eyes upon it. Lone female that I was, this was my special world of beauty: these were my changing styles and my fashion parade.
Ibid., Ch. 9

4 "We must string him up in the presence of the chief and the villagers. . . . We have to break this murder madness on the island; we must make a show of force that they will remember every time they want to go on a rampage and give them a picture of retribution they can't doubt and will not forget."
Bride in the Solomons, Ch. 1 *1944*

5 "Animals and primitive people are alike in one thing," he said. "They know when you are friendly, they can sense it. . . . They can even smell fear." Ibid., Ch. 18

653. Jean Rhys

(1894–1979)

1 . . . Miss Bruce, passing by a shop, with the perpetual hunger to be beautiful and that thirst to be loved which is the real curse of Eve. . . . Then must have begun the search for *the* dress, the perfect Dress, beautiful, beautifying, possible to be worn. And lastly, the search for illusion—a craving, almost a vice, the stolen waters and the bread eaten in secret of Miss Bruce's life. "Illusion," *The Left Bank* *1927*

2 "I don't get any *kick* out of Anglo-Saxons," she said out loud. "They don't . . . they *don't* stimulate my imagination!"
Ibid., "Tout Montparnasse and Lady"

3 She respected Americans: they were not like the English, who, under a surface of annoying

1379. Raya Dunayevskaya
(1911?–)

1 Ever since the myth of Eve giving Adam the apple was created, women have been presented as devils or as angels, but definitely not as human beings.
"We Speak in Many Voices," *Notes on Women's Liberation* *1970*

2 The whole point is that literature, even at its greatest, reflects the male-dominated society under which we live, which, in turn, affects all of us, women included. We will not escape male chauvinistic speeches coming out of our mouths until we tear this alienated society up by its roots. Ibid.

3 It is not labor or "socialism" which acted as catalyst for . . . the anti-war movement and, indeed, gave birth to a whole new generation of revolutionaries, but the black revolution which was both catalyst and reason, *and continues to be that ceaseless movement today.* Ibid.

4 The first act of liberation is to demand back our own heads. Ibid.

5 The uniqueness of today's Women's Liberation Movement is that it dares to challenge what is, including the male chauvinism not only under capitalism but within the revolutionary movement itself.
Philosophy and Revolution, Ch. 9 *1973*

6 Vanguardism, elitism, cannot but impede the Women's Liberation Movement of today from working out a new relationship of spontaneity to organization, theory to practice, philosophy to revolution. It is but one more form of separating thinking from doing, especially as it relates to women as thinkers and as revolutionaries.
"Working Women for Freedom," *Notes on Women's Liberation* *1976*

7 Creativity that can really tear things up at their roots and genuinely start something new, humanly new, can only come from mass creativity. It is only then when it is totally revolutionary, is not hemmed in by the concept and practice of the "Party to lead," and it is only then it can once and for all end aborted and unfinished revolutions. Ibid.

1380. Martha Wright Griffiths
(1912–)

1 This amendment [the ERA], if passed, would be like a beacon which should awaken nine sleeping Rip Van Winkles to the fact that the twentieth century is passing into history. It is a different world and they [the Supreme Court] should speak for justice, not prejudice. . . . I seek justice, not in some distant tomorrow, not in some study commission, but now while I live.
Quoted in *American Political Women* by Esther Stineman *1980*

2 My grandmother wanted to live long enough to vote for a woman president. I'll be satisfied if I live to see a woman go before the Supreme Court and hear the justices acknowledge, "Gentlemen, she's human. She deserves the protection of our laws." Ibid.

1381. Barbara Tuchman**
(1912–)

1 The open frontier, the hardships of homesteading from scratch, the wealth of natural resources, the whole vast challenge of a continent waiting to be exploited, combined to produce a prevailing materialism and an American drive bent as much, if not more, on money, property, and power than was true of the Old World from which we had fled.
"On Our Birthday—America As Idea," *Newsweek* *July 12, 1976*

2 Our sins in the twentieth century—greed, violence, inhumanity—have been profound, with the result that the pride and self-confidence of the nineteenth century have turned to dismay and self-disgust. Ibid.

3 In the United States we have a society pervaded from top to bottom by contempt for the law. Ibid.

4 Our government . . . learns no lessons, employs no wisdom and corrupts all who succumb to Potomac fever. Ibid.

5 No question that people feel helpless and doomed today, but not in the same sense as in the fourteenth century. Now it seems to be a feeling of universal doom rather than the *personal* doom of those days, which was so closely mixed up with religion.
Quoted in "The Talk of The Town," *The New Yorker* *October 16, 1978*

4 The reality is that zero defects in products plus zero pollution plus zero risk on the job is equivalent to maximum growth of government plus zero economic growth plus runaway inflation.

Ibid., Speech, Scientists and Engineers for Secure Energy (1980)

1385. Fawn M. Brodie
(1915–1981)

1 The vast resources of the hinterland stirred the most sluggish fancies, and an optimism that was to become basic in American thinking for a hundred years now [the 1820s] swept the United States.

No Man Knows My History, Ch. 1 *1945*

2 There is, of course, a gold mine or a buried treasure on every mortgaged homestead. Whether the farmer ever digs for it or not, it is there, haunting his daydreams when the burden of debt is most unbearable.

Ibid., Ch. 2

3 The intellectual appeal of Mormonism, which eventually became its greatest weakness as the historical and "scientific" aspects of Mormon dogma were cruelly disemboweled by twentieth-century scholarship, was in the beginning its greatest strength. Ibid., Ch. 7

4 The paradise of the prophet [Joseph Smith] had much of the earth in it. Ibid., Ch. 13

5 Mormon theology was never burdened with other-worldliness. There was a fine robustness about it that smelled of the frontier and that rejected an asceticism that was never endemic to America. Ibid.

6 There are more bends in the Mississippi than even a river rat can remember, with every spring flood erasing some of the old and creating a score of new. Ibid., Ch. 18

7 A man's memory is bound to be a distortion of his past in accordance with his present interests, and the most faithful autobiography is likely to mirror less what a man was than what he has become. Ibid., Ch. 19

8 A passion for politics stems usually from an insatiable need, either for power, or for friendship and adulation, or a combination of both.

Thomas Jefferson, Ch. 1 *1974*

9 Housework is a breeze. Cooking is a pleasant diversion. Putting up a retaining wall is a lark. But teaching is like climbing a mountain.

Quoted in "Home Q&A" by Marshall Berges in *Los Angeles Times Home Magazine* *February 20, 1977*

10 Everything I've ever done is easier than research or writing. Ibid.

11 Show me a character whose life arouses my curiosity, and my flesh begins crawling with suspense. Ibid.

1386. Elizabeth Hardwick**
(1916–)

1 Letters are above all useful as a means of expressing the ideal self; and no other method of communication is quite so good for this purpose. . . . In letters we can reform without practice, beg without humiliation, snip and shape embarrassing experiences to the measure of our own desires. . . .

"Anderson, Millay and Crane in Their Letters" (1953), *A View of My Own* *1962*

2 . . . our delight is kept in its course by some radar of history or fashion.

Ibid., "The Neglected Novels of Christina Stead" (1955)

3 "The future, ugh! It's America's turn now. . . . It's all yours. . . . I give it to you! Bah!"

Ibid., "A Florentine Conference" (1951)

4 Mothers born on relief have their babies on relief. Nothingness, truly, seems to be the condition of these New York people. . . . They are nomads going from one rooming house to another, looking for a toilet that functions.

Ibid., "The Insulted and Injured: Books About Poverty" (1961)

5 The "book"—a plaguing growth that does not itself grow, but attaches, hangs on, a tumorous companion made up of the deranged cells of learning, experience, thinking.

Sleepless Nights *1979*

1387. Bella Lewitzky
(1916–)

1 Making social comment is an artificial place for an artist to start from. If an artist is touched

237. Mary Lease

(1853–1933)

1 What you Kansas farmers ought to do is to raise less corn and raise more hell.
Political Speech *1890*

238. Sofia Perovskaya

(1853–1881)

1 . . . my lot is not at all such a dark one. I have lived as my convictions have prompted me; I could not do otherwise; therefore I await what is in store for me with a clear conscience.
Letter to Her Mother, *Woman as Revolutionary*, Fred C. Giffin, ed. *1973p*

239. Emilie Poulsson

(1853–1939)

* * *

1 Books are keys to wisdom's treasure;
Books are gates to lands of pleasure;
Books are paths that upward lead;
Books are friends. Come, let us read.
Inscription in Children's Reading Room, Hopkington, Massachusetts

240. Jennie Jerome Churchill

(1854–1921)

1 The best society does not necessarily mean the "smart set." Quoted in the *New York World* *October 13, 1908*

2 Of all nationalities, Americans are the best in adapting themselves. With them, to see is to know—and to know is to conquer. Ibid.

3 You may be a princess or the richest woman in the world, but you cannot be more than a lady. . . . Ibid.

4 It is so tempting to try the most difficult thing possible. Quoted in the *Daily Chronicle* (London) *July 8, 1909*

5 BASIL. But remember, a man ends by hating the woman who he thinks has found him out.
His Borrowed Plumes *1909*

6 ALMA. I rather suspect her of being in love with him.

MARTIN. Her own husband? Monstrous! What a selfish woman! Ibid.

7 All natures are in nature. Ibid.

8 What is love without passion?—A garden without flowers, a hat without feathers, tobogganing without snow. Ibid.

9 Italians love—sun, sin and spaghetti. Ibid.

10 We don't elope nowadays, and we don't divorce, except out of kindness. *The Bill* *1913*

11 Your castle in Spain has no foundations, that is why it is so easily built. . . .
"Mars and Cupid," *Pearson's* *September, 1915*

12 . . . we owe something to extravagance, for thrift and adventure seldom go hand in hand. . . .
Ibid., "Extravagance" *October, 1915*

13 Treat your friends as you do your pictures, and place them in their best light.
"Friendship," *Small Talk on Big Subjects* *1916*

14 There is no such thing as a moral dress. . . . It's people who are moral or immoral. . . .
Quoted in the *Daily Chronicle* (London) *February 16, 1921*

15 It's a wise virgin who looks after her own lamp. Quoted in *Bystander* *July 6, 1921*

16 But I suppose experience of life will in time teach you that tact is a very essential ingredient in all things. Letter to Winston Churchill (October 4, 1895), Quoted in *Jennie*, Vol. II, by Ralph G. Martin *1971p*

17 Life is not always what one wants it to be, but to make the best of it as it is, is the only way of being happy. . . .
Ibid., Letter to Lord Kitchener (November 27, 1896)

18 You seem to have no real purpose in life and won't realize at the age of twenty-two that for a man life means work, and hard work if you mean to succeed. . . .
Ibid., Letter to Winston Churchill (February 26, 1897)

19 . . . be modest. . . . One must be tempted to talk of oneself . . . *but resist*. Let them *drag* things out. Ibid. (November 4, 1897)

20 If we can alleviate sufferings and at the same time comfort the many aching and anxious hearts at home, shall we not be fulfilling our greatest mission in life? These are "Women's Rights" in the best sense of the word. We need no others. Ibid., Speech, First Meeting of General Committee for Hospital Ship (November 18, 1899)

Margot Asquith 1864-1945

8 It is always dangerous to generalise, but the American people, while infinitely generous, are a hard and strong race and, but for the few cemeteries I have seen, I am inclined to think they never die. Ibid., Ch. 14

9 The ingrained idea that, because there is no king and they despise titles, the Americans are a free people is pathetically untrue. . . . There is a perpetual interference with personal liberty over there that would not be tolerated in England for a week. Ibid., Ch. 17

10 . . . her one idea was to exercise a moderating influence; and without knowing it she would in a subtle and disparaging manner check the enthusiasm, dim the glow, and cramp the extravagance of everyone round her.
Octavia, Ch. 1 *1928*

11 "Women are like horses, and should never be ridden on the curb." Ibid., Ch. 9

12 She wanted to *give* life; to warm the blood and kindle the hope of drab and cautious people. You could not make others live unless you had life yourself. Ibid., Ch. 12

13 She was not an individual when she was with him, she was an audience—an audience that only came in at the end. When people clapped, was it the last sentence, or the whole speech they were applauding? Or was it merely relief that the speech was over? Ibid.

14 Life was cruel, demanding wisdom from the young before they had the chance of acquiring it! Innocence was admired, ignorance despised: yet, in their effects, they had a dangerous resemblance. Ibid., Ch. 22

311. Elinor Glyn

(1864–1943)

1 Marriage is the aim and end of all sensible girls, because it is the meaning of life.
"Letters to Caroline,"
Harper's Bazaar
September, 1913

312. Margaret P. Sherwood

(1864–1955)

* * *

1 Whisper some kindly word, to bless
A wistful soul who understands
That life is but one long caress
Of gentle words and gentle hands.
"In Memoriam—Leo: A Yellow Cat"

313. Wenonah Stevens Abbott

(1865–1950)

* * *

1 To-day the journey is ended,
I have worked out the mandates of fate;
Naked, alone, undefended,
I knock at the Uttermost Gate.
"A Soul's Soliloquy"

314. Evangeline Booth

(1865–1950)

* * *

1 Drink has drained more blood,
Hung more crepe,
Sold more houses,
Plunged more people into bankruptcy,
Armed more villains,
Slain more children,
Snapped more wedding rings,
Defiled more innocence,
Blinded more eyes,
Twisted more limbs,
Dethroned more reason,
Wrecked more manhood,
Dishonored more womanhood,
Broken more hearts,
Blasted more lives,
Driven more to suicide, and
Dug more graves than any other poisoned
Scourge that ever swept its death-
Dealing waves across the world.
"Good Housekeeping"

315. Mrs. Patrick Campbell

(1865–1940)

1 I believe I was impatient with unintelligent people from the moment I was born: a tragedy—for I am myself three-parts a fool.
My Life and Some Letters, Ch. 2
1922

2 I remember a certain dinner party given for me by a well-known Jewish financier, and being asked by him at table in an earnest, curious voice, what I kept in a small locket I wore on a chain round my neck. Everyone stopped talking and listened for my answer. I replied gravely, "One hair of a Jew's moustache."
Ibid., Ch. 6

3 To be made to hold his [George Bernard Shaw's] tongue is the greatest insult you can offer him—though he might be ready with a poker to make you hold yours.
Ibid., Ch. 16

Amy Lowell (1874-1925)

10 Also the scent from them fills the room
With sweetness of flowers and crushed grass.
Ibid.

11 You are beautiful and faded,
Like an old opera tune
Played upon a harpsichord.
Ibid., "A Lady," St. 1

12 I too am a rare
Pattern. As I wander down
The garden paths.
"Patterns," *Men, Women, and Ghosts* 1916

13 A pattern called a war.
Christ! What are patterns for?
Ibid., St. 7

14 The cost runs into millions, but a woman must have something to console herself for a broken heart.
Ibid., "Malmaison," V

15 Art is the desire of a man to express himself, to record the reactions of his personality to the world he lives in.
Tendencies in Modern American Poetry 1917

16 Youth condemns; maturity condones. Ibid.

17 All Naples prates of this and that, and runs about its little business, shouting, bawling, incessantly calling its wares.
"Sea-Blue and Blood-Red," II, *Can Grande's Castle* 1918

18 Let the key-guns be mounted, make a brave show of waging war, and pry off the lid of Pandora's box once more.
Ibid., "Guns as Keys: And the Great Gate Swings," Pt. I

19 A wise man,
Watching the stars pass across the sky,
Remarked:
In the upper air the fireflies move more slowly.
"Meditation," *Picture of the Floating World* 1919

20 Moon!
Moon!
I am prone before you.
Pity me,
And drench me in loneliness.
Ibid., "On a Certain Critic"

21 If failure, then another long beginning.
Why hope,
Why think that Spring must bring relenting.
"A Legend of Porcelain," St. 25, *Legends* 1921

22 "The sun weaves the seasons," thought Many Swans, "I have been under and over the warp of the world. . . ."
Ibid., "Many Swans"

23 There are few things so futile, and few so amusing,
As a peaceful and purposeless sort of perusing
Of old random jottings set down in a blank-book
You've unearthed from a drawer as you looked for your bank-book. . . .
"A Critical Fable," St. 1, *A Critical Fable* 1922

24 A man must be sacrificed now and again
To provide for the next generation of men.
Ibid., St. 2

25 I am sorry myself to be forced to distort a
Fine line unduly, and if I or my thought err
I am willing to own it without the least *hauteur*.
Ibid., St. 9

26 And the sight of a white church above thin trees in a city square
Amazes my eyes as though it were the Parthenon.
"Meeting-House Hill," *What's O'Clock* 1925

27 And what are we?
We, the people without a race,
Without a language;
Of all races, and of none;
Of all tongues, and one imposed;
Of all traditions and all pasts,
With no tradition and no past.
A patchwork and an altar-piece. . . .
Ibid., "The Congressional Liberty," St. 1

28 Heart-leaves of lilac all over New England,
Roots of lilac under all the soil of New England,
Lilac in me because I am New England.
Ibid., "Lilacs," St. 4

29 I went a-riding, a-riding,
Over a great long plain.
And the plain went a-sliding, a-sliding
Away from my bridle-rein.
Ibid., "Texas," St. 1

30 Love is a game—yes?
I think it is a drowning. . . .
Ibid., "Twenty-four Hokku on a Modern Theme," XIX

31 Sappho would speak, I think, quite openly,
And Mrs. Browning guard a careful silence,
But Emily would set doors ajar and slam them
And love you for your speed of observation.
Ibid., "The Sisters," St. 2

* * *

32 Finally, most of
concentration is

33 For books are
life
The very heart a
The reason wh
died,
The essence and

409. Dorot

1 My early life ha
deep feeling tha
was patient, lov
it such a famil
romance built u
always been w
sometimes to se
me. Qu

by Ge

2 When hurry in
mother, the con
safe and sane o

410. A

1 And now too lat
That art is sacri
And who loves

2 When a woman
much
All of a sudden
Is always busy a
Spare you a mo

3 Frenchm
The ultimate me
Logically as the

4 Good manners
consideration fo

416. Gertrude Stein

(1874–1946)

1 Honesty is a selfish virtue. Yes, I am honest enough. "Adele," *Q.E.D.*, Bk. I *1903*

2 I simply contend that the middle-class ideal which demands that people be affectionate, respectable, honest and content, that they avoid excitements and cultivate serenity is the ideal that appeals to me, it is in short the ideal of affectionate family life, of honorable business methods. Ibid.

3 "You are so afraid of losing your moral sense that you are not willing to take it through anything more dangerous than a mud-puddle." Ibid.

4 "I never wanted to be a hero, but on the other hand I am not anxious to cultivate cowardice." Ibid.

5 "I could undertake to be an efficient pupil if it were possible to find an efficient teacher." Ibid.

6 One must either accept some theory or else believe one's instinct or follow the world's opinion. Ibid., "Helen," Bk. III

7 I am writing for myself and strangers. This is the only way that I can do it.
The Making of Americans *1906–1908*

8 "Rose is a rose is a rose is a rose."
"Sacred Emily" *1913*

9 I suppose I pose I expose, I repose, I close the door when the sun shines so, I close the door when the wind is so strong and the dust is not there. . . . "Mildred's Thoughts" *1922*

10 You are all a lost generation.
Letter to Ernest Hemingway *1926*

11 Pigeons on the grass alas.
Four Saints in Three Acts *1927*

12 Before the flowers of friendship faded friendship faded.
Before the Flowers of Friendship Faded Friendship Faded *1931*

13 Remarks are not literature.
The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas *1933*

14 She always says she dislikes the abnormal, it is so obvious. She says the normal is so much more simply complicated and interesting. Ibid.

15 America is my country and Paris is my hometown. And it is as it has come to be. After all anybody is as their air and land is. Anybody is as the sky is low or high, the air heavy or clear and anybody is as there is wind or no wind there. It is that which makes them and the arts they make and the work they do and the way they eat and the way they drink and the way they learn and everything. And so I am an American and I have lived half my life in Paris, not the half that made me but the half in which I made what I made.
"An American and France" *1936*

16 In the United States there is more space where nobody is than where anybody is. That is what makes America what it is.
The Geographical History of America *1936*

17 Everybody knows if you are too careful you are so occupied in being careful that you are sure to stumble over something.
Everybody's Autobiography, Ch. 1 *1937*

18 . . . native always means people who belong somewhere else, because they had once belonged somewhere. That shows that the white race does not really think they belong anywhere because they think of everybody else as native. Ibid.

19 . . . one never discusses anything with anybody who can understand one discusses things with people who cannot understand. . . . Ibid.

20 . . . if anything is a surprise then there is not much difference between older or younger because the only thing that does make anybody older is that they cannot be surprised.
Ibid., Ch. 2

21 . . . money . . . is really the difference between men and animals, most of the things men feel animals feel and vice versa, but animals do not know about money, money is purely a human conception and that is very important to know very very important. Ibid.

22 A distraction is to avoid the consciousness of the passage of time. Ibid.

23 . . . considering how dangerous everything is nothing is really very frightening. Ibid.

24 . . . what is the use of thinking if after all there is to be organization. Ibid.

25 More great Americans were failures than they were successes. They mostly spent their lives in not having a buyer for what they had for sale. Ibid.

4 Mountains are good to look upon
But do not look too long.
They are made of granite. They will break your heart.
"Mountains"

5 Over the stones to lull and leap
Herding the bubbles like white sheep;
The claims of worry to deny,
And whisper sorrow into sleep.
"The Whole Duty of Berkshire Brooks"

6 To build the trout a crystal stair.
Ibid.

7 The forest looks the way
Nightingales sound.
"Frost on a Window"

458. Adelaide Crapsey

(1878–1914)

* * *

1 If I'd as much money as I could tell,
I never would cry my songs to sell.
"Vendor's Song"

2 Is it as plainly in our living shown,
By slant and twist, which way the wind hath blown?
"On Seeing Weather-Beaten Trees"

3 These be
Three silent things:
The falling snow . . . the hour
Before the dawn . . . the mouth of one
Just dead.
"Cinquain: Triad"

4 Wouldst thou find my ashes? Look
In the pages of my book;
And, as this thy hands doth turn,
Know here is my funeral urn.
"The Immortal Residue"

459. Isadora Duncan

(1878–1927)

1 America has all that Russia has not. Russia has things America has not. Why will America not reach out a hand to Russia, as I have given my hand? Curtain Speech, Symphony Hall, Boston *1922*

2 You were once wild here. Don't let them tame you! Ibid.

3 All Puritan vulgarity centers in Boston. The Back Bay conservatives are impoverished by custom and taboo. They are the lifeless and sterile of this country. Interview, Boston *1922*

4 . . . [I] would rather live in Russia on black bread and vodka than in the United States at the best hotels. America knows nothing of food, love or art. Interview Aboard Ship *1922*

5 So that ends my first experience with matrimony, which I always thought a highly overrated performance.
Interview, *The New York Times* *1923*

6 . . . the artist is the only lover, he alone has the pure vision of beauty, and love is the vision of the soul when it is permitted to gaze upon immortal beauty. . . . *My Life* *1927*

7 I have discovered the dance. I have discovered the art which has been lost for two thousand years. Ibid.

8 . . . when I listened to music the rays and vibrations of the music streamed to this one fount of light within me—there they reflected themselves in Spiritual Vision, not the brain's mirror, but the soul's, and from the vision I could express them in Dance. . . . Ibid.

9 . . . I believe, as a wage-earning woman, that if I make the great sacrifice of strength and health and even risk my life, to have a child, I should certainly not do so if, on some future occasion, the man can say that the child belongs to him by law and he will take it from me and I shall see it only three times a year! Ibid.

10 Any intelligent woman who reads the marriage contract, and then goes into it, deserves all the consequences. Ibid.

11 With what a price we pay for the glory of motherhood. . . . Ibid.

12 It is unheard of, uncivilized barbarism that any woman should still be forced to bear such monstrous torture. It should be remedied. It should be stopped. It is simply absurd that with our modern science painless childbirth does not exist as a matter of course. . . . I tremble with indignation when I think of . . . the unspeakable egotism and blindness of men of science who permit such atrocities when they can be remedied. . . . Ibid.

13 . . . now that I had discovered that Love might be a pastime as well as a tragedy, I gave myself to it with pagan innocence. Men seemed so hungry for Beauty, hungry for that love which refreshes and inspires without fear or responsibility. Ibid.

rites of such pure loveliness that he became my Emperor and I became Moon to his Imperial Sun. Poems, like shy white birds, rose from our union: records of the strange drama of our love. Ibid.

487. Marie Carmichael Stopes

(1880–1958)

1 The surface freedom of our women has not materially altered the pristine purity of a girl of our northern race. *Married Love 1918*

2 Each heart knows instinctively that it is only a mate who can give full comprehension of all the potential greatness in the soul, and have tender laughter for all the childlike wonder that lingers so enchantingly even in the white-haired. Ibid., Ch. 1

3 An impersonal and scientific knowledge of the structure of our bodies is the surest safeguard against prurient curiosity and lascivious gloating. Ibid., Ch. 5

4 . . . each coming together of man and wife, even if they have been mated for many years, should be a fresh adventure; each winning should necessitate a fresh wooing. Ibid., Ch. 10

5 So deeply are we woven I can lend
You outwardly to other hands who clutch
Small corners of your heart, greedy that such
Resplendence should its rays to darkness send.
"You," St. 2, *Joy and Verity 1952*

6 London, scarred mistress of proud Freedom's heart,
The love we bear you has no counterpart.
Ibid., "London"

7 We are not much in sympathy with the typical hustling American business man, but we have often felt compunction for him, seeing him nervous and harassed, sleeplessly, anxiously hunting dollars and all but overshadowed by his over-dressed, extravagant and idle wife, who sometimes insists that her spiritual development necessitates that she shall have no children. Such husbands and wives are also found in this country; they are a growing produce of the upper reaches of the capitalist system. Yet such wives imagine that they are upholding women's emancipation.
Article in *Dreadnought* (c.1919), Quoted in *The Fighting Pankhursts* by David Mitchell *1967p*

488. Nancy Byrd Turner

(1880–1954?)

* * *

1 Burn, wood, burn—
Wood that once was a tree, and knew
Blossom and sheaf, and the Spring's return,
Nest, and singing, and rain, and dew—
Burn, wood, burn!
"Flame Song"

2 Death is only an old door
Set in a garden wall.
"Death Is a Door"

3 Men climb tall hills to suffer and die.
"Hills"

489. Margaret Widdemer

(1880–1978)

1 I have shut my little sister in from light and life
(For a rose, for a ribbon, for a wreath across my hair),
I have made her restless feet still until the night,
Locked from sweets of summer and from wild spring air.
"The Factories," St. 1 *c.1916*

2 The old road to Paradise
Easy it is missed!
"The Old Road to Paradise," St. 2 *1919*

3 To grown people a girl of fifteen and a half is a child still; to herself she is very old and very real; more real, perhaps, than ever before or after. . . . "The Changeling," *The Boardwalk 1920*

4 She was poor, and she was broken. But the young are improvident—not having yet learned how hard to come by money is and of how little account are other things.
Ibid., "The Congregation"

5 No one had told them that Age was a place
Where you sat with a curious mask on your face.
"Old Ladies," St. 6, *Hill Garden 1936*

6 "It only was gifts that I let them take.
I never gave dreams away."
Ibid., "Spendthrift Nancy," St. 3

* * *

7 And all that you are sorry for is what you haven't done.
"De Senectute"

5 Capital and labour in alliance will require neither government control nor political interference, and the vast network of government which is impoverishing us today will become useless and will shrivel up and die away.
Ibid.

527. Ruth Mason Rice
(1884–1927)

1 An oval, placid woman who assuaged men's lives;
Her comely hands wrought forth a century
Of oval, placid women who engaged, as wives,
In broideries and tea.
"Queen Victoria," *Afterward* 1927

2 But now—a loaf's an easy thing;
Made quickly by a blind machine;
And still—I find me hungering
For fare—unseen.
Ibid., "Daily Bread"

3 Your people build—to gain the firmaments;
They dig—to reach the sunken heart of hell;
They question every answer Life presents;
For they are sons of Lucifer—who fell.
Where are you going, multitude of feet?
Ibid., "New York"

528. Eleanor Roosevelt
(1884–1962)

1 No one can make you feel inferior without your consent. *This Is My Story* 1937

2 A democratic form of government, a democratic way of life, presupposes free public education over a long period; it presupposes also an education for personal responsibility that too often is neglected.
"Let Us Have Faith in Democracy," *Land Policy Review*, Department of Agriculture *January, 1942*

3 I think if the people of this country can be reached with the truth, their judgment will be in favor of the many, as against the privileged few. Quoted in the *Ladies' Home Journal* *May, 1942*

4 Perhaps in His wisdom the Almighty is trying to show us that a leader may chart the way, may point out the road to lasting peace, but that many leaders and many peoples must do the building. "My Day" Newspaper Column *April 16, 1945*

5 Perhaps nature is our best assurance of immortality. Ibid. *April 24, 1945*

6 We must be willing to learn the lesson that cooperation may imply compromise, but if it brings a world advance it is a gain for each individual nation. Ibid. *January 21, 1946*

7 I am sorry that Governments in all parts of the world have not seen fit to send more women as delegates, alternates or advisors to the Assembly [U.N.]. I think it is in these positions that the women of every nation should work to see that equality exists. Ibid. *January 28, 1946*

8 None of us has lived up to the teachings of Christ. Ibid. *February 14, 1946*

9 It is not fair to ask of others what you are not willing to do yourself. Ibid. *June 15, 1946*

10 If I do not run for office, I am not beholden to my Party. What I give, I give freely and I am too old to want to be curtailed in any way in the expression of my own thinking.
"Why I Do Not Choose to Run," *Look* *July 9, 1946*

11 . . . a trait no other nation seems to possess in quite the same degree that we do—namely, a feeling of almost childish injury and resentment unless the world as a whole recognizes how innocent we are of anything but the most generous and harmless intentions.
"My Day" Newspaper Column *November 11, 1946*

12 It is very difficult to have a free, fair and honest press anywhere in the world. In the first place, as a rule, papers are largely supported by advertising, and that immediately gives the advertisers a certain hold over the medium which they use. *If You Ask Me* 1946

13 It is not that you set the individual apart from society but that you recognize in any society that the individual must have rights that are guarded. Quoted in *The New York Times* *February 4, 1947*

14 I used to tell my husband that, if he could make *me* understand something, it would be clear to all the other people in the country.
"My Day" Newspaper Column *February 12, 1947*

15 The economy of Communism is an economy which grows in an atmosphere of misery and want. Ibid. *March 15, 1947*

16 Franklin had a good way of simplifying things. He made people feel that he had a real understanding of things and they felt they had about the same understanding. Interview in *PM* *April 6, 1947*

17 . . . I deplore . governments. . tion has never unctuous word

18 Justice cannot be for both. .

19 . . . certain ri government, l the people.

20 A society in v sarily a free society; on t there is wid turn freedom millions of p

21 We must pre . . . The day I do not kn someone wi Communists nist—that w

22 My own fe and many found distr standable known inti colonial na States, our R

23 For it isn' must belie lieve in it.

24 I believe t up for pe if you fe that will

25 There is country w symbol w and with Sp

Agnes Meyer (1887-1970?)

you have seen the tireless effort, the intelligent application of management and labor and their ever-increasing co-operation, you realize that there are enough resources, actual and potential, enough brains and good will in this country to turn the whole world into a paradise.
"Juvenile Delinquency and Child Labor," *Washington Post* *March 14, 1943*

2 What the Nation must realize is that the home, when both parents work, is non-existent. Once we have honestly faced that fact, we must act accordingly. Ibid., "Living Conditions of the Woolworker" *April 10, 1943*

3 We have forgotten that democracy must live as it thinks and think as it lives.
Journey Through Chaos, Introduction *1943*

4 An orderly existence creates primarily an unconscious relation to the silent progression of the days, seasons, and the music of the spheres.
Out of These Roots *1953*

5 Fortunate are the people whose roots are deep.
Ibid., Ch. 1

6 In pursuit of an educational program to suit the bright and the not-so-bright we have watered down a rigid training for the elite until we now have an educational diet in many of our public high schools that nourishes neither the classes nor the masses. Ibid., Ch. 2

7 Let us hope that in the process of integration in our society, which fortunately is now well underway, the Negro will not allow the American steam roller of conformity to destroy his creative gifts. Ibid., Ch. 8

8 The children are always the chief victims of social chaos. Ibid., Ch. 13

9 Science was the method used in the struggle by which mankind has passed from habit, routine, and caprice, from efforts to use nature magically, to intellectual self-control.
Lecture, "Democracy and Clericalism" *May 21, 1954*

10 Christianity must now rise above the limitations of orthodoxy just as the free world must rise above the limitations of nationalism if we are not to pull the civilized world down around our ears. Ibid.

11 There is a need for heroism in American life today. *Education for a New Morality*, Ch. 1 *1957*

12 We Americans must now throw off our childishness and parochialism and create a new idea of man acceptable to thinking people the world over. Ibid.

13 From the nineteenth-century view of science as a god, the twentieth century has begun to see it as a devil. It behooves us now to understand that science is neither one nor the other.
Ibid., Ch. 3

14 We can never achieve absolute truth but we can live hopefully by a system of calculated probabilities. The law of probability gives to natural and human sciences—to human experience as a whole—the unity of life we seek.
Ibid., Ch. 3

15 We are immoral in America today precisely because our existing institutions do not perform their function of abolishing our inherited dualism between thought and action, between our American ideals and what we do about them. Let us bear in mind that idealism when separated from empirical methods and experimental utilization in concrete social situations is vague, semantic mouthing. . . .
Ibid., Ch. 16

16 It certainly must have been a relief for the women of the country to realize that one could be a woman and a lady and yet be thoroughly political. Letter to Eleanor Roosevelt (July 25, 1952), Quoted in *Eleanor: The Years Alone* by Joseph P. Lash *1972p*

564. Marianne Moore

(1887–1972)

1 The monkeys
winked too much and were afraid of
snakes. The zebras, supreme in
their abnormality; the elephants, with
their fog-colored skin
and strictly practical appendages
were there.
"The Monkeys" *1921*

2 I, too, dislike it: there are things that are important beyond all this fiddle.
"Poetry," *Collected Poems* *1935*

3 There is a great amount of poetry in unconscious fastidiousness.
Ibid., "Critics and Connoisseurs"

4 I wonder what Adam and Eve
think of it by this time.
Ibid., "Marriage"

Pearl S. Buck
(1892 - 1973)

18 It is worse than folly . . . not to recognize the truth, for in it lies the tinder for tomorrow.
"Tinder for Tomorrow," *Asia* *March, 1942*

19 For our democracy has been marred by imperialism, and it has been enlightened only by individual and sporadic efforts at freedom.
Speech, "Freedom for All," New York *March 14, 1942*

20 I remember as a child hearing my impatient missionary father . . . [as] he explained to an elderly Chinese gentleman, "Does it mean nothing to you that if you reject Christ you will burn in hell?"
The Chinese gentleman smiled as he replied, "If, as you say, my ancestors are all in hell at this moment, it would be unfilial of me not to be willing to suffer with them."
Speech, "The Chinese Mind and India," Boston *April 28, 1942*

21 One faces the future with one's past. . . .
Lecture, "China Faces the Future," New York *October 13, 1942*

22 There is no one way of dividing us. We are different races, and that is a division. We are of different nations, and that is a division. Religion is a division, and wealth is a division, and education is a division. Climate and geography and food have their dividing effects, and so has history. But war is the great simplifier.
"The Spirit Behind the Weapon," *Survey Graphics* *November, 1942*

23 Fate proceeds inexorably . . . only upon the passive individual, the passive people. . . . Fate may be foreseen unacknowledged.
Address to Nobel Prize Winners, New York *December 10, 1942*

24 Every era of renaissance has come out of new freedoms for peoples. The coming renaissance will be greater than any in human history, for this time all the peoples of the earth will share in it. *What America Means to Me,* Introduction *1942*

25 Every great mistake has a halfway moment, a split second when it can be recalled and perhaps remedied. Ibid., Ch. 10

26 But when you remember the suffering, which you have not deserved, do not think of vengeance, as the small man does. Remember, rather, as the great remember, that which they have unjustly suffered, and determine only that such suffering shall not be possible again for any human being anywhere.
"A Letter to Colored Americans," *American Unity and Asia* *1942*

27 "Who knows what you'll tell?" Wang Ma said severely.
"I never tell anything I know," Peony said demurely.
Wang Ma put down the bowl. "What do you know?" she inquired.
"Now you want me to tell," Peony said, smiling. *The Bondsmaid,* Ch. 1 *1949*

28 "Believing in gods always causes confusion." Ibid.

29 She had always been too wise to tell him all she thought and felt, knowing by some intuition of her own womanhood that no man wants to know everything of any woman.
Ibid., Ch. 4

30 Self-expression must pass into communication for its fulfillment. . . .
"In Search of Readers," *The Writer's Book,* Helen Hull, ed. *1950*

31 The average person, fool that he often is, interests and amuses me more than the rare and extraordinary individual. The ways of common people are enchanting and funny and profound.
Ibid.

32 There are persons who honestly do not see the use of books in the home, either for information—have they not radio and even television? —or for decoration—is there not the wallpaper? Ibid.

33 Introversion, at least if extreme, is a sign of mental and spiritual immaturity. Ibid.

34 Endurance can be a harsh and bitter root in one's life, bearing poisonous and gloomy fruit, destroying other lives. Endurance is only the beginning. There must be acceptance and the knowledge that sorrow fully accepted brings its own gifts. For there is an alchemy in sorrow. It can be transmuted into wisdom. . . .
The Child Who Never Grew, Ch. 1 *1950*

35 Americans are all too soft. I am not soft. It is better to be hard, so that you can know what to do. Ibid.

36 Euthanasia is a long, smooth-sounding word, and it conceals its danger as long, smooth words do, but the danger is there, nevertheless.
Ibid., Ch. 2

37 Ours is an individualistic society, indeed, and the state must do for the individual what the family does for the older civilizations. Ibid.

Pearl S. Buck (1892-1973)

38 Children who never grow are human beings, and suffer as human beings, inarticulately but deeply nevertheless. The human creature is always more than an animal. Ibid., Ch. 3

39 We had no police and needed none, because the family was responsible for all its members. . . . The child in Asia is loved not only for its own sake but as a symbol of hope for the future of both family and nation.
Children for Adoption, Ch. 1 *1964*

40 The American woman, when she is an unmarried mother, simply disappears for a while from her community and then comes back, childless, her secret hidden for life. Ibid.

41 What is a neglected child? He is a child not planned for, not wanted. Neglect begins, therefore, before he is born. Ibid., Ch. 3

42 The community must assume responsibility for each child within its confines. Not one must be neglected whatever his condition. The community must see that every child gets the advantages and opportunities which are due him as a citizen and as a human being. Ibid., Ch. 4

43 The problem of the mixed-race child, born displaced in the world community, must be faced in its entirety. It can be no credit to the United States to have half-American children running about as beggars and potential criminals in the streets of Asian cities and on the islands of the Pacific. Ibid., Ch. 7

44 If our American way of life fails the child, it fails us all. Ibid., Ch. 9

45 It is indeed exasperating to have a memory that begins too young and continues too long. I know, because this is my memory. It goes back too far, it holds everything too fast, it does not forget anything—a relentless, merciless, disobedient memory, for there are some things I would like to forget. But I never forget. *China, Past and Present*, Ch. 1 *1972*

46 Nothing and no one can destroy the Chinese people. They are relentless survivors. They are the oldest civilized people on earth. Their civilization passes through phases but its basic characteristics remain the same. They yield, they bend to the wind, but they never break. Ibid.

47 Ah well, perhaps one has to be very old before one learns how to be amused rather than shocked. Ibid., Ch. 6

48 No one really understood music unless he was a scientist, her father had declared, and not just a scientist, either, oh, no, only the real ones, the theoreticians, whose language was mathematics. She had not understood mathematics until he had explained to her that it was the symbolic language of relationships. "And relationships," he had told her, "contained the essential meaning of life."
The Goddess Abides, Pt. I *1972*

49 I contemplate death as though I were continuing after its arrival. I, therefore, survive since I can contemplate myself afterward as well as before. Ibid.

50 "A hand is not only an implement, it's a sense organ. It's the eye of a blind man, it's the tone of those who cannot speak." Ibid., Pt. II

* * *

51 Be born anywhere, little embryo novelist, but do not be born under the shadow of a great creed, not under the burden of original sin, not under the doom of salvation.
"Advice to Unborn Novelists"

52 Go out and be born among gypsies or thieves or among happy workaday people who live with the sun and do not think about their souls. Ibid.

616. Ivy Compton-Burnett
(1892–1969)

1 "But a gentlewoman is not able to spin gold out of straw; it required a full princess to do that." *A House and Its Head*, Ch. 1 *1935*

2 "We do not discuss the members of our family to their faces. . . ." Ibid., Ch. 11

3 "It is no good to think that other people are out to serve our interests."
Elders and Betters, Ch. 1 *1944*

4 "It is a lonely business, waiting to be translated to another sphere." Ibid., Ch. 7

5 "The relationship is only a shadow, but a shadow is not always easy to elude."
Two Worlds and Their Ways, Ch. 3 *1949*

6 "I do like approving of things. It is disapproving of them that is disturbing." Ibid., Ch. 4

7 "Parents have too little respect for their children, just as the children have too much for the parents. . . ." Ibid., Ch. 5

661. Bessie Rowland James

(1895–1974)

* * *

1 No matter how lofty you are in your department, the responsibility for what your lowliest assistant is doing is yours. *Adlai's Almanac*

662. Dorothea Lange**

(1895–1965)

1 These [country women] are women of the American soil. They are a hardy stock. They are the roots of our country. . . . They are not our well-advertised women of beauty and fashion. . . . These women represent a different mode of life. They are of *themselves* a very great American style. They live with courage and purpose, a part of our tradition.
Quoted in *The Woman's Eye* by Anne Tucker *1973p*

663. Susanne K. Langer

(1895–)

1 Feeling, in the broad sense of whatever is felt in any way, as sensory stimulus or inward tension, pain, emotion or intent, is the mark of mentality. *Mind, An Essay on Human Feeling*, Vol. I, Pt. I, Ch. 1 *1967*

2 The secret of the "fusion" is the fact that the artist's eye sees in nature . . . an inexhaustible wealth of tension, rhythms, continuities and contrasts which can be rendered in line and color; and those are the "internal forms" which the "external forms"—paintings, musical or poetic compositions or any other works of art —express for us. Ibid., Pt. II, Ch. 4

3 Art is the objectification of feeling. . . . Ibid.

4 Every artistic form reflects the dynamism that is constantly building up the life of feeling. It is this same dynamism that records itself in organic forms; growth is its most characteristic process, and is the source of almost all familiar living shape. Hence the kinship between organic and artistic forms, though the latter need not be modeled on any natural object at all. If a work of art is a projection of feeling, that kinship with organic nature will emerge, no matter through how many transformations, logically and inevitably. Ibid., Ch. 7

5 "Consciousness" is not an entity at all, let alone a special cybernetic mechanism. It is a condition built up out of mental acts of a particular life episode. . . . Ibid., Ch. 11

664. Monica Baldwin

(1896–?)

1 . . . all the magic of the countryside which is ordained from the healing of the soul.
I Leap Over the Wall *1950*

2 You might have been standing in the heart of an iceberg, so strange it was, so silent, so austere. Ibid.

665. Ruth Gordon

(1896–)

1 MAX. I *always* get seventy-eight. No more, no less. It's nerve-wracking. I'd almost rather flunk once in a while. *Over Twenty-One*, Act I *1943*

2 POLLY. People like us and people born to be soldiers are kind of getting to be one and the same.

GOW. They are not—they're just all dressing alike. A uniform doesn't make a soldier. It takes aptitude, just like anything else.
Ibid., Act II

3 MAX. Say, is it too early for a drink?

POLLY. What's early about it? It's tomorrow in Europe and yesterday in China.
Ibid., Act III

4 POLLY. Do you realize you've come damn close to breaking a man's spirit?

GOW. Well, it was his spirit or my bank account.
Ibid.

5 JOE. You hit it! The truth's no good to me, Polly! History just isn't practical. . . . We can't stick to history. History's unbelievable! And it's up to us to make it seem real.

POLLY. Honest to God, Joe, you must have a brain of solid popcorn. Ibid.

6 CLYDE. Nothing dates one so dreadfully as to think someplace is uptown. . . . At our age one must be watchful of these conversational gray hairs. *The Leading Lady*, Act I *1948*

7 CLYDE. I'm sure the way to be happy is to live well beyond your means! Ibid.

8 CLYDE. The best impromptu speeches are the ones written well in advance. Ibid.

9 GAY. So easy to fall into a rut, isn't it? Why should ruts be so comfortable and so unpopular? Ibid., Act II

678. Dorothy Day**

(1897–1980)

1 Tradition! We scarcely know the word any more. We are afraid to be either proud of our ancestors or ashamed of them. We scorn nobility in name and in fact. We cling to a bourgeois mediocrity which would make it appear we are all Americans, made in the image and likeness of George Washington, all of a pattern, all prospering if we are good, and going down in the world if we are bad.

The Long Loneliness, Pt. I *1952*

2 . . . who were the mad and who the sane? . . . People sold themselves for jobs, for the pay check, and if they only received a high enough price, they were honored. If their cheating, their theft, their lies, were of colossal proportions, if it were successful, they met with praise, not blame. Ibid.

3 In our disobedience we were trying to obey God rather than men, trying to follow a higher obedience. We did not wish to act in a spirit of defiance and rebellion.

Loaves and Fishes, Ch. 16 *1963*

4 One of the greatest evils of the day among those outside of prison is their sense of futility. Young people say, What is the sense of our small effort? They cannot see that we must lay one brick at a time, take one step at a time; we can be responsible only for the one action of the present moment. But we can beg for an increase of love in our hearts that will vitalize and transform all our individual actions, and know that God will take them and multiply them, as Jesus multiplied the loaves and fishes. Ibid.

5 Much of the world has changed to a new society where collective and communal ownership is being emphasized to handle the matter of man and his work. But these changes have been brought about by violence and coercion, at the expense of man's freedom. The greatest challenge of the day is: how to bring about a revolution of the heart, a revolution which has to start with each one of us? When we begin to take the lowest place, to wash the feet of others, to love our brothers with that burning love, that passion, which led to the Cross, then we can truly say, "Now I have begun."

Ibid., Ch. 19

679. Hermione Gingold

(1897–)

1 My father dealt in stocks and shares and my mother also had a lot of time on her hands.

The World Is Square, Pt. I *1945*

2 To call him a dog hardly seems to do him justice, though inasmuch as he had four legs, a tail, and barked, I admit he was, to all outward appearances. But to those of us who knew him well, he was a perfect gentleman.

Ibid., Pt. II

3 This isn't a recipe for soup, although it can land you right in the *potage* if you aren't careful. "I Make Summer Stock,"

Sirens Should Be Seen and Not Heard *1963*

4 "Have you anything to back up your theory?"

"I cannot truthfully say I have," Mr. Smith replied. "I just believe implicitly."

"Well," I said, "I suppose it's like believing in the creation. There is much less to back up that theory these scientific days, and yet in spite of everything people still believe."

Ibid., "The Bomb That Had Mr. Smith's Name on It"

680. Iréne Joliot-Curie

(1897–1956)

1 That one must do some work seriously and must be independent and not merely amuse oneself in life—this our mother [Marie Curie] has told us always, but never that science was the only career worth following.

Quoted in *A Long Way from Missouri*, Ch. 10, by Mary Margaret McBride *1959p*

681. Caroline Lejeune

(1897–1973)

1 Nothing is said that can be regretted. Nothing is said that can even be remembered. "Dietrich as an Angel,"

The Observer (London) *1936*

2 Not the least remarkable thing about this remarkable picture is its apparent power of dormant development.

Ibid., "The Truth About Balaklava," *1937*

3 In a world as ravaged as ours there is still room for joy over the maturing of a great talent. Ibid., "The Little Man Grows Up," *1940*

4 . . . for a good book has this quality, that it is not merely a petrifaction of its author, but that once it has been tossed behind, like Deucalion's little stone, it acquires a separate and vivid life of its own.

Chestnuts in Her Lap, 1936–1946, Introduction *1947*

nity and freedom and tender love, and brotherhood, who has never heard of man the creator of truth and beauty, who has never even seen man-made beauty, but has heard only of man the killer, and words about sex and "race" which fill him with anger and fear and lust, and words about himself that make him feel degraded, or blow him up crazily into paranoid "superiority"—how can he know the meaning of *human*! How can he know that?

Ibid., Pt. III, Ch. 1

11 Education is a private matter between the person and the world of knowledge and experience, and has little to do with school or college. . . .

"Bridges to Other People," *Redbook September, 1969p*

12 When you stop learning, stop listening, stop looking and asking questions, always new questions, then it is time to die. . . . Ibid.

684. Margaret Chase Smith

(1897–)

1 I believe that in our constant search for security we can never gain any peace of mind until we secure our own soul. And this I do believe above all, especially in my times of greater discouragement, *that I must believe*—that I must believe in my fellow men—that I must believe in myself—that I must believe in God—if life is to have any meaning.

Essay in *This I Believe,* Raymond Swing, ed. *1952*

2 My creed is that public service must be more than doing a job efficiently and honestly. It must be a complete dedication to the people and to the nation with full recognition that every human being is entitled to courtesy and consideration, that constructive criticism is not only to be expected but sought, that smears are not only to be expected but fought, that honor is to be earned but not bought.

"My Creed," *Quick November 11, 1953*

3 In these perilous hours, I fear that the American people are ahead of their leaders in realism and courage—but behind them in knowledge of the facts because the facts have not been given to them. Address, U.S. Senate *September 21, 1961*

4 Strength, the American way, is not manifested by threats of criminal prosecution or police state methods. Leadership is not manifested by coercion, even against the resented. Greatness is not manifested by unlimited pragmatism, which places such a high premium on the end justifying *any* means and *any* methods.

Address, National Republican Women's Conference Banquet *April 16, 1962*

5 In today's growing, but tragic, emphasis on materialism, we find a perversion of the values of things in life as we once knew them. For example, the creed once taught children as they grew up was that the most important thing was not in whether you won or lost the game but rather in "how you played the game." That high level attitude that stresses the moral side no longer predominates in this age of pragmatic materialism that increasingly worships the opposite creed that "the end justifies the means" or the attitude of get what you can in any way, manner, or means that you can.

RCA Victor Recording *1964*

6 We are rapidly approaching a day when the United States will be subject to all sorts of diplomatic blackmail and a strategy of terror waged by the Soviet Union.

"It's Time to Speak Up for National Defense," *Reader's Digest March, 1972*

7 We are sick to death of war, defense spending and all things military. We are disgusted with and weary of the vilification that has been heaped upon us, at home as well as abroad, for our attempts to block communist enslavement in Southeast Asia. We yearn to turn away from foreign entanglements and to begin making our own house a better place to live in.

Ibid.

8 The key to security is public information.

Ibid.

9 There are enough mistakes of the Democrats for the Republicans to criticize constructively without resorting to political smears. . . . Freedom of speech is not what it used to be in America. *Declaration of Conscience 1972*

10 Before you can become a statesman you first have to get elected, and to get elected you have to be a politician pledging support for what the voters want.

Ibid., "Nuclear Test Ban Treaty"

685. Berenice Abbott

(1898–)

1 Photography can never grow up if it imitates some other medium. It has to walk alone; it has to be itself.

"It Has to Walk Alone," *Infinity* (magazine) *1951*

Clare Boothe Luce
(1903-)

6 MARY. Reno's full of women who all have their pride. Ibid.

7 MARY. Love has pride in nothing—but its own humility. Ibid.

8 LITTLE MARY. You know, that's the only good thing about divorce; you get to sleep with your mother. Ibid., Act III

9 EDITH. Always remember, Peggy, it's matrimonial suicide to be jealous when you have a really good reason. Ibid.

10 If "poor Germany" with eight million unemployed, ringed around with a wall of steel, could physically conquer half of Europe and rock the other half with her pagan, immoral, revolutionary ideas . . . what could we not do with our greater brains and greater initiative and all the raw materials and the greatest productive plants in the world out of which, as you have already announced, we are determined to create the greatest army on earth? I ask again what shall we do with that army? *Quo vadis?* *Europe in the Spring*, Ch. 12 *1940*

11 You see few people here in America who really care very much about living a Christian life in a democratic world. Ibid.

12 Much of what Mr. [Vice-President Henry] Wallace calls his global thinking is, no matter how you slice it, still Globaloney.
Speech, U.S. House of Representatives *February 9, 1943*

13 To put a woman on the ticket would challenge the loyalty of women everywhere to their sex, because it would be made to seem that the defeat of the ticket meant the defeat for a hundred years of women's chance to be truly equal with men in politics.
Quoted in *New York World-Telegram* *June 28, 1948*

14 I am for lifting everyone off the social bottom. In fact, I am for doing away with the social bottom altogether. Quoted in *Time* *February 14, 1964*

15 BLACK WOMAN'S VOICE. There's no human being a man can buy anymore—except a woman.
Slam the Door Softly *1970*

16 NORA. But if God had wanted us to think with our wombs, why did He give us a brain? Ibid.

17 NORA. When a man can't explain a woman's actions, the first thing he thinks about is the condition of her uterus. Ibid.

18 NORA. Know what Freud wrote in his diary when he was 77? "What do women want? My God, what do they want?" Fifty years this giant brain spends analyzing women. And he still can't find out what they want. So this makes him the world's greatest expert on female psychology? Ibid.

19 In our free-enterprise system, the resources of the nation . . . all turn the wheels of industry. But public confidence greases the axles. And the lack of confidence is the sand that can temporarily stall the machinery.
"A Call to Women," *Ladies' Home Journal* *March, 1974*

20 . . . the American woman is the key—the utterly essential key—to consumer confidence. . . . Confidence, like charity, begins at home . . . begins with women. Ibid.

21 The American Republic is now almost 200 years old, and in the eyes of the law women are still not equal with men. The special legislation which will remedy that situation is the Equal Rights Amendment. Its language is short and simple: *Equality of rights under the law shall not be abridged in the United States or by any state on account of sex.*
Quoted in the *Bulletin of the Baldwin School*, Pennsylvania *September, 1974*

22 Childhood is a blissful time of play and fantasizing, of uninhibited sensual delight. Ibid.

23 Endless commercials and television programs show the lovable woman as a cuddly, soft, yielding girl-child sex object, with hair that bounces, lips that invite deep kisses, a body that smells like heavenly spring. Ibid.

24 A man's home may seem to be his castle on the outside; inside, it is more often his nursery. Ibid.

25 To be a liberated woman is to renounce the desire of being a sex object or a baby girl. It is to acknowledge that the Cinderella-Prince Charming story is a child's fairy tale. Ibid.

26 In politics women . . . type the letters, lick the stamps, distribute the pamphlets and get out the vote. Men get elected.
Quoted in *Saturday Review/World* *September 15, 1974*

27 Male supremacy has kept woman down. It has not knocked her out. Ibid.

28 The oppressed never free themselves—they do not have the necessary strengths. Ibid.

775. Marya Mannes

(1904–)

1 "I think funerals are barbaric and miserable. Everything connected with them—the black, the casket, the shiny hearse, the sepulchral tones of the preacher—is destructive to true memory." "The First Days," *Message from a Stranger* *1948*

2 Promiscuous. . . . That was a word I had never applied to myself. Possibly no one ever does, for it is a sordid word, reducing many valuable moments to nothing more than dog-like copulation. Ibid., "The Second Month"

3 They had no serenity, for true serenity comes after knowledge of pain. They had only the stillness of spiritual inertia. They were half alive. Ibid., "The Seventh Month"

4 Who's kidding whom? What's the difference between Giant and Jumbo? Quart and *full* quart? Two-ounce and *big* two-ounce? What does Extra Long mean? What's a *tall* 24-inches? And what busy shopper can tell? "New Bites by a Girl Gadfly," *Life* *June 12, 1964*

5 The art of flirtation is dying. A man and woman are either in love these days or just friends. In the realm of love, reticence and sophistication should go hand in hand, for one of the joys of life is discovery. Ibid.

6 What I call the destructive anxieties are not the growth of women's minds and powers, but quite the contrary: the pressures of society and the mass media to make woman conform to the classic and traditional images in men's eyes. "The Roots of Anxiety in Modern Women," *Journal of Neuropsychiatry* *May, 1964*

7 The real demon is success—the anxieties engendered by this quest are relentless, degrading, corroding. What is worse, there is no end to this escalation of desire. . . . Ibid.

8 Affluent as it was for the majority, the society we had produced was not admirable. It might be better than others, but it was nowhere near what it should have been. It was, in fact, going rotten. The private gain had for so long triumphed over the public need that the cities had become unlivable, the country desecrated, the arteries choked, and pollution—of air, of water, yes, of spirit too—a daily, oppressive, fact. And who else but our generation (if not ourselves) had made it so? *Them* *1968*

9 "Well, my theory has always been," said Lev, "that if each of our senses—sight, hearing, touch, smell, taste—was developed to its utmost capacity we would then have attained not only total physical awareness, as in animals, but total spiritual development, as in man. Ideal man. Everything," pursued Lev, "atrophies without use." Ibid.

10 Timing and arrogance are decisive factors in the successful use of talent. The first is a matter of instinct, the second part carapace and part self-hypnosis; the shell that protects, the ego that assumes, without question, that the talent possessed is not only unique but important, the particular vision demanding to be shared. *Out of My Time*, Preface *1971*

11 While the young fight the official barbarism of unsentient power—the insanities of war and the ruinous priorities imposed by leaders and organizations in the *name* of reason, perhaps our last duty is to fight for the civilization *of* reason. Ibid., Ch. 9

12 The barbarian weapon is fission: the splitting asunder. It has been perfected for death. Our only weapon is fusion: an imperfect process still, though designed for life. Ibid.

776. Nancy Mitford

(1904–1973)

1 "I simply don't see the point of getting up at six all the time you are young and working eighteen hours a day in order to be a millionaire, and then when you are a millionaire still getting up at six and working eighteen hours a day. . . . What does it all mean?" *Pigeon Pie*, Ch. 1 *1940*

2 "Always remember, children, that marriage is a very intimate relationship. It's not just sitting and chatting to a person; there are other things, you know." *Love in a Cold Climate*, Pt. I, Ch. 14 *1949*

3 An aristocracy in a republic is like a chicken whose head has been cut off: it may run about in a lively way, but in fact it is dead. *Noblesse Oblige* *1956*

4 Americans relate all effort, all work, and all of life itself to the dollar. Their talk is of nothing but dollars. The English seldom sit happily chatting for hours on end about pounds. In England, public business is its own reward, nobody would go into Parliament in order to become rich, neither do riches bring public appointments. Ibid.

Mary McCarthy (1912–)

3 Liberty, as it is conceived by current opinion, has nothing inherent about it; it is a sort of gift or trust bestowed on the individual by the state pending *good behavior.*
Speech, "The Contagion of Ideas" *Summer, 1952*

4 . . . Elinor was always firmly convinced of other people's hypocrisy since she could not believe that they noticed less than she did.
The Group, Ch. 1 *1954*

5 "You mustn't force sex to do the work of love or love to do the work of sex." Ibid., Ch. 2

6 Despite the fact that she had had no sexual experience, she had a very clear idea of the male member, and she could not help forming a picture of Put's as pale and lifeless, in the coffin of his trousers, a veritable *nature morte.*
Ibid., Ch. 6

7 "Medicine seems to be all cycles," continued Mrs. Hartshorn. "That's the bone I pick with Sloan. Like what's his name's new theory of history. First we nursed our babies; then science told us not to. Now it tells us we were right in the first place. Or were we wrong then but would be right now? Reminds me of relativity, if I understand Mr. Einstein." Ibid., Ch. 10

8 She had tried to bind him with possessions, but he slipped away like Houdini.
Ibid., Ch. 13

9 Sometimes she felt that he was postponing being a success till he could wear out her patience; as soon as she gave up and left him, his name would mock her in lights. Ibid.

10 Labor is work that leaves no trace behind it when it is finished, or if it does, as in the case of the tilled field, this product of human activity requires still more labor, incessant, tireless labor, to maintain its identity as a "work" of man. "The *Vita Activa*," *The New Yorker* *October 18, 1958*

11 There are no new truths, but only truths that have not been recognized by those who have perceived them without noticing. Ibid.

12 . . . bureaucracy, the rule of no one, has become the modern form of despotism. Ibid.

13 When an American heiress wants to buy a man, she at once crosses the Atlantic.
On the Contrary *1961*

14 . . . Americans do not dissemble what they are up to. They do not seem to feel the need, except through verbiage; *e.g.*, napalm has become "Incinderjell," which makes it sound like Jell-O. And defoliants are referred to as weed-killers—something you use in your driveway. The resort to euphemism denotes, no doubt, a guilty conscience or—the same thing nowadays—a twinge in the public-relations nerve.
"The Home Program," *Vietnam* *1967*

15 In politics, it seems, retreat is honorable if dictated by military considerations and shameful if even *suggested* for ethical reasons. . . .
Ibid., "Solutions"

16 Anyway, it has to be acknowledged that in capitalist society, with its herds of hippies, originality has become a sort of fringe benefit, a *mere* convention, accepted obsolescence, the Beatnik model being turned in for the Hippie model, as though strangely obedient to capitalist laws of marketing.
"Language," *Hanoi* *1968*

17 In the Stalinist days, we used to detest a vocabulary that had to be read in terms of antonyms—"volunteers," denoting conscripts, "democracy," tyranny, and so on. Insensibly, in Vietnam, starting with the little word "advisors," we have adopted this slippery Aesopian language ourselves. . . . Ibid.

18 He had never outgrown the feeling that a quest for information was a series of maneuvers in a game of espionage.
"Winter Visitors," *Birds of America* *1965*

19 Maybe any action becomes cowardly once you stop to reason about it. Conscience doth make cowards of us all, eh, *mamma mia*? If you start an argument with yourself, that makes two people at least, and when you have two people, one of them starts appeasing the other.
Ibid., "Epistle from Mother Carey's Chicken"

20 Being abroad makes you conscious of the whole imitative side of human behavior. The ape in man. Ibid.

875. Pat Nixon

(1912–)

1 I have sacrificed everything in my life that I consider precious in order to advance the political career of my husband.
Quoted in *Women at Work* by Betty Medsger *1975*

3 He [Nguyen Cao Ky] is the most famous man in South Vietnam and also the most hated. Reactionaries hate him because he is the most hostile enemy of the reactionaries; liberals hate him because he is the most hostile enemy of the liberals; Americans hate him because he is the most hostile enemy of the Americans.
Ibid., "Nguyen Cao Ky"

4 We are all going to become Swedish, and we do not understand these Americans who, like adolescents, always speak of sex, and who, like adolescents, all of a sudden have discovered that sex is good not only for procreating children. Ibid., "Hugh Hefner"

5 Glory is a heavy burden, a murdering poison, and to bear it is an art. And to have that art is rare. Ibid., "Federico Fellini"

6 Every time she passed a mirror she was unable to resist the temptation of looking at the one thing that interested her most in the world—herself. And every time she was a bit disappointed—almost as if the girl facing her was some other person.
Penelope at War, Ch. 1 *1966*

7 But, with the optimism of those beings who will not give up even in the face of obvious defeat and who blindly raise their heads again after defeat thinking that it might have been worse and all is not lost, Giovanna did not want to understand—far less withdraw in good order. Ibid., Ch. 5

8 I'm going to show you the real New York—witty, smart, and international—like any metropolis. Tell me this—where in Europe can you find old Hungary, old Russia, old France, old Italy? In Europe you're trying to copy America, you're almost American. But here you'll find Europeans who immigrated a hundred years ago—and we haven't spoiled them. Oh, Gio! You must see why I love New York. Because the whole world's in New York. . . .
Ibid., Ch. 8

9 "You know that everyone else is at home—with his beer, his wife, his children, those children dressed like elves, in yellow, red, that well-dressed wife looking at the TV, that cool beer, that family, that is safe because they listen to the transistor radio, because they believe in business and civil religion, because they conform in a country where conformity means salvation. . . . Lastly, you understand why the rule of God and of America is the rule of selection, why it's a man-made law, why spiritual values are earthly values, why America is God equals America equals Business equals America equals God. And there's no alternative: you have to be on the side of God equals America equals Business equals America equals God, or else you're alone. Alone and damned like me, understand?" Ibid., Ch. 10

10 "America's a hard school, I know, but hard schools make excellent graduates."
Ibid., Ch. 16

11 "I think when men die they do what the trees do in winter when they go dry, but then spring comes and they're reborn. So life must be something else." *Nothing, and So Be It*, Ch. 1 *1972*

12 But here's what I learned in this war, in this country, in this city: to love the miracle of having been born. Ibid., Ch. 3

13 Have you ever thought that war is a madhouse and that everyone in the war is a patient? Tell me, how can a normal man get up in the morning knowing that in an hour or a minute he may no longer be there? How can he walk through heaps of decomposing corpses and then sit down at the table and calmly eat a roll? How can he defy nightmare-like risks and then be ashamed of panicking for a moment?
Ibid., Ch. 6

1135. Marilyn Horne

(1934–)

1 Ninety percent of what's wrong with singers today is that they don't breathe right.
Quoted in "Marilyn Horne," *Divas: Impressions of Six Opera Superstars* by Winthrop Sargeant *1959*

2 You have to know exactly what you want out of your career. If you want to be a star, you don't bother with other things. Ibid.

3 The thing to do [for insomnia] is to get an opera score and read *that*. That will bore you to death. Ibid.

1136. Louise Kapp Howe

(1934–)

1 Despite the focus in the media on the affluent and the poor, the average man is neither. Despite the concentration in TV commercials on the blond, blue-eyed WASP, the real American prototype is of Italian or Irish or Polish or Greek or Lithuanian or German or Hungarian or Russian or any of the still amazing number of national origins represented in this country—a "white ethnic," sociologists somberly call him. *The White Majority*, Introduction *1970*

Judith Rossner (1935-)

9 What was she to say now to her father, who thought change was the only serious mistake that could be made in a life?
Any Minute I Can Split 1972

10 "That's the New York thing, isn't it. People who seem absolutely crazy going around telling you how crazy they used to be before they had therapy." Ibid.

11 "Self-government is a form of self-control, self-limitation. It goes against our whole grain. We're [Americans] supposed to go after what we want, not question whether we really need it." Ibid.

12 "But I've been miserable ever since I came back. From Puerto Rico, that's where I had it [the abortion], it was like a vacation. It's almost like—it's not supposed to be that easy. It's too big a sin to get off that lightly."
Looking for Mr. Goodbar 1975

13 He always said she was smart, but their conversations were a mined field in which at any moment she might make the wrong verbal move and find her ignorance exploding in her face. Ibid.

14 Sometimes she thought that the TV wasn't so much an escape as a filter through which he saw and heard everything but was kept from being affected by it too much. Ibid.

15 A lie was something that hadn't happened but might just as well have. Ibid.

16 "The point is," Evelyn said, "we're taught that we have to be perfect. Like objects in a museum, not people. People don't have to be perfect, only objects do." Ibid.

1149. Françoise Sagan

(1935–)

1 It is healthier to see the good points of others than to analyze our own bad ones.
A Certain Smile, Pt. I, Ch. 5 1956

2 We had the same gait, the same habits and lived in the same rhythm; our bodies suited each other, and all was well. I had no right to regret his failure to make the tremendous effort required of love, the effort to know and shatter the solitude of another. Ibid., Pt. II, Ch. 2

3 "Look here, why don't you love me? I should feel so much more peaceful. Why not put up that pane of glass called passion between us? It may distort things at times, but it's wonderfully convenient." But no, we were two of a kind, allies and accomplices. In terms of grammar, I could not become the object, or he the subject. He had neither the capacity nor the desire to define our roles in any such way.
Ibid.

1150. Audrey Thomas

(1935–)

1 How could I tell her that she was wrong about things when essentially she was right? Life was cruel, people hurt and betrayed one another, grew old and died alone.
Songs My Mother Taught Me 1973

2 . . . cats everywhere asleep on the shelves like motorized bookends. Ibid.

1151. Judith Viorst

(1935?–)

1 The honeymoon is over
And we find that dining by candlelight makes us squint,
And that all the time
I was letting him borrow my comb and hang up his wet raincoat in my closet,
I was really waiting
To stop letting him.
"The Honeymoon Is Over," *It's Hard to Be Hip Over Thirty and Other Tragedies of Married Life* 1968

2 With four walk-in closets to walk in,
Three bushes, two shrubs, and one tree,
The suburbs are good for the children,
But no place for grown-ups to be.
Ibid., "The Suburbs Are Good for the Children"

3 But it's hard to be hip over thirty
When everyone else is nineteen,
When the last dance we learned was the Lindy,
And the last we heard, girls who looked like Barbara Streisand
Were trying to do something about it.
Ibid., "It's Hard to Be Hip Over Thirty"

4 Love is much nicer to be in than an automobile accident, a tight girdle, a higher tax bracket or a holding pattern over Philadelphia.
"What IS This Thing Called Love?," *Redbook* February, 1975

5 Brevity may be the soul of wit, but not when someone's saying, "I love you." Ibid.

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Patriotism, Christmas, Nationalism

The Quotable Woman

1800-1981

compiled and edited by

Elaine Partnow



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Helen Keller (1880 - 1968)

2 Literature is my Utopia. Here I am not disenfranchised. No barrier of the senses shuts me out from the sweet, gracious discourse of my book friends. They talk to me without embarrassment or awkwardness.
The Story of My Life *1903*

3 There is no king who has not had a slave among his ancestors, and no slave who has not had a king among his. Ibid., Ch. 1

4 . . . I find that fact and fancy look alike across the years that link the past with the present. Ibid.

5 There is nothing more beautiful, I think, than the evanescent fleeting images and sentiments presented by a language one is just becoming familiar with—ideas that flit across the mental sky, shaped and tinted by capricious fancy.
Ibid., Ch. 16

6 I hung about the dangerous frontier of "guess," avoiding with infinite trouble to myself and others the broad valley of reason.
Ibid., Ch. 17

7 Everything had its wonders, even darkness and silence, and I learn, whatever state I may be in, therein to be content. Ibid., Ch. 22

8 . . . a people's peace—a peace without victory, a peace without conquests or indemnities.
Ibid.

9 . . . militarism . . . is one of the chief bulwarks of capitalism, and the day that militarism is undermined, capitalism will fail. Ibid.

10 Now I feel as if I should succeed in doing something in mathematics, although I cannot see why it is so very important. . . . The knowledge doesn't make life any sweeter or happier, does it?
Ibid., Pt. II, Letter to Laurence Hutton

11 Now, however, I see the folly of attempting to hitch one's wagon to a star with a harness that does not belong to it.
Ibid., Letter to Charles T. Copeland

12 "I never fight," she replied, "except against difficulties." Ibid., Pt. III

13 Toleration . . . is the greatest gift of the mind; it requires the same effort of the brain that it takes to balance oneself on a bicycle. Ibid.

14 I know that daisies and pansies come from seeds which have been put in the ground; but children do not grow out of the ground. I am sure. I have never seen a plant child. . . .
Ibid., Quoted in Annie Sullivan's Report of 1891

15 One can never consent to creep when one feels an impulse to soar. Ibid., Speech, Mt. Airy

16 Every industry, every process, is wrought by a hand, or by a superhand—a machine whose mighty arm and cunning fingers the human hand invents and wields.
"The Hand of the World," *American Magazine* *December, 1912*

17 Study the hand, and you shall find in it the true picture of man, the story of human growth, the measure of the world's greatness and weakness. Ibid.

18 . . . as the eagle was killed by the arrow winged with his own feather, so the hand of the world is wounded by its own skill. Ibid.

19 Rebuffed, but always persevering; self-reproached, but ever regaining faith; undaunted, tenacious, the heart of man labors toward immeasurably distant goals. Ibid.

20 How reconcile this world of fact with the bright world of my imagining? My darkness has been filled with the light of intelligence, and behold, the outer day-light world was stumbling and groping in social blindness.
Quoted in *The Cry for Justice*, Upton Sinclair, ed. *1915*

21 Let us start a world-encircling revolt, a revolt which shall make a junk heap out of the civilization of Kaisers and Kings and all the things that make of man a brute and of God a monster. Speech, New York City *December 19, 1915*

22 The burden of war always falls heaviest on the toilers. "Menace of the Militarist Program," *New York Call* *December 20, 1915*

23 The only moral virtue of war is that it compels the capitalist system to look itself in the face and admit it is a fraud. It compels the present society to admit that it has no morals it will not sacrifice for gain. Ibid.

24 I look upon the whole world as my fatherland, and every war has to me a horror of a family-feud. I look upon true patriotism as the brotherhood of man and the service of all to all.
Ibid.

25 The few who profit by the labor of the masses want to organize the workers into an army which will protect the interests of the capitalists.
Speech, New York City *December, 1916*

26 Security is mostly a superstition. It does not exist in nature, nor do the children of men as a whole experience it. Avoiding danger is no safer in the long run than outright exposure. Life is either a daring adventure, or nothing.
The Open Door *1957*

Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815-1902)

15 The ignorance and indifference of the majority of women, as to their status as citizens of a republic, is not remarkable, for history shows that the masses of all oppressed classes, in the most degraded conditions, have been stolid and apathetic until partial success had crowned the faith and enthusiasm of the few. Ibid.

16 Sex pervades all nature, yet the male and female tree and vine and shrub rejoice in the same sunshine and shade. The earth and air are free to all the fruits and flowers, yet each absorbs what best ensures its growth. Ibid.

17 Wherever the skilled hands and cultured brain of women have made the battle of life easier for man, he has readily pardoned her sound judgment and proper self-assertion. Ibid.

18 Conceding to women wisdom and goodness, as they are not strictly masculine virtues, and substituting moral power for physical force, we have the necessary elements of government for most of life's emergencies. Ibid.

19 The queens in history compare favorably with the kings. Ibid.

20 . . . there is no force in the plea, that "if women vote they must fight." Moreover, war is not the normal state of the human family in its higher development, but merely a feature of barbarism lasting on through the transition of the race, from the savage to the scholar. Ibid.

21 The virtue of patriotism is subordinant in most souls to individual and family aggrandizement. Ibid.

22 A mind always in contact with children and servants, whose aspirations and ambitions rise no higher than the roof that shelters it, is necessarily dwarfed in its proportions. Ibid.

23 Womanhood is the great fact in her life; wifehood and motherhood are but incidental relations. Ibid.

24 But the love of offspring . . . tender and beautiful as it is, can not as a sentiment rank with conjugal love. Ibid.

25 Two pure souls fused into one by an impassioned love—friends, counselors—a mutual support and inspiration to each other amid life's struggles, must know the highest human happiness;—this is marriage; and this is the only corner-stone of an enduring home. Ibid.

26 They who give the world a true philosophy, a grand poem, a beautiful painting or statue, or can tell the story of every wandering star . . . have lived to a holier purpose than they whose children are of the flesh alone, into whose minds they have breathed no clear perceptions of great principles, no moral aspiration, no spiritual life. Ibid.

27 . . . the woman is uniformly sacrificed to the wife and mother. Ibid.

28 The more complete the despotism, the more smoothly all things move on the surface. Ibid.

29 As the most ignorant minds cling with the greatest tenacity to the dogmas and traditions of their faith, a reform that involves an attack on that stronghold can only be carried by the education of another generation. Hence the self-assertion, the antagonism, the rebellion of women, so much deplored in England and the United States, is the hope of our higher civilization. Ibid.

30 Modern inventions have banished the spinning-wheel, and the same law of progress makes the woman of to-day a different woman from her grandmother. Ibid.

31 *Declaration of Sentiments:* . . . We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal. . . . Ibid.

32 *Declaration of Sentiments:* Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of half the people of this country, through social and religious degradation—in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed, and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States. Ibid.

33 *Declaration of Sentiments: Resolved*, That such laws as conflict, in any way, with the true and substantial happiness of women, are contrary to the great precept of nature and of no validity, for this is "superior in obligation to any other." Ibid.

34 *Declaration of Sentiments: Resolved*, That all laws which prevent women from occupying such a station in society as her conscience shall dictate, or which place her in a position inferior to that of man, are contrary to the great precept of nature, and therefore of no force or authority. Ibid.

35 *Declaration of Sentiments: Resolved*, That the same amount of virtue, delicacy, and refinement of behavior that is required of woman in the social station, should also be required of man, and the same transgressions should be visited with equal severity on both man and woman. Ibid.

171. Mary Wood Allen

(1841–1908)

1 Woman embroiders man's life—Embroider is to beautify—The embroidery of cleanliness—Of a smile—Of gentle words.
What a Young Girl Ought to Know, Summary *1897*

172. Mathilde Blind

(1841–1896)

* * *

1 Children mothered by the saint . . .
Blossoms of humanity!
Poor soiled blossoms in the dust!
"The St.-Children's Dance"

2 The dead abide with us. Though stark and cold,
Earth seems to grip them, they are with us still:
They have forged our chains of being of good or ill,
And their invisible hands these hands yet hold.
"The Dead"

3 The moon returns, and the spring; birds warble, trees burst into leaf,
But love once gone, goes forever, and all that endures is the grief.
"Love Trilogy," No. 3

173. Sarah Knowles Bolton

(1841–1916)

* * *

1 He alone is great
Who by a life heroic conquers fate.
"The Inevitable"

174. Mary Lathbury

(1841–1913)

1 Day is dying in the west;
Heaven is touching earth with rest.
"Day Is Dying in the West," St. 1 *1877*

* * *

2 Children of yesterday,
Heirs of tomorrow,
What are you weaving?
Labor and sorrow?
"Song of Hope," St. 1

175. Kate Brownlee Sherwood

(1841–1914)

1 One heart, one hope, one destiny, one flag from sea to sea.
"Albert Sidney Johnstone,"
Dream of the Ages *1893*

176. Sarah Sadie Williams

(1841–1868)

* * *

1 Is it so, O Christ in heaven, that the highest suffer most,
That the strongest wander farthest, and more hopelessly are lost,
That the mark of rank in nature is capacity for pain,
That the anguish of the singer makes the sweetness of the strain?
"Is It So, O Christ in Heaven?"

177. Mary Elizabeth Brown

(1842–1917)

* * *

1 I'll go where you want me to go, dear Lord,
O'er mountain, or plain, or sea;
I'll say what you want me to say, dear Lord,
I'll be what you want me to be.
"I'll Go Where You Want Me to Go"

178. Ina Coolbrith

(1842–1928)

* * *

1 He walks with God upon the hills!
And sees, each morn, the world arise
New-bathed in light of paradise.
"The Poet"

179. May Riley Smith

(1842–1927)

1 How these little hands remind us,
As in snowy grace they lie,
Not to scatter thorns—but roses—
For our reaping by and by.
"If We Knew," St. 3 *1867*

2 Strange we never prize the music
Till the sweet-voiced bird has flown. . . .
Ibid., St. 4

2 To put a tempting face aside when duty demands every faculty . . . is a lesson which takes most men longest to learn. Ibid.

3 The perfect friendship of two men is the deepest and highest sentiment of which the finite mind is capable; women miss the best in life. Ibid., Ch. 12

4 No matter how hard a man may labor, some woman is always in the background of his mind. She is the one reward of virtue. Ibid., Bk. IV, Ch. 3

253. Alice Brown

(1857–1948)

* * *

1 And led by silence more majestical
Than clash of conquering arms, He comes! He comes!
And strikes out flame from the adoring hills.
"Sunrise on Mansfield Mountain"

2 Praise not the critic, lest he think
You crave the shelter of his ink.
"The Critic"

3 Take with thee, too, our bond of gratitude
That in a cynic and a tattle age
Thou didst consent to write, in missal script,
Thy name on the poor players' slandered page,
And teach the lords of empty birth a king may walk the stage.
"Edwin Booth"

4 Yet thou, O banqueter on worms,
Who wilt not let corruption pass!—
Dost search out mildew, mould and stain,
Beneath a magnifying-glass.
"The Slanderer"

254. Mary Lee Demarest

(1857–1888)

* * *

1 Like a bairn to his mither, a wee birdie to its nest,
I wud fain be ganging nod unto my Saviour's breast;
For he gathers in his bosom witless, worthless lambs like me,
An' he carries them himsel' to his ain countree.
"My Ain Countree"

255. Fannie Farmer

(1857–1915)

1 Progress in civilization has been accompanied by progress in cookery.
The Boston Cooking-School Cookbook, Ch. 2 *1896*

2 I certainly feel that the time is not far distant when a knowledge of the principles of diet will be an essential part of one's education. Then mankind will eat to live, be able to do better mental and physical work, and disease will be less frequent.
Ibid., Preface to the First Edition

3 . . . France, that land to which we ever look for gastronomic delights. . . .
Chafing Dish Possibilities, Ch. 1 *1898*

256. Minna Irving

(1857–1940)

* * *

1 A nation thrills, a nation bleeds,
A nation follows where it leads,
And every man is proud to yield
His life upon a crimson field
For Betsy's battle flag.
"Betsy's Battle Flag"

2 He's cheerful in weather so bitterly cold
It freezes your bones to the marrow;
I'll admit he's a beggar, a gangster, a bum,
But I take off my hat to the sparrow.
"The Sparrow"

3 I used to climb the garret stairs
On a rainy day and lift the lid
And loose the fragrance of olden times
That under the faded finery hid.
"The Wedding Gift," St. 2

4 The flowery frocks and the ancient trunk,
And Grandmother Granger, too, are dust,
But something precious and sweet and rare
Survives the havoc of moth and rust.
Ibid., St. 6

257. Edna Lyall

(1857–1903)

1 Two is company, three is trumpery, as the proverb says. *Wayfaring Men*, Ch. 24 *1897*

258. Agnes Mary Robinson

(1857–1944)

* * *

1 When I was young the twilight seemed too long.
"Twilight"

2 You hail from dream-land, Dragon-fly?
A stranger hither? So am I.
"To a Dragonfly"

6 All along the line, physically, mentally, morally, alcohol is a weakening and deadening force, and it is worth a great deal to save women and girls from its influence.
Health of Working Girls, Ch. 10 *1917*

7 The inevitability of gradualness.
Presidential Address, British Labour Party Congress *1923*

8 Beneath the surface of our daily life, in the personal history of many of us, there runs a continuous controversy between an Ego that affirms and an Ego that denies. On the course of this controversy depends the attainment of inner harmony and consistent conduct in private and public affairs. *My Apprenticeship*, Introduction *1926*

9 Religion is love; in no case is it logic.
Ibid., Ch. 2

10 For any detailed description of the complexity of human nature, of the variety and mixture in human motive, of the insurgence of instinct in the garb of reason, of the multifarious play of the social environment on the individual ego and of the individual ego on the social environment, I had to turn to novelists and poets. . . .
Ibid., Ch. 3

11 . . . if I had been a man, self-respect, family pressure and the public opinion of my class would have pushed me into a money-making profession; as a mere woman I could carve out a career of disinterested research.
Ibid., Ch. 8

12 . . . what we had to do was . . . to make medical treatment not a favour granted to those in desperate need but to compel all sick persons to submit to it . . . to treat illness, in fact, as a public nuisance to be suppressed in the interests of the community.
Quoted by Anne Fremantle in *Woman as Revolutionary*, Fred C. Giffin, ed. *1973p*

268. Eva Rose York

(1858–1925?)

* * *

1 I shall not pass this way again;
Then let me now relieve some pain,
Remove some barrier from the road,
Or brighten some one's heavy load.
"I Shall Not Pass This Way Again," St. 2

2 . . . I have drunk the cup of bliss
Remembering not that those there be
Who drink the dregs of misery.
Ibid., St. 3

269. Katherine Lee Bates

(1859–1929)

1 O beautiful for spacious skies,
For amber waves of grain,
For purple mountain majesties
Above the fruited plain!
America! America!
God shed His grace on thee
And crown thy good with brotherhood
From sea to shining sea!
"America the Beautiful," St. 1 *1893*

2 O beautiful for patriot dream
That sees beyond the years.
Thine alabaster cities gleam
Undimmed by human tears!
Ibid., St. 4

* * *

3 Dawn love is silver,
Wait for the west:
Old love is gold love—
Old love is best.
"For a Golden Wedding"

4 Nay, brother of the sod,
What part hast thou in God?
What spirit art thou of?
It answers, "Love."
"Laddie"

5 Spirit long shaping for sublime endeavor,
A sword of God, the gleaming metal came
From stern Scotch ancestry, where whatsoever
Was true, was pure, was noble, won acclaim.
"Woodrow Wilson"

270. Louise de Koven Bowen

(1859–1953)

1 I hated myself because I smelt of onions and meat, and I seriously considered suicide in the cistern which supplied the house.
Growing Up with a City, Ch. 1 *1926*

2 By the time I made my entry into society I was ignorant in everything and accomplished in nothing.
Ibid.

3 It is always a real satisfaction to know that politics has not yet dominated the Juvenile Court of Cook County; that we still have these judges who are incorruptible and devoted to their work.
Ibid., Ch. 4

276. Nora Archibald Smith

(1859–1934)

* * *

1 They'd knock on a tree and would timidly say
To the spirit that might be within there that day:
"Fairy fair, Fairy fair, wish thou me well;
'Gainst evil witcheries weave me a spell!"
"Knocking on Wood," St. 3

277. Mary Gardiner Brainard

(fl. 1860s)

* * *

1 I would rather walk with God in the dark than go alone in the light.
"Not Knowing," St. 1

2 And what looks dark in the distance may brighten as I draw near.
Ibid., St. 2

278. Jane Addams

(1860–1935)

1 The new growth in the plant swelling against the sheath, which at the same time imprisons and protects it, must still be the truest type of progress. "Filial Relations," *Democracy and Social Ethics* 1907

2 The colleges have long been full of the best ethical teaching. . . . But while the teaching has included an ever-broadening range of obligation and has insisted upon the recognition of the claims of human brotherhood, the training has been singularly individualistic; it has fostered ambitions for personal distinction, and has trained the faculties almost exclusively in the direction of intellectual accumulation.
Ibid.

3 In our pity for Lear, we fail to analyze his character. . . . His paternal expression was one of domination and indulgence, without the perception of the needs of his children, without any anticipation of their entrance into a wider life, or any belief that they could have a worthy life apart from him. Ibid.

4 Doubtless the clashes and jars which we feel most keenly are those which occur when two standards of morals, both honestly held and believed in, are brought sharply together.
Ibid.

5 A city is in many respects a great business corporation, but in other respects it is enlarged housekeeping. . . . May we not say that city housekeeping has failed partly because women, the traditional housekeepers, have not been consulted as to its multiform activities?
"Utilization of Women in City Government," *Newer Ideals of Peace* 1907

6 Old-fashioned ways which no longer apply to changed conditions are a snare in which the feet of women have always become readily entangled. Ibid.

7 . . . the administration of the household has suffered because it has become unnaturally isolated from the rest of the community. Ibid.

8 Unless our conception of patriotism is progressive, it cannot hope to embody the real affection and the real interest of the nation. Ibid.

9 Private beneficence is totally inadequate to deal with the vast numbers of the city's disinherited.
Twenty Years at Hull House 1910

10 Perhaps I may record here my protest against the efforts, so often made, to shield children and young people from all that has to do with death and sorrow, to give them a good time at all hazards on the assumption that the ills of life will come soon enough. Young people themselves often resent this attitude on the part of their elders; they feel set aside and belittled as if they were denied the common human experiences. Ibid.

11 We were often distressed by the children of immigrant parents who were ashamed of the pit whence they were digged, who repudiated the language and customs of their elders, and counted themselves successful [when] they were able to ignore the past. Ibid.

12 In his own way each man must struggle, lest the moral law become a far-off abstraction utterly separated from his active life. Ibid.

13 You do not know what life means when all the difficulties are removed! I am simply smothered and sickened with advantages. It is like eating a sweet dessert the first thing in the morning.
Ibid.

14 Only in time of fear is government thrown back to its primitive and sole function of self-defense and the many interests of which it is the guardian become subordinated to that.
"Women, War and Suffrage," *Survey* November 6, 1915

15 Each exponent in t
above force was call
but each did his ut
truth that was in hi
effort cannot go.

16 . . . the fruitful pro
great experiment of
become conscious c

17 Civilization is a m
of equal respect for

279. Marie
Bash

(186

1 Ah, when one think
man is! Every oth
wear on his face th
is not obligated to
weep. When he does
he does not see the
of everything and e
Th

2 To say that my gri
ridiculous—nothing

3 Let us love dogs; l
and cats are unwor

4 In the studio all dist
neither name nor fa
daughter of one's r
an individual—and
nothing else. One f
proud.

5 . . . I write down ev
thing. Otherwise wh

6 If I had been born
quered Europe. As
exhausted my ener
and in eccentricities

7 For my own part
to one who looks a
microscope, as I do
they wish to see in t
fortunate.

4 . . . there can be a fundamental gulf of gracelessness in a human heart which neither our love nor our courage can bridge.
Ibid., Ch. 19

5 Wedlock—the deep, deep peace of the double bed after the hurly-burly of the chaise-longue.
Quoted in *Jennie* (1914), Vol. II, by Ralph G. Martin *1971p*

316. Edith Louisa Cavell
(1865–1915)

1 I realize that patriotism is not enough. I must have no hatred or bitterness towards anyone.
Last Words, Quoted in *The Times* (London) *October 23, 1915p*

317. Elsie De Wolfe
(1865–1950)

1 It is the personality of the mistress that the home expresses. Men are forever guests in our homes, no matter how much happiness they may find there.
The House in Good Taste, Ch. 1 *1920*

2 What a joyous thing is color! How influenced we all are by it, even if we are unconscious of how our sense of restfulness has been brought about. Ibid., Ch. 6

3 It does not matter whether one paints a picture, writes a poem, or carves a statue, simplicity is the mark of a master-hand. Don't run away with the idea that it is easy to cook simply. It requires a long apprenticeship.
"Why I Wrote This Book," *Recipes for Successful Dining* *1934*

318. Minnie Fiske
(1865–1932)

1 You must make your own blunders, must cheerfully accept your own mistakes as part of the scheme of things. You must not allow yourself to be advised, cautioned, influenced, persuaded this way and that. Letter to Alexander Woollcott (1908), Quoted in *Mrs. Fiske* by Alexander Woollcott *1917*

2 Among the most disheartening and dangerous of . . . advisors, you will often find those closest to you, your dearest friends, members of your own family, perhaps, loving, anxious, and knowing nothing whatever. . . . Ibid.

3 "Bosh! do not talk to me about the repertory idea. It is an outworn, needless, impossible, *harmful* scheme. . . . This, my friend, is an age of specialization, and in such an age the repertory theatre is an anachronism, a ludicrous anachronism." Ibid., Ch. 1

4 But there are times when the actor is an artist far greater and more creative than his material. . . . Ibid., Ch. 5

5 The essence of acting is the conveyance of truth through the medium of the actor's mind and person. The science of acting deals with the perfecting of that medium. The great actors are the luminous ones. They are the great conductors of the stage. Ibid.

319. Yvette Guilbert
(1865–1944)

1 Try to make a woman who does badly on the stage understand that she might do better in trade, or in any other occupation. She will never believe you. It seems impossible to her to make linen garments or millinery, but very simple to enact the dandy on the stage.
La Vedette *1902*

2 Caper without cease, and caper again. . . . You are gaiety, which passes away. Ibid.

3 All women are alike. All demand stimulation for their sense. . . . These ladies of society also feel the need of language strong enough to stimulate them. . . . Licentiousness takes them all in the same manner. Ibid.

4 One cannot remain the same. Art is a mirror which should show many reflections, and the artist should not always show the same face, or the face becomes a mask. Ibid.

320. Laurence Hope
(1865–1904)

1 For this is wisdom: to love, to live,
To take what Fate, or the Gods, may give.
"The Teak Forest,"
India's Love Lyrics *1922*

2 Speed passion's ebb as you greet its flow—
To have, to hold, and in time let go!
Ibid.

3 Less than the dust beneath thy chariot wheel,
Less than the weed that grows beside thy door,
Less than the rust that never stained thy sword,
Less than the need thou hast in life of me,
Even less am I.
Ibid., "Less Than the Dust," St. 1

339. Laura Ingalls Wilder

(1867–1957)

1 But they didn't believe that Santa Claus could, really, have given any of them nothing but a switch. That happened to some children, but it couldn't happen to them. It was so hard to be good all the time, every day, for a whole year.

Little House in the Big Woods, Ch. 4 *1932*

2 "Did little girls have to be as good as that?" Laura asked, and Ma said: "It was harder for little girls. Because they had to behave like little ladies all the time, not only on Sundays. Little girls could never slide downhill, like boys. Little girls had to sit in the house and stitch on samplers." Ibid., Ch. 5

3 "That machine's a great invention!" he said. "Other folks can stick to old-fashioned ways if they want to, but I'm all for progress. It's a great age we're living in." Ibid., Ch. 12

340. Mary Hunter Austin

(1868–1934)

1 When a woman ceases to alter the fashion of her hair, you guess that she has passed the crisis of her experience.

The Land of Little Rain *1903*

2 Life set itself to new processions of seed-time and harvest, the skin newly tuned to seasonal variations, the very blood humming to new altitudes. The rhythm of walking, always a recognizable background for our thoughts, altered from the militaristic stride to the job of the wide unrutted earth.

The American Rhythm *1923*

* * *

3 Oh, the Shepards in Judea!
Do you think the shepards know
How the whole round world is brightened
In the ruddy Christmas glow?
"The Shepards in Judea"

4 Never was it printed on a page,
Never was it spoken, never heard.
"Whisper of the Wind"

5 What need has he of clocks who knows
When highest peaks are gilt and rose
Day has begun?
"Clocks and Calendars," St. 1

341. Guida Diehl

(1868–?)

1 Never did Hitler promise to the masses in his rousing speeches any material advantage whatever. On the contrary he pleaded with them to turn aside from every form of advantage-seeking and serve the great thought: Honor, Freedom, Fatherland!

The German Woman and National Socialism *1933*

2 We long to see Men and Heroes who scorn fate. . . . Call us to every service, even to weapons!
Ibid.

342. Maude Glasgow

(1868–1955)

1 When new-born humanity was learning to stand upright, it depended much on its mother and stood close to her protecting side. Then women were goddesses, they conducted divine worship, woman's voice was heard in council, she was loved and revered and genealogies were reckoned through her.

The Subjection of Women and the Traditions of Men *1940*

2 As the race grew older, rationality flourished at the expense of moral sense. Ibid.

343. Agnes Lee

(1868–1939)

* * *

1 Bed is the boon for me!
It's well to bake and sweep,
But hear the word of old Lizette:
It's better than all to sleep.
"Old Lizette on Sleep," St. 1

2 But I'll not venture in the drift
Out of this bright security,
Till enough footsteps come and go
To make a path for me.
"Convention"

3 Oh, mine was rosy as a bough
Blooming with roses, sent, somehow,
To bloom for me!
His balmy fingers left a thrill
Deep in my breast that warms me still.
"Motherhood," St. 5

344. Caroline "La Belle" Otero

(1868–1965)

1 . . . Paco took care of me; protected me; taught me to dance and sing, and was my lover. It was the first time in over two years that I knew where I was going to sleep every night, and the first time in my life that I knew there would

32 Finally, most of us [imagist poets] believe that concentration is the very essence of poetry.
"Imagist Poetry"

33 For books are more than books, they are the life
The very heart and core of ages past,
The reason why men lived and worked and died,
The essence and quintessence of their lives.
'Untitled Poem, *The Boston Athenoeum*

409. Dorothy Reed Mendenhall

(1874–1964)

1 My early life had been fed with dreams and a deep feeling that if I waited, did my part and was patient, love would come to me and with it such a family life as fiction depicted and romance built up. It seems to me that I have always been waiting for something better—sometimes to see the best I had snatched from me. Quoted in "Dorothy Mendenhall: 'Childbirth Is Not a Disease' " by Gena Corea, *Ms.* *April, 1974p*

2 When hurry in the attendant meets fear in the mother, the combination . . . militates against safe and sane obstetrics. Ibid.

410. Alice Duer Miller

(1874–1942)

1 And now too late, we see these things are one:
That art is sacrifice and self-control,
And who loves beauty must be stern of soul.
"An American to France,"
Welcome Home *1928*

2 When a woman like that whom I've seen so much
All of a sudden drops out of touch,
Is always busy and never can
Spare you a moment, it means a Man.
"Forsaking All Others,"
Forsaking All Others *1931*

3 Frenchmen, when
The ultimate menace comes, will die for France
Logically as they lived.
Ibid., XXI

4 Good manners are the technique of expressing consideration for the feelings of others.
"I Like American Manners,"
Saturday Evening Post
August 13, 1932

5 The white cliffs of Dover, I saw rising steeply
Out of the sea that once made her [England] secure.
"The White Cliffs," St. 1,
The White Cliffs *1940*

6 I am American bred,
I have seen much to hate here—much to forgive,
But in a world where England is finished and dead,
I do not wish to live.
Ibid., St. 52

411. Lucy Montgomery

(1874–1942)

1 "Isn't it splendid to think of all the things there are to find out about? It just makes me feel glad to be alive—it's such an interesting world. It wouldn't be half so interesting if we knew all about everything, would it? There'd be no scope for imagination then, would there?"
Anne of Green Gables, Ch. 2
1908

2 "There's such a lot of different Annes in me. I sometimes think that is why I'm such a troublesome person. If I was just one Anne it would be ever so much more comfortable, but then it wouldn't be half so interesting."
Ibid., Ch. 20

3 "As for Horace Baxter, he was in financial difficulties a year ago last summer, and he prayed to the Lord for help; and when his wife died and he got her life insurance he said he believed it was the answer to his prayer. Wasn't that like a man?"
Anne's House of Dreams, Ch. 15
1917

4 "When a man is alone he's mighty apt to be with the devil—if he ain't with God. He has to choose which company he'll keep, I reckon."
Ibid.

5 The point of good writing is knowing when to stop. Ibid., Ch. 24

412. Roselle Mercier Montgomery

(1874–1933)

1 I would always be with the thick of life,
Threading its mazes, sharing its strife;
Yet—somehow, singing!
"Somehow, Singing,"
Ulysses Returns *1925*

Rose Macaulay (1881-1958)

leveling aims, the young gentlemen would have been less happy, less themselves.
The World My Wilderness, Ch. 2 *1950*

10 . . . the desire not to work; indeed, I share it to the full. As to one's country, why should one feel any more interest in its welfare than in that of any other countries? And as to the family, I have never understood how that fits in with the other ideals—or, indeed, why it should be an ideal at all. A group of closely related persons living under one roof; it is a convenience, often a necessity, sometimes a pleasure, sometimes the reverse; but who first exalted it as admirable, an almost religious ideal? Ibid., Ch. 20

11 "Take my camel, dear," said my aunt Dot, as she climbed down from this animal on her return from High Mass.
The Towers of Trebizond, Ch. 1 *1956*

495. Anna Pavlova
(1881–1931)

1 . . . although one may fail to find happiness in theatrical life, one never wishes to give it up after having once tasted its fruits. To enter the School of the Imperial Ballet is to enter a convent whence frivolity is banned, and where merciless discipline reigns.
"Pages of My Life," *Pavlova: A Biography*, A. H. Franks, ed. *1956p*

2 As is the case in all branches of art, success depends in a very large measure upon individual initiative and exertion, and cannot be achieved except by dint of hard work. Even after having reached perfection, a ballerina may never indulge in idleness. Ibid.

3 To tend, unfailingly, unflinchingly, towards a goal, is the secret of success. But success? What exactly is success? For me it is to be found not in applause, but in the satisfaction of feeling that one is realising one's ideal. When a small child . . . I thought that success spelled happiness. I was wrong. Happiness is like a butterfly which appears and delights us for one brief moment, but soon flits away. Ibid.

496. Mary Heaton Vorse
(1881–1966)

1 "Some folks is born in the world feeling it and knowing it in their hearts that creation don't stop where the sight of the eyes stop, and the thinner the veil is the better, and something in them sickens when the veil gets too thick."
"The Other Room," *McCall's* *1919*

2 He had seized the one loophole that life had given her and had infused her relentless courage into another's veins.
"The Wallow of the Sea," *Harper's* *1921*

497. Mary Webb
(1881/83?–1927)

1 The past is only the present become invisible and mute; and because it is invisible and mute, its memoried glances and its murmurs are infinitely precious. We are tomorrow's past.
Precious Bane, Foreword *1924*

2 It made me gladsome to be getting some education, it being like a big window opening.
Ibid., Bk. I, Ch. 5

3 Saddle your dreams afore you ride 'em.
Ibid., Ch. 6

4 If you stop to be kind, you must swerve often from your path.
Ibid., Bk. II, Ch. 3

5 It's the folks that depend on us for this and for the other that we most do miss.
Ibid., Bk. IV, Ch. 4

498. Marie Bonaparte
(1882–1962)

1 The residue of virility in the woman's [sexual] organism is utilized by nature in order to eroticize her: otherwise the functioning of the maternal apparatus would wholly submerge her in the painful tasks of reproduction and motherhood. "Passivity, Masochism, and Femininity" (1934), *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, Vol. 16 *1935*

2 On the one hand, then, in the reproduction functions proper—menstruation, defloration, pregnancy and parturition—woman is biologically doomed to suffer. Nature seems to have no hesitation in administering to her strong doses of pain, and she can do nothing but submit passively to the regimen prescribed. On the other hand, as regards sexual attraction, which is necessary for the act of impregnation, and as regards the erotic pleasure experienced during the act itself, the woman may be on equal footing with the man. Ibid.

Edna St. Vincent Millay (1892-1950)

69 Not for you was the pen bitten,
And the mind wrung, and the song written.
Ibid., "To Those Without Pity"

70 Night is my sister. . . .
"Fatal Interview," VII
Fatal Interview *1931*

71 Life has no friend. . . .
Ibid., VIII

72 Unnatural night, the shortest of the year,
Farewell! 'Tis dawn. The longest day is here.
Ibid., XIII

73 Time, and to spare, for patience by and by,
Time to be cold and time to sleep alone. . . .
Ibid., XXII

74 I know the face of Falsehood and her tongue
Honeyed with unction, plausible with guile. . . .
Ibid., XXIII

75 Youth, have no pity; leave no farthing here
For age to invest in compromise and fear.
Ibid., XXIX

76 Desolate dreams pursue me out of sleep;
Weeping I wake; waking, I weep, I weep.
Ibid., XXXIII

77 My kisses now are sand against your mouth,
Teeth in your palm and pennies on your eyes.
Ibid., XXXIX

78 The heart once broken is a heart no more,
And is absolved from all a heart must be;
All that it signed or chartered heretofore
Is cancelled now, the bankrupt heart is free. . . .
Ibid., L

79 All skins are shed at length, remorse, even shame.
Wine from These Grapes, "Time, that renews the tissues of this frame"
1934

80 I dread no more the first white in my hair,
Or even age itself, the easy shoe,
The cane, the wrinkled hands, the special chair:
Time, doing this to me, may alter too
My anguish, into something I can bear.
Ibid.

81 There it was I saw what I shall never forget
And never retrieve.
Ibid., "The Fawn," St. 1

82 Childhood is the Kingdom Where Nobody Dies.
Ibid., "Childhood Is the Kingdom Where Nobody Dies," III

83 To be grown up is to sit at the table with people who have died, who neither listen nor speak. . . .
Ibid., St. 6

84 Soar, eat ether, see what has never been seen; depart, be lost,
But climb.
Ibid., "On Thought in Harness," St. 3

85 Breed, crowd, encroach, expand, expunge yourself, die out,
Homo called *sapiens*.
Ibid., "Apostrophe to Man"

86 I shall die, but that is all that I shall do for Death; I am not on his pay-roll.
Ibid., "Conscientious Objector," St. 3

87 Am I a spy in the land of the living, that I should deliver men to Death?
Ibid., St. 4

88 . . . what frosty fate's in store
For the warm blood of man,—man, out of ooze
But lately crawled, and climbing up the shore?
Ibid., "Epitaph for the Race of Man," III

89 Man, with his singular laughter, his droll tears,
His engines and his conscience and his art,
Made but a simple sound upon your ears. . . .
Ibid., "O Earth, unhappy planet born to die," IV

90 Ease has demoralized us, nearly so; we know
Nothing of the rigours of winter. . . .
"Underground System," St. 2,
Huntsman, What Quarry? *1939*

91 Heart, do not stain my skin
With bruises; go about
Your simple function. Mind,
Sleep now; do not intrude;
And do not spy; be kind.

Sweet blindness, now begin.
Ibid., "Theme and Variations," II, Sts. 5–6

92 Even the bored, insulated heart,
That signed so long and tight a lease,
Can break its contract, slump in peace.
Ibid., IV, St. 6

93 Infinite Space lies curved within the scope
Of the hand's cradle.
Ibid., "Truce for a Moment," St. 2

94 . . . I shall love you always.
No matter what party is in power;
No matter what temporarily expedient combination of allied interests wins the war;
Shall love you always.
Ibid., "Modern Declaration," St. 2

4 It is not all bad, this getting old, ripening. After the fruit has got its growth it should juice up and mellow. God forbid I should live long enough to ferment and rot and fall to the ground in a squash.
Ibid. (December 12, 1933)

5 B-a-a-a-, old sheep, bleating for fellows. Don't you know better by now?
Ibid. (April 6, 1934)

6 Twenty can't be expected to tolerate sixty in all things, and sixty gets bored stiff with twenty's eternal love affairs. Ibid. (August 12, 1934)

7 It is wonderful to feel the grandness of Canada in the raw, not because she is Canada but because she is something sublime that you were born into, some great rugged power that you are a part of. Ibid. (April 16, 1937)

8 I am not half as patient with old women now that I am one. Ibid. (March 6, 1940)

9 Everything holds its breath except spring. She bursts through as strong as ever.
Ibid. (March 7, 1941)

373. Maxine Elliott
(1871–1940)

1 Beauty, what is that? There are phalanxes of beauty in every comic show. Beauty neither buys food nor keeps up a home.
News Item *1908*

374. Margaret Witter Fuller
(1871–1954)

* * *

1 I am immortal! I know it! I feel it!
Hope floods my heart with delight!
Running on air, mad with life, dizzy, reeling,
Upward I mount—faith is sight, life is feeling,
Hope is the day-star of might!
"Dryad Song"

2 It was thy kiss, Love, that made me immortal.
Ibid.

375. Pamela Glenconner
(1871–1928)

1 Giving presents is a talent; to know what a person wants, to know when and how to get it, to give it lovingly and well. Unless a character possesses this talent there is no moment more annihilating to ease than that in which a present is received and given.
Edward Wyndhan Tennant: A Memoir, Ch. 5 *1919*

* * *

2 Bitter are the tears of a child:
Sweeten them.
Deep are the thoughts of a child:
Quiet them.
Sharp is the grief of a child:
Take it from him.
Soft is the heart of a child:
Do not harden it.
"A Child"

376. Agnes C. Laut
(1871–1936)

1 They had reached the fine point where it is better for the weak to die trying to overthrow strength, than to live under the iron heel of brute oppression.
Vikings of the Pacific, Ch. 4 *1905*

2 Countless hopes and fears must have animated at the breasts of the Frenchmen.* It is so with every venture that is based on the unknown. The very fact that possibilities *are* unknown gives scope to unbridled fancy and the wildest hopes; gives scope, too, when the pendulum swings the other way to deepest distrust.
The Conquest of the Great Northwest, Ch. 7 *1908*

3 The ultimate umpire of all things in life is—Fact. Ibid., Ch. 20

4 Canada's prosperity is literally overflowing from a cornucopia of superabundant plenty. Will her Constitution, wrested from political and civil strife; will her moral stamina, bred from the heroism of an heroic past, stand the strain, the tremendous strain of the new conditions? . . . Above all, will she stand the strain, the tremendous strain, of prosperity, and the corruption that is attendant on prosperity? *Quien sabe?*
Canada, the Empire of the North, Ch. 16 *1909*

5 Yet when you come to trace when and where national consciousness awakened, it is like following a river back from the ocean to its mountain springs. . . . You can guess the eternal striving, the forward rush and the throwback that have carved a way through the

* Radisson and Groseillers' voyage in 1668 to Hudson Bay.

and Communist models and our colleges and universities will produce frightened rabbits instead of scholars with free minds.
Ibid., "The Inescapable Desert"

447. Mathilda von Kemnitz
(1877–?)

1 Since the fundamental principle of eroticism imperiously governs every human life, since the manner of the first erotic happiness determines in a far-reaching manner the laws of the individual's eroticism throughout his entire life, the majority of men have become entirely incapable of concentrating their erotic will consistently on one human being; therefore, they have become incapable of monogamy.
The Triumph of the Immortal Will *1932*

2 The man experiences the highest unfolding of his creative powers not through asceticism but through sexual happiness. Ibid.

448. Marian Le Sueur
(1877–1954)

1 The American destiny is what our fathers dreamed, a land of the free, and the home of the brave; but only the brave can be free. Science has made the dream of today's reality for all the earth if we have the courage and vision to build it. American Democracy must furnish the engineers of world plenty—the builders of world peace and freedom.
Quoted in *Crusaders* by Meridel Le Sueur *1955p*

449. Anne Shannon Monroe
(1877–1942)

1 I have never been much cheered by the "stenciled smile," the false front, the pretending that there was no trouble when trouble stalked, that there was no death when Death laid his cold hand upon one dearer to us than life: but I have been tremendously cheered by the *brave* front; the imagination that could travel past the trouble and see that there were still joys in the world. . . . *Singing in the Rain,* Ch. 1 *1926*

2 For loneliness is but cutting adrift from our moorings and floating out to the open sea; an opportunity for finding ourselves, our *real* selves, what we are about, where we are heading during our little time on this beautiful earth. Ibid., Ch. 6

3 "Don't get hung up on a snag in the stream, my dear. Snags alone are not so dangerous—it's the debris that clings to them that makes the trouble. Pull yourself loose and go on."
Ibid., Ch. 13

450. Maude Royden
(1877–1956)

1 The belief that the personality of men and women are of equal dignity in the sight of God is necessary to a right moral standard.
The Church and Woman *c.1920*

451. Rosika Schwimmer
(1877–1948)

1 I am no uncompromising pacifist. . . . I have no sense of nationalism, only a cosmic consciousness of belonging to the human family.
Court Testimony, Citizenship Hearings *1928*

2 Women's rights, men's rights—human rights—all are threatened by the ever-present spectre of war so destructive now of human material and moral values as to render victory indistinguishable from defeat.
Speech, Centennial Celebration of Seneca Falls Convention of Women's Rights *July, 1948*

3 We who successfully freed half of the human race without violence must now undertake with equal devotion, perseverance and intelligence the supreme act of human statesmanship involved in the creation of institutions of government on a world scale. Ibid.

4 Women's function of homemaker, we once dreamed, would extend into politics and economics our highest creative and conserving instincts. Let us go back to the task of building that safe, decent and wholesome home for the entire human family to which we once pledged ourselves. Ibid.

452. Laura Simmons
(1877–1949)

* * *

1 The face within that passport book
Will rise to haunt you yet.
"Your Passport Picture"

Agnes Meyer (1887-1970?)

you have seen the tireless effort, the intelligent application of management and labor and their ever-increasing co-operation, you realize that there are enough resources, actual and potential, enough brains and good will in this country to turn the whole world into a paradise.
"Juvenile Delinquency and Child Labor," *Washington Post* *March 14, 1943*

2 What the Nation must realize is that the home, when both parents work, is non-existent. Once we have honestly faced that fact, we must act accordingly. Ibid., "Living Conditions of the Woolworker" *April 10, 1943*

3 We have forgotten that democracy must live as it thinks and think as it lives.
Journey Through Chaos, Introduction *1943*

4 An orderly existence creates primarily an unconscious relation to the silent progression of the days, seasons, and the music of the spheres.
Out of These Roots *1953*

5 Fortunate are the people whose roots are deep.
Ibid., Ch. 1

6 In pursuit of an educational program to suit the bright and the not-so-bright we have watered down a rigid training for the elite until we now have an educational diet in many of our public high schools that nourishes neither the classes nor the masses. Ibid., Ch. 2

7 Let us hope that in the process of integration in our society, which fortunately is now well underway, the Negro will not allow the American steam roller of conformity to destroy his creative gifts. Ibid., Ch. 8

8 The children are always the chief victims of social chaos. Ibid., Ch. 13

9 Science was the method used in the struggle by which mankind has passed from habit, routine, and caprice, from efforts to use nature magically, to intellectual self-control.
Lecture, "Democracy and Clericalism" *May 21, 1954*

10 Christianity must now rise above the limitations of orthodoxy just as the free world must rise above the limitations of nationalism if we are not to pull the civilized world down around our ears. Ibid.

11 There is a need for heroism in American life today. *Education for a New Morality*, Ch. 1 *1957*

12 We Americans must now throw off our childishness and parochialism and create a new idea of man acceptable to thinking people the world over. Ibid.

13 From the nineteenth-century view of science as a god, the twentieth century has begun to see it as a devil. It behooves us now to understand that science is neither one nor the other.
Ibid., Ch. 3

14 We can never achieve absolute truth but we can live hopefully by a system of calculated probabilities. The law of probability gives to natural and human sciences—to human experience as a whole—the unity of life we seek.
Ibid., Ch. 3

15 We are immoral in America today precisely because our existing institutions do not perform their function of abolishing our inherited dualism between thought and action, between our American ideals and what we do about them. Let us bear in mind that idealism when separated from empirical methods and experimental utilization in concrete social situations is vague, semantic mouthing. . . .
Ibid., Ch. 16

16 It certainly must have been a relief for the women of the country to realize that one could be a woman and a lady and yet be thoroughly political. Letter to Eleanor Roosevelt (July 25, 1952), Quoted in *Eleanor: The Years Alone* by Joseph P. Lash *1972p*

564. Marianne Moore

(1887–1972)

1 The monkeys
winked too much and were afraid of
snakes. The zebras, supreme in
their abnormality; the elephants, with
their fog-colored skin
and strictly practical appendages
were there.
"The Monkeys" *1921*

2 I, too, dislike it: there are things that are important beyond all this fiddle.
"Poetry," *Collected Poems* *1935*

3 There is a great amount of poetry in unconscious fastidiousness.
Ibid., "Critics and Connoisseurs"

4 I wonder what Adam and Eve
think of it by this time.
Ibid., "Marriage"

that foul thousand-mile blob visible from any jet; things like the cataclysmic, coiling, deadly dragon that is Vietnam.
Ibid., "More Monsters, Please!" (December, 1967)

6 Roughly speaking, the President of the United States knows what his job is. Constitution and custom spell it out, for him as well as for us. His wife has no such luck. The First Lady has no rules; rather, each new woman must make her own. Ibid., "The Best First Lady" (December, 1968)

7 . . . when two people marry they become in the eyes of the law one person, and that one person is the husband!
State-by-State Guide to Women's Legal Rights, Introduction *1975*

8 But certainly I knew that what all women's magazines were giving women to read was largely illusion, fantasy, and too often cruel deception. . . . I wanted to feed them reality, and clothe them with armor against the exploitation of women's needs and dreams which I knew abounded in the closed, essentially fake world of ladies' magazines. Ibid.

9 The law changes and flows like water, and . . . the stream of women's rights law has become a sudden rushing torrent. Ibid.

10 The [quail] females are so dowdy, drab, dun-colored, and diligent in their pecking, so hopelessly plodding compared to the handsome high-stepping ring-neck males, that for an atavistic moment I wonder anew whether and how the human female will ever transcend the lower, more dependent, less rights-ful station to which her reproductive nature has until the last-minute invention of The Pill confined her. Ibid.

1010. Dede Allen

(1925–)

1 Editing [film] is really a creative art. Any editor needs to know certain techniques, but the real decisions are made in her or his head.
Quoted in "The Power Behind the Screen" by Geraldine Febrikant, *Ms. February, 1974*

2 You know, when you're young and curious, people love to teach you. Ibid.

1011. Svetlana Alliluyeva

(1925–)

1 I think that before the marriage, it should be love. So if I will love this country and this country will love me, then the marriage will be settled. Quoted in *Newsweek May 8, 1967*

2 Moscow, breathing fire like a human volcano with its smoldering lava of passion, ambition and politics, its hurly-burly of meetings and entertainment. . . . Moscow seethes and bubbles and gasps for air. It's always thirsting for something new, the newest events, the latest sensation. Everyone wants to be the first to know. It's the rhythm of life today.
Twenty Letters to a Friend, Introduction (July 16, 1963) *1967*

3 He [her father, Stalin] is gone, but his shadow still stands over all of us. It still dictates to us and we, very often, obey. Ibid., Ch. 2

4 Russia is immense, you cannot please everyone. "Brajesh Singh in Moscow," *Only One Year 1969*

5 . . . as a result of half a century of Soviet rule people have been weaned from a belief in human kindness. Ibid., "The Journey's End"

1012. Marilyn Bender

(1925–)

1 Female clothing has been disappearing literally and philosophically.
The Beautiful People, Ch. 1 *1967*

2 To whip up desire for something that people don't really need, at least not in endless quantity, glamorous idols are essential. If desire begets need, then envy begets desire. The stimulation of envy or a longing to imitate is the function of the idol. The fashion industry, through its press agents and an eagerly cooperative, self-serving press, had to manufacture new goddesses. Ibid., Ch. 3

3 What caused this . . . renaissance of the dandy in an era of technology? Pessimists attributed it to male decline. As women became more aggressive, invaded masculine professions and usurped male prerogatives, men fell back on being peacocks, they reasoned. With clothes, men were reconstructing their diminished manhood. Ibid., Ch. 10

3 . . . better we should not make any reply to these public attacks, as a reply simply prolongs the discussion.
Ibid., Letter to Catherine Beckley (July 8, 1914)

4 We believe that the friendly activities of a federal association help the state work because they quicken . . . interest . . . just as a great deal of state work comes to the good of the national work.
Ibid., Letter to Lillian Feickert (November 20, 1915)

1358. Florence Luscomb
(1887–)

1 . . . there is no end to what you can accomplish if you don't care who gets the credit.
Quoted in *Moving the Mountain* by Ellen Cantarow *1980*

2 Just why seeing women walk down the street in parade should convince men to vote for suffrage is a mystery, but it did so by the thousands. Probably because it gave the visual proof that the women who wanted the suffrage were ordinary representative women—homemakers, mothers, daughters, teachers, working women—and not the unsexed freaks the anti's declared they were.
Ibid., Oral History Project, University of Rhode Island (1972/1973)

3 The tragedy in the lives of most of us is that we go through life walking down a high-walled land with people of our own kind, the same economic station, the same national background and education and religious outlook. And beyond those walls, all humanity lies, unknown and unseen, and untouched by our restricted and impoverished lives. Ibid.

4 And when women are working side by side with them on all the great public issues, and carrying on the life of humanity, I think that men are going to get comradeship that only the really advanced men have now. And when we have amended the Declaration of Independence so that it reads, "All men and women are created equal," this new force of men and women will be able to go forward and create a society of peace and of social justice and of beauty we haven't ever known in this world.
Ibid.

5 I have come face-to-face with the question, "Is America still a democracy? Is it ruled by the people, by their votes?" and I have been forced to answer, "No." Behind the screen of the ballot, the real holders of power who decide national policies and laws, and control public opinion by their ownership of all the mass media of information are the great industrial and monetary monopolies who own our national economic life. They, together with the armed forces—the military industrial complex —are the real rulers of our country today.
Ibid.

6 Capitalism, by definition, sets money as the sole model of power which keeps us running. Every man for himself. From my lifetime experiences, I have reached the firm conviction that the only possible basis for a successful, just, and peaceful world society is a cooperative economy of production for human needs, not for individual profits. That is the basic principle of communism. Ibid.

7 There is nothing in the world that is so transitory and fragile as a snowflake, and there is nothing so irresistible as an avalanche, which is simply millions of snowflakes. So that if each one of us, little snowflakes, just does our part, we will be an irresistible force. Ibid.

8 It is subversive to set up inquisitions like this, state or national, into the thoughts and consciences of Americans. . . . It is subversive for commissions like this to spread such hysteria and intimidation throughout the land that Americans are afraid to sign petitions, afraid to read progressive magazines, afraid to make out checks for liberal causes, afraid to join organizations, afraid to speak their minds on public issues. Americans dare not be free citizens! This is the destruction of democracy.
Ibid., Statement to Commission to Investigate Communism in Massachusetts (January 7, 1955)

1359. Rebecca Shelley
(1887–)

1 Humanity above all nations!
"Bicentennial Prayer for Peace" *1976*

1360. Edith Evans
(1888–1976)

1 When a woman behaves like a man, why doesn't she behave like a nice man?
Quoted in "Sayings of the Week," *Observer* *September 30, 1956*

1361. Madelin
(fl. 189
* *

1 [Being helped over th
rang for ice, but *this*

1362. M
(1892

1 I've always had a we

2 Is that a gun in you
glad to see me?

3 Marriage is a great
ready for an institutio

4 I knew what I want
early age that no man
to do. I would make
with the double standa

M. George

5 I've made it my busi
business.

6 Men have structured
feel guilty if she loo
beat men at their own
on men but I certain
either. I never found
trust—the way I love

1363. Agn
(1894?

1 The gossips speciali
gruesome . . .

Battle

2 Religion is sometim
influence. What I ha
me content that I wa
its principles. The vi
justice, of rendering
Cæsar did not produ
pression on me. Be

Dinah Mulock Craik (1826–1887)

6 "You are a child. Accept the fact. Be humble—be teachable. Lean upon the wisdom of others till you have gained your own."
Ibid., Ch. 10

7 "One cannot make oneself, but one can sometimes help a little in the making of somebody else. It is well." Ibid.

8 Friend, what years could us divide?
"A Christmas Blessing," *Thirty Years* 1881

9 Those rooks, dear, from morning till night,
They seem to do nothing but quarrel and fight,
And wrangle and jangle, and plunder.
Ibid., "The Blackbird and the Rooks"

10 And when I lie in the green kirkyard,
With mould upon my breast,
Say not that she did well—or ill,
Only "she did her best."
"Obituary" 1887

* * *

11 Never was owl more blind than a lover.
Magnus and Morna

12 A secret at home is like rocks under tide.
Ibid., Sc. 2

13 Silence is sweeter than speech.
Ibid., Sc. 3

14 Wedlock's a lane where there is no turning.
Ibid.

15 Autumn to winter, winter into spring,
Spring into summer, summer into fall,—
So rolls the changing year, and so we change;
Motion so swift, we know not that we move.
"Immutable"

16 Duty's a slave that keeps the keys,
But Love the master goes in and out
Of his goodly chambers with song and shout,
Just as he pleases—just as he pleases.
"Plighted"

17 Faith needs her daily bread.
Fortune's Marriage, Ch. 10

18 Forgotten? No, we never do forget:
We let the years go by; wash them clean with tears,
Leave them to bleach out in the open day,
Or lock them careful by, like dead friends' clothes,
Till we shall dare unfold them without pain,—
But we forget not, never can forget.
"A Flower of a Day"

19 God rest ye, little children; let nothing you afright,
For Jesus Christ, your Saviour, was born this happy night;
Along the hills of Galilee the white blocks sleeping lay,
When Christ, the child of Nazareth, was born on Christmas day.
"Christmas Carol," St. 2

20 Hour after hour that passionless bright face
Climbs up the desolate blue.
"Moon-Struck"

21 Immortality
Alone could teach this mortal how to die.
"Looking Death in the Face"

22 Keep what is worth keeping—
And with the breath of kindness
Blow the rest away.
"Friendship"

23 Life bears love's cross, death brings love's crown.
"Lettice"

24 Lo! all life this truth declares,
Laborare est orare;
And the whole earth rings with prayers.
"Labour Is Prayer," St. 4

25 Love that asketh love again
Finds the barter nought but pain;
Love that giveth in full store
Aye receives as much, and more.
"Love That Asketh Love Again"

26 Oh my son's my son till he gets him a wife,
But my daughter's my daughter all her life.
"Young and Old"

27 O the green things growing, the green things growing,
The faint sweet smell of the green things growing!
"Green Things Growing"

28 Pierce with thy trill the dark,
Like a glittering music spark.
"A Rhyme About Birds"

29 Sing away, ay, sing away,
Merry little bird
Always gayest of the gay,
Though a woodland roundelay
You ne'er sung nor heard;
Though your life from youth to age
Passes in a narrow cage.
"The Canary in His Cage"

30 Sweet April-time—O cruel April-time!
"April"

31 There never was night that had no morn.
"The Golden Gate"

32 Tomorrow is, ah, whose?
"Between Two Worlds"

339. Laura Ingalls Wilder

(1867–1957)

1 But they didn't believe that Santa Claus could, really, have given any of them nothing but a switch. That happened to some children, but it couldn't happen to them. It was so hard to be good all the time, every day, for a whole year.

Little House in the Big Woods, Ch. 4 *1932*

2 "Did little girls have to be as good as that?" Laura asked, and Ma said: "It was harder for little girls. Because they had to behave like little ladies all the time, not only on Sundays. Little girls could never slide downhill, like boys. Little girls had to sit in the house and stitch on samplers."

Ibid., Ch. 5

3 "That machine's a great invention!" he said. "Other folks can stick to old-fashioned ways if they want to, but I'm all for progress. It's a great age we're living in."

Ibid., Ch. 12

340. Mary Hunter Austin

(1868–1934)

1 When a woman ceases to alter the fashion of her hair, you guess that she has passed the crisis of her experience.

The Land of Little Rain *1903*

2 Life set itself to new processions of seed-time and harvest, the skin newly tuned to seasonal variations, the very blood humming to new altitudes. The rhythm of walking, always a recognizable background for our thoughts, altered from the militaristic stride to the job of the wide unrutted earth.

The American Rhythm *1923*

* * *

3 Oh, the Shepards in Judea!
Do you think the shepards know
How the whole round world is brightened
In the ruddy Christmas glow?

"The Shepards in Judea"

4 Never was it printed on a page,
Never was it spoken, never heard.

"Whisper of the Wind"

5 What need has he of clocks who knows
When highest peaks are gilt and rose
Day has begun?

"Clocks and Calendars," St. 1

341. Guida Diehl

(1868–?)

1 Never did Hitler promise to the masses in his rousing speeches any material advantage whatever. On the contrary he pleaded with them to turn aside from every form of advantage-seeking and serve the great thought: Honor, Freedom, Fatherland!

The German Woman and National Socialism *1933*

2 We long to see Men and Heroes who scorn fate. . . . Call us to every service, even to weapons!

Ibid.

342. Maude Glasgow

(1868–1955)

1 When new-born humanity was learning to stand upright, it depended much on its mother and stood close to her protecting side. Then women were goddesses, they conducted divine worship, woman's voice was heard in council, she was loved and revered and genealogies were reckoned through her.

The Subjection of Women and the Traditions of Men *1940*

2 As the race grew older, rationality flourished at the expense of moral sense.

Ibid.

343. Agnes Lee

(1868–1939)

* * *

1 Bed is the boon for me!
It's well to bake and sweep,
But hear the word of old Lizette:
It's better than all to sleep.

"Old Lizette on Sleep," St. 1

2 But I'll not venture in the drift
Out of this bright security,
Till enough footsteps come and go
To make a path for me.

"Convention"

3 Oh, mine was rosy as a bough
Blooming with roses, sent, somehow,
To bloom for me!
His balmy fingers left a thrill
Deep in my breast that warms me still.

"Motherhood," St. 5

344. Caroline "La Belle" Otero

(1868–1965)

1 . . . Paco took care of me; protected me; taught me to dance and sing, and was my lover. It was the first time in over two years that I knew where I was going to sleep every night, and the first time in my life that I knew there would

131. Elizabeth Chase Akers

(1832–1911)

1 Backward, turn backward, O Time, in your flight,
Make me a child again, just for to-night!
"Rock Me to Sleep, Mother" *1860*

2 I have grown weary of dust and decay—
Weary of flinging my soul-wealth away;—
Weary of sowing for others to reap;
Rock me to sleep, Mother—rock me to sleep!
Ibid., St. 2

* * *

3 Blush, happy maiden, when you feel
The lips that press love's glowing seal.
But as the slow years darker roll,
Grown wiser, the experienced soul
Will own as dearer far than they
The lips which kiss the tears away.
"Kisses"

4 Carve not upon a stone when I am dead
The praises which remorseful mourners give
To women's graves—a tardy recompense—
But speak them while I live.
"Till Death," St. 6

5 Though we be sick and tired and faint and worn,—
Lo, all things can be borne!
"Endurance," St. 5

6 Unremembered and afar
I watched you as I watched a star,
Through darkness struggling into view,
I loved you better than you knew.
"Left Behind," St. 5

132. Louisa May Alcott

(1832–1888)

1 A little kingdom I possess,
Where thoughts and feelings dwell;
And very hard the task I find
Of governing it well.
"My Kingdom," St. 1 *c.1845*

2 I do not ask for any crown
But that which all may win;
Nor try to conquer any world
Except the one within.
Ibid., St. 4

3 Above man's aims his nature rose.
The wisdom of a just content
Made one small spot a continent,
And turned to poetry life's prose.
"Thoreau's Flute," St. 2, *Atlantic Monthly* *September, 1863*

4 "Energy is more attractive than beauty in a man." *Behind a Mask*, Ch. 2 *1866*

5 "You *are* master here, but not of me, or my actions, and you have no right to expect obedience or respect, for you inspire neither."
Ibid., Ch. 4

6 ". . . rivalry adds so much to the charms of one's conquests." Ibid., Ch. 7

7 "Christmas won't be Christmas without any presents." *Little Women*, Pt. I *1868*

8 "I shall have to toil and moil all my days, with only little bits of fun now and then, and get old and ugly and sour, because I'm poor, and can't enjoy my life as other girls do. It's a shame!" Ibid.

9 "You have a good many little gifts and virtues, but there is no need of parading them, for conceit spoils the finest genius. There is not much danger that real talent or goodness will be overlooked long, and the great charm of all power is modesty." Ibid.

10 ". . . It seems as if I could do anything when I'm in a passion. I get so savage I could hurt anyone and enjoy it. I'm afraid I *shall* do something dreadful some day, and spoil my life, and make everybody hate me. O Mother, help me. . . ." Ibid.

11 "Housekeeping ain't no joke." Ibid.

12 "November is the most disagreeable month in the whole year." Ibid.

13 "People don't have fortunes left them . . . nowadays; men have to work, and women to marry for money. It's a dreadfully unjust world. . . ." Ibid.

14 . . . love is a great beautifier. Ibid.

15 It takes people a long time to learn the difference between talent and genius, especially ambitious young men and women. Ibid., Pt. II

16 . . . she was one of those happily created beings who please without effort, make friends everywhere, and take life so gracefully and easily that less fortunate souls are tempted to believe that such are born under a lucky star. Ibid.

17 "My lady" . . . had yet to learn that money cannot buy refinement of nature, that rank does not always confer nobility, and that true breeding makes itself felt in spite of external drawbacks. Ibid.

5 The meaning of liberty broke upon me like a sunburst. Freedom was in and of itself the highest law. Had I thought that death was to mean release from personal obedience? Lo, death itself was but the elevation of moral claims, from lower to higher. Ibid.

6 I mean that the *soul of a sense* is a more exquisite thing than what we may call the body of the sense, as developed to earthly consciousness. Ibid., Ch. 11

7 The great law of denial belongs to the powerful forces of life, whether the case be one of coolish baked beans, or an unrequited affection.
A Singular Life, Ch. 1 *1896*

193. Margaret Sidney
(1844–1924)

1 The little old kitchen had quieted down from the bustle and confusion of mid-day; and now, with its afternoon manners on, presented a holiday aspect, that as the principal room in the brown house, it was eminently proper it should have.
"A Home View," *Five Little Peppers and How They Grew* *1881*

2 "And you're very impertinent, too," said Miss Jerusha; "a good child *never* is impertinent."
Ibid., "New Friends"

3 . . . "we've got to do something 'cause we've begun. . . ." Ibid., "Getting a Christmas for the Little Ones"

4 "It's better'n a Christmas," they told their mother, "to get ready for it!" Ibid.

5 . . . "it can't be Christmas all the time."
Ibid., "Christmas Bells"

6 "Corners are for little folks; but when people who know better, do wrong, there aren't any corners they *can* creep into, or they'd get into them pretty quick!"
Ibid., "Which Treats of a Good Many Matters"

7 "You're just the splendidest, *goodest* mamsie in all the world. And I'm a hateful cross old bear, so I am!" Ibid., "Polly's Dismal Morning"

194. Arabella Smith
(1844–1916)

* * *

1 Oh, friends! I pray to-night,
Keep not your roses for my dead, cold brow
The way is lonely, let me feel them now.
"If I Should Die To-Night"

195. Sophie Tolstoy
(1844–1919)

1 One can't live on love alone; and I am so stupid that I can do nothing but think of him.
A Diary of Tolstoy's Wife, 1860–1891
(November 13, 1862) *1928p*

2 Of course I am idle, but I am not idle by nature; I simply haven't yet discovered what I can do here. . . .
Ibid. (November 23, 1862)

3 I am a source of satisfaction to him, a nurse, a piece of furniture, a *woman*—nothing more.
Ibid. (November 13, 1863)

4 As for me, I both *can* and *want* to do everything, but after a while I begin to realize there is nothing to want, and that I can't do anything beyond eating, drinking, sleeping, nursing the children, and caring for them and my husband. After all, this *is* happiness, yet why do I grow sad and weep, as I did yesterday?
Ibid. (February 25, 1865)

5 The thing to do is *not* to love, to be clever and sly, and to hide all one's bad points. . . .
Ibid. (September 12, 1865)

6 I want nothing but his love and sympathy, and he won't give it me; and all my pride is trampled in the mud; I am nothing but a miserable crushed worm, whom no one wants, whom no one loves, a useless creature with morning sickness, and a big belly, two rotten teeth, and a bad temper, a battered sense of dignity, and a love which nobody wants and which nearly drives me insane. Ibid.

7 It makes me laugh to read over this diary. It's so full of contradictions, and one would think I was such an unhappy woman. Yet is there a happier woman than I?
Ibid. (July 31, 1868)

8 How deep is the unconscious hatred of even one's nearest people, and how great their selfishness. Ibid. (October 25, 1886)

9 He would like to destroy his old diaries and to appear before his children and the public only in his patriarchal robes. His vanity is immense!
Ibid. (December 17, 1890)

10 It is sad that my emotional dependence on the man I love should have killed so much of my energy and ability; there was certainly once a great deal of energy in me.
Ibid. (December 31, 1890)

206. Mary Catherwood

(1847–1901)

1 They [the Chippewa] were a people ruled only by persuasive eloquence moving on the surface of their passion. . . .
The White Islander, Pt. I *1893*

2 He reveled in this swimming of the wilderness. He had capacities for woodcraft. It gave freedom to a repressed and manly part of him, and in the darkness of the buried path he breathed largely. Ibid., Pt. II

3 Two may talk together under the same roof for many years, yet never really meet; and two others at first speech are old friends.
"Marianson," *Mackinac and Lake Stories* *1899*

4 Though in those days of the young century a man might become anything; for the West was before him, an empire, and woodcraft was better than learning.
Ibid., "The Black Feather"

5 She might struggle like a fly in a web. He wrapped her around and around with beautiful sentences. Ibid., "The King of Beaver"

6 "O God, since Thou hast shut me up in this world, I will do the best I can, without fear or favor. When my task is done, let me out!"
Ibid.

7 The world of city-maddened people who swarmed to this lake for their annual immersion in nature. . . .
Ibid., "The Cursed Patois"

207. Alice Meynell

(1847–1922)

* * *

1 And when you go
There's loneliness in loneliness.
"Song"

2 A voice peals in this end of night
A phrase of notes resembling stars,
Single and spiritual notes of light.
"A Thrush Before Dawn"

3 Dear Laws, be wings to me!
The feather merely floats, O be it heard
Through weight of life—the skylark's gravity—
That I am not a feather, but a bird!
"The Laws of Verse"

4 Flocks of the memories of the day draw near
The dovecote doors of sleep.
"At Night"

5 I come from nothing: but from where
come the undying thoughts I bear?
"The Modern Poet, or a Song of Derivations"

6 I shall not hold my little peace; for me
There is no peace but one.
"The Poet to the Birds"

7 My heart shall be thy garden.
"The Garden"

8 New every year,
New born and newly dear,
He comes with tidings and a song,
The ages long, the ages long.
"Unto Us a Son Is Given"

9 O Spring! I know thee.
"In Early Spring"

10 She walks—the lady of my delight—
A shepherdess of sheep
Her flocks are thoughts.
"The Shepherdess," St. 1

11 The sense of humour has other things to do than to make itself conspicuous in the act of laughter.
"Laughter"

12 With the first dream that comes with the first sleep
I run, I run, I am gathered to thy heart.
"Renouncement"

208. Julia A. Moore

(1847–1920)

* * *

1 And now, kind friends, what I have wrote
I hope you will pass over,
And not criticize as some have done
Hitherto herebefore.
"To My Friends and Critics"

2 Leave off the agony, leave off style,
Unless you've got money by us all the while.
"Leave Off the Agony in Style"

209. Annie Rankin Annan

(1848–1925)

* * *

1 A dandelion in his verse,
Like the first gold in childhood's purse.
"Dandelions"

2 My debt to you, Beloved,
Is one I cannot pay
In any coin of any realm
On any reckoning day.
"Debt"

355. Carolyn Wells

(1869–1942)

1 Total is a book. We find it
Just a little past its prime;
And departing leaves behind it
Footprints on the sands of time.
"Four," St. 3, *At the Sign of the Sphinx* 1896

2 There was a young man of St. Kitts
Who was very much troubled with fits;
The eclipse of the moon
Threw him into a swoon,
When he tumbled and broke into bits.
"Limericks," No. 3, *The Book of Humorous Verse* 1920

3 A Tutor who tooted the flute
Tried to teach two young tutors to toot;
Said the two to the Tutor,
"Is it harder to toot, or
To tutor two tutors to toot?"
Ibid., No. 6

4 "Women are all right, in their place—which, by the way, is not necessarily in the home—but a family feud, of all things, calls for masculine management and skill."
In the Onyx Lobby, Ch. 1 1920

5 "I'll bet Sherlock Holmes could find a lot of data just by going over the floor with a lens."
"He could in a story book—and do you know why? Because the clews and things, in a story, are all put there for him by the property man. Like a salted mine. But in real life, there's nothing doing of that sort." Ibid., Ch. 5

6 The earth has rolled around again and harvest time is here,
The glory of the seasons and the crown of all the years.
"The Meaning of Thanksgiving Day" 1922

* * *

7 A canner can can
Anything that he can,
But a canner can't can a can, can he?
"The Canner"

8 But Woman is rare beyond compare,
The poets tell us so;
How little they know of Woman
Who only Women know!
"Woman"

9 I love the Christmas-tide, and yet;
I notice this, each year I live;
I always like the gifts I get,
But how I love the gifts I give!
"A Thought"

10 The books we think we ought to read are poky, dull, and dry;
The books that we would like to read we are ashamed to buy;
The books that people talk about we never can recall;
And the books that people give us, oh, they're the worst of all.
"On Books"

11 When Venus said "Spell no for me,"
"N-O," Dan Cupid wrote with glee,
And smiled at his success:
"Ah, child," said Venus, laughing low,
"We women do not spell it so,
We spell it Y-E-S."
"The Spelling Lesson"

356. Elizabeth Botume

(fl. 1870s)

1 It was not an unusual thing to meet a woman coming from the fields, where she had been hoeing cotton, with a small bucket or cup on her head, and a hoe over her shoulder, contentedly smoking a pipe and briskly knitting as she strode along. I have seen, added to all these, a baby strapped to her back.
First Days Amongst the Contrabands 1893

357. Mrs. Edmund Craster

(fl. 1870s)

1 The Centipede was happy quite,
Until the Toad in fun
Said, "Pray which leg goes after which?"
And worked her mind to such a pitch,
She lay distracted in a ditch
Considering how to run.
"Pinafore Poems," *Cassell's Weekly* 1871

Mary Asquith (1864-1945)

8 It is always dangerous to generalise, but the American people, while infinitely generous, are a hard and strong race and, but for the few cemeteries I have seen, I am inclined to think they never die. Ibid., Ch. 14

9 The ingrained idea that, because there is no king and they despise titles, the Americans are a free people is pathetically untrue. . . . There is a perpetual interference with personal liberty over there that would not be tolerated in England for a week. Ibid., Ch. 17

10 . . . her one idea was to exercise a moderating influence; and without knowing it she would in a subtle and disparaging manner check the enthusiasm, dim the glow, and cramp the extravagance of everyone round her.
Octavia, Ch. 1 *1928*

11 "Women are like horses, and should never be ridden on the curb." Ibid., Ch. 9

12 She wanted to *give* life; to warm the blood and kindle the hope of drab and cautious people. You could not make others live unless you had life yourself. Ibid., Ch. 12

13 She was not an individual when she was with him, she was an audience—an audience that only came in at the end. When people clapped, was it the last sentence, or the whole speech they were applauding? Or was it merely relief that the speech was over? Ibid.

14 Life was cruel, demanding wisdom from the young before they had the chance of acquiring it! Innocence was admired, ignorance despised: yet, in their effects, they had a dangerous resemblance. Ibid., Ch. 22

311. Elinor Glyn

(1864–1943)

1 Marriage is the aim and end of all sensible girls, because it is the meaning of life.
"Letters to Caroline,"
Harper's Bazaar
September, 1913

312. Margaret P. Sherwood

(1864–1955)

* * *

1 Whisper some kindly word, to bless
A wistful soul who understands
That life is but one long caress
Of gentle words and gentle hands.
"In Memoriam—Leo: A Yellow Cat"

313. Wenonah Stevens Abbott

(1865–1950)

* * *

1 To-day the journey is ended,
I have worked out the mandates of fate;
Naked, alone, undefended,
I knock at the Uttermost Gate.
"A Soul's Soliloquy"

314. Evangeline Booth

(1865–1950)

* * *

1 Drink has drained more blood,
Hung more crepe,
Sold more houses,
Plunged more people into bankruptcy,
Armed more villains,
Slain more children,
Snapped more wedding rings,
Defiled more innocence,
Blinded more eyes,
Twisted more limbs,
Dethroned more reason,
Wrecked more manhood,
Dishonored more womanhood,
Broken more hearts,
Blasted more lives,
Driven more to suicide, and
Dug more graves than any other poisoned
Scourge that ever swept its death-
Dealing waves across the world.
"Good Housekeeping"

315. Mrs. Patrick Campbell

(1865–1940)

1 I believe I was impatient with unintelligent people from the moment I was born: a tragedy—for I am myself three-parts a fool.
My Life and Some Letters, Ch. 2
1922

2 I remember a certain dinner party given for me by a well-known Jewish financier, and being asked by him at table in an earnest, curious voice, what I kept in a small locket I wore on a chain round my neck. Everyone stopped talking and listened for my answer. I replied gravely, "One hair of a Jew's moustache."
Ibid., Ch. 6

3 To be made to hold his [George Bernard Shaw's] tongue is the greatest insult you can offer him—though he might be ready with a poker to make you hold yours.
Ibid., Ch. 16

309. Mary Church Terrell

(1863–1954)

1 Lynching is the aftermath of slavery. The white men who shoot negroes to death and flay them alive, and the white women who apply flaming torches to their oil-soaked bodies today, are the sons and daughters of women who had but little, if any, compassion on the race when it was enslaved.

"Lynching from a Negro's Point of View," *North American Review* *June, 1904*

2 The whole country seems tired of hearing about the black man's woes. The wrongs of the Irish, of the Armenians, of the Roumanian and Russian Jews, of the exiles of Russia and of every other oppressed people upon the face of the globe, can arouse sympathy and fire the indignation of the American public, while they seem to be all but indifferent to the murderous assaults upon the negroes in the South.

Ibid.

3 As a colored woman I might enter Washington any night, a stranger in a strange land, and walk miles without finding a place to lay my head. . . . The colored man alone is thrust out of the hotels of the national capital like a leper.

"What It Means to Be Colored in the Capital of the United States" (1907), *A Colored Woman in a White World* *1940*

4 It is impossible for any white person in the United States, no matter how sympathetic and broad, to realize what life would mean to him if his incentive to effort were suddenly snatched away. To the lack of incentive to effort, which is the awful shadow under which we live, may be traced the wreck and ruin of scores of colored youth. And surely no where in the world do oppression and persecution based solely on the color of the skin appear more hateful and hideous than in the capital of the United States, because the chasm between the principles upon which this Government was founded, in which it still professes to believe, and those which are daily practiced under the protection of the flag, yawn so wide and deep.

Ibid.

5 Please stop using the word "Negro." . . . We are the only human beings in the world with fifty-seven variety of complexions who are classed together as a single racial unit. Therefore, we are really truly colored people, and that is the only name in the English language which accurately describes us.

Ibid., Letter to the Editor, *The Washington Post* *May 14, 1949*

6 Some of our group say they will continue to classify us as Negroes, until an individual referred to as such will be proud of that name. But that is a case of wishful thinking and nothing else.

Ibid.

310. Margot Asquith

(1864–1945)

1 Riches are overestimated in the Old Testament: the good and successful man received too many animals, wives, apes, she-goats and peacocks.

The Autobiography of Margot Asquith, Vols. I and II *1920–1922*

2 To marry a man out of pity is folly; and, if you think you are going to influence the kind of fellow who has "never had a chance, poor devil," you are profoundly mistaken. One can only influence the strong characters in life, not the weak; and it is the height of vanity to suppose that you can make an honest man of anyone.

Ibid., Ch. 6

3 There are big men, men of intellect, men of talent and men of action; but the great man is difficult to find, and it needs—apart from discernment—a certain graveness to find him. The Almighty is a wonderful handicapper: He will not give us everything.

Ibid., Ch. 7

4 The first element of greatness is fundamental humbleness (this should not be confused with servility); the second is freedom from self; the third is intrepid courage, which, taken in its widest interpretation, generally goes with truth; and the fourth—the power to love—although I have put it last, is the rarest.

Ibid.

5 Rich men's houses are seldom beautiful, rarely comfortable, and never original. It is a constant source of surprise to people of moderate means to observe how little a big fortune contributes to Beauty.

Ibid., Ch. 17

6 Haunted from my early youth by the transitoriness and pathos of life, I was aware that it was not enough to say, "I am doing no harm," I ought to be testing myself daily, and asking what I was really achieving.

My Impressions of America, Ch. 4 *1922*

7 Journalism over here [in America] is not only an obsession but a drawback that cannot be overrated. Politicians are frightened of the press, and in the same way as bull-fighting has a brutalising effect upon Spain (of which she is unconscious), headlines of murder, rape, and rubbish, excite and demoralise the American public.

Ibid., Ch. 10

Remarks on Lighting the National Christmas Tree

December 14, 1989

Well, my special thanks to Santa Claus. That Santa mold will never be the same again. [*Laughter*] But to Loretta and—first, to Willard Scott, and then to Loretta and Peggy, Tommy Tune, Marilyn McCoo and Billy Davis, the great Air Force Band, and this marvelous team from Roanoke.

This is the Christmas that we've awaited for 50 years. And across Europe, East and West, 1989 is ending, bright with the prospect of a far better Christmastime than Europe has ever known. A far better future than the world dared to imagine. And 50 winters have come and gone since darkness closed over Europe in 1939, 50 years. But last month, as Lech Walesa was coming to the White House, the Wall in Berlin came tumbling down.

And another winter descended across Europe. Spring returned to Prague, an unconquerable people, unquenchable dreams. And today there's a new sound at the Wall, new sound rings out. Not the hammer and sickle but the hammer and the chisel. The glad sound you hear is not only the bells of Christmas but also the bells of freedom. And in this new season of hope, the triumph looms. It's just like the joy of Christmas: not a triumph for one particular country or one particular religion but a triumph for all humankind. The holidays are, as we've seen here tonight, a time of laughter and children and counting our blessings, a time when songs fill the air and hope fills our hearts for peace on Earth, goodwill to men.

And we've worked hard this year, all of us, all of you, to help build a better America, help someone else, help make this a kinder and gentler nation. But there remains a world of need all around us. In this holiday season, reach out to someone right where you live. Because from now on in America, "There's no room at the inn"—that's simply not an acceptable answer. From now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others. For Christmas is measured not by what's beneath your tree but by what's inside your heart. And so, this year, the spirit of the holidays is at long last matched by the spirit of the time. And it's the beginning of a new decade at the ending of an old century. And whatever your dream, whatever star you're following, the future is bright with possibility.

So, Barbara and I want to wish all of you a very Merry Christmas. And now, with simultaneous tree lightings from coast to coast, in Charleston and Santa Cruz, let's show our Thousand Points of Light. Let's turn on the National Christmas Tree.

Note: The President spoke at 5:50 p.m. on the Ellipse during the annual Christmas Pageant of Peace. In his remarks, he referred to television weatherman Willard Scott who hosted the Pageant dressed as Santa Claus; and performers Loretta Lynn and her daughter Peggy Lynn, Tommy Tune, Marilyn McCoo, Billy Davis, Jr., and the Roanoke College Children's Choir.

Statement on Signing the Department of Housing and Urban Development Reform Act of 1989

December 15, 1989

I am today approving H.R. 1, the "Department of Housing and Urban Development Reform Act of 1989." This legislation is intended to help eliminate the systemic flaws that have allowed a number of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) programs to be abused for political purposes or personal gain at the expense of those in need. H.R. 1 will improve program management and financial accountability at HUD and make that Department's programs less susceptible to waste, fraud, abuse, and political influence.

On October 31, 1989, only a few weeks ago, this Administration transmitted to the Congress a package of proposed HUD reforms to improve the practices, procedures, and penalties in existing housing and community development programs and to ensure ethical program management. We asked the Congress to consider these reforms on an emergency basis.

I appreciate the expeditious manner in which our proposed reforms were considered and approved. These reforms at HUD

OSM FACT SHEET

U. S. Department of the Interior
202 208-2553

Office of Surface Mining
November 21, 1990

CHRISTMAS TREES FROM RECLAIMED MINE LAND

Each year, just before Christmas, the President of the United States turns the switch that lights the national Christmas tree and the 57 smaller trees that represent the 50 states, the District of Columbia, and the U.S. territories. This tree-lighting ceremony, called the Pageant of Peace, is held on the Ellipse, just south of the White House. Although the national tree is permanently planted on the Ellipse, the 57 state and territorial trees are planted temporarily for the event, and then, following the holiday season, are transplanted to the grounds of Washington area schools and other public buildings.

This year the 57 state and territorial trees are very special. They are from the Autumn Ridge Christmas Tree Farm, which is located on a reclaimed coal mine in western Maryland. Mined and reclaimed in the late 1960's, this land is an excellent example of how land used temporarily for surface coal mining can be returned to permanent, productive land use.

The Buffalo Coal Company mined coal on the site where this tree farm is located, just outside Oakland, Maryland, from 1966-1971. The coal was shipped to Washington, D.C., as fuel for electric power generating plants. (In fact it is likely that coal from this site was used to generate the electricity that lit the Christmas trees at Pageant of Peace ceremonies in the early 1960's.) Following the mining, reclamation was completed under the Maryland mining law, which required the operator to cover the mined area with a minimum of four feet of fill material. However, the company did more. Prior to returning the mined land to the land owner, the coal company regraded the site and established grass cover.

In 1980, the current owner, Gary Shaffer, purchased the property. Shaffer is president of Chesapeake Conservation Services of Sykesville, Maryland, a company that constructs erosion control and wetlands mitigation structures. Using its expertise in these areas, the company laid drain fields, completed the grading and topsoiling, constructed gravel roads, and established a Christmas tree farm with over 70,000 trees on the former coal mine land. Today over 100 acres of this former mined land are covered with carefully hand sheared Christmas trees. Streams and surface water running through the farm are clear, and the land is productive once again.

During the summer of 1990, officials from the Interior Department's Office of Surface Mining and The National Park Service selected trees for the December tree-lighting ceremony. In late fall, the pines were dug and transported to the Ellipse for planting and decorating. On December 13, President Bush will light the trees for this year's holiday season.

Although growing Christmas trees on reclaimed land is common today, it was an unusual land use prior to passage of the Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act of 1977. This national coal mining and reclamation law requires mining companies throughout the country to reclaim the land and either reestablish the old land use or develop new, more productive uses.

This year's Christmas trees are living proof that America can mine its coal resources without permanent environmental damage, and then return the land to productive, long-term land uses.

-325 light
-DD cover

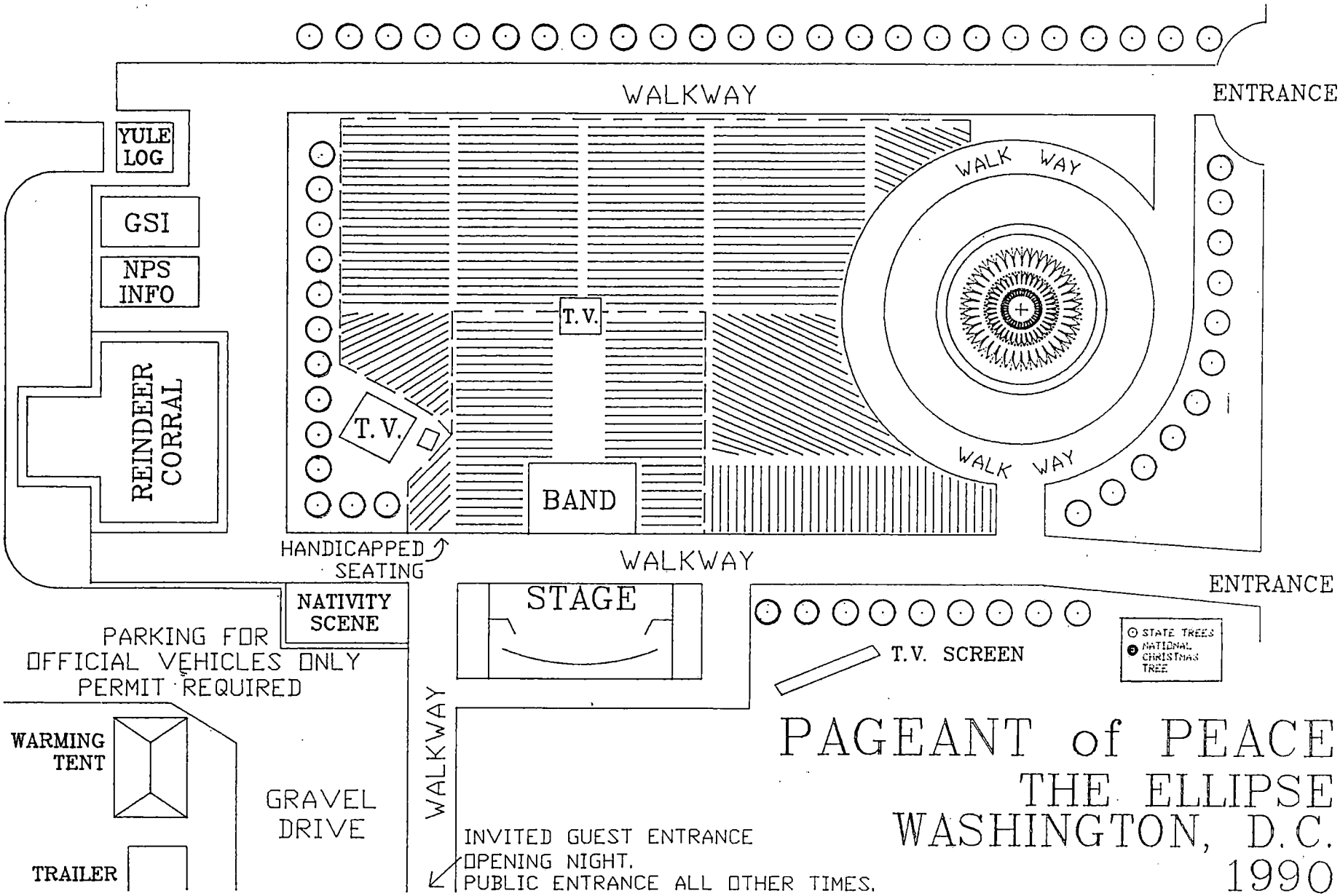
10,000 & more
-Street & shelter

-red & copy DD & gm
- comics

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PAGEANT of PEACE

THE ELLIPSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.
1990