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OA/ID Number: 13762
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Mount Rushmore 7/3/91 [OA 8325] [3]

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A GUIDE TO NATIONAL MONUMENTS AND HISTORIC SITES

Jill MacNeice

PRENTICE HALL
New York

Mount Rushmore National Memorial

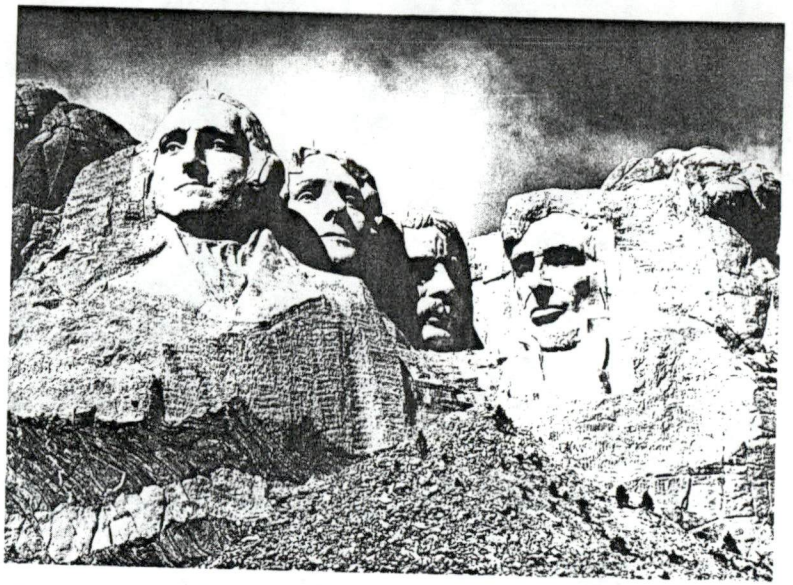
The faces of four great American presidents—George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and Theodore Roosevelt—are immortalized in the granite of Mount Rushmore. Together, the figures of this well-known American icon symbolize the ideals on which the United States is based. Washington stands for independence, Jefferson for the democratic process, Lincoln for equality, and Roosevelt for prominence in world affairs.

Gutzon Borglum (actually John Gutzon de la Mothe Borglum), a sculptor of Danish descent, supervised the transformation of this 6,000-foot-high mountain into one of the most famous works of art in the world. The faces measure 60 feet from chin to crown; each nose is 20 feet long; the eyes are 11 feet across; the mouths are 18 feet long. If they were fully sculpted, they would stand taller than the Washington Monument in Washington, D.C.

Borglum was a colorful and controversial artist who was friendly with French sculptor Auguste Rodin. He traveled to the Black Hills of South Dakota to study the herculean task of carving presidents on the side of a mountain at the behest of South Dakota state historian Doane Robinson. Borglum picked Mount Rushmore because the rock was smooth-textured and faced the sun. He worked on this modern-day colossus from 1927 until his death in 1941. More than 360 people, laboring in 30-man crews, contributed to the construction. The tab came to $990,000.

Borglum deserves credit not only for his artistic achievement, but also for the engineering innovations that allowed him to turn mountain into monument. His technique started with the blasting of surface rock to reveal the granite below, then the precise removal of granite chunks with dynamite. Suspended over the side of the mountain in harnesses, carvers used jackhammers to flesh out the features. Workers removed the next layer by drilling holes three inches apart over the entire surface then using airhammers to bring out facial details. When the dust had settled, more than 450,000 tons of rock had been removed from the side of the mountain. Most of it lies in the heap of boulders below.

Mount Rushmore is one of the country's best-known memorials. Visitation is heavy, especially during the summer months, when



The faces of four American presidents—Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Theodore Roosevelt—were carved to a scale of men 465-feet tall on Mount Rushmore.—*NPS photograph*

15,000 to 25,000 tourists a day troop through the park. The visitor center has a 15-minute audio-visual presentation that covers the history of the site. The main view terrace has a seven-minute audio presentation. A museum in the center displays tools and techniques used in construction. The sculptor's studio is open daily from mid-May to mid-September. It houses tools and models of the construction. From mid-May to mid-September, the National Park Service holds a free evening program at the amphitheater, with an introduction by a ranger and a movie, followed by the Star Spangled Banner and lighting of the sculpture.

The park has a great variety of wildlife, including mule deer and white-tailed deer, coyotes and bobcats, porcupines, and smaller mammals. A family of Rocky Mountain goats lives in the area and goats are occasionally seen scampering over the memorial.

There are no picnic facilities, but a concession sells gifts and operates a dining room. The park celebrates July 4 each year with afternoon

concerts and speeches, but fireworks are prohibited because the area is prone to fires. For information about nearby campgrounds, contact the U.S. Forest Service, Black Hills National Forest, P.O. Box 792, Custer, SD 57730. Telephone: 605-673-2250.

Open: 8 a.m. to 10 p.m. from mid-May to mid-Sept., with hours reduced to 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. from Sept. to May.

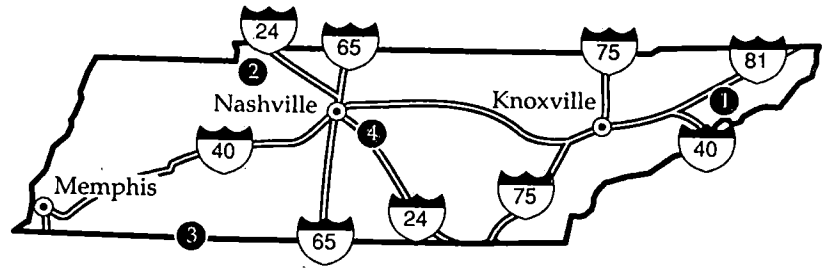
Fees: None.

Mailing Address: Mount Rushmore National Memorial, P.O. Box 268, Keystone, SD 57751.

Telephone: 605-574-2523.

Getting There: The memorial is 25 miles southwest of Rapid City and three miles from Keystone, SD, on Rt. 244. Transcontinental buses and major airlines serve Rapid City.

TENNESSEE



1. Andrew Johnson National Historic Site
2. Fort Donelson National Battlefield
3. Shiloh National Military Park
4. Stones River National Battlefield

1 It may not be natural for man to walk on two legs, but it was a noble invention.[1]

Ib.

2 The thing that astonished him was that cats should have two holes cut in their coat exactly at the place where their eyes are.

Ib.

Anna Letitia Barbauld
1743–1825

3 Say not "Good night"; but in some brighter clime
Bid me "Good morning."

Ode to Life, st. 3

4 This dead of midnight is the noon of thought.

A Summer's Evening Meditation

Gavriil Romanovich Derzhavin
1743–1816

5 I am a czar—a slave, I am a worm—a god.

God [1784]

William Henry, Duke of Gloucester
1743–1805

6 Another damned, thick, square book! Always scribble, scribble, scribble! Eh! Mr. Gibbon?

Upon receiving from EDWARD GIBBON *volume II of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire [1781]. From Best's Literary Memorials*

Thomas Jefferson[2]
1743–1826

7 A lively and lasting sense of filial duty is more effectually impressed on the mind of a son or daughter by reading *King Lear,* than by all the dry volumes of ethics, and divinity, that ever were written.

Letter to Robert Skipwith [August 3, 1771]

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

Summary View of the Rights of British America [1774]

9 When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God[3] entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights;[4] that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;[5] that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed;[6] that whenever any form of government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.

Declaration of Independence [July 4, 1776]

10 We must therefore . . . hold them [the British] as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends. *Ib.*

11 And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor. *Ib.*

12 Ignorance is preferable to error; and he is less remote from the truth who believes nothing, than he who believes what is wrong.

Notes on the State of Virginia [1781–1785]. Query 6

13 The Newtonian principle of gravitation is now more firmly established, on the basis of reason, than it would be were the government to step in, and to make it an article of necessary faith. Reason and experiment have been indulged, and error has fled before them. *Ib. 17*

14 Subject opinion to coercion: whom will you make your inquisitors? Fallible men; men governed by bad passions, by private as well as public reasons. *Ib. 17*

15 Is uniformity [of opinion] attainable? Millions of innocent men, women, and children,

[1] Se non è vero è ben trovato [If it is not true it is a happy invention].—*Attributed to* GIORDANO BRUNO

[2] His eye, like his mind, sought an extended view. — DUMAS MALONE, *Jefferson the Virginian* [1940]
See Morison, 382:*n*3.

[3] See Bolingbroke, 329:5, and Pope, 337:16.

[4] The phrase is frequently misquoted "inalienable."
All men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential and unalienable rights.—*Constitution of Massachusetts* [1778]

[5] See John Adams, 381:8, and Gibbon, 383:9.

[6] See Vico, 324:3, and John Adams, 381:2.

1 I think the necessity of being *ready* increases. Look to it.

Letter (this is the whole message) to Governor Andrew G. Curtin of Pennsylvania [April 8, 1861]

2 This is essentially a people's contest . . . It is a struggle for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men—to lift artificial weights from all shoulders—to clear the paths of laudable pursuit for all—to afford all an unfettered start, and a fair chance, in the race of life.

Message to Congress in Special Session [July 4, 1861]

3 Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration. Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights.[1]

First Annual Message to Congress [December 3, 1861]

4 It is called the Army of the Potomac but it is only McClellan's bodyguard . . . If McClellan is not using the army, I should like to borrow it for a while.

Washington, D.C. [April 9, 1862]

5 It is difficult to make a man miserable while he feels he is worthy of himself and claims kindred to the great God who made him.

Address on colonization to a Negro deputation at Washington [August 14, 1862]

6 My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that.

Letter to Horace Greeley [August 22, 1862]

7 I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors; and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views. . . . I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men, everywhere, could be free. *Ib.*

8 On the first day of January in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any state, or designated part of a state, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free.

Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation [September 22, 1862][2]

9 [I feel] somewhat like the boy in Kentucky who stubbed his toe while running to see his sweetheart. The boy said he was too big to cry, and far too badly hurt to laugh.

Reply as to how he felt about the New York elections.[3] From Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly [November 22, 1862]

10 A nation may be said to consist of its territory, its people, and its laws. The territory is the only part which is of certain durability.

Second Annual Message to Congress [December 1, 1862]

11 If there ever could be a proper time for mere catch arguments, that time surely is not now. In times like the present, men should utter nothing for which they would not willingly be responsible through time and in eternity. *Ib.*

12 The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves, and then we shall save our country.

Fellow citizens, we cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this administration will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down in honor or dishonor to the last generation. We say we are for the Union. The world will not forget that we say this. We know how to save the Union. The world knows we do know how to save it. We, even we here, hold the power and bear the responsibility. In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free—honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve. We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last, best hope of earth. Other means may succeed; this could not fail. The way is plain, peaceful, generous, just

[1] See Webster, 450:4.

[2] The Emancipation Proclamation was issued one hundred days later [January 1, 1863].

[3] The election was a victory for Horatio Seymour, Democratic candidate for governor of New York. Moreover, throughout the North the Democrats picked up a number of congressional seats and won a number of state elections.

— a way which if followed the world will forever applaud and God must forever bless.

Ib.

1 Beware of rashness, but with energy and sleepless vigilance go forward and give us victories.

Letter to Major General Joseph Hooker [January 26, 1863]

2 The Father of Waters again goes unvexed to the sea.

Letter to James C. Conkling [August 26, 1863]

3 I have endured a great deal of ridicule without much malice; and have received a great deal of kindness, not quite free from ridicule. I am used to it.

Letter to James H. Hackett [November 2, 1863]

4 Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate — we cannot consecrate — we cannot hallow — this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us — that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.[1]

Address at Gettysburg [November 19, 1863]

[1] See Wycliffe, 143:12; Webster, 450:14; Disraeli, 501:6; Garrison, 505:19; and Parker, 537:15.

5 The President last night had a dream. He was in a party of plain people and as it became known who he was they began to comment on his appearance. One of them said, "He is a common-looking man." The President replied, "Common-looking people are the best in the world: that is the reason the Lord makes so many of them."

From Letters of John Hay and Extracts from His Diary, edited by C. L. Hay [December 23, 1863]

6 I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me.

Letter to A. G. Hodges [April 4, 1864]

7 The world has never had a good definition of the word liberty. And the American people just now are much in want of one. We all declare for liberty; but in using the same word we do not mean the same thing. With some, the word liberty may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself and the product of his labor; while with others the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men and the product of other men's labor. Here are two, not only different, but incompatible things, called by the same name, liberty. And it follows that each of the things is by the respective parties called by two different and incompatible names, liberty and tyranny.

The shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep's throat, for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as his liberator, while the wolf denounces him for the same act. . . . Plainly the sheep and the wolf are not agreed upon a definition of liberty.

Address at the Sanitary Fair, Baltimore [April 18, 1864]

8 I do not allow myself to suppose that either the convention or the League have concluded to decide that I am either the greatest or best man in America, but rather they have concluded that it is not best to swap horses while crossing the river, and have further concluded that I am not so poor a horse that they might not make a botch of it in trying to swap.

Reply to the National Union League [June 9, 1864]

9 Truth is generally the best vindication against slander.

Letter to Secretary Stanton, refusing to dismiss Postmaster-General Montgomery Blair [July 18, 1864]

1 It has long been a grave question whether any government, not too strong for the liberties of its people, can be strong enough to maintain its existence in great emergencies.

Response to a serenade [November 10, 1864]

2 Human nature will not change. In any future great national trial, compared with the men of this, we shall have as weak and as strong, as silly and as wise, as bad and as good.

Ib.

3 I desire so to conduct the affairs of this administration that if at the end, when I come to lay down the reins of power, I have lost every other friend on earth, I shall at least have one friend left, and that friend shall be down inside me.

Reply to the Missouri Committee of Seventy [1864]

4 Dear Madam, I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant-General of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five[1] sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering to you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the Republic they died to save. I pray that our heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice upon the altar of freedom.

Letter to Mrs. Bixby [November 21, 1864]

5 It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces,[2] but let us judge not, that we be not judged.[3]

Second Inaugural Address [March 4, 1865]

6 The Almighty has His own purposes.

Ib.

7 Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."[4]

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right,[5] let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

Ib.

8 I have always thought that all men should be free; but if any should be slaves, it should be first those who desire it for themselves, and secondly those who desire it for others. Whenever I hear anyone arguing for slavery, I feel a strong impulse to see it tried on him personally.[6]

Address to an Indiana Regiment [March 17, 1865]

9 Important principles may and must be inflexible.

Last public address, Washington, D.C. [April 11, 1865]

10 If you once forfeit the confidence of your fellow citizens, you can never regain their respect and esteem. It is true that you may fool all the people some of the time; you can even fool some of the people all the time; but you can't fool all of the people all the time.

To a caller at the White House. From Alexander K. McClure, Lincoln's Yarns and Stories [1904]

11 If I were to try to read, much less answer, all the attacks made on me, this shop might as well be closed for any other business. I do the very best I know how—the very best I can; and I mean to keep doing so until the end. If the end brings me out all right, what is said against me won't amount to anything. If the end brings me out wrong, ten angels swearing I was right would make no difference.

Conversation at the White House. From Francis B. Carpenter, Six Months at the White House with Abraham Lincoln [1866]

12 Love is the chain whereby to bind a child to his parents.

Ib. Washington, D.C. [c. 1860]

[1] Later, the records were revised; the correct number was two.

[2] See *Genesis 3:19*, 7:12.

[3] See *Matthew 7:1*, 38:8.

[4] See *Psalms 19:9*, 18:1.

[5] See John Quincy Adams, 418:6.

[6] See *Fragment*, 520:6.

1 There is no time like the old time, when you and I were young.[1]
No Time Like the Old Time, st. 1

2 A thought is often original, though you have uttered it a hundred times.
The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table [1858], ch. 1

3 Insanity is often the logic of an accurate mind overtaxed. *Ib. 2*

4 Man has his will—but woman has her way! *Ib.*

5 Put not your trust in money, but put your money in trust. *Ib.*

6 I find the great thing in this world is not so much where we stand, as in what direction we are moving: To reach the port of heaven, we must sail sometimes with the wind and sometimes against it—but we must sail, and not drift, nor lie at anchor. *Ib. 4*

7 Build thee more stately mansions, O my soul,
As the swift seasons roll!
Leave thy low-vaulted past!
Ib. [The Chambered Nautilus, st. 5]

8 Leaving thine outgrown shell by life's unresting sea! *Ib.*

9 Sin has many tools, but a lie is the handle which fits them all. *Ib. ch. 6*

10 There is that glorious Epicurean paradox uttered by my friend the Historian,[2] in one of his flashing moments: "Give us the luxuries of life, and we will dispense with its necessaries."[3] *Ib.*

11 Boston State-House is the hub of the solar system. You couldn't pry that out of a Boston man, if you had the tire of all creation straightened out for a crowbar. *Ib.*

12 The axis of the earth sticks out visibly through the center of each and every town or city. *Ib.*

13 The world's great men have not commonly been great scholars, nor its great scholars great men. *Ib.*

14 Knowledge and timber shouldn't be much used till they are seasoned. *Ib.*

15 Have you heard of the wonderful one-hoss shay,
That was built in such a logical way
It ran a hundred years to a day?
Ib. 11 [The Deacon's Masterpiece, st. 1]

16 End of the wonderful one-hoss shay.
Logic is logic. That's all I say.
Ib. [st. 12]

17 He comes of the Brahmin caste of New England. This is the harmless, inoffensive, untitled aristocracy.
The Brahmin Caste of New England [1860]

18 Science is a first-rate piece of furniture for a man's upper chamber, if he has common sense on the ground floor.
The Poet at the Breakfast Table [1872], ch. 5

19 And if I should live to be
The last leaf upon the tree
In the spring,
Let them smile, as I do now,
At the old forsaken bough
Where I cling.
The Last Leaf [1831], st. 8

Abraham Lincoln[4]
1809–1865

20 If the good people, in their wisdom, shall see fit to keep me in the background, I have been too familiar with disappointments to be very much chagrined.
Address at New Salem, Illinois [March 9, 1832]

21 I go for all sharing the privileges of the government who assist in bearing its burdens.
Letter to the Editor, Sangamon Journal, New Salem, Illinois [June 13, 1836]

22 If destruction be our lot we must ourselves be its author and finisher. As a nation of freemen we must live through all time, or die by suicide.
Address at the Young Men's Lyceum, Springfield, Illinois [January 27, 1838]

23 There is no grievance that is a fit object of redress by mob law. *Ib.*

24 Towering genius disdains a beaten path. It seeks regions hitherto unexplored. *Ib.*

[1] The good old times, the grand old times, the great old times! — DICKENS, *The Chimes* [1844], *First Quarter*
There are no days like the good old days, / The days when we were youthful! — EUGENE FIELD [1850–1895], *Old Times, Old Friends, Old Love*

[2] John Lothrop Motley [1814–1877].

[3] Said Scopas of Thessaly, "We rich men count our felicity and happiness to lie in these superfluities, and not in those necessary things." — PLUTARCH [A.D. 46–120], *On the Love of Wealth*

[4] Old Abe Lincoln came out of the wilderness / Down in Illinois. — ANONYMOUS [c. 1860]

1 No man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent.

Speech at Peoria, Illinois [October 16, 1854]

2 I am not a Know-Nothing . . . How could I be? How can anyone who abhors the oppression of Negroes be in favor of degrading classes of white people? Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation we began by declaring that "all men are created equal." We now practically read it "all men are created equal, except Negroes." When the Know-Nothings get control, it will read "all men are created equal, except Negroes and foreigners and Catholics." When it comes to this, I shall prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty—to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure, and without the base alloy of hypocrisy.[1]

Letter to Joshua F. Speed [August 24, 1855]

3 The ballot is stronger than the bullet.

Speech at Bloomington, Illinois [May 19, 1856]

4 "A house divided against itself cannot stand."[2] I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the states, old as well as new, North as well as South.

Speech at the Republican State Convention, Springfield, Illinois [June 16, 1858]

5 Nobody has ever expected me to be President. In my poor, lean, lank face nobody has ever seen that any cabbages were sprouting out.[3]

Second campaign speech against Douglas, Springfield, Illinois [July 17, 1858]

6 As I would not be a *slave*, so I would not be a *master*. This expresses my idea of democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference, is no democracy.[4]

Fragment [August 1, 1858?]. From Roy P. Basler, The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln [1953], vol. II, p. 532

7 When . . . you have succeeded in dehumanizing the Negro; when you have put him down and made it impossible for him to be but as the beasts of the field; when you have extinguished his soul in this world and placed him where the ray of hope is blown out as in the darkness of the damned, are you quite sure that the demon you have roused will not turn and rend you? What constitutes the bulwark of our own liberty and independence? It is not our frowning battlements, our bristling sea coasts, our army and our navy. These are not our reliance against tyranny. All of those may be turned against us without making us weaker for the struggle. Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us. Our defense is in the spirit which prized liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands everywhere. Destroy this spirit and you have planted the seeds of despotism at your own doors. Familiarize yourselves with the chains of bondage and you prepare your own limbs to wear them. Accustomed to trample on the rights of others, you have lost the genius of your own independence and become the fit subjects of the first cunning tyrant who rises among you.[5]

Speech at Edwardsville, Illinois [September 11, 1858]

8 That is the issue that will continue in this country when these poor tongues of Judge Douglas and myself shall be silent. It is the eternal struggle between these two principles—right and wrong—throughout the world. They are the two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time; and will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity, and the other the divine right of kings. It is the same principle in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit that says, "You toil and work and earn bread, and I'll eat it." No matter in what shape it comes, whether from the mouth of a king who seeks to bestride the people of his own nation and live by the fruit of their labor, or from one race of men as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same tyrannical principle.

Reply, seventh and last joint debate, Alton, Illinois [October 15, 1858]

[1] See Niemoeller, 824:1.

[2] See *Mark* 3:25, 4[1]:35.

[3] They have seen in his [Douglas's] round, jolly, fruitful face, post offices, land offices, marshalships and cabinet appointments, chargeships and foreign missions, bursting and sprouting out in wonderful exuberance, ready to be laid hold of by their greedy hands.—Lincoln, *ib.*

[4] See *Address to Indiana Regiment*, 524:8.

[5] See Einstein, 764:4.

1 This is a world of compensation; and he who would be no slave must consent to have no slave. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and, under a just God, cannot long retain it.

Letter to H. L. Pierce and others [April 6, 1859]

2 Public opinion in this country is everything.

Speech at Columbus, Ohio [September 16, 1859]

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

Address to the Wisconsin State Agricultural Society, Milwaukee [September 30, 1859]

4 What is conservatism? Is it not adherence to the old and tried, against the new and untried?

Address at Cooper Union, New York [February 27, 1860]

5 Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it. *Ib.*

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

Farewell Address, Springfield, Illinois [February 11, 1861]

7 If we do not make common cause to save the good old ship of the Union on this voyage, nobody will have a chance to pilot her on another voyage.

Address at Cleveland, Ohio [February 15, 1861]

8 I have never had a feeling, politically, that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence. . . . I have often inquired of myself what great principle or idea it was that kept this Confederacy so long together. It was not the mere matter of separation of the colonies from the motherland, but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but hope to all the world, for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weights would be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that all should have an equal chance. This is the sentiment embodied in the Declaration of Independence. . . . I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it.

Speech at Independence Hall, Philadelphia [February 22, 1861]

9 It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination.

First Inaugural Address [March 4, 1861]

10 If by the mere force of numbers a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify revolution—certainly would if such a right were a vital one.

Ib.

11 This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. *Ib.*

12 Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any better or equal hope in the world?

Ib.

13 While the people retain their virtue and vigilance, no administration, by any extreme of wickedness or folly, can very seriously injure the government in the short space of four years. *Ib.*

14 We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break, our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature. *Ib.*

and well read. Quotations due to the last motive are invariably ill-advised; the discerning reader detects it and is contemptuous; the undiscerning is perhaps impressed, but even then is at the same time repelled, pretentious quotations being the surest road to tedium.
Ib.

1 THAT, *relative pronoun* . . . The two kinds of relative clause, to one of which *that* and to the other of which *which* is appropriate, are the defining and the nondefining;[1] and if writers would agree to regard *that* as the defining relative pronoun, and *which* as the nondefining, there would be much gain both in lucidity and in ease. Some there are who follow this principle now, but it would be idle to pretend that it is the practice either of the most or of the best writers. *Ib.*

Remy de Gourmont
1858–1915

2 Aesthetic emotion puts man in a state favorable to the reception of erotic emotion. Art is the accomplice of love. Take love away and there is no longer art.
Décadence[2]

3 Man is a successful animal, that's all.
Promenades Philosophiques

Ruggiero Leoncavallo
1858–1919

4 The comedy is finished.[3]
I Pagliacci (The Clowns) [1892], last words

John Trotwood Moore
1858–1929

5 Only the gamefish swims upstream.[4]
The Unafraid

Adolph Simon Ochs
1858–1935

6 All the news that's fit to print.
Motto of the New York Times[5]

[1] In American English, restrictive and nonrestrictive.
[2] Translated by W. A. BRADLEY.
[3] La commedia è finita.
See Rabelais, 158:14.
[4] Quoted by GRANTLAND RICE [1880–1954] in *The Ballade of the Gamefish* and *Expanding the Theme.*
Only the gamefish swims upstream, / But the sensible fish swims down. — OGDEN NASH [1902–1971], *When You Say That, Smile*
[5] When Adolph Ochs bought the *New York Times* in 1896 he adopted this motto, which has been printed in every issue since.

Ohiyesa
[Charles Alexander Eastman][6]
1858–1939

7 [The Indian] sees no need for setting apart one day in seven as a holy day, since to him all days are God's.
The Soul of the Indian [1911]

8 Nearness to nature . . . keeps the spirit sensitive to impressions not commonly felt, and in touch with the unseen powers.
Ib.

Max Planck
1858–1947

9 We have no right to assume that any physical laws exist, or if they have existed up to now, that they will continue to exist in a similar manner in the future.
The Universe in the Light of Modern Physics [1931]

10 Anybody who has been seriously engaged in scientific work of any kind realizes that over the entrance to the gates of the temple of science are written the words: *Ye must have faith.* It is a quality which the scientist cannot dispense with.
Where Is Science Going? [1932]

11 An important scientific innovation rarely makes its way by gradually winning over and converting its opponents: it rarely happens that Saul becomes Paul. What does happen is that its opponents gradually die out and that the growing generation is familiarized with the idea from the beginning.
The Philosophy of Physics [1936]

Theodore Roosevelt
1858–1919

12 I wish to preach, not the doctrine of ignoble ease,[7] but the doctrine of the strenuous life.
Speech before the Hamilton Club, Chicago [April 10, 1899]

13 Far better it is to dare mighty things, to win glorious triumphs, even though checkered by failure, than to take rank with those poor spirits who neither enjoy much nor suffer much, because they live in the gray twilight that knows not victory nor defeat.
Ib.

It is hard to think of any group of seven words that have aroused more newspaper controversy. — GERALD W. JOHNSON, *An Honorable Titan* [1946]
[6] Santee Dakota.
[7] See Virgil, 104:13, and Milton, 284:13.

1 Death is always and under all circumstances a tragedy, for if it is not, then it means that life itself has become one.

Letter to Cecil Spring-Rice [March 12, 1900]

2 I am as strong as a bull moose and you can use me to the limit.

Letter to Mark Hanna [June 27, 1900]

3 No man is justified in doing evil on the ground of expediency.

The Strenuous Life: Essays and Addresses [1900]. The Strenuous Life

4 If we seek merely swollen, slothful ease and ignoble peace, if we shrink from the hard contests where men must win at the hazard of their lives and at the risk of all they hold dear, then bolder and stronger peoples will pass us by, and will win for themselves the domination of the world. *Ib.*

5 In life, as in a football game, the principle to follow is: Hit the line hard.

Ib. The American Boy

6 There is a homely adage which runs, "Speak softly and carry a big stick; you will go far." If the American nation will speak softly and yet build and keep at a pitch of the highest training a thoroughly efficient navy, the Monroe Doctrine will go far.

Speech at Minnesota State Fair [September 2, 1901]

7 The first requisite of a good citizen in this Republic of ours is that he shall be able and willing to pull his weight.

Speech at New York [November 11, 1902]

8 A man who is good enough to shed his blood for his country is good enough to be given a square deal afterwards. More than that no man is entitled to, and less than that no man shall have.

Speech at Springfield, Illinois [July 4, 1903]

9 No man is above the law and no man is below it; nor do we ask any man's permission when we require him to obey it. Obedience to the law is demanded as a right; not asked as a favor.

Third Annual Message [December 7, 1903]

10 In the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power.

Annual Message to Congress: Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine [December 6, 1904]

11 Men with the muckrake are often indispensable to the well-being of society, but only if they know when to stop raking the muck.[1]

Address on the laying of the cornerstone of the House Office Building, Washington [April 14, 1906]

12 Malefactors of great wealth.

Speech at Provincetown, Massachusetts [August 20, 1907]

13 Nature-faker.

Everybody's Magazine [September 1907]

14 To waste, to destroy, our natural resources, to skin and exhaust the land instead of using it so as to increase its usefulness, will result in undermining in the days of our children the very prosperity which we ought by right to hand down to them amplified and developed.

Message to Congress [December 3, 1907]

15 The object of government is the welfare of the people. The material progress and prosperity of a nation are desirable chiefly so far as they lead to the moral and material welfare of all good citizens.

The New Nationalism [1910]

16 Every man holds his property subject to the general right of the community to regulate its use to whatever degree the public welfare may require it.

Speech at Osawatomie [August 31, 1910]

17 We stand at Armageddon and we battle for the Lord.

Speech at Progressive Party Convention, Chicago [June 17, 1912]

18 The lunatic fringe in all reform movements. *Autobiography [1913]*

19 We demand that big business give the people a square deal; in return we must insist that when anyone engaged in big business honestly endeavors to do right he shall himself be given a square deal. *Ib.*

20 We stand equally against government by a plutocracy and government by a mob. There

[1] See John Bunyan, 302:12.

is something to be said for government by a great aristocracy which has furnished leaders to the nation in peace and war for generations; even a democrat like myself must admit this. But there is absolutely nothing to be said for government by a plutocracy, for government by men very powerful in certain lines and gifted with "the money touch," but with ideals which in their essence are merely those of so many glorified pawnbrokers.

Letter to Sir Edward Grey [November 15, 1913]

1 There is no room in this country for hyphenated Americanism. . . . 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.

Speech before the Knights of Columbus, New York [October 12, 1915]

2 Put out the light.

Last words [January 6, 1919]

Langdon Smith
1858–1908

3 When you were a tadpole and I was a fish,
In the Paleozoic time.

Evolution [1895], st. 1

Sir William Watson
1858–1935

4 April, April,
Laugh thy girlish laughter;
Then, the moment after,
Weep thy girlish tears. *Song*

Katharine Lee Bates
1859–1929

5 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 [1893], st. 1

Henri Bergson
1859–1941

6 Only those ideas that are least truly ours can be adequately expressed in words.

Essai sur les Données Immédiates de la Conscience [1899; Time and Free Will, 1910]

7 We are free when our actions emanate from our total personality, when they express it, when they resemble it in the indefinable way a work of art sometimes does the artist. *Ib.*

8 The major task of the twentieth century will be to explore the unconscious, to investigate the subsoil of the mind.[1]

Le Rêve (The Dream) [1901]

9 The present contains nothing more than the past, and what is found in the effect was already in the cause.

L'Evolution Créatrice (Creative Evolution) [1907],[2] ch. 1

10 Intelligence . . . is the faculty of making artificial objects, especially tools to make tools. *Ib. 2*

11 L'élan vital [the vital spirit]. *Ib.*

Harold Edwin Boulton
1859–1935

12 Speed, bonnie boat, like a bird on the wing;
Onward, the sailors cry:
Carry the lad that's born to be king
Over the sea to Skye.

Skye Boat Song, st. 1

Carrie Chapman Catt
1859–1947

13 No written law has ever been more binding than unwritten custom supported by popular opinion.

Speech, Why We Ask for the Submission of an Amendment, at Senate hearing on woman's suffrage [February 13, 1900]

[1] See Peirce, 639:12, and Freud, 678:11.

[2] O my Bergson, you are a magician, and your book is a marvel, a real wonder in the history of philosophy. . . . In finishing it I found . . . such a flavor of persistent *euphony*, as of a rich river that never foamed or ran thin, but steadily and firmly proceeded with its banks full to the brim. — WILLIAM JAMES, *The Letters of William James, vol. II* [1907], *p. 290*

★★★★★★★★ TWENTY-FIVE ★★★★★★★★

Theodore Roosevelt

1901–9

Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919) was without doubt the most energetic of all our Presidents. And the most ebullient. And the most athletic. He was, Henry Adams decided, "pure act."[1] After visiting the White House, John Morley, British essayist and biographer, concluded that Roosevelt was "an interesting combination of St. Vitus and St. Paul." To Joseph Bishop, one of Roosevelt's newspaper friends, he exclaimed: "My dear fellow, do you know the two most extraordinary things I have seen in your country? Niagara Falls and the President of the United States—both great wonders of nature!"[2]

TR seemed to possess limitless vitality, indomitable courage, and indestructible will; and he was a passionate devotee of the strenuous life. "Get action," he advised; "do things; be sane; don't fritter away your time; create, act, take a place wherever you are and be somebody; get action."[3] Roosevelt wanted his fellow countrymen to "hit the line and hit it hard," and set an astonishing example of line-hitting himself.[4] Reported Rudyard Kipling, after spending some time with the President: "I curled up in the seat opposite, and listened and wondered, until the universe seemed to be spinning around and Theodore was the spinner."[5] But French ambassador Jean-Jules Jusserand had a tougher time with TR. He joined the President for two sets of tennis one day; then TR suggested a bit of jogging; and after they had jogged on the White House lawn a while, they had a workout

with the medicine ball. After that, TR turned to his guest and asked, "What would you like to do now?" "If it's just the same with you, Mr. President," sighed Jusserand, "I'd like to lie down and die."[6]

The child, in TR's case, was not father to the man. As a boy, Teedie, as he was called, was weak and sickly, with a puny body, poor eyes, and an asthmatic cough. When he was ten, his father took him aside and told him: "Theodore, you have the mind but you have not the body. . . . You must *make* your body."[7] A humiliating encounter with four boys on a stagecoach reinforced the point: when the boys began teasing him, he found he couldn't take on even one of them alone. *"I'll make my body,"* he resolved. He began working out in a gym which his father installed for him on the second floor of their home in New York City and continued working out for the rest of his life.[8] He took boxing lessons, studied judo, learned to ride and shoot, played tennis, took long hikes, climbed the Matterhorn, hunted big game in Africa, explored Brazil, and fought in the Spanish-American War. He also became a cowboy.

In September 1883, Roosevelt visited the Dakota Badlands, fell in love with the cattle business, acquired two ranches, and became a gentleman cowhand. The cowboys chuckled over "Four Eyes" at first. Amused by his mild expletives—"By Godfrey!"—they were in stitches when they heard him say, the first time he took part in a roundup, "Hasten forward quickly there!" The phrase was, for a time, a byword in the Badlands.[9] But the cowboys soon learned to take TR seriously. He spent almost forty hours in the saddle with them without complaint; he gradually acquired the professional skills of a good cowboy; and he handled a barroom tough just the way he should be handled. When he dropped in at a hotel in Mingusville one night after spending the day looking for lost horses, a shabby character with a cocked pistol in each hand accosted him in the lobby (which was also the barroom) and cried: "Four Eyes is going to treat!" TR sat down by the stove and tried to ignore him, but the pistol-packing bully persisted. "Maybe you didn't hear me," he yelled. "I said Four Eyes is gonna treat!" At this point Roosevelt got up, as if to comply, and then, as he later told it, "struck quick and hard with my right just to one side of the point of his jaw, hitting with my left as I straightened out, and then again with my right." The man fell, and on his way down hit his head against the bar and was knocked unconscious. He was dragged outdoors and deposited in a shed; the next day, when he came to, he hurriedly

left town.[10] "That four-eyed maverick," said one old cowhand of Roosevelt, "has sand in his craw a-plenty."[11] Years later, when TR was recruiting men to fight with him in Cuba, he had no trouble finding volunteers in the Wild West.

TR loved war as well as sports; he regarded the two as moral equivalents. He was, in fact, just about the only President we have ever had who (at least in his younger days) looked upon war as a good thing in itself. "No triumph of peace," he insisted, "is quite so great as the supreme triumphs of war."[12] He admired soldierly virtues and wanted to restore "the fighting edge" to the American spirit.[13] "Every man," he once wrote, "who has in him any real power of joy in battle knows that he feels it when the wolf begins to rise in his heart; he does not then shrink from blood or sweat or deem that they mar the fight; he revels in them, in the toil, the pain, and the danger, as but setting off the triumph."[14] Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, TR hankered for a war. Whenever there was a crisis in U.S. relations with other countries, he diligently beat the drums for war and hoped for a flare-up. But he not only wanted the United States to go to war; he also wanted to get into the war himself. The two always went together for Roosevelt. He was steadfastly true to what may be called the "TR principle": one volunteers for action in the wars one advocates, regardless of profession, social standing, health, age, or political position. After all, what fun is there—especially if one is an important person—in arranging vicarious valor? "My power for good," Roosevelt pointed out, "would be gone if I didn't try to live up to the doctrines I have tried to preach."[15]

But TR had to wait a long time for his war. In 1886 he hoped for a fight with Mexico over a border incident and offered to organize his "harum-scarum" ranch hands into a cavalry battalion; but the war never came. In 1892, a quarrel with Chile fired his hopes again. Roosevelt, a friend reported, "goes about hissing through his clenched teeth. . . . For two nickels he would declare war himself . . . and wage it sole."[16] "Do you remember," Mrs. Roosevelt asked a friend amusedly some years later, "how we used to call Theodore the Chilean Volunteer and tease him about his dream of leading a cavalry charge?"[17] But the Chilean crisis, too, passed. Friction with Great Britain in 1895 roused TR's belligerency once more. "This country needs a war," he told his friend Henry Cabot Lodge; and he pointed out that a war with Britain might well result in the acquisition of

Canada.[18] But the fighting, not the acquiring, was what really roused his spirit. Unfortunately, the United States and England settled their differences peacefully so TR was cheated once more out of combat.

In 1897, TR became Assistant Secretary of the Navy in the McKinley administration and fell in love with his work at once. "The Secretary is away," he wrote a friend one day, "and I am having immense fun running the navy."[19] But he was more than ever eager for the United States (and TR) to get into a shooting war. This time things looked promising. The United States had been wrangling with Spain ever since 1895, when the Cubans had revolted against Spanish rule; when TR entered the Navy Department, relations between the two nations were extremely strained. TR, who had favored American intervention in Cuba almost from the beginning, was impatient with President McKinley for his lack of truculence. McKinley, he complained, had "the backbone of a chocolate eclair."[20] But he did not despair. "We will have this war for the freedom of Cuba," he insisted in an after-dinner speech in Washington, "in spite of the timidity of the commercial interests." As he spoke he looked right at Senator Mark Hanna, the Cleveland industrialist, who opposed war; and someone next to Hanna whispered wryly: "Now, Senator, may we please have that war?"[21]

In April 1898, TR finally got his war. When the United States declared war on Spain, he ran excitedly around the Navy Department for a week or two like a little boy on roller skates; then he resigned his post, volunteered for action, was commissioned a lieutenant colonel, and helped organize a cavalry unit of cowboys and college men to fight in Cuba. The press had a good time thinking up nicknames for the regiment—"Teddy's Terrors," "Teddy's Texas Tarantulas," "Roosevelt's Rough 'Uns"—and finally settled on "Roosevelt's Rough Riders."[22]

In Cuba, at long last, TR saw the action he had dreamed of for years and acquitted himself bravely, even heroically, on the battlefield. "Gentlemen," he cried, during the attack at Kettle Hill (which he called the "San Juan charge"), "the Almighty God and the just cause are with you. Gentlemen, charge!" To some reluctant troopers, he exclaimed: "Are you afraid to stand up when I am on horseback?" As he told it later: "I waved my hat and we went up the hill with a rush. . . . I killed a Spaniard with my own hand"; he added, "like a jackrabbit." And when the operation was over, he cried: "Look at those damned Spanish dead." "The charge itself was great

fun," he said afterward. "Oh, but we have had a bully fight!"[23] Roosevelt's combat experience amounted to one week's campaign in Cuba and one hard day of fighting, but it was enough to make him a national hero. When the war was over he published a book about his experiences entitled *The Rough Riders.* The story that the publisher had to order a special supply of the letter "I" from the type foundry is apocryphal. But the comment Irish humorist Finley Peter Dunne put into the mouth of his character Mr. Dooley was not. TR, said Mr. Dooley in his Irish accent, should have called his book *Alone in Cubia.* For TR, of course, the Cuban campaign was no matter for mirth. "San Juan," he said two decades later, "was the great day of my life."[24]

San Juan made TR a popular hero. After the war, when he was stumping New York State as candidate for Governor, he took seven Rough Riders with him and had a bugler sound the cavalry charge before each speech. "You have heard the trumpet that sounded to bring you here," he told voters in one town. "I have heard it tear the tropic dawn when it summoned us to fight at Santiago." After winning the election and taking office in 1899, he alienated Republican leaders by sponsoring a civil-service law and a tax on corporation franchises. Speaking of his relations with the Republican state machine, he once explained: "I have always been fond of the West African proverb: 'Speak softly and carry a big stick, you will go far.' " Anxious to get rid of the independent young Governor, party leaders began talking of kicking him upstairs into the Vice-Presidency. When he heard about it, TR at once announced: ". . . under no circumstances could I or would I accept the nomination for the Vice-Presidency." But when he made a speech for McKinley's renomination at the Republican convention in June 1900, the delegates went wild and enthusiastically picked him as McKinley's running mate. TR accepted the nomination; but Republican National Chairman Mark Hanna was glum. "Don't any of you realize," he cried, "that there's only one life between this madman and the White House?" He was horrified when "that damned cowboy," as he called TR, became President upon McKinley's death in September 1901, but he gradually came to like him.[25]

Soon after TR became President, one worried citizen beseeched him not to let his fighting spirit plunge the United States into war: "What!" cried Roosevelt earnestly, "a war, and I cooped up here in the White House? Never!"[26] Roosevelt did not exactly remain

cooped up in the White House; but his seven and a half years in office were devoid of armed conflict. He did throw his weight around on the international scene: mediated in a war between Japan and Russia; sent the U.S. Navy on a cruise around the world; and supported a revolution in Panama to further his plans for building an interoceanic canal there. But there were no wars or even serious rumors of war during his Presidency. There was plenty of excitement nonetheless. "No President has ever enjoyed himself as much as I have enjoyed myself," admitted Roosevelt when it was all over, "and for the matter of that I do not know of any man of my age who has had as good a time. . . ."[27] He invited the distinguished black educator Booker T. Washington to dinner in the White House and was castigated by southern Democrats. He tried to have the inscription "In God We Trust" removed from U.S. coins (where it had been put in 1864) as both unconstitutional and sacrilegious and was blasted as impious. He got into a big fight with people he called "nature fakers"—that is, people who wrote sentimentally about wildlife—and was charged with cruelty to animals. He sent his annual message to Congress in 1906 in simplified spelling and produced outrage in that august body. ("Nuthing escapes Mr. Rucevelt," wrote the *Louisville Courier-Journal.* "No subject is tu hi fr him to takl, nor to lo for him to notis.")[28] He sprang a surprise antitrust suit on J. P. Morgan's Northern Securities Company in 1902, producing astonishment and indignation in that high and mighty captain of finance. "If we have done anything wrong," Morgan loftily told TR, "send your man to my man and they can fix it up." "That can't be done," TR told him, and went on with the action. Afterward he said that Morgan seemed to view the President of the United States as a "big rival operator" rather than as the elected representative of the American people and that it was time he learned differently.[29] (Morgan was a reluctant learner; when TR headed for big game in Africa after leaving office in 1909, the banking tycoon is said to have cried: "Health to the lions!")[30]

TR was one of America's most assertive Presidents. Not only did he believe that the U.S. Constitution empowered the federal government to act vigorously in the general welfare; he also believed in the centrality of the executive branch in the American system. When he ran for a third term in 1912 on the Progressive Party (Bull Moose) ticket, he called for a "New Nationalism"—that is, a national government which exercised broad powers to govern the

country in the interest of the people as a whole. In October 1912, while campaigning in the West, he was shot by a crazy man in Milwaukee. "He pinked me," TR exclaimed; but he insisted on riding to the city auditorium to give his speech anyway. "I have a message to deliver," he told his associates, "and I will deliver it as long as there is life in my body." He gave his speech with a bullet hole in his chest, undressed and bleeding, and then was rushed to the hospital.[31]

TR lost his bid for a third term in 1912, went on an exploring expedition in Brazil, and returned to harass the administration of Woodrow Wilson. When the Great War broke out in Europe in the summer of 1914, he clamored for action again and offered to raise a volunteer division to fight with the Allies in Europe. Though thousands of young men volunteered to serve in a TR unit, President Wilson stubbornly refused to approve the idea, arguing that the ex-President was too old and too much of a show-off to be of any use in the European conflict. Marshal Joffre, hero of the battle of the Marne, urged Wilson to commission Roosevelt; French Premier Georges Clemenceau also strongly backed TR's request. "There is in France," he wrote Wilson, "one name which sums up the beauty of American intervention. You must know, Mr. President, that more than one of our *poilus* has asked, 'But where is Roosevelt?' Send them Roosevelt. It will gladden their hearts."[32] But Wilson remained adamant, while Roosevelt (who called the President a "Byzantine logothete") dreamed of being shut up in the same room with Wilson and boxing with him. "I am the only one he has kept out of war," he said bitterly.[33]

On July 4, 1917, when the first American troops arrived in Paris and paraded through the streets, the French people on hand cheered enthusiastically: "*Vive les Teddies!*"[34] Though Roosevelt was not with them, he took enormous satisfaction in knowing that all four of his sons were in the service. But when his son Quentin, a pilot in the air force, was shot down and killed behind enemy lines in 1918, the heart seemed to go out of TR. His health declined rapidly thereafter, and he was reduced to invalidism. He died suddenly on January 5, 1919, shortly after composing an article for a newspaper, and his son Archie, home on sick leave, cabled his brothers in France the incredible news: "THE LION IS DEAD."[35]

☆ ★ ☆

Student

As a student at Harvard, TR talked so much in class that one professor finally shouted: "See here, Roosevelt, let me talk. I'm running this course."[36]

Teacher

While at Harvard, TR taught Sunday School for a while at Christ Church, but he was too muscular a Christian for the vestrymen there. One day a boy came to class with a black eye. He admitted he had been in a fight, and on Sunday, too. A bigger boy had been pinching his sister, he said, and he got into a fist fight with him. "You did perfectly right," said TR and gave him a dollar. The vestrymen thought this was going too far and let TR go.[37]

Boxer

Once, when he was boxing at Harvard, time was called on a round, so Roosevelt dropped his guard. At that moment his opponent landed a heavy blow on his nose, which spurted blood. When people in the gallery started booing and hissing, TR raised his arm to command silence. "It's all right," he cried, his arm still in the air; then, pointing to the timekeeper, he said: "He didn't hear him." With his nose bleeding, he walked up to his opponent and shook hands.[38]

Polo

In 1888, while he was living in Oyster Bay, Long Island, TR organized a polo team. To get more action in the game he reduced the team from four men to three. He got action all right; he received many injuries while playing and on occasion was knocked senseless. At first his wife was upset by his accidents. Gradually, however, she came to understand his zest for rough riding and began accepting his injuries with equanimity. When he came home one afternoon with a gory cut on his head, she said sharply: "Theodore, I do wish you'd do your bleeding in the bathroom. You're spoiling every rug in the house!"[39]

TR and the Texan

In the Dakota Badlands, most of the men accepted TR as an equal despite his toothbrush and his habit of shaving. But one man, a surly Texan, considered him a "dude" and went out of his way to pick on him. TR laughed at first and let it go; but eventually it dawned on him that the Texan regarded him as a coward as well as a "dude" and that he had better correct that impression. One evening, when the man was being particularly offensive, TR strode up to him and exclaimed, "You're talking like an ass! Put up or shut up! Fight now, or be friends!" Startled, the Texan stared, his shoulder dropped a little, and he shifted his feet. "I didn't mean no harm," he said. "Make it friends." And they did.[40]

The Maverick

One day, while TR was riding over the range with one of his ablest cowpunchers, they came upon a "maverick," a two-year-old steer which had never been branded. They lassoed him at once and built a fire to heat the branding-irons. It was the rule among cattlemen that a "maverick" belonged to the ranchman on whose range it was found. This particular steer therefore belonged to Gregor Lang, not to TR, for Lang claimed the land on which TR and his cowboy were riding. When the cowboy began to apply the red-hot iron, TR said, "It's Lang's brand—a thistle." "That's all right, boss," said the cowboy, "I know my business." "Hold on!" cried TR, "you're putting on my brand." "That's all right," said the cowboy. "I always put on the boss's brand." "Drop that iron," said TR quietly, "and go to the ranch and get your time. I don't need you any longer." The cowpuncher was amazed. "Say," he cried, "what have I done? Didn't I put on your brand?" "A man who will steal *for* me will steal *from* me," said TR; "you're fired." The man rode away. A day or so later the story was all over the Badlands.[41]

Damned Little Dude

TR became a member of the New York Assembly at the age of twenty-three, and was at first regarded by the other members as a kind of dude. One afternoon he was taking a walk and stopped at a saloon for a beer. At the bar he met another Assemblyman, John

Costello, drinking with two of his cronies. "Won't mama's boy catch cold?" sneered Costello when he saw the young aristocrat. When TR ignored him, Costello called him a "damned little dude." At this point, TR took off his glasses, put them in his pocket, and knocked Costello down with one blow. Then he floored one of Costello's cronies with a swift second punch. The third man quickly retreated. "Go wash yourself," TR told Costello. "And then join me for a beer." Costello did as he was ordered. Later, as he was leaving to continue his walk, TR said, "When you are in the presence of gentlemen, behave like a gentleman!"[42]

Damnedest Ass

When TR first served under Colonel Leonard Wood during the Spanish-American War, he was inexperienced in military discipline. One day he treated his squadron to a beer as a reward for their improvement in drill. That evening Wood remarked casually at supper that "of course, an officer who would go out with a large batch of men and drink with them was quite unfit to hold a commission." TR kept silent at the time; but later he visited Wood in his tent and confessed to what he had done. "I wish to say, sir," he told Wood, "that I agree with what you said. I consider myself the damnedest ass within ten miles of this camp. Good night."[43]

Jaws

One day at Havana harbor, Cuba, TR decided to take a swim in the Caribbean. He wanted to inspect the wreck of the *Merrimac*, some three hundred yards out to sea, and persuaded an unenthusiastic lieutenant, Jack Greenway, to go with him. They had scarcely entered the water when General Fitzhugh Lee, who had climbed up on the parapet of Fort Morro, began to yell at them. "Can you make out what he's trying to say?" asked TR, still swimming. "Sharks," said Greenway, wishing he was back on shore. "Sharks?" said TR, blowing out a mouthful of water and punctuating his words with strokes. "They—won't—bite. I've—been—studying them—all my life—and I never—heard of one—bothering a swimmer. It's all—poppycock." Just then a big shark showed up alongside the swimmers; it was soon joined by several others. But TR paid them no attention. Meanwhile General Lee continued shouting and gesticulating. Finally the

swimmers reached the *Merrimac,* which TR eagerly examined while his companion kept thinking of sharks and hoping they would get back to shore unharmed. "After a while," Greenway said afterward, TR "had seen enough, and we went over the side again. Soon the sharks were all about us again, sort of pacing us in, as they had paced us out, while the old general did the second part of his war dance. He felt a lot better when we landed, and so did I."[44]

How He Did It

At one of the Rough Rider reunions, a Dakota cowboy who had been an excellent soldier in Cuba greeted TR, then told him he was glad the judge had let him out in time to come to the party. TR asked what had happened. "Why, Colonel," said the man, "don't you know I had a difficulty with a gentleman, and . . . er . . . well, I killed the gentleman. But you can see that the judge thought it was all right or he wouldn't have let me go." "How did it happen?" asked TR, with some concern. "How did you do it?" Thinking TR was interested in the technique, the ex-puncher answered: "With a .38 on a .45 frame, Colonel."[45]

Like Sheep to Slaughter

During his campaign for the governorship of New York in 1898, the hero of San Juan toured the state in a special train accompanied by seven Rough Riders. At every stop, a bugler would sound the cavalry charge, and TR would step forward to speak. At one point in the tour, ex-Sergeant Buck Taylor was called on to address the crowd at a station. "I want to talk to you about mah colonel," Taylor began. "He kept ev'y promise he made to us and he will to you. When he took us to Cuba he told us . . . we would have to lie out in the trenches with the rifle bullets climbing all over us, and we done it. . . . He told us we might meet wounds and death and we done it, but he was thar in the midst of us, and when it came to the great day he led us up San Juan Hill like sheep to slaughter and so he will lead you!"[46]

Seth

At the time of the presidential election of 1900 the West was William Jennings Bryan's territory, so TR faced some unfriendly crowds when

campaigning there. At one gathering, where an old cowboy friend named Seth was in the audience, he expected a lot of heckling, but to his surprise the people were unusually well-behaved. After the meeting was over, he complimented the chairman on the fact that there had been no interruptions. "Interruptions!" exclaimed the chairman. "Well, I guess not! Seth sent around word that if any son of a gun peeped he'd kill him."[47]

Bully Fight

In Chicago in August 1901, Vice-President Roosevelt decided to attend services in a Dutch Reformed Church on Sunday morning, and journalist H. H. Kohlsaat took him to a small church on the West Side. En route TR pulled a pink sheet out of his pocket and said, "There was a prize-fight last week. I did not want to attract attention by reading it at the breakfast-table in the hotel." But he hadn't finished reading the fight report when the carriage reached the church, so he put it back in his pocket. He and Kohlsaat entered the church while the minister was praying. The usher looked curiously at TR; when the prayer ended, Kohlsaat introduced him to TR, and they were shown into the front pew. During the singing of a hymn, the usher stepped up to the minister and told him who was in the congregation. Roosevelt sang the hymns louder than anyone else, made the responses in a vigorous voice, and listened with pleasure to the sermon, which was based on the text "Be ye doers of the word and not hearers only."

At the close of the sermon the pastor said, "We are honored by having with us today a fellow member of our church, the Vice-President of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt. I am going to ask him to speak to us." TR jumped up at once, mounted the pulpit, and began talking about the text of the morning. While he was talking, he threw his fists right and left, with uppercuts and undercuts. At one point he ran to the farther side of the pulpit and struck out with such vehemence that he frightened a child of two or three in the front pew; the child began screaming. Tremendously embarrassed, the mother picked up the child and started to leave. "Sit down, please, madam," interposed TR. "Don't go out. I have six of them of my own at home, and I am used to crying children!" The woman resumed her seat, but the child continued to yell until TR was finally obliged to stop talking. He left the pulpit and shook hands with everyone in the congregation. Outside a crowd of people

cheered him and Kohlsaat as they got into their carriage and started off. A block or two from the church TR pulled the pink sheet out of his pocket and began reading once more about the fight. "By George," he cried, "that was a bully fight. Sorry I missed it!"[48]

Alice

One day while a friend was visiting Roosevelt in the White House, TR's young daughter Alice kept popping in and out of the office interrupting them. "Theodore," the friend finally complained, "isn't there anything you can do to control Alice?" Said TR firmly: "I can do one of two things. I can be President of the United States or I can control Alice. I cannot possibly do both."[49]

Roosevelt's Rambles

TR's enthusiasm for exercise led to the formation of a "tennis cabinet" made up of friends from Congress, the diplomatic corps, and Cabinet members. But some of TR's friends found it hard to keep up with him. When the new British ambassador, Sir Mortimer Durand, took his first hike with the President, he turned out, according to TR, to be a "bad walker and wholly unable to climb." Durand saw it differently. "We drove out to a wooded valley with streams running through it," he recalled, "and he then made me struggle through bushes and over rocks for two hours and a half, at an impossible speed. My arms and shoulders are still stiff with dragging myself up by roots and ledges. At once place I fairly stuck, and could not get over the top till he caught me by the collar and hauled at me."

Jean-Jules Jusserand, the French ambassador, did better than Durand. "Yesterday," he wrote, "President Roosevelt invited me to take a promenade with him this afternoon at three. I arrived at the White House punctually, in afternoon dress and silk hat, as if we were to stroll in the Tuileries Garden or in the Champs Elysées. To my surprise, the President soon joined me in a tramping suit, with knickerbockers and thick boots, and soft felt hat, much worn. Two or three other gentlemen came, and we started off at what seemed to me a breakneck pace, which soon brought us out of the city. On reaching the country, the President went pell-mell over the fields, following neither road nor path, always on, on, straight

ahead! I was much winded, but I would not give in, nor ask him to slow up, because I had the honor of *La belle France* in my heart. At last we came to the bank of a stream, rather wide and too deep to be forded. I sighed in relief, because I thought that now we had reached our goal and would rest a moment and catch our breath, before turning homeward. But judge of my horror when I saw the President unbutton his clothes and heard him say, 'We had better strip, so as not to wet our things in the Creek.' Then I, too, for the honor of France, removed my apparel, everything except my lavender kid gloves. The President cast an inquiring look at these as if they, too, must come off, but I quickly forestalled any remark by saying, 'With your permission, Mr. President, I will keep these on, otherwise it would be embarrassing if we should meet ladies.' And so we jumped into the water and swam across."

Once, just as TR and a friend were starting out on a hike, there was an explosion in a nearby quarry; rocks flew into the air like hailstones. "Aha!" cried TR gleefully. "We are going right there!"

"You must always remember," sighed British diplomat Cecil Spring Rice, an old friend of the Roosevelts, "that the President is about six."[50]

Seduction and Rape

In 1903, the Roosevelt administration made an agreement with Colombia which granted the United States a canal zone across the province of Panama in return for a payment of $10 million and an annual rental fee. The U.S. Senate quickly ratified the treaty but the Colombian Senate, hoping for better terms, unanimously rejected it. Furious over the rejection, TR encouraged the Panamanians to revolt and, when they did, saw to it that a U.S. warship was on hand to prevent the landing of Colombian troops on the Isthmus. On November 6, the United States recognized the Republic of Panama and twelve days later signed a treaty authorizing the construction of a canal there. At a Cabinet meeting a few days later TR started to give a detailed legal analysis of American rights in the Isthmus. "Oh, Mr. President," Attorney General Philander Knox interrupted, "do not let so great an achievement suffer from any taint of legality." TR persisted, however, and when he was finished asked the Cabinet whether he had answered all the charges and successfully defended himself. "You certainly have, Mr. President," Elihu Root assured

him. "You have shown that you were accused of seduction and you have conclusively proved that you were guilty of rape."[51]

Court-Martial

One day young Quentin Roosevelt and his pals focused mirrors in such a way as to flash sunlight through the windows of the State-War-Navy Building where people were working. A protest was promptly sent to the President, who sent his personal aide, Captain Archie Butt, off with a message for the boys. "I've just heard," Butt told them, "that they're going to signal something from the top of the War Building." Delighted, the boys went out to look. A little later a man appeared on the roof of the building and signaled the following message with a flag: "YOU, UNDER TREES, ALL OF YOU. ATTACK ON THIS BUILDING MUST IMMEDIATELY CEASE HALT STOP. CLERKS CANNOT WORK. GOVERNMENT BUSINESS INTERRUPTED. REPORT WITHOUT DELAY TO ME FOR YOU KNOW WHAT. THEODORE ROOSEVELT." When the boys filed into the President's office, he held a sham court-martial, pronounced them guilty, and gently reprimanded them.[52]

Posing

TR and John Singer Sargent spent two afternoons trying to find a suitable place in the White House to serve as the background for a painting of the President. They tried pose after pose in place after place, but none was satisfactory. Sargent, of course, was anxious to capture the real Roosevelt in the right surroundings, but TR was not deeply concerned about it and became increasingly tired of the search. Finally, as the two descended a staircase, he stopped at the bottom, rested his elbow on the newel, and turning to his companion, said hopelessly, "Well, Sargent, we had better give it up. We're after the impossible." "Don't move, Mr. President!" exclaimed Sargent quickly. "Don't move! We've got it!" And they had.[53]

TR Gets Some Pointers

Shortly before leaving the White House in March 1909, TR began making plans for a hunting trip to Africa. Hearing that a famous English big-game hunter was in the United States, he invited him to come to Washington to give him some pointers. After a two-hour conference with TR, the Englishman came out of the President's office in a daze. "And what did you tell the President?" asked a curious bystander. "I told him my name," said the wearied visitor.[54]

Resting

When Warrington Dawson, the United Press man who covered TR's 1909 African trip, returned to the United States, he sought an interview with Corinne Robinson, TR's younger sister, to give her a firsthand account of it. But when Dawson said that TR spent his evenings resting, Mrs. Robinson was incredulous. "I have never known my brother Theodore to rest," she said. Dawson then explained what he meant. At night, he said, TR and his companions would sit around the campfire and talk first about the day's hunting; then the conversation would branch out to cover medieval history and literature, astronomy, perhaps the question of whether Louis XVII escaped from the Temple, then European politics and socialism. Exclaimed Mrs. Robinson, greatly relieved, "Yes, I can accept, now, your original statement that my brother Theodore rested!"[55]

Royal Funeral

In 1910, President Taft appointed TR special ambassador of the United States at the funeral of Edward VII. "The President," Archie Butt, now Taft's aide, told his sister-in-law, "has named Mr. Roosevelt to represent us at the King's funeral. With him and the Kaiser present, it will be a wonder if the corpse gets a passing thought."

TR, in fact, played a fairly subdued role at the funeral. The only man in ordinary evening dress, he spent his time placating the French foreign minister, Stephen Pinchon (whose clothes were "stiff with gold lace"), who complained that the coach assigned to him and TR was an ordinary carriage while the royalty had glass coaches. Never having heard of a glass coach, "excepting in connection with Cinderella," TR was quite satisfied with the handsome vehicle assigned to them and persuaded Pinchon to get in. Pinchon then complained that "ces Chinois" were to precede them in the procession. TR said that anyone as gorgeously attired as the Chinese should go first, but Pinchon did not think the remark was funny. The final straw for Pinchon was the fact that a prince—and a minor one at

that—was put into the carriage with the representatives of two republics: a Persian prince whom TR described as "a deprecatory, inoffensive-looking Levantine." Pinchon slammed himself into the left rear seat and flung his arms protectively over the right rear seat, indicating that TR, not "ce Perse," would have the place of honor. The Persian prince meekly climbed in and sat opposite TR and Pinchon, "looking about as unaggressive," according to Roosevelt, "as a rabbit in a cage with two boa constrictors." Pinchon continued to complain that "toutes ces petites royautés" ("all these unimportant royalties"), even "le roi du Portugal" ("the King of Portugal"), were preceding them in the procession, but TR begged him not "to make a row at a funeral."

Afterward, the Kaiser said to TR, "Call upon me at two o'clock; I have just 45 minutes to give to you." "I will be there at two, your Majesty," said TR, "but, unfortunately, I have but 20 minutes to give you."[56]

Important Conversation

At a Chicago press conference during the 1912 presidential campaign, TR took Edward B. Clark, *Chicago Evening Post* reporter, aside for a long whispered conversation. Afterward, newsmen surrounded Clark, dying of curiosity. "Well," said Clark, "you'll hardly believe this, but it's true. TR knows I am an amateur ornithologist, as he is. It seems that yesterday morning at Sagamore Hill, his house in Oyster Bay, he saw what he believes to be a hermit thrush, and he wanted my opinion whether it could have been. He described the bird in detail." Clark said he told TR it might have been a hermit thrush, but he doubted it very much. This was in the midst of one of the fiercest political battles in American history.[57]

Small Enough

At Sagamore Hill, TR and naturalist William Beebe used to play a little game together. After an evening of talk, they would go out on the lawn and search the skies until they found the faint spot of light-mist behind the lower lefthand corner of the Great Square of Pegasus. Then they would recite:

> That is the Spiral Galaxy in Andromeda.
> It is as large as our Milky Way.
> It is one of a hundred million galaxies.
> It consists of one hundred billion suns,
> each larger than our sun.

Then TR would grin at Beebe and say, "Now I think we are small enough! Let's go to bed!"[58]

Heavenly Choir

On TR's first day in heaven, the story goes, he told St. Peter: "Your choir is weak, inexcusably weak! You should reorganize it at once." St. Peter at once assigned him the task of reorganization. "Well," said TR, "I need ten thousand sopranos, ten thousand altos, and ten thousand tenors." "But what about the basses?" "Oh," said TR, "I'll sing bass."[59]

Promise

Toward the end of TR's life, his sister Corinne visited him in the hospital, and they talked about his future in case his health improved. "Well, anyway," said TR finally, "no matter what comes, I have kept the promise that I made to myself when I was twenty-one." "What promise, Theodore?" his sister asked. "I promised myself," said TR, bringing his right fist down on the arm of his chair, "that I would work *up to the hilt* until I was sixty, and I have done it. I have kept my promise, and now, even if I should be an invalid . . . , or if I should die [snapping his fingers], what difference would it make?" "Theodore," said his sister, "do you remember what you said to me nearly a year ago when you thought you were dying in this same hospital? You said that you were glad it was not one of your boys that was dying at the time in this place, for *they* could die for their country. Do you feel the same way now?" "Yes," said TR, "just the same way. I wish that I might, like Quentin, have died for my country." "I know you wish it," said his sister, "but I want to tell you something. Every one of us . . . would, I feel sure, if our country were in peril, be willing to bare our breasts to any bullet, could we, by so doing, protect and save our country. . . . The difference, Theodore, between you and the majority of us is that you not only are willing and anxious to *die* for your country, but that you *live* for your country every day of your life."[60]

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foundations, so does psychoanalysis believe itself able to disclose this same spiritual life as the sublimation of repressed impulses; and what, by these lights, is still spoken of as civilization or culture, is constructed like an obsessional neurosis.

Man in the Modern Age, Doubleday, 1957.

Jean (Léon) Jaurès

(1859-assassinated 1914)

French Socialist leader

There is only one sovereign method for the achievement of Socialism—the winning of a legal majority.

Studies in Socialism, 1902.

I have no superstitious belief in legality, it has already received too many blows; but I always advise workmen to have recourse to legal means, for violence is the sign of temporary weakness. *Ibid.*

Capitalism carries in itself war, like clouds carry rain. *Ibid.*

When Socialism has triumphed, when conditions of peace have succeeded conditions of combat, when all men have their share of property in the immense human capital, and their share of initiative and of the exercise of free-will in the immense human activity, then all men will know the fulness of pride and joy; and they will feel that they are co-operators in the universal civilization. *Ibid.*

Thomas Jefferson

(1743-1826)

3rd President of the United States

DOCUMENTS AND MISCELLANEOUS

Our cause is just. Our union is perfect. Our internal resources are great, and, if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable. . . . The arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties; being with one mind resolved to die free men rather than live slaves.

Declaration of the Causes of Taking Up Arms, July 6, 1775.

We hold these truths to be sacred and undeniable; that all men are created equal and independent, that from that equal creation they derive rights inherent and inalienable, among which are the preservation of life, and liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Original draft of the Declaration of Independence.

He (King George III) has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. *Ibid.*

Well aware that the opinions and belief of men depend not on their own will, but follow involuntarily the evidence proposed to their minds; that Almighty God hath created the mind free, and manifested His supreme will that free it shall remain by making it altogether insusceptible of restraint; that all attempts to influence it by temporal punishments, or burdens, or by civil incapacitations, tend only to beget habits of hypocrisy and meanness, and are a departure from the plan of the holy author of our religion. . . .

Virginia Act for Religious Freedom, 1786.

That the impious presumption of legislature and ruler, civil as well as ecclesiastical, who, being themselves but fallible and uninspired men, have assumed dominion over the faith of others, setting up their own opinions and modes of thinking as the only true and infallible, and as such endeavouring to impose them on others, hath established and maintained false religions over the greatest part of the world and through all time. *Ibid.*

That it is time enough for the rightful purposes of civil government for its officers to interfere when principles break out into overt acts against peace and good order. *Ibid.*

And, finally, that truth is great and will prevail if left to herself; that she is the proper and sufficient antagonist to error, and has nothing to fear from the conflict unless by human interposition disarmed of her natural weapons, free argument and debate; errors ceasing to be dangerous when it is permitted freely to contradict them. *Ibid.*

We, the General Assembly of Virginia do enact that no man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever, nor shall be enforced, restrained, molested, or burthened in his body or goods, or shall otherwise suffer, on account of his religious opinions or belief; but that all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinions in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities. *Ibid.*

Where the preamble declares, that coercion is a departure from the plan of the holy author of our religion, an amendment was proposed by inserting the words "Jesus Christ," so that it should read, "A departure from the plan of Jesus Christ, the holy author of our religion;" the insertion was rejected by a great majority, in proof that they meant to comprehend, within the mantle of its protection, the Jew and the Gentile, the Christian and Mohammedan, the Hindoo and Infidel of every denomination.

Autobiography; a reference to the Virginia Act for Religious Freedom.

It is error alone which needs the support of government. Truth can stand by itself.

Notes on Virginia.

I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever; that considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation, is among possible events; that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest. *Ibid.*

Subject opinion to coercion: whom will you make your inquisitors? Fallible men; men governed by bad passions, by private as well as public reasons. And why subject it to coercion? To produce uniformity. But is uniformity of opinion desirable? No more than of face and stature. *Ibid.*

Difference of opinion is advantageous in religion. The several sects perform the office of a *censor morum* over each other. *Ibid.*

Is uniformity attainable? Millions of innocent men, women, and children, since the introduction of Christianity, have been burnt, tortured, fined, imprisoned; yet we have not advanced an inch towards uniformity. What has been the effect of coercion? To make one half the world fools, and the other half hypocrites. To support roguery and error all over the earth. *Ibid.*

It does me no injury for my neighbor to say there are twenty gods, or no God.
Ibid.

Those who labor in the earth are the chosen people of God, if ever He had a chosen people. *Ibid.*

But is the spirit of the people infallible —a permanent reliance? Is it government? . . . The spirit of the times may alter—will alter. Our rulers will become corrupt, our people careless. A single zealot may become persecutor, and better men become his victims. *Ibid.*

No man complains of his neighbor for ill management of his affairs, for an error in sowing his land, or marrying his daughter, for consuming his substance in taverns . . . in all these he has liberty; but if he does not frequent the church, or then conform in ceremonies, there is an immediate uproar. *Ibid.*

This institution will be based on the illimitable freedom of the human mind. For here we are not afraid to follow truth wherever it may lead, nor to tolerate error so long as reason is free to combat it.
To prospective teachers, University of Virginia.

All, too, will bear in mind this sacred principle, that though the will of the majority is in all cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights, which equal laws must protect, and to violate which would be oppression.
First Inaugural Address, 1801.

And let us reflect that having banished from our land that religious intolerance under which mankind so long bled and suffered, we have yet gained little if we countenance a political intolerance as despotic, as wicked, and capable of as bitter and bloody persecutions. *Ibid.*

But every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle. We are all republicans—we are all federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it.
Ibid.

. . . a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, which shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned.
Ibid.

It is proper that you should understand what I deem the essential principles of our government, and consequently those which ought to shape its administration. . . . Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship, with all nations—entangling alliances with none; the support of the state governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies; the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad; a jealous care of the rights of election by the people —a mild and safe corrective of abuses which are lopped by the sword of the revolution where peaceable remedies are unprovided; absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority—the vital principle of republics, from which there is no appeal but to

force, the vital principle and immediate parent of despotism; a well disciplined militia—our best reliance in peace and for the first moments of war, till regulars may relieve them; the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; economy in the public expense, that labor may be lightly burdened; the honest payment of our debts and sacred preservation of the public faith; encouragement of agriculture, and of commerce as its handmaid; the diffusion of information and the arraignment of all abuses at the bar of public reason; freedom of religion; freedom of the press; freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus; and trial by juries impartially selected—these principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us, and guided our steps through the age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages and the blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment. They should be the creed of our political faith—the text of civil instruction—the touchstone by which to try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of error or alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety. *Ibid.*

Timid men prefer the calm of despotism to the boisterous sea of liberty.
Quoted by Brooks, From a Writer's Notebook, Dutton, p. 165.

My answer (to a letter from a mutual friend) was: "Say nothing of my religion. It is known to God and myself alone. Its evidence before the world is to be sought in my life; if that has been honest and dutiful to society the religion which has regulated it cannot be a bad one."
Letter to John Adams, Works, Vol. VII, p. 55.

I never told my own religion, nor scrutinized that of another. I never attempted to make a convert, nor wished to change another's creed. I have ever judged of others' religion by their lives . . . for it is from our lives and not from our words, that our religion must be read. *Ibid., Vol. XV.*

The whole of government consists in the art of being honest. *Ibid., VI, 186.*

Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God.
Motto—found among his papers.

ON FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

Printing presses shall be subject to no other restraint than liableness to legal prosecution for false facts printed and published.
Proposed Constitution for Virginia, 1783.

It is, however, an evil for which there is no remedy, our liberty depends on the freedom of the press, and that cannot be limited without being lost.
To Dr. J. Currie, 1786.

I am persuaded that the good sense of the people will always be found to be the best army. They may be led astray for a moment, but will soon correct themselves. The people are the only censors of their governors, and even their errors will tend to keep these to the true principles of their institutions. To punish these errors too severely would be to suppress the only safeguards of the public liberty.
To Edward Carrington, 1787.

The way to prevent these irregular interpositions of the people, is to give them full information of their affairs through the channel of the public papers, and to contrive that those papers should penetrate the whole mass of the people. *Ibid.*

The basis of our government being the opinion of the people, the very first object

should be to keep that right; and were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter. But I should mean that every man should receive those papers, and be capable of reading them. *Ibid.*

Our citizens may be deceived for a while, and have been deceived; but as long as the presses can be protected, we may trust them for light.

To Archibald Stuart, 1789.

Printing presses shall be free except as to false facts published maliciously, either to injure the reputation of another, whether followed by pecuniary damages or not, or to expose him to the punishment of the law. *1794.*

I am for . . . freedom of the press and against all violations of the Constitution to silence by force, and not by reason, the complaints or criticisms, just or unjust, of our citizens against the conduct of their agents.

To Elbridge Gerry, January 26, 1799.

To the press alone, chequered as it is with abuses, the world is indebted for all the triumphs which have been gained by reason and humanity over error and oppression. . . .

Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, 1799.

They (the Federalists) fill their newspapers with falsehoods, calumnies, and audacities. . . . I shall protect them in the right of lying and calumniating.

To Volney, 1802.

Indeed the abuses of the freedom of the press here have been carried to a length never before known or borne by any civilized nation. But it is so difficult to draw a clear line of separation between the abuse and the wholesome use of the press, that as yet we have found it better to trust the public judgment, rather than the magistrate, with the discrimination between truth and falsehood. And hitherto the public judgment has performed that office with wonderful correctness. *To Pictet, 1803.*

No experiment can be more interesting than that we are now trying, and which we trust will end in establishing the fact, that man may be governed by reason and truth. Our first object should therefore be, to leave open to him all the avenues of truth. The most effectual hitherto found is the freedom of the press. It is, therefore, the first shut up by those who fear the investigation of their actions.

To Judge Tyler, 1804.

The firmness with which the people have withstood the late abuses of the press, the discernment they have manifested between truth and falsehood, show that they may safely be trusted to hear everything true and false, and to form a correct judgment between them. *Ibid.*

Conscious that there was not a *truth* on earth which I feared should be known, I have lent myself willingly on the subject of a great experiment, which was to prove that an administration, conducting itself with integrity and common understanding, cannot be battered down, even by the falsehoods of a licentious press. . . .

I have never therefore even contradicted the thousands of calumnies so industriously propagated against myself. But the fact being once established, that the press is impotent when it abandons itself to falsehood, I leave to others to restore it to its strength, by recalling it within the pale of truth.

Within that it is a noble institution, equally the friend of science & of civil liberty.

To Thos. Seymour, Jonth. Bull, and other citizens of Hartford, Conn., February 11, 1807.

It is a melancholy truth, that a suppression of the press could not more completely deprive the nation of its benefits, than is done by its abandoned prostitution to falsehood. *To J. Norvell, 1807.*

Nothing can now be believed which is seen in a newspaper. Truth itself becomes suspicious by being put into that polluted vehicle. *Ibid.*

I really look with commiseration over the great body of my fellow citizens, who, reading newspapers, live and die in the belief, that they have known something of what has been passing in the world in their time; whereas the accounts they have read in newspapers are just as true a history of any period of the world as of the present, except that the real names of the day are affixed to their fables. *Ibid.*

The man who never looks into a newspaper is better informed than he who reads them; inasmuch as he who knows nothing is nearer to truth than he whose mind is filled with falsehoods and errors. *Ibid.*

Perhaps an editor might begin a reformation in some such way as this. Divide his paper into four chapters, heading the 1st, Truths. 2d, Probabilities. 3d, Possibilities. 4th, Lies. The first chapter would be very short. *Ibid.*

At present it is disreputable to state a fact on newspaper authority; and the newspapers of our country by their abandoned spirit of falsehood, have more effectively destroyed the utility of the press than all the shackles devised by Bonaparte.

To T. Wortman, 1813. Quoted by Saul Padover, Thomas Jefferson on Democracy.

If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be. The functionaries of every government have propensities to command at will the liberty and property of their constituents. There is no safe deposit for these but with the people themselves; nor can they be safe with them without information. Where the press is free, and every man able to read, all is safe. *To Col. Charles Yancey, 1816.*

Advertisements contain the only truths to be relied on in a newspaper.

To Nathaniel Macon, 1819.

I read but one newspaper and that . . . more for its advertisements than its news.

To Charles Pickering, 1820.

5. Freedom of the press, subject only to liability for personal injuries. This formidable censor of the public functionaries, by arraigning them at the tribunal of public opinion, produces reform peaceably, which must otherwise be done by revolution. It is also the best instrument for enlightening the mind of man, and improving him as a rational, moral, and social being. *To Coray, 1823.*

The only security of all is in a free press. The force of public opinion cannot be resisted, when permitted freely to be expressed. The agitation it produces must be submitted to. It is necessary to keep the waters pure.

To Marquis de LaFayette, 1823.

I shall never take another newspaper of any sort.

Letter to Madison, quoted in Nieman Reports.

I do not take a single newspaper, nor read one a month, and I feel myself infinitely the happier for it.

JEFFERSON LETTERS

Merchants love nobody.

To John Langdon, 1785.

The most important bill in our whole code is that for the diffusion of knowledge among the people. No other sure foundation can be devised, for the preservation of freedom and happiness.

To George Wythe, August, 1786.

Preach, my dear sir, a crusade against ignorance; establish and improve the law for educating the common people. Let our countrymen know, that the people alone can protect us against these evils (of monarchy), and that the tax which will be paid for this purpose, is not more than a thousandth part of what will be paid to kings, priests, and nobles, who will rise up among us if we keep the people in ignorance.

Ibid.

The art of life is the avoiding of pain.

To Mrs. Cosway, 1786.

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

To Colonel William S. Smith, 1787.

The people cannot be all, and always, well informed. The part which is wrong will be discontented, in proportion to the importance of the facts they misconceive. If they remain quiet under such misconceptions, it is a lethargy, a forerunner of death to the public liberty. *Ibid.*

What country before, ever existed a century and a half without a rebellion? And what country can preserve its liberties, if its rulers are not warned from time to time, that this people preserve the spirit of resistance? Let them take arms. The remedy is to set them right as to facts, pardon and pacify them. What signify a few lives lost in a century or two? *Ibid.*

The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time, with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is their natural manure.* *Ibid.*

I will now tell you what I do not like. First, the omission of a bill of rights, providing clearly, and without the aid of sophism, for freedom of religion, freedom of the press, protection against standing armies, restriction of monopolies, the eternal and unremitting force of the habeas corpus laws, and trials by jury, in all matters of fact triable by the law of the land, and not by the laws of nations.

To James Madison, 1787.

I have a right to nothing which another has a right to take away. And Congress will have a right to take away trial by jury in all civil cases. Let me add that a bill of rights is what the people are entitled to against every government on earth, general or particular, and what no just government should refuse or rest on inference. *Ibid.*

This abomination (Negro slavery) must have an end. *To Edward Rutledge, 1787.*

Religion . . . Divest yourself of all bias in favor of novelty and singularity of opinion. Indulge them in any other subject rather than that of religion. It is too important, and the consequences of error may be too serious.

To Peter Carr (nephew), August 10, 1787.

* Barère: "The tree of liberty will grow only when watered by the blood of tyrants." 1792.

Shake off all the fears of servile prejudices, under which weak minds are servilely crouched. Fix reason firmly in her seat, and call on her tribunal for every fact, every opinion. Question with boldness even the existence of a God; because, if there be one, he must more approve of the homage of reason than that of blindfolded fear.

Ibid.

Do not be frightened from this inquiry by any fear of its consequences. If it ends in a belief that there is no God, you will find incitements to virtue in the comfort and pleasantness you feel in its exercise, and the love of others which it will procure you. If you find reason to believe there is a God, a consciousness that you are acting under his eye, and that he approves you, will be a vast additional incitement. *Ibid.*

The natural progress of things is for liberty to yield and government to gain ground.

To Carrington, 1788.

Every government degenerates when trusted to the rulers of the people alone. The people themselves therefore are its only safe depositories.

To Abbé Arnoud, July 19, 1789.

No society can make a perpetual constitution, or even a perpetual law.

To Madison, 1789.

That the earth belongs in usufruct to the living; that the dead have neither powers nor right over it. The portion occupied by any individual ceases to be his when he himself ceases to be, and reverts to society.

Ibid., September 6, 1789.

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

To Hunter, 1790.

No man will ever bring out of the Presidency the reputation which carries him into it. *To Rutledge, 1796.*

Politics is such a torment that I would advise every one I love not to mix with it.

To Martha Jefferson Randolph, 1800.

They (the clergy) believe that any portion of power confided to me, will be exerted in opposition to their schemes. And they believe rightly: for *I have sworn upon the altar of God, eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man.** But this is all they have to fear from me: and enough too in their opinion. *To Dr. Benjamin Rush, 1800.*

I contemplate with sovereign reverence that act of the whole American people which declared that their legislature should make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibit the free exercise thereof, thus building a wall of separation between church and state.

To Baptists of Danbury, Conn., 1802.

It behooves every man who values liberty of conscience for himself, to resist invasions of it in the case of others.

To Dr. Rush, 1803.

I never will, by any word or act, bow to the shrine of intolerance, or admit a right in inquiry into the religious opinions of others. *To Edward Dowse, 1803.*

It is too late in the day for men of sincerity to pretend they believe in the Platonic mysticisms that three are one, and

* The italicized words appear on the Jefferson Memorial, Washington, D. C.

one is three; and yet that the one is not three, and the three are not one. . . . But this constitutes the craft, the power and the profit of the priests.

To John Adams, 1803.

We should all then, like the Quakers, live without an order of priests, moralize for ourselves, follow the oracle of conscience, and say nothing about what no man can understand, nor therefore believe. *Ibid.*

But a short time elapsed after the death of the great reformer of the Jewish religion, before his principles were departed from by those who professed to be his special servants, and perverted into an engine for enslaving mankind, and aggrandizing their oppressors in Church and State.

To S. Kercheval, 1810.

The purest system of morals ever before preached to man has been adulterated and sophisticated by artificial constructions, into a mere contrivance to filch wealth and power to themselves: that rational men, not being able to swallow their impious heresies, in order to force them down their throats, they raise the hue and cry of infidelity, while themselves are the greatest obstacle to the advancement of the real doctrines of Jesus, and do, in fact, constitute the real Anti-Christ. *Ibid.*

A strict observance of the written laws is doubtless *one* of the high duties of a good (officer), but it is not the *highest*. The laws of necessity, of self-preservation, of saving our country when in danger, are of higher obligation.

To John B. Colvin, 1810.

We have long suffered under base prostitution of law to party passions in one judge, and the imbecility of another.

To Governor Tyler, May 26, 1810.

There is a natural aristocracy among men. The grounds of this are virtue and talents. . . . There is also an artificial aristocracy founded on wealth and birth, without either virtue or talents; for with these it would belong to the first class. The natural aristocracy I consider as the most previous gift of nature, for the instruction, the trusts, and government of society. . . .

May we not even say, that that form of government is best, which provides the most effectually for a pure selection of these natural aristoi into the offices of government? The artificial aristocracy is a mischievous ingredient in government, and provision should be made to prevent its ascendancy. *To John Adams, 1813.*

Of all the systems of morality, ancient or modern, which have come under my observation, none appears to me so pure as that of Jesus. *To W. Canby, 1813.*

History I believe furnishes no example of a priest-ridden people maintaining a free civil government. This marks the lowest grade of ignorance, of which their political as well as religious leaders will always avail themselves for their own purpose.

To Baron von Humboldt, 1813.

You give a just outline of the theism of the three religions, when you say that the principle of the Hebrew was fear, of the Gentile the honor, and of the Christian the love of God. *To Adams, October 13, 1813.*

The earth belongs to the living, not to the dead. *To J. W. Eppes, 1813.*

We may consider each generation as a distinct nation, with a right, by the will of its majority, to bind themselves, but none to bind the succeeding generation, more than the inhabitants of another country.

Ibid.

In every country and in every age, the priest has been hostile to liberty. He is always in alliance with the despot, abetting his abuses in return for protection to his own. It is easier to acquire wealth and power by this combination than by deserving them, and to effect this, they have perverted the purest religion ever preached to man into mystery and jargon, unintelligible to all mankind, and therefore the safer engine for their purposes.

To Horatio Spofford, 1814.

Are we to have a censor whose imprimatur shall say what books may be sold, and what we may buy? And who is thus to dogmatize religious opinions for our citizens? Whose foot is to be the measure to which ours are all to be cut or stretched? Is a priest to be our inquisitor, or shall a layman, simple as ourselves, set up his reason as the rule of what we are to read, and what we must believe?

To Dufief, Philadelphia bookseller, 1814, on the occasion of prosecution for selling De Becourt's "Sur le Création du Monde, un Système d'Organisation Primitive."

If M. de Becourt's book be false in its facts, disprove them; if false in its reasoning, refute it. But, for God's sake, let us freely hear both sides, if we choose. *Ibid.*

The doctrines that flowed from the lips of Jesus himself are within the comprehension of a child; but thousands of volumes have not yet explained the Platonisms engrafted on them; and for this obvious reason, that nonsense can never be explained.

To Adams, July 5, 1814.

We have heard it said that there is not a Quaker or a Baptist, a Presbyterian or an Episcopalian, a Catholic or a Protestant in heaven; that on entering the gate, we leave those badges of schism behind. . . . Let us not be uneasy then about the different roads we may pursue, as believing them the shortest, to that our last abode.

To Miles King, September 26, 1814.

The priests have so disfigured the simple religion of Jesus that no one who reads the sophistications they have engrafted on it, with the jargon of Plato, or Aristotle, and other mystics, would conceive these could have been fathered on the sublime preacher of the Sermon on the Mount.

To Dr. B. Waterhouse, 1815; N. Y. Public Library ms. IV, 2-3, quoted by Padover.

The question before the human race is, whether the God of Nature shall govern the world by His own laws, or whether priests and kings shall rule it by fictitious miracles. *To John Adams, 1815.*

This loathsome combination of Church and State. *To C. Clay, 1815.*

I am not among those who fear the people. They, and not the rich, are our dependence for continued freedom.

To S. Kercheval, 1816.

Some men look at constitutions with sanctimonious reverence and deem them like the ark of the covenant, too sacred to be touched. They ascribe to the men of the preceding age a wisdom more than human, and suppose what they did to be beyond amendment. . . . Laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind. . . . As new discoveries are made, new truths disclosed, and manners and opinions change with the change of circumstances, institutions must advance also, and keep pace with the times. . . . Each generation . . . has right to choose

for itself the form of government it believes the most promotive of its own happiness. . . . A solemn opportunity of doing this every 19 or 20 years should be provided by the constitution. *Ibid.*

You judge truly that I am not afraid of priests. They have tried upon me all their various batteries, of pious whining, hypocritical canting, lying & slandering, without being able to give me one moment of pain. I have contemplated their order from the Magi of the East to the Saints of the West and I have found no difference of character, but of more or less caution, in proportion to their information or ignorance on whom their interested duperies were to be plaid off. Their sway in New England is indeed formidable. No mind beyond mediocrity dares there to develop itself.

To Horatio G. Spofford, 1816.

There would never have been an infidel, if there had never been a priest.

To Mrs. Harrison Smith, 1816.

I know nothing of the History of the Jesuits you mention, in four volumes. Is it a good one? I dislike, with you, their restoration, because it marks a retrogade step from light towards darkness.

To Adams, August 1, 1816; reply to letter of May 6.

Ours will be the follies of enthusiasm, not of bigotry, not of Jesuitism. Bigotry is the disease of ignorance, of morbid minds; enthusiasm of the free and buoyant. Education and free discussion are the antidotes of both. We are destined to be a barrier against the return of ignorance and barbarism. *Ibid.*

On the dogmas of religion, as distinguished from moral principles, all mankind, from the beginning of the world to this day, have been quarreling, fighting, burning and torturing one another, for abstractions unintelligible to themselves and to all others, and absolutely beyond the comprehension of the human mind.

To Carey, 1816; ms. IV, quoted by Padover.

If by *religion* we are to understand *sectarian dogmas,* in which no two of them agree, then your exclamation on that hypothesis is just, "that this would be the best of all possible worlds, if there were no religion in it." But if the moral precepts, innate in man, and made a part of his physical constitution, as necessary for a social being, if the sublime doctrine of philanthropism and deism taught us by Jesus of Nazareth, in which all agree, constitute true religion, then, without it, this would be, as you say, "something not fit to be named even, indeed, a hell." *To Adams, May 5, 1817.*

I am of a sect by myself, as far as I know. I am not a Jew, and therefore do not adopt their theology, which supposes the God of infinite justice to punish the sins of the fathers upon their children, unto the third and fourth generations; and the benevolent and sublime reformer of that religion (Jesus of Nazareth) has told us only that God is good and perfect, but has not defined him.

To Ezra Stiles (President of Yale), June 25, 1819.

But the greatest of all reformers of the depraved religion of his own country, was Jesus of Nazareth. Abstracting what is really his from the rubbish in which it is buried, easily distinguished by its lustre from the dross of his biographers, and as separable from that as the diamond from the dunghill, we have the outlines of a system of the most sublime morality which has ever fallen from the lips of man . . . The establishment of the innocent and genuine character of this benevolent morality, and the rescuing it from the imputation of imposture, which has resulted from artificial systems, invented by ultra-Christian sects° . . . is a most desirable object. *To Short, October 31, 1819.*

The genuine and simple religion of Jesus will one day be restored: such as it was preached and practised by himself. Very soon after his death it became muffled up in mysteries, and has been ever since kept in concealment from the vulgar eye.

To Van der Kemp, 1820.

It is not to be understood that I am with him (Jesus Christ) in all his doctrines. I am a Materialist; he takes the side of Spiritualism; he preaches the efficacy of repentance toward forgiveness of sin; I require a counterpoise of good works to redeem it. . . .

Among the sayings and discourses imputed to him by his biographers, I find many passages of fine imagination, correct morality, and of the most lovely benevolence; and others, again, of so much ignorance, so much absurdity, so much untruth, charlatanism and imposture, as to pronounce it impossible that such contradictions should have proceeded from the same being. I separate, therefore, the gold from the dross; restore to him the former, and leave the latter to the stupidity of some, the roguery of others of his disciples. Of this band of dupes and imposters, Paul was the great Coryphaeus, and first corruptor of the doctrines of Jesus.

To W. Short, 1820.

° Jefferson's footnote: "The immaculate conception of Jesus, his deification, the creation of the world by him, his miraculous powers, his resurrection and visible ascension, his corporeal presence in the Eucharist, the Trinity; original sin, atonement, regeneration, election, orders of the Hierarchy, etc. —T.J."

(I am) happy in the restoration, of the Jews, particularly, to their social rights . . . (I have) ever felt regret at seeing a sect, the parent and basis of all those of Christendom, singled out by all of them for a persecution and oppression which proved they had profited nothing from the benevolent doctrines of Him whom they profess to make the model of their principle and practice.

To De La Motte and Joseph Marx, 1820; quoted by Foner, Thomas Jefferson: Selected Writings.

My aim . . . was, to justify the character of Jesus against the fictions of his pseudo-followers, which have exposed him to the inference of being an imposter. For if we could believe that he really countenanced the follies, the falsehoods, and the charlatanisms which his biographers father upon him, and admit the misconstructions, interpolations, and theorizations of the fathers of the early, and fanatics of the latter ages, the conclusion would be irresistible by every sound mind, that he was an imposter. *To Story, August 4, 1820.*

The office of reformer of the superstitions of a nation, is ever dangerous. Jesus had to work on the perilous confines of reason and religion; and a step to right or left might place him within the grasp of the priests of the superstition, a blood-thirsty race, as cruel and remorseless as the being whom they represented as the family God of Abraham, of Isaac and of Jacob, and the local God of Israel. . . . That Jesus did not mean to impose himself on mankind as the son of God, physically speaking, I have been convinced by the writings of men more learned than myself in that lore. *Ibid.*

To give rest to my mind, I was obliged

to recur ultimately to my habitual anodyne, "I feel, therefore I exist." °

To Adams, August 15, 1820.

I hold the precepts of Jesus, as delivered by himself, to be the most pure, benevolent, and sublime which have ever been preached to man. I adhere to the principles of the first age; and consider all subsequent innovations as corruptions of this religion, having no foundation in what came from him. *To Jared Sparks, November 4, 1820.*

Our judges are as honest as other men, and not more so. They have, with others, the same passions for party, for power, and the privilege of their corps.

To William Charles Jarvis, 1820.

I know of no safe depository of the ultimate powers of society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion by education. *Ibid., 1821.*

No one sees with greater pleasure than myself the progress of reason in its advances towards rational Christianity. When we shall have done away the incomprehensible jargon of the Trinitarian arithmetic, that three are one, and one is three . . .

To Timothy Pickering, February 27, 1821.

The religion-builders have so distorted and deformed the doctrines of Jesus, so muffled them in mysticism, fancies and falsehoods. *Ibid.*

Had there never been a commentator, there never would have been an infidel.

Ibid.

The doctrines of Jesus are simple, and tend all to the happiness of man. . . . But compare with these the demoralizing dogmas of Calvin.

1. That there are three Gods.
2. That good works, or the love of our neighbor, is nothing.
3. That faith is every thing, and the more incomprehensible the proposition, the more merit the faith.
4. That reason in religion is of unlawful use.
5. That God, from the beginning, elected certain individuals to be saved, and certain others to be damned; and that no crimes of the former can damn them; no virtues of the latter save.

To Benjamin Waterhouse, June 26, 1822.

Had the doctrines of Jesus been preached always as pure as they came from his lips, the whole civilized world would now have been Christian. *Ibid.*

(Creeds) have been the bane of the Christian church . . . made of Christendom a slaughter-house. *Ibid.*

The truth is, that the greatest enemies of the doctrine of Jesus are those, calling themselves the expositors of them, who have perverted them to the structure of a system of fancy absolutely incomprehensible, and without any foundation in his genuine words. And the day will come, when the mystical generation of Jesus, by the Supreme Being as his father, in the womb of a virgin, will be classed with the fable of the generation of Minerva in the brain of Jupiter.

To Adams, April 11, 1823.

The generation which commences a revolution rarely completes it. Habituated from their infancy to passive submission of body and mind to their kings and priests, they are not qualified when called on to think

° Cf. Descartes, *Cogito, ergo sum.*

and provide for themselves; and their inexperience, their ignorance and bigotry make them instruments often, in the hands of the Bonapartes and Iturbides, to defeat their own rights and purposes.

To Adams, 1823.

Men by their constitutions are naturally divided into two parties: 1. Those who fear and distrust the people and wish to draw all powers from them into the hands of the higher classes. 2. Those who identify themselves with the people, have confidence in them, cherish and consider them as the most honest and safe, although not the most wise depository of the public interests. In every country these two parties exist, and in every one where they are free to think, speak, and write, they will declare themselves. Call them, therefore, liberals and serviles, Jacobins and Ultras, whigs and tories, republicans and federalists, aristocrats and democrats, or by whatever name you please, they are the same parties still, and pursue the same object. The last appellation of aristocrats and democrats is the true one expressing the essence of all.

To Henry Lee, 1824.

There is no truth existing which I fear, or would wish unknown to the whole world.

To Henry Lee, 1826.

May it [the Declaration of Independence] be to the world what I believe it will be (to some parts sooner, to others later, but finally to all): the signal of arousing men to burst the chains under which monkish ignorance and superstition have persuaded them to bind themselves and assume the blessings and security of self-government. That form which we have substituted, restores the free right of the unbounded exercise of reason and freedom of opinion. All eyes are opened or opening to the rights of man. The general spread of the light of science has already laid open to every view the palpable truth that the mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs, nor a favored few booted and spurred ready to ride them legitimately by the grace of God. These are grounds of hope for others.

To Roger C. Weightman, June 24, 1826, the 50th anniversary of the Declaration; and ten days before Jefferson's death.

That to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of opinions which he disbelieves and abhors, is sinful and tyrannical. *Ibid.*

Francis Jeffrey

(1773-1850)

Scottish critic, essayist, jurist

Opinions founded on prejudice are always sustained with the greatest violence.

St. Jerome (né Eusebius Hieronymus)

(340?-420)

Catholic church father

All riches come from iniquity, and unless one has lost, another cannot gain. Hence that common opinion seems to be very true, "the rich man is unjust, or the heir to an unjust one." Opulence is always the result of theft, if not committed by the actual possessor, then by his predecessor.

American Catholic Trade Union. "Labor."

I will say it boldly, though God can do all things, He cannot raise a virgin up after she has fallen.

The Virgin's Confession, c. 420.

John Lilburne

(1614-1657)

English agitator, Puritan pamphleteer

They may talk of *freedom*, but what reedom indeed is there, so long as they top the Presse, which is indeed, and hath een so accounted in all free Nations, the ost essential part thereof.

The Second Part of England's New-Chains Discovered, 1648.

We the People of England to whom God ath given hearts, means and opportunity to ffect the same (the restoration of "the true ndamentall Laws and common Freedomes f the People") do with submission to his isdom, in his name and desiring the quity thereof may be to his praise and lory: Agree to ascertain our Government, abolish all arbitrary Power, and to set ounds and limits both for our Supreme, nd all Subordinate Authority, and to re-ove all known Grievances.

An Agreement of the Free People of England, Tendered as a Peace-Offering to this distressed Nation. By Lieutenant Colonel John Lilburne, Master William Welwyn, Master Thomas Prince, and Master Richard Overton, Prisoners in the Tower of London, May the 1st, 1649.

X. That we do not empower or entrust ir said Representatives to continue in rce, or to make any Lawes, Oathes, or ovenants whereby to compell by penalties otherwise any person to anything in or out matters of faith, Religion, or God's orship, or to restrain any person from the ofession of his faith, or exercise his Re-ion according to his Conscience, nothing ving caused more distractions, and heart rning, in all ages, than persecution and lestation for matters of Conscience in or out Religion. *Ibid.*

XI. We do not empower them to impress or constrain any person to serve in war by Sea or Land every man's Conscience being to be satisfied in the justness of that cause whereto he hazards his own life or may destroy an other's. *Ibid.*

XVI. That it shall not be in the power of any Representative to punish, or cause to be punished, any person or persons for refusing to answer to questions against themselves in Criminall cases. *Ibid.*

XXI. That it shall not be in their power to make or continue any Law, for taking away any man's life, except for murther, or other the like hainous offence destructive to humane society. *Ibid.*

XXII. That it shall not be in their power to continue or make any Law, to deprive any person in case of Tryalls for Life, Limb, Liberty, or Estate from the benefit of Witnesses on his or their behalf. *Ibid.*

David E. Lilienthal

(b. 1899)

American industrial executive

Methods can be developed—methods I have described as grass-roots democracy—which do create an opportunity for greater happiness and deeper experience, for freedom, in the very course of technical progress. . . . Far from forcing the surrender of individual freedom and the things of the spirit to the machine, the machine can be made to promote those very ends.

Democracy on the March, 1944.

I believe—and I conceive the Constitution of the United States to rest, as does religion, upon the fundamental proposition of the integrity of the individual; and that all government and all private institutions must be designed to promote and protect

and defend the integrity and the dignity of the individual; that that is the essential meaning of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, and it is essentially the meaning of religion.

Testimony, Joint Congressional Committee, February 4, 1947, which investigated his fitness as head of the Atomic Energy Commission.

Any form of government, therefore, and any other institutions which make men means rather than ends, which exalt the state or any other institutions above the importance of men, which place arbitrary power over men as a fundamental tenet of government are contrary to that conception, and, therefore, I am deeply opposed to them. *Ibid.*

It is very easy to talk about being against communism. It is equally important to believe those things which provide a satisfying and effective alternative. Democracy is that satisfying, affirmative alternative. *Ibid.*

We believe in man not merely as production units, but as the child of God. We believe that the purpose of our society is not primarily to assure the "safety of the State" but to safeguard human dignity and the freedom of the individual. *Ibid.*

Abraham Lincoln

(1809-1865)

16th President of the United States

Upon the subject of education, not presuming to dictate, any plan or system respecting it, I can only say that I view it as the most important subject which we, as a people, can be engaged in. . . .

First public speech; to the people of Sangamon Co., March 9, 1832.

I go for all sharing the privileges of the government who assist in bearing its burdens. Consequently I go for admitting all whites to the right of suffrage who pay taxes or bear arms (by no means excluding females).

Letter to Sangamon Journal, dated New Salem, June 13, 1836.

These capitalists generally act harmoniously and in concert, to fleece the people.

Speech, Illinois Legislature, January, 1837.

As the patriots of Seventy-six did to the support of the Declaration of Independence, so to the support of the Constitution and the Laws let every American pledge his life, his property, and his sacred honor; let every man remember that to violate the law is to trample on the blood of his father, and to tear the charter of his own and his children's liberty.

Address, The Perpetuation of Our Political Institutions, Young Men's Lyceum, Springfield, Illinois, January 27, 1837.

Let me not be understood as saying that there are no bad laws, or that grievances may not arise for the redress of which no legal provisions have been made. I mean to say no such thing. But I do mean to say that although bad laws, if they exist, should be repealed as soon as possible, still, while they continue in force, for the sake of example they should be religiously observed. *Ibid.*

If we take habitual drunkards as a class, their heads and their hearts will bear an advantageous comparison with those of any other class. There seems ever to have been a proneness in the brilliant and warm-blooded to fall into this vice. The demon of intemperance ever seems to have delighted

in sucking the blood of genius and generosity.

Address, Washington Temperance Society, Springfield, February 22, 1842.

There was, too, the strangest combination of church influence against me. Baker (his opponent in the Congressional race) is a Campbellite; and therefore, as I suppose, with few exceptions, got all that church. My wife has some relations in the Presbyterian churches, and some with the Episcopal churches; and therefore, wherever it would tell, I was set down as either the one or the other, while it was everywhere contended that no Christian ought to go for me, because I belonged to no church, was suspected of being a deist, and had talked about fighting a duel. . . .

Letter to Martin M. Morris, Springfield, March 26, 1843.

Any people anywhere being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable, a most sacred right—a right which we hope and believe is to liberate the world.

Speech, House, in reply to President Polk on Mexico, 1848.

This declared indifference, but, as I must think, real, covert zeal, for the spread of slavery, I cannot but hate. I hate it because of the monstrous injustice of slavery itself. I hate it because it deprives our republican example of its just influence in the world, enables the enemies of free institutions with plausibility to taunt us as hypocrites, causes the real friends of freedom to doubt our sincerity, and especially because it forces so many good men amongst ourselves into an open war with the very fundamental principles of civil liberty, criticizing the Declaration of Independence, and insisting that there is no right principle of action but self-interest.

Reply to Senator Douglas, Peoria, Illinois, October 16, 1854.

As labor is the common burden of our race, so the effort of some to shift their share of the burden on to the shoulders of others is the great durable curse of the race.

Speech, c. July 1, 1854.

The Autocrat of all the Russias will resign his crown and proclaim his subjects free republicans sooner than will our American masters voluntarily give up their slaves.

Letter, 1855, quoted in Higginson, Contemporaries, 1889.

I now do no more than oppose the extension of slavery. I am not a Know-nothing; that is certain. How could I be? How can anyone who abhors the oppression of Negroes be in favor of degrading classes of white people? Our progress in degeneracy appears to me to be pretty rapid. As a nation, we began by declaring that *all men are created equal.* We now practically read it, *all men are created equal except Negroes.* When the Know-nothings get control, it will read, *all men are created equal except Negroes and foreigners and Catholics.* When it comes to this I shall prefer emigrating to some country where they make no pretense of loving liberty—to Russia, for instance, where despotism can be taken pure, and without the base alloy of hypocrisy.

Letter to Joshua F. Speed, August 24, 1855.

Be not deceived. Revolutions do not go backward. *Speech, May 19, 1856.*

We will make converts day by day; we will grow strong by the violence and injustice of our adversaries. And, unless truth be a mockery and justice a hollow lie, we will be in the majority after a while, and

then the revolution which we will accomplish will be none the less radical from being the result of pacific measures. The battle of freedom is to be fought out on principle. *Ibid.*

The ballot is stronger than the bullet. *1856.*

I think the authors of that notable instrument (Declaration of Independence) intended to include all men, but they did not intend to declare all men equal in all respects. They did not mean to say all men were equal in color, size, intellect, moral developments, or social capacity. They defined with tolerable distinctness in what respects they did consider all men created equal—equal with "certain unalienable rights among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." This they said, and this they meant. They did not mean to assert the obvious untruth that all were then actually enjoying that equality, or yet that they were about to confer it immediately upon them. In fact, they had no power to confer such a boon. They meant simply to declare the right, so that enforcement of it might follow as fast as circumstances should permit.

Speech on Dred Scott decision, Springfield, June 26, 1857.

The assertion that "all men are created equal" was of no practical use in effecting our separation from Great Britain and it was placed in the Declaration not for that, but for future use. Its authors meant it to be—as thank God, it is now proving itself—a stumbling-block to all those who in after times might seek to turn a free people back into the hateful paths of despotism. They knew the proneness of prosperity to breed tyrants, and they meant when such should reappear in this fair land and commence their vocation, they should find left for them at least one hard nut to crack.

Ibid.

In the right to eat the bread . . . which his own hand earns, he (the Negro) is my equal and the equal of Judge Douglas, and the equal of any living man.

Lincoln-Douglas Debate, August 2, 1858.

The fight must go on. The cause of civil liberty must not be surrendered at the end of one or even one hundred defeats.

Letter to H. Asbury, November 19, 1858.

We are now a mighty nation: we are thirty, or about thirty, millions of people. . . . We have, besides these men—descended by blood from our ancestors—among us, perhaps half our people who are not descendants at all of these men; they are men who have come from Europe—German, Irish, French, and Scandinavian, —men who have come from Europe themselves, or whose ancestors have come hither and settled here, finding themselves our equal in all things. If they look back through this history, to trace their connection with those days of blood, they find they have none; they cannot carry themselves back into that glorious epoch and make themselves feel that they are part of us; but when they look through that old Declaration of Independence, they find that those old men say that "we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal," and then they feel that that moral sentiment taught in that day evidences their relation to those men, that it is the father of all moral principle in them, and that they have a right to claim it as though they were blood of the blood, and flesh of the flesh, of the men who wrote that Declaration; and so they are.

Reply to Douglas on Popular Sovereignty, July 10, 1858.

Wise statesmen as they were, they knew the tendency of posterity to breed tyrants; and so they established these great self-evident truths, that when in the distant future, some man, some faction, some interest, should set up the doctrine that none but rich men, or none but white men, or none but Anglo-Saxons, were entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, their posterity might look up again to the Declaration of Independence, and take courage to renew the battle which their fathers began.

Campaign Speech, Senate race, 1858; The Rail Splitter, October 10, 1860.

Those arguments that are made, that the inferior race are to be treated with as much allowance as they are capable of enjoying; that as much is to be done for them as their condition will allow, what are these arguments? They are the arguments that kings have made for enslaving the people in all the ages of the world. You will find that all the arguments in favor of kingcraft were of this class; they always bestrode the necks of the people—not that they wanted to do it, but because the people were better off for being ridden. That is their argument; and this argument of the Judge (Douglas) is the same old serpent, that says, "You work, and I eat; you toil, and I will enjoy the fruits of it." Turn it whatever way you will,—whether it come from the mouth of a king, an excuse for enslaving the people of his country, or from the mouth of men of one race as a reason for enslaving the men of another race,—it is all the same old serpent. *Ibid.*

What constitutes the bulwark of our own liberty and independence? It is not our frowning battlements, our bristling sea coasts, our army and our navy. These are not our reliance against tyranny. All of these may be turned against us without making us weaker for the struggle.

Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us. Our defense is in the spirit which primed liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands everywhere. Destroy this spirit and you have planted the seeds of despotism at your door. Familiarize yourselves with the chains of bondage and you prepare your own limbs to wear them.

Accustomed to trample on the rights of others, you have lost the genius of your own independence and become the fit subjects of the first cunning tyrant who rises among you.

Speech, Edwardsville, September 13, 1858.

I am for the people of the whole nation doing just as they please in all matters which concern the whole nation; for that of each part doing just as they choose in all matters which concern no other part; and for each individual doing just as he chooses in all matters which concern nobody else. *Speech, October 8, 1958.*

The right of peaceable assembly and of petition, and by Article Fifth of the Constitution, the right of amendment, is the constitutional substitute for revolution. Here is our Magna Carta, not wrested by barons from King John, but the free gift of states to the nation they create.

To Alexander H. Stephens, January 19, 1859.

No law is stronger than is the public sentiment where it is to be enforced. Free speech and discussion, and immunity from whip and tar and feathers, seem implied by the guarantee to each state of "a republican form of government."

Crittenden letter, December 22, 1859.

According to this theory, a blind horse upon a tread mill is a perfect illustration of what a laborer should be—all the better for being blind—that he could not kick understandingly.

According to this theory, the education of labor is not only useless but pernicious and dangerous. In fact, it is, in some sort, deemed a misfortune that laborers should have heads at all. These same heads are regarded as explosive material, only to be safely kept in damp places, as far as possible from that peculiar sort of fire which ignites them.

A Yankee who could invent a strong-handed man without a head would receive the everlasting gratitude of these "Mudsill advocates."

Address, Wisconsin Agricultural Society, Milwaukee, September 30, 1859.

I am glad to see that a system of labor prevails in New England under which laborers can strike when they want to, where they are not obliged to work under all circumstances, and are not tied down and obliged to labor whether you pay them or not. I like the system which lets a man quit when he wants to, and wish it might prevail everywhere.

Speech, New Haven, Conn., March 6, 1860.

I do not mean to say we are bound to follow implicitly in whatever our fathers did. To do so, would be to discard all the lights of current experience—to reject all progress, all improvement.

Address, Cooper Institute, N. Y., February 27, 1860.

Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the government, nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes right, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it. *Ibid.*

The love of property and consciousness of right or wrong have conflicting places in our organization, which often makes a man's course seem crooked, his conduct a riddle.

Hartford, Conn., March 5, 1860.

Mr. Lincoln thanked God that we have a system of labor where there can be a strike. Whatever the pressure, there is a point where the workmen may stop. He didn't pretend to be familiar with the subject of the shoe strike—probably knew as little about it as Senator Douglas himself.

Shall we stop making war upon the South? We never have made war upon them. If any one has, he had better go and hang himself and save Virginia the trouble. If you give up your convictions and call slavery right, as they do, you let slavery in upon you—instead of white laborers who can strike, you'll soon have black laborers who can't strike.

Indirect quotation as reported in the press, March 6, 1860, of Hartford, Conn., speech.

I do but quote from one of those speeches when I declare that "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." Those who nominated and elected me did so with full knowledge that I had made this and many similar declarations, and had never recanted them.

First Inaugural Address, March 4, 1861.

Why should there not be a patient confidence in the ultimate justice of the people? Is there any equal hope in the world? *Ibid.*

I hold that, in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the Union of these States is perpetual. Perpetuity is implied, if not expressed, in the fundamental law of all national governments. It is safe to assert that no government proper ever had a provision in its organic law for its own termination. *Ibid.*

If by the mere force of numbers a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written constitutional right, it might, in a moral point of view, justify revolution —certainly would if such a right were a vital one. *Ibid.*

A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with deliberate changes of popular opinions and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Whoever rejects it does, of necessity, fly to anarchy or to despotism. Unanimity is impossible; the rule of a minority, as a permanent arrangement, is wholly inadmissible; so that, rejecting the majority principle, anarchy or despotism in some form is all that is left. *Ibid.*

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing Government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. I cannot be ignorant of the fact that many worthy and patriotic citizens are desirous of having the National Constitution amended. While I make no recommendation of amendments, I fully recognize the rightful authority of the people over the whole subject, to be exercised in either of the modes prescribed in the instrument itself; and I should, under existing circumstances, favor rather than oppose a fair opportunity being afforded the people to act upon it. *Ibid.*

The better angels of our nature. *Ibid.*

It is now for them to demonstrate to the world that those who can fairly carry an election can also suppress a rebellion; that ballots are the rightful and peaceful successors of bullets; and that when ballots have fairly and constitutionally decided, there can be no successful appeal back to bullets.

First message to Congress, special session, July 4, 1861.

It is not needed nor fitting here that a general argument should be made in favor of popular institutions; but there is one point, with its connections, not so hackneyed as most others, to which I ask a brief attention. It is the effort to place capital on an equal footing with, if not above, labor, in the structure of government. It is assumed that labor is available only in connection with capital; that nobody labors, unless somebody else, owning capital, somehow, by the use of it, induces him to labor.

Message to Congress, regular session, December 3, 1861.

Now, there is no such relation between capital and labor as assumed, nor is there any such thing as a free man being fixed for life in the condition of a hired laborer. Both these assumptions are false, and all inferences from them are groundless. *Ibid.*

Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and man deserves much the higher consideration. Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights. Nor is it denied that there is, and probably always will be, a relation between

labor and capital, producing mutual benefits. The error is in assuming that the whole labor of the community exists within that relation. A few men own capital, and that few avoid labor themselves, and with their capital hire or buy another few to labor for them. A large majority belong to neither class—neither work for others, nor have others work for them. *Ibid.*

No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty, none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them, till all of liberty shall be lost.* *Ibid.*

It is my earnest desire to know the will of Providence in this matter. And if I can learn what it is, I will do it. These are not, however, the days of miracles, and I suppose it will be granted that I am not to receive a direct revelation.

Reply to Chicago Committee of United Religious Denominations, September 13, 1862.

I admit that slavery is at the root of the rebellion, or at least its sine qua non. *Ibid.*

* Carl Sandburg: "An extraordinary little treatise on what Lincoln considered the basic point of the American economic and political system as related to the common man. . . . This passage is a rough-hewn sketch of American society, placing the farmer and the free laborer as the living and controlling element in a government of the people."

Fellow-citizens, we cannot escape history. We of this Congress and this Administration will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down, in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation. . . .

Annual message to Congress, December 1, 1862.

I recommend the adoption of the following. . . . The President of the United States shall deliver to every such State bonds of the United States bearing interest at the rate of ___ per cent per annum to an amount equal to the aggregate sum of ___ for each slave shown to have been therein by the Eighth census . . . *Ibid.*

We, even we here, hold the power and bear the responsibility. In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free, —honorable alike in what we give and what we preserve. We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last, best hope of earth. *Ibid.*

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated states and parts of states are, and henceforward shall be, free; and that the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863.

Only those generals who gain successes can set up dictators. What I now ask of you is military success, and I will risk the dictatorship.

Letter, January 26, 1863, to General Hooker, who assailed Lincoln, said the country needed a dictator.

I know the trials and woes of working men, and I have always felt for them. I know that in almost every case of strikes, the men have a just cause for complaint.

To delegation from the Machinists' and Blacksmiths' Union, 1863.

Of those who were slaves at the beginning of the rebellion, fully one hundred thousand are now in the United States military service, about one-half of which number actually bear arms in the ranks; thus giving the double advantage of taking so much labor from the insurgent cause and supplying the places which otherwise must be filled with so many white men. So far as tested, it is difficult to say they are not as good soldiers as any.

Annual message to Congress, December 8, 1863.

The strongest bond of human sympathy outside the family relation should be one uniting all working people of all nations and tongues and kindreds.

Letter to New York Workingmen's Association, 1864.

The world has never had a good definition of the word "liberty", and the American people, just now, are much in want of one. We all declare for liberty; but in using the same word, we do not all mean the same thing. With some, the word "liberty" may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself and the product of his labor; while with others, the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men and the product of other men's labor. Here are two, not only different, but incompatible things, called by the same name, –liberty. And it follows that each of the things is, by the respective parties, called by two different and incompatible names,–liberty and tyranny.

Address, Sanitary Fair, Baltimore, April 18, 1864.

The shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep's throat, for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as his liberator, while the wolf denounces him for the same act as the destroyer of liberty, especially as the sheep was a black one. Plainly, the sheep and the wolf are not agreed upon a definition of the word "liberty"; and precisely the same difference prevails today, among us human creatures, even in the North, and all professing to love liberty. Hence we behold the process by which thousands are daily passing from under the yoke of bondage hailed by some as the advance of liberty, and bewailed by others as the destruction of liberty. *Ibid.*

Whenever there is a conflict between human rights and property rights, human rights must prevail.

Quoted in Congressional Record, May 12, 1944.

My earlier views of the unsoundness of the Christian scheme of salvation and the human origin of the scriptures, have become clearer and stronger with advancing years and I see no reason for thinking I shall ever change them.

To Judge J. S. Wakefield, after the death of Willie Lincoln.

If I were to try to read, much less answer, all the attacks made on me, this shop might as well be closed for any other business.

I am a firm believer in the people. If given the truth, they can be depended upon to meet any national crisis. The great point is to bring them the real facts.

Politicians are a set of men who have interests aside from the interests of the people and who, to say the most of them, are, taken as a mass, at least one step removed from honest men.

When a white man governs himself, that is self government. But when he governs himself and also governs some other men, that is worse than self government–that is despotism. What I do mean to say is that no man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent.

Friends, I agree with you in Providence; but I believe in the Providence of the most men, the largest purse, and the longest cannon.

Public opinion is everything. With public sentiment nothing can fail; without it, nothing can succeed. Consequently, he who moulds public opinion goes deeper than he who enacts statutes or pronounces decisions.

Our government rests on public opinion. Whoever can change public opinion can change the government practically as such.

Public opinion, though often formed upon a wrong basis, yet generally has a strong underlying sense of justice.

Anne Morrow Lindbergh

(b. 1906)

American writer

Somehow the leaders in Germany, Italy and Russia have discovered how to use new economic forces. . . . They have felt the wave of the future and they have leapt upon it.

Charles A. Lindbergh (Sr.)

(1859-1924)

American congressman

A radical is one who speaks the truth.

Labor, June 15, 1957.

Under the Federal Reserve Act panics are scientifically created: the present one is the first scientifically created one worked out as we figure a mathematical problem.

1920

Charles A. Lindbergh (Jr.)

(b. 1902)

American aviator

Oriental guns are turning westward. Asia presses towards us on the Russian border, all foreign races stir restlessly. It is time to turn from our quarrels and to build our White ramparts again. The alliance with foreign races means nothing but death for us.

Aviation, Geography and Race. Also, Readers Digest, November, 1939.

It is our turn to guard our heritage from Mongol, and Persian and Moor, before we become engulfed in a limitless foreign sea.

Ibid.

The three most important groups which are pressing this country toward war are the British, the Jewish and the Roosevelt Administration. . . .

They planned, first to prepare the United States for foreign war under the guise of American defense; second, to involve us in the war, step by step, without our realization; third, to create a series of incidents which would force us into the actual conflict.

Only the creation of sufficient "incidents" yet remains; and you see the first of these already taking place, according to plan–a plan that was never laid before the American people for their approval.

Address, Des Moines, September 11, 1941; A. P. dispatch in newspapers of September 12.

Science, freedom, beauty, adventure: What more could you ask of life? Aviation

We . . . would rather die on our feet than live on our knees.* *Ibid.*

We all know that books burn—yet we have the greater knowledge that books cannot be killed by fire. People die, but books never die. . . . No man and no force can put thought in a concentration camp forever. No man and no force can take from the world the books that embody men's eternal fight against tyranny of every kind. . . . In this war we know books are weapons. And it is a part of your dedication to make them weapons for man's freedom.

Message to American Booksellers Association, April 23, 1941, on the anniversary of the Nazi book-burning.

We shall not be able to claim that we have gained total victory in this war if any vestige of Fascism in any of its malignant forms is permitted to survive anywhere in the world.

Message to Congress, September 17, 1943.

I believe now, as I have all my life, in the right of workers to join unions and to protect their unions.

Radio address, May 2, 1943.

We have accepted, so to speak, a second bill of rights under which a new basis of security and prosperity can be established for all, regardless of station, race or creed. Among these are:

The right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries or shops or farms or mines of the nation.

The right of every farmer to raise and sell his products at a return which will give him and his family a decent living.

The right of every business man, large and small, to trade in an atmosphere of freedom from unfair competition and domination by monopolies at home or abroad.

The right of every family to a decent home.

The right to adequate medical care and the opportunity to achieve and enjoy good health.

The right to adequate protection from the economic fears of old age, sickness, accident and unemployment.

The right to a good education.

Message to Congress, January 11, 1944.

Clear it with Sidney.*

July 15-17, 1944, quoted by James F. Byrnes, All in One Lifetime, Harper, 1958.

I believe in free enterprise—and always have. I believe in the profit system—and always have.

Speech, Chicago, October 28, 1944.

The basic proposition of the worth and dignity of man is the strongest, the most creative force now present in the world.

Quoted in "Army Talks," Vol. IV, No. 24.

The system of party responsibility in America requires that one of its parties be the liberal party and the other the conservative party. This has been the division by which the major parties in American history have identified themselves when-

* See Dolores Ibarruri (La Pasionaria).

* Arthur Krock reported July 25, 1944, Roosevelt saying "Clear everything with Sidney" (Hillman), regarding his choice of a Vice-President in 1944. This was officially denied. Hillman was head of the Political Action Committee, C.I.O.

ever crises have developed which required definite choice of direction.

Introduction, Vol. 7, The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The liberal party—no matter what its particular name was at the time—believed in the wide wisdom and efficacy of the will of the great majority of the people, as distinguished from the judgment of a small minority of either education or wealth. *Ibid.*

The liberal party is a party which believes that, as new conditions and problems arise beyond the power of men and women to meet as individuals, it becomes the duty of the government itself to find new remedies with which to meet them. *Ibid.*

I have always believed, and I have frequently stated, that my own party can succeed at the polls only so long as it continues to be the party of militant liberalism. *Ibid.*

It (the war effort) must not be impeded by those who put their own selfish interests above the interest of the nation.

It must not be impeded by a few bogus patriots who use the sacred freedom of the press to echo the sentiments of the propagandists in Tokyo and Berlin.

And above all, it shall not be imperiled by the handful of noisy traitors—betrayers of America, betrayers of Christianity itself—would-be dictators who in their hearts and soul have yielded to Hitlerism and would have this republic do likewise.

If the fires of freedom and civil liberties burn low in other lands, they must be made brighter in our own. If in other lands the press and books and literature of all kinds are censored, we must redouble our efforts here to keep them free. If in other lands the eternal truths of the past are threatened by intolerance, we must provide a safe place for their perpetuation.

Theodore Roosevelt

(1858-1919)

26th President of the United States

That filthy little atheist . . .*

Gouverneur Morris, 1888.

Our country calls not for the life of ease, but for the life of strenuous endeavor. The twentieth century looms before us big with the fate of many nations.

Speech, The Strenuous Life, Chicago, 1899.

If we stand idly by, if we seek merely swollen, slothful ease, and ignoble peace, if we shrink from the hard contests where men must win at hazard of their lives and at the risk of all they hold dear, then the bolder and stronger peoples will pass us by and will win for themselves the domination of the world. *Ibid.*

No man is justified in doing evil on the ground of expedience. *Ibid.*

It was my good fortune at Santiago to serve beside colored troops. A man who is good enough to shed his blood for the country is good enough to be given a square deal afterward. More than that no man is entitled to, and less than that no man shall have.

1903; quoted by Herman Hagedorn, N. Y. Times Magazine, October 27, 1957.

If elected, I shall see to it that every man has a square deal, no less and no more.

Speech, November, 1904.

* A reference to Tom Paine, who was neither filthy, nor little, nor an atheist.

Power invariably means both responsibility and danger. *1905; Hagedorn.*

The men with the muckrakes are often indispensable to the well-being of society; but only if they know when to stop raking the muck.

Address, Washington, April 14, 1906.

Every time they (judges) interpret contract, property, vested right . . . they necessarily enact into laws parts of a system of social philosophy. . . . The decisions of the courts on economic and social questions depend on their economic and social philosophy.

Message to Congress, December 8, 1908.

Americanism is a question of principle, of purpose, of Idealism, of Character; it is not a matter of birthplace or creed or line of descent.

Address, Washington, D. C., 1909.

The true friend of property, the true conservative, is he who insists that property shall be the servant and not the master of the commonwealth; who insists that the creature of man's making shall be the servant and not the master of the man who made it. The citizens of the United States must effectively control the mighty commercial forces which they have themselves called into being.

The New Nationalism, 1910.

There can be no effective control of corporations while their political activity remains. To put an end to it will be neither a short nor an easy task, but it can be done. *Ibid.*

No man should receive a dollar unless that dollar has been fairly earned. Every dollar received should represent a dollar's worth of service rendered—not gambling in stocks, but service rendered. The really big fortune, the swollen fortune, by the mere fact of its size acquires qualities which differentiate it in kind as well as in degree from what is possessed by men of relatively small means. Therefore, I believe in a graduated income tax on big fortunes, and in another tax which is far more easily collected and far more effective—a graduated inheritance tax on big fortunes, properly safeguarded against evasion and increasing rapidly in amount with the size of the estate. *Ibid.*

Nothing is more true than that excess of every kind is followed by reaction; a fact which should be pondered by reformer and reactionary alike. We are face to face with new conceptions of the relations of property to human welfare, chiefly because certain advocates of the rights of property as against the rights of men have been pushing their claims too far. The man who wrongly holds that every human right is secondary to his profit must now give way to the advocate of human welfare, who rightly maintains that every man holds his property subject to the general right of the community to regulate its use to whatever degree the public welfare may require it. *Ibid.*

I believe in shaping the ends of government to protect property as well as human welfare. Normally, and in the long run, the ends are the same; but whenever the alternative must be faced, I am for men and not for property. *Ibid.*

I am far from underestimating the importance of dividends; but I rank dividends below human character. *Ibid.*

Power undirected by high purpose spells calamity; and high purpose by itself is utterly useless if the power to put it into effect is lacking. *1911; Hagedorn.*

Labor organizations are like other organizations, like organizations of capitalists; sometimes they act very well, and sometimes they act very badly. We should consistently favor them when they act well, and as fearlessly oppose them when they act badly. *Ibid.*

I wish to see labor organizations powerful; and the minute any organization becomes powerful it becomes powerful for evil as well as for good; and when organized labor becomes sufficiently powerful the state will have to regulate the collective use of labor just as it must regulate the collective use of capital. *Ibid.*

I took the canal zone and let Congress debate, and while the debate goes on the canal does also.

Speech, Berkeley, Calif., March 23, 1911.

My hat's in the ring. The fight is on and I'm stripped to the buff. *1912.*

It is essential that there should be organizations of labor. This is an era of organization. Capital organizes and therefore labor must organize.

Speech, Milwaukee, October 14, 1912.

Every reform movement has a lunatic fringe. *Autobiography, 1913.*

There is no room in this country for hyphenated Americanism. *1915.*

Everything is un-American that tends either to government by a plutocracy or government by a mob. *1917; Hagedorn.*

To divide along the lines of section or caste or creed is un-American. *Ibid.*

All privileges based on wealth, and all enmity to honest men merely because they are wealthy, are un-American. *Ibid.*

A pacifist is as surely a traitor to his country and to humanity as is the most brutal wrongdoer.

Speech, Pittsburgh, July 27, 1917.

A great democracy must be progressive or it will soon cease to be a great democracy.

T. Roosevelt quotation used by F. D. Roosevelt at the dedication of the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial.

The relations of capital and labor, and especially of organized capital and organized labor, to each other and to the public at large, come second in importance only to the intimate questions of family life. *Ibid.*

The corporation has come to stay, just as the trade union has come to stay. Each can do and has done great good. Each should be favored as long as it does good, but each should be sharply checked where it acts against law and justice. *Ibid.*

If I were a factory employee, a working man on the railroads, or a wage earner of any sort, I would undoubtedly join the union of my trade. If I disapproved of its policy, I would join in order to fight that policy; if the union leaders were dishonest, I would join in order to put them out. I believe in the union and I believe that all men who are benefitted by the union are morally bound to help to the extent of their powers in the common interests advanced by the union.

I want to see you shoot the way you shout.

If I were asked to name the three influences which I thought were most dangerous to the perpetuity of American institu-

tions, I should name corruption, in business and politics alike; lawless violence; and mendacity, especially used in connection with slander.

We Americans are children of the crucible.

The more we condemn unadulterated Marxian Socialism, the stouter should be our insistence on thorough-going social reforms.

I am in every fiber of my body a radical.

In no other country was such power held by the men who had gained these fortunes, the mighty industrial overlords. . . . The Government was practically impotent. . . . Of all forms of tyranny the least attractive and the most vulgar is the tyranny of mere wealth. *Quoted in The Saturday Review.*

I believe in power; but I believe that responsibility should go with power.
Time, March 3, 1958 (100th anniversary).

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. *Ibid.*

Elihu Root
(1845-1937)
American lawyer, statesman

Never forget that men who labor cast the votes, set up and pull down governments.

Alfred Rosenberg
(1893-1946)
Nazi politician, editor

The racial interpretation of history is an insight which will soon become self-evident.
Der Mythus der 20. Jahrhunderts, translated by Franklin Le Van Baumer. Main Currents of Western Thought, 1952.

Today there awakens a new faith: the myth of blood, the belief that to defend blood is to defend the divine nature of man: the faith, embodied in clearest knowledge, that the nordic blood represents that mystery which has replaced and overcome the old sacraments. *Ibid.*

Germanic Europe presented the world with the brightest ideal of manhood: the teaching of the value of character as the foundation of all morality, the paean of praise to the highest value of the nordic nature, to the idea of freedom of conscience and honor. *Ibid.*

The Negro problem in the United States is vital to the country's future existence. If means are not taken to suppress the Negroes . . . they, in their capacity as Bolshevik combatants, will prepare the doom of white America. *Ibid.*

The idea of National Socialism is an accomplishment of the human soul that ranks with the Parthenon, the Sistine Madonna, and the Ninth Symphony of Beethoven.
Quoted by John Gunther. The Nation, February 6, 1935.

A new peace shall make Germany master of the globe, a peace not hanging on the palm fronds of pacifist womenfolk, but

established by the victorious sword of a master-race that takes over the world.

Edward Alsworth Ross
(b. 1866)
American sociologist

There is one deadly, damning count against the daily newspaper as it is coming to be; namely, it doesn't give the news.

The religion a hierarchy ladles out to its dupes is chloroform.

Claude Joseph Rouget de Lisle
(1760-1836)
French army officer

Allons, enfants de la Patrie
Le jour de gloire est arrivé!
Contre nous de la tyrannie
L'étendard sanglant est levé . . .
La Marseillaise, 1792.

Ye sons of freedom, wake to glory!
Hark! hark! what myriads bid you rise!
Your children, wives and grandsires hoary,
Behold their tears and hear their cries . . .

Aux armes, citoyens,
Formez vos bataillons!
Marchons! marchons! Qu'un sang impur
Abreuve nos sillons. (Chorus)

To arms! to arms! ye brave!
The avenging sword unsheathe!
March on! march on! all hearts resolved
On victory or death!

With luxury and pride surrounded,
The vile, insatiate despots dare,
Their thirst for gold and power unbounded,
To mete and vend the light and air.
Ibid.

But Man is Man, and who is More?
Ibid.

O Liberty! can man resign thee,
Once having felt thy generous flame?
Can dungeons' holds and bars confine thee,
Or whips thy noble spirit tame? *Ibid.*

Too long the world has wept bewailing,
That Falsehood's dagger tyrants wield;
But Freedom is our sword and shield,
And all their arts are unavailing! *Ibid.*

Jean Jacques Rousseau
(1712-1778)
French writer, philosopher

General and abstract ideas are the source of the greatest errors of mankind.
Émile.

With children use force, with men reason; such is the natural order of things. The wise man requires no law. *Ibid.*

I believe, therefore, that the world is governed by a wise and powerful *Will.*
Ibid.

Liberty is not to be found in any form of government; she is in the heart of the free man; he bears her with him everywhere. The vile man bears his slavery by himself; the one would be a slave in Geneva, the other free in Paris.
Ibid., quoted by Adler, The Idea of Freedom.

Supreme happiness consists in self-content; that we may gain this self-content we are placed upon this earth and endowed with freedom, we are tempted by our passions and restrained by conscience. What more could divine power itself have done in our behalf? *Ibid.*

or action, is a fundamental error in human legislation—a madness which would be only equalled by requiring all to possess the same countenance, the same voice or the same stature. *Ibid.*

The disconnection of Church and State was a master stroke for freedom and harmony. The great moving power, the very soul of the Protestant Reformation, was that it left every one free to interpret the Scriptures according to his own Individual views. *Ibid.*

Children are principally the creatures of example—whatever surrounding adults do, they will do. If we strike them, they will strike each other. If they see us attempting to govern each other they will imitate the same barbarism. If we habitually admit the right of sovereignty in each other and in them, they will become equally respectful of our rights and of each other's. All these propositions are probably self-evident, yet not one of them is practicable under the present mixture of the interests and responsibilities between adults and between parents and children. To solve the problem of education, children must be surrounded with equity and must be equitably treated, and each and every one, parent or child, must be understood to be an individual, and must have his or her individual rights equitably respected. *Ibid.*

Booker T. Washington

(1856-1915)

American Negro leader

I beg of you to remember that wherever our life touches yours we help or hinder . . . wherever your life touches ours, you make us stronger or weaker . . . There is no escape—man drags man down, or man lifts man up. *The American Standard, 1896.*

I have learned that success is to be measured not so much by the position that one has reached in life as by the obstacles which he has overcome while trying to succeed. *Up from Slavery.*

There are two ways of exerting one's strength: one is pushing down, the other is pulling up.

Quoted by Basil Matthews, Booker T. Washington.

You can't hold a man down without staying down with him.

N. Y. Times Magazine, February 20, 1955.

I shall never permit myself to stoop so low as to hate any man.

George Washington

(1732-1799)

1st President of the United States

The matter I allude to is the exorbitant price exacted by the merchants and vendors of goods for every necessary they dispose of. I am sensible the trouble and risk in importing give the adventurers a right to a generous price, and that such, from the motives of policy, should be paid; but yet I cannot conceive that they, in direct violation of every principle of generosity, of reason and of justice, should be allowed, if it is possible to restrain 'em, to avail themselves of the difficulties of the times, and to amass fortunes upon the public ruin.

Letter to the President of Congress, from Neshamini Camp, August 16, 1777.

It is a maxim founded on the universal experience of mankind that no nation is to be trusted farther than it is bound by its interest. *Letter to Henry Laurens, 1778.*

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

Letter to a friend, March 31, 1779.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The administration of justice is the firmest pillar of government.

Letter to Randolph, 1789.

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

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

Message to Catholics, 1789.

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

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

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

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

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

Letter to Edward Newenham, October 20, 1792.

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

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

Farewell Address to the People of the United States, September, 1796.°

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence therefore it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships, or enmities. *Ibid.*

There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard. *Ibid.*

Liberty, when it begins to take root, is a plant of rapid growth. *Moral Maxims.*

Few men have virtue to withstand the highest bidder. *Ibid.*

To persevere in one's duty and be silent is the best answer to calumny. *Ibid.*

Arbitrary power is most easily established on the ruins of liberty abused to licentiousness.

Rather than quarrel about territory let the poor, the needy and oppressed of the Earth, and those who want Land, resort to the fertile plains of our western country, the second Promise, and there dwell in peace, fulfilling the first and great commandment.

Overgrown military establishments are under any form of government inauspicious to liberty, and are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty.

My first wish is to see this plague of mankind, war, banished from the earth.

Some day, taking its pattern from the United States, there will be founded a United States of Europe.

Government is not reason, it is not eloquence—it is force! Like fire it is a dangerous servant and a fearful master; never for a moment should it be left to irresponsible action.

If to please the people, we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterward defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair. The event is in the hands of God.

Robert W. Seton-Watson

See Seton-Watson

John B(roadus) Watson

(1878-1958)

Founder, behaviorist school of psychology

Behaviorism.
Psychology as the Behaviorist Views It, 1913.

Sidney Webb (Lord Passfield)

(1859-1947)

English socialist leader, writer

The main stream which has borne European society towards Socialism during the past 100 years is the irresistible progress of Democracy.

Fabian Essays in Socialism, copyright by G. B. Shaw, 1931.

The inevitable outcome of Democracy is the control by the people themselves, not only of their own political organization, but, through that, also of the main instruments of wealth production; the gradual substitution of organized cooperation for the anarchy of the competitive struggle. . . . The economic side of the democratic ideal is, in fact, Socialism itself. *Ibid.*

1 Still one thing more, fellow citizens—a wise and frugal government, which shall restrain men from injuring one another, which shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement, and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government, and this is necessary to close the circle of our felicities. *Ib.*

2 Equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none. . . . Freedom of religion; freedom of the press, and freedom of person under the protection of the *habeas corpus,* and trial by juries impartially selected. These principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us, and guided our steps through an age of revolution and reformation. The wisdom of our sages and the blood of our heroes have been devoted to their attainment. They should be the creed of our political faith, the text of civil instruction, the touchstone by which we try the services of those we trust; and should we wander from them in moments of error or alarm, let us hasten to retrace our steps and to regain the road which alone leads to peace, liberty, and safety. *Ib.*

3 Whensoever hostile aggressions . . . require a resort to war, we must meet our duty and convince the world that we are just friends and brave enemies.
Letter to Andrew Jackson [December 3, 1806]

4 The care of human life and happiness, and not their destruction, is the first and only legitimate object of good government.[1]
To the Republican Citizens of Washington County, Maryland [March 31, 1809]

5 Politics, like religion, hold up the torches of martyrdom to the reformers of error.
Letter to James Ogilvie [August 4, 1811]

6 But though an old man, I am but a young gardener.
Letter to Charles Wilson Peale [August 20, 1811]

7 The earth belongs to the living, not to the dead.
Letter to John W. Eppes [June 24, 1813]

[1] See George Mason, 367:5.

8 I agree with you that there is a natural aristocracy among men. The grounds of this are virtue and talents.
Letter to John Adams [October 28, 1813]

9 Merchants have no country. The mere spot they stand on does not constitute so strong an attachment as that from which they draw their gains.
Letter to Horatio G. Spafford [March 17, 1814]

10 I cannot live without books.
Letter to John Adams [June 10, 1815]

11 If a nation expects to be ignorant and free, in a state of civilization, it expects what never was and never will be.
Letter to Colonel Charles Yancey [January 6, 1816]

12 Enlighten the people generally, and tyranny and oppressions of body and mind will vanish like evil spirits at the dawn of day.
Letter to Du Pont de Nemours [April 24, 1816]

13 I have the consolation to reflect that during the period of my administration not a drop of the blood of a single fellow citizen was shed by the sword of war or of the law.
Letter to papal nuncio Count Dugnani [February 14, 1818]

14 But this momentous question [the Missouri Compromise], like a firebell in the night awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it the knell of the Union.
Letter to John Holmes [April 22, 1820]

15 I know no safe depository of the ultimate powers of the society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them, but to inform their discretion.
Letter to William Charles Jarvis [September 28, 1820]

16 We are not afraid to follow truth wherever it may lead, nor to tolerate any error so long as reason is left free to combat it.
Letter to William Roscoe [December 27, 1820]

17 That one hundred and fifty lawyers should do business together ought not to be expected.
Autobiography [January 6, 1821], on the United States Congress

1 And even should the cloud of barbarism and despotism again obscure the science and libraries of Europe, this country remains to preserve and restore light and liberty to them. In short, the flames kindled on the fourth of July, 1776, have spread over too much of the globe to be extinguished by the feeble engines of despotism; on the contrary, they will consume these engines and all who work them.

Letter to John Adams [September 12, 1821]

2 Men by their constitutions are naturally divided into two parties: (1) Those who fear and distrust the people, and wish to draw all powers from them into the hands of the higher classes. (2) Those who identify themselves with the people, have confidence in them, cherish and consider them as the most honest and safe, although not the most wise depository of the public interests. In every country these two parties exist; and in every one where they are free to think, speak, and write, they will declare themselves.

Letter to Henry Lee [August 10, 1824]

3 Never buy what you do not want, because it is cheap; it will be dear to you.

A Decalogue of Canons for Observation in Practical Life [February 21, 1825]

4 When angry, count ten before you speak; if very angry, an hundred.[1] *Ib.*

5 The good old Dominion, the blessed mother of us all. *Thoughts on Lotteries [1826]*

6 This is the Fourth?

Last words [July 4, 1826][2]

Antoine Laurent Lavoisier

1743–1794

7 It is impossible to dissociate language from science or science from language, because every natural science always involves three things: the sequence of phenomena on which the science is based; the abstract concepts which call these phenomena to mind; and the words in which the concepts are expressed. To call forth a concept a word is needed; to portray a phenomenon, a concept is needed. All three mirror one and the same reality.[3]

Traité Elémentaire de Chimie [1789]

8 If, by the term *elements,* we mean to express the simple and indivisible molecules that compose bodies, it is probable that we know nothing about them; but if, on the contrary, we express by the term *elements* or *principles of bodies* the idea of the last point reached by analysis, all substances that we have not yet been able to decompose by any means are elements to us.[4] *Ib.*

William Paley

1743–1805

9 Who can refute a sneer?

Moral Philosophy [1785], vol. II, bk. V, ch. 9

The Letters of Junius[5]

1769–1771

10 One precedent creates another. They soon accumulate and constitute law. What yesterday was fact, today is doctrine.

Dedication to the English Nation

11 The liberty of the press is the palladium of all the civil, political, and religious rights of an Englishman. *Ib.*

12 I believe there is yet a spirit of resistance in this country, which will not submit to be oppressed; but I am sure there is a fund of good sense in this country, which cannot be deceived.

No. 16, to the Printer of the Public Advertiser (H. S. Woodfall) [July 19, 1769]

13 We owe it to our ancestors to preserve entire those rights, which they have delivered to our care: we owe it to our posterity, not to suffer their dearest inheritance to be destroyed.

No. 20, to the Printer of the Public Advertiser [August 8, 1769]

14 When the constitution is openly invaded, when the first original right of the people, from which all laws derive their authority, is directly attacked, inferior grievances naturally lose their force, and are suffered to pass by without punishment or observation.

No. 30, to the Printer of the Public Advertiser [October 17, 1769]

[1] See Mark Twain, 624:20.

[2] John Adams died the same day. See his last words, 382:5.

[3] Translated by J. Lipetz, D. E. Gershenson, and D. A. Greenberg.

[4] Translated by D. McKie.

[5] Pseudonym of the author of a series of letters [1769–1771] in the London *Public Advertiser* (published in book form, 1772). They have been attributed to, among others, Sir Philip Francis, Lord Shelburne, Lord George Sackville, and Lord Temple.

since the introduction of Christianity, have been burnt, tortured, fined, imprisoned; yet we have not advanced one inch towards uniformity. What has been the effect of coercion? To make one half the world fools, and the other half hypocrites. *Ib.*

1 Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just. *Ib. 18*

2 Those who labor in the earth are the chosen people of God, if ever he had a chosen people, whose breasts He has made His peculiar deposit for substantial and genuine virtue. *Ib. 19*

3 He who permits himself to tell a lie once, finds it much easier to do it a second and third time, till at length it becomes habitual; he tells lies without attending to it, and truths without the world's believing him. This falsehood of the tongue leads to that of the heart, and in time depraves all its good dispositions.

Letter to Peter Carr [August 19, 1785]

4 The basis of our government being the opinion of the people, the very first object should be to keep that right; and were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter.

Letter to Colonel Edward Carrington [January 16, 1787]

5 Experience declares that man is the only animal which devours his own kind; for I can apply no milder term to the governments of Europe, and to the general prey of the rich on the poor. *Ib.*

6 I hold it, that a little rebellion, now and then, is a good thing, and as necessary in the political world as storms in the physical.

Letter to James Madison [January 30, 1787]

7 What country before ever existed a century and a half without a rebellion? . . . The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants.[1] It is its natural manure.

Letter to William Stevens Smith [November 13, 1787]

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

Letter to William Hunter [March 11, 1790]

[1]See Tertullian, 126:3, and Barère, 401:4.

9 We are not to expect to be translated from despotism to liberty in a featherbed.

Letter to Lafayette [April 2, 1790]

10 Let what will be said or done, preserve your *sang-froid* immovably, and to every obstacle, oppose patience, perseverance, and soothing language.

Letter to William Short [March 18, 1792]

11 ~~Delay is preferable~~ to error.

Letter to George Washington [May 16, 1792]

12 We confide in our strength, without boasting of it; we respect that of others, without fearing it.

Letter to William Carmichael and William Short [1793]

13 ~~The second office of the government~~ is honorable ~~and easy, the first is~~ but a splendid misery.[2]

Letter to Elbridge Gerry [May 13, 1797]

14 Offices are as acceptable here as elsewhere, and whenever a man has cast a longing eye on them, a rottenness begins in his conduct.

Letter to Tench Coxe [May 21, 1799]

15 I have sworn upon the altar of God, eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man.

Letter to Dr. Benjamin Rush [September 23, 1800]

16 We are all Republicans—we are all Federalists. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it.[3]

First Inaugural Address [March 4, 1801]

17 But would the honest patriot, in the full tide of successful experiment, abandon a government which has so far kept us free and firm, on the theoretic and visionary fear that this government, the world's best hope, may by possibility want energy to preserve itself? *Ib.*

18 Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the forms of kings to govern him? Let history answer this question. *Ib.*

[2]See John Adams, 381:16.
[3]See Milton, 282:5, and Holmes, 645:1.

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George Washington

1789–97

Nineteenth-century Americans apotheosized George Washington (1732–99); many people regarded him as little short of divine. Mason Locke ("Parson") Weems, Washington's first biographer, called him a demigod and insisted that he possessed all the virtues. "It is hardly an exaggeration," wrote Weems in 1800, "to say that Washington was pious as Numa; just as Aristides; temperate as Epictetus; patriotic as Regulus; in giving public trusts, impartial as Severus; in victory, modest as Scipio; prudent as Fabius; rapid as Marcellus; undaunted as Hannibal; as Cincinnatus disinterested; to liberty firm as Cato; as respectful of the laws as Socrates."[1] In February 1832, during the centennial celebration of Washington's birthday, John Quincy Adams heard a sermon which, he thought, "exalted the character of Washington perhaps too much. There were close approaches to the expression of the belief that there was something supernatural in his existence. There seemed little wanting to bring out a theory that he was a second Savior of mankind. That he had a charmed life, and was protected by a special Providence, was explicitly avowed as a belief."[2]

When William Thackeray used Washington as a character in *The Virginians* (1857–59), many Americans were horrified. "Mr. Thackeray," said one critic, "should never have ventured upon bringing Washington into his story further than to permit him to cross the stage and be seen no more."[3] Another critic was appalled that Thack-

eray had portrayed Washington "like other men" in his novel. "Why, this is the essence of falsehood," he exclaimed. "Washington was not like other men; and to bring his lofty character down to the level of the vulgar passions of common life, is to give the lie to the grandest chapter in the uninspired annals of the human race."[4] Horatio Greenough's huge marble statue of Washington, presenting him as an old Roman, stripped to his waist, with a toga draped over his knees, balancing a sword, and sitting on a Roman chair, raised an even greater storm than Thackeray's novel when it was unveiled in the Capitol Rotunda in 1841. "Our people," said architect Charles Bulfinch, "will hardly be satisfied with looking on well-developed muscles when they wish to see the great man as their imagination has painted him. I fear that this [statue] will only give the idea of entering or leaving a bath. If I should give my advice, it would be to send the statue to Athens, to be placed in the Parthenon with other naked great men." The statue was not sent to Athens; but eventually it was put away in the basement of the Smithsonian Institution, where it could embarrass the nation no longer.[5] Nathaniel Hawthorne was amused by all the commotion. "Did anybody ever see Washington nude?" he asked playfully. "It is inconceivable. He had no nakedness, but I imagine he was born with his clothes on, and his hair powdered, and made a stately bow on his first appearance in the world."[6]

Even Americans who did not deify Washington were awed by his presence. In 1787, when the Constitutional Convention was meeting in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania's Gouverneur Morris boasted to Alexander Hamilton that "he could be as familiar with Washington as with any of his other friends." Hamilton replied, "If you will, at the next reception evening, gently slap him on the shoulder, and say, 'My dear General, how happy I am to see you look so well,' a supper and wine shall be provided for you and a dozen of your friends." Morris accepted the challenge. On the evening agreed upon a large number of people were present when Morris entered the room, bowed, shook hands with Washington, laid his left hand on the latter's shoulder, and said, "My dear General, I am very happy to see you look so well!" Washington, according to one report, "withdrew his hand, stepped suddenly back, fixed his eye on Morris for several minutes with an angry frown, until the latter retreated, abashed, and sought refuge in the crowd. The company looked on in silence." At the supper to which Hamilton treated him afterward,

Morris said ruefully: "I have won the bet, but paid dearly for it, and nothing could induce me to repeat it!"[7] It is not surprising that when Chief Justice John Marshall, no sentimental filiopietist like Parson Weems, came to write a serious biography of the Father of His Country, it turned out to be "a Mausoleum," as John Adams put it, "100 feet square at the base, and 200 feet high." No wonder Gertrude Stein said: "She is very sleepy. George Washington."[8]

Washington was dignified enough, and certainly worthy of the highest respect. As Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army during the American Revolution, he performed heroically to overcome heartbreaking difficulties in furtherance of the American cause; he was probably indispensable to the winning of American independence from Britain in 1783. His stern refusal to seize power in the chaotic period toward the end of the war, despite suggestions that he do so, was important to the triumph of civilian government in America. His presence at the Constitutional Convention of 1787 and his firm support of the Constitution that emerged from it were crucial to the experiment in republican government that was launched in 1789. And as first President of the United States, he showed a great deal of common sense, pursuing policies that enabled the new republic to get off to a good start. He made mistakes, of course, both as Continental Commander and as President. But most of the time he showed sound judgment; and his devotion to the public good in all exigencies was unwavering. Even Thomas Jefferson (who disagreed with him politically) and John Adams (who was irked by his fame and popularity) could not help being impressed by him.

Washington was impressive all right; but he was never as stiff, formal, cold, aloof, and impersonal as legend has pictured him. As a young man, he engaged in derring-do like any romantic hero; he was eager to prove himself as a fighter and so was careless of his own safety in the midst of battle. All his life, moreover, he had an eye for good-looking women, with whom he liked to flirt. He had an earthy sense of humor, growing out of his experiences as a Virginia farmer-planter, and was not put off by the subject of sex. He also liked good food and wine, enjoyed card-playing, horse-racing, and fox-hunting, and had a great passion for the theater. At his wife Martha's tea parties, he circulated with obvious pleasure among the ladies and impressed John Adams's wife Abigail as being "polite with dignity, affable without familiarity, distant without haughtiness, grave without austerity, modest, wise, and good."[9]

But Washington's teeth eventually did him in. Later in life he suffered frequently from toothaches; finally he had his teeth pulled and a plate made for him by a silversmith. But his first dentures were so ill-fitting that he could barely close his lips when wearing them, and it was extremely difficult for him to smile. When portraitist Gilbert Stuart came to paint him, he emphasized the severe lines on Washington's mouth produced by his false teeth—perhaps deliberately. Washington did not enjoy sitting for portraits, with the result that he and Stuart seemed not to hit it off very well. At one point, in an effort to put Washington at ease, Stuart remarked, "Now, sir, you must let me forget that you are General Washington and I am Stuart the painter." But Washington's mild and apparently well-intentioned reply—"Mr. Stuart need never feel the need for forgetting who he is and who General Washington is"—irritated him. As a result, Stuart, possibly out of sheer pique (according to biographer James Thomas Flexner), accentuated the distortions of Washington's mouth in his famous portrait, thereby distorting Washington the man in the eyes of future generations of Americans.[10] For Washington was far from being the stiff, awkward, glum, square-jawed stuffed shirt who peers at us from Stuart's portrait. The anecdotes which follow (except for Parson Weems's goody-goody fabrications) show him to be a many-sided individual possessing kindliness as well as reserve, playfulness as well as dignity, and passionate feeling as well as prudent restraint.

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George's Apple

One morning in the fall of 1737, according to Parson Weems, Mr. Washington took little George by the hand and led him and his cousin to a nearby orchard whose trees were laden with apples. "Now, George," said his father, "look here, my son! don't you remember when this good cousin of yours brought you that fine large apple last spring, how hardly I could prevail on you to divide with your brothers and sisters; though I promised you that if you would but do it, God Almighty would give you plenty of apples this fall." Poor George, says Weems, could not say a word; but "hanging down his head, looked quite confused, while with his little naked toes he scratched in the soft ground." Then, lifting his eyes, "filled with

shining moisture," to his father, he softly said, "Well, Pa, only forgive me this time; see if I ever be so stingy any more."[11]

The Cherry Tree Story

When George was about six years old, Parson Weems tells us, he was made "the wealthy master of a *hatchet!*" of which, like most boys, he was immoderately fond; he was constantly going about chopping everything that came his way. One day, he unluckily tried the edge of his hatchet on the body of a beautiful young English cherry tree, which he "barked so terribly" that he ruined it. The next morning, George's father discovered what had happened to his tree and was filled with sorrow and anger. Presently George and his hatchet made their appearance. "George," said Mr. Washington sternly, "do you know who killed that beautiful little cherry-tree yonder in the garden?" This, says Weems, was a *tough question,* and George staggered under it for a moment; but quickly recovered himself, and, looking at his father "with the sweet face of youth brightened with the inexpressible charm of all-conquering truth," he bravely cried out: "I can't tell a lie, Pa; you know I can't tell a lie. I did cut it with my hatchet." "Run to my arms, you dearest boy," cried his father in transports, "run to my arms; glad am I, George, that you killed my tree, for you have paid me for it a thousand fold. Such an act of heroism in my son, is worth more than a thousand trees, though blossomed with silver, and their fruits of purest gold."[12]

The Coonskin

The story of George and the coonskin is no more probable than the apple and cherry-tree stories, but it provides a welcome relief from Parson Weems's fables. One day, the story goes, Washington, a young surveyor in the employ of Lord Fairfax, walked into a tavern and demanded a dram of whiskey. The liquor was placed before him, but when he went to pay for it, he found he had no money. Undismayed, he drew a coonskin from his bag; the innkeeper accepted this in payment for the drink and returned 158 rabbit skins in change. George was so pleased—by both the drink and the change the inn-keeper gave him—that he proceeded to treat everybody in the tavern and kept on treating them until the last rabbit skin had been returned over the bar.[13]

The Charm of Bullets

In August 1754, the *London Magazine* quoted young Washington's remark after a skirmish with the French and Indians at Great Meadows: "I heard the bullets whistle, and, believe me, there is something charming in the sound." Commented King George II dryly: "He would not say so, had he been used to hear many." Years later, when someone asked Washington whether he had said he found charm in the whistling of bullets, he is supposed to have replied: "If I said so, it was when I was young."[14]

Apology

In 1754, when Washington was a colonel stationed with his men in Alexandria, there was an election for members of the Virginia Assembly, and a man named William Payne opposed the candidate supported by Washington. At one point, according to a popular story, Washington got into a heated argument with Payne about the election and said something extremely offensive to him. In a fury, Payne knocked Washington to the ground. But when Washington's men came running up, determined to avenge their commander, Washington intervened and persuaded them to return peacefully to the barracks. Early the next morning he sent Payne a note requesting his presence at the local tavern as soon as possible. Payne went to the tavern expecting a duel. To his surprise, he saw wine and glasses instead of pistols. Washington rose to meet him and, smiling, offered his hand. "Mr. Payne," he said, "to err is nature; to rectify error is glory. I believe I was wrong yesterday; you have already had some satisfaction, and if you deem that sufficient, here is my hand—let us be friends." From then on, ends the story, happily enough, Payne was an enthusiastic admirer of Washington.[15]

The Sorrel Story

When Washington was a boy, according to Martha's grandson, G. W. P. Custis, his mother owned a blooded brood stallion with a fierce and ungovernable nature. Several people had tried without success to ride him. Washington determined to master the horse. Aided by some friends, he bridled him and leaped astride him. The furious horse tried to unseat the young rider, but Washington clung

tightly to his seat. A long and stormy struggle ensued. Finally, says Custis, "the gallant horse, summoning all his powers to one mighty effort, reared, and plunged with tremendous violence, burst his noble heart, and died in an instant." A little later, at breakfast, Mrs. Washington asked about the horse. "Your favorite, the sorrel, is dead," Washington told her regretfully. "Dead!" she exclaimed, "Why, what has happened?" Washington then told her what had taken place. His mother was silent for a moment, then said: "It is well; but while I regret the loss of my favorite, *I rejoice in my son, who always speaks the truth.*"[16]

Continental Commander

In June 1775, a few weeks after the skirmish at Lexington and Concord, John Adams got up in the Continental Congress, meeting in Philadelphia, to nominate a Commander-in-Chief for the Continental forces. John Hancock, who as president of Congress was in the chair, thought that Adams intended to name him; so he listened with mounting satisfaction as Adams outlined the superior qualifications needed by the new commander. "Gentlemen," exclaimed Adams finally, "I know these qualifications are high, but we all know they are needful in this crisis in this chief. Does any one say they are not to be obtained in this country? In reply, I have to say they are; they reside in one of our own body—" At this point, Hancock could scarcely conceal a smile. But when Adams went on to say, "—and he is the man whom I now nominate—George Washington," Hancock's face fell with a sudden thud. Adams said afterward that he had never seen anyone's expression change as quickly as Hancock's did that day. Washington himself was apparently startled at Adams's choice, for he jumped up and left the room in a hurry. Later on, after Congress voted unanimously to accept Adams's nomination, Washington, "with a tear glistening in his eye," told Patrick Henry: "This will be the commencement of the decline of my reputation."[17]

Out of His Depth

While Washington was out riding one day with his aide-de-camp, Colonel David Humphreys, the latter, knowing how proud the General was of his riding, offered him a bet that he would not follow him over a tall hedge. Washington accepted the challenge. Hum-

phreys led the way and took the leap boldly, but, to his consternation, discovered that he had mistaken the spot and was deposited on the other side, up to his horse's girth, in a quagmire of mud. Washington either knew the ground better or had suspected something, for, following at an easy pace, he reined up at the hedge and, looking over at his engulfed aide, exclaimed: "No, no, Colonel, you are too *deep* for me!"[18]

Receiving Fire

One evening, as Washington sat at the table after dinner, the fire behind him flared up, leading him to say that it was too hot and he'd better move. When someone said it behooved a general to stand fire, Washington retorted that it didn't look good for a general to receive it from behind.[19]

The Valley Forge Prayer

One of the most delightful of all the fanciful anecdotes narrated by Parson Weems has to do with the Quaker who abandoned his pacifism after hearing Washington pray. In the winter of 1777, Weems tells us, while Washington, with the American army, lay encamped at Valley Forge, "a certain good old FRIEND, of the respectable family and name of Potts, if I mistake not, had occasion to pass through the woods near headquarters. Treading his way along the venerable grove, suddenly he heard the sound of a human voice, which, as he advanced, increased on his ear; and at length became like the voice of one speaking much in earnest. As he approached the spot with a cautious step, whom should he behold, in a dark natural bower of ancient oaks, but the commander in chief of the American armies on his knees in prayer! Motionless with surprise, friend Potts continued on the place till the general, having ended his devotions, arose, and, with a countenance of angelic serenity, retired to headquarters. Friend Potts then went home, and on entering his parlour called out to his wife, 'Sarah! my dear Sarah! all's well! all's well! George Washington will yet prevail!' 'What's the matter, Isaac?' replied she, 'thee seems moved.' 'Well, if I seem moved, 'tis no more than what I really am. I have this day seen what I never expected. Thee knows that I always thought that the sword and the gospel were utterly inconsistent; and that no man could be a soldier and a Christian at the same time. But George Washington has this day convinced me of my mistake.' Friend Potts then related what he had seen, and concluded with this prophetical remark: 'If George Washington be not a man of God, I am greatly deceived—and still more shall I be deceived, if God do not, through him, work out a great salvation for America.' "[20]

Washington at Monmouth

In July 1778, British forces left Philadelphia and started northward through New Jersey toward New York. Washington followed and, on the twenty-eighth, forced them to fight at Monmouth. The Americans might have won except for the blundering of General Charles Lee. Instead of attacking, as Washington had ordered, Lee gave several confusing commands and then retreated. Washington was furious when he saw his men retreating; riding up to Lee, he cried, "What is the meaning of this, sir?" Lee did not reply, and Washington again exclaimed, "I desire to know the meaning of this disorder and confusion!" Lee then angrily said that "the American troops would not stand the British bayonets," and Washington snapped back, "You damned poltroon, you have never tried them!" In the end, Washington managed to halt the retreat and save the day for his army, but the opportunity to destroy a large part of the British force was lost. After the battle, Lee was suspended from his command for a year. Lafayette, who witnessed the exchange between Washington and Lee, said later that it "was the only time I ever heard General Washington swear" and that his fury at Lee's behavior was terrible to behold.[21]

Quarrel with Hamilton

In February 1781, Alexander Hamilton, one of Washington's aides since 1777, had a quarrel with the Commander-in-Chief that led to his resignation. "The General and I passed each other on the stairs," Hamilton recalled; "he told me he wanted to speak to me. I answered that I would wait on him immediately. . . ." He then went downstairs to give Tench Tilghman, a fellow aide, a letter he was waiting for; as he was about to go up to Washington, he was stopped on the stairs by Lafayette, and they "conversed together a minute." When he finally came into Washington's room, Washington

exclaimed angrily, "Colonel Hamilton, you have kept me waiting at the head of the stairs these ten minutes. I must tell you, sir, you treat me with disrespect!" "I am not conscious of it, sir," replied Hamilton, "but since you have thought it necessary to tell me so, we part." "Very well, sir," returned Washington, "if it be your choice."

An hour later Washington sent Tilghman to Hamilton to tell him he was sorry the outburst had occurred and that he was willing to forget it. But Hamilton refused to reconsider his resignation; the most he would do was agree to stay on until Washington found a replacement for him. Hamilton was too ambitious to be satisfied as a mere aide-de-camp; he was also anxious for active duty. In the end, Washington, who had great affection for Hamilton, overlooked his young aide's rudeness and gave him an active command. Hamilton served at Yorktown.[22]

Yorktown

When General Charles Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown in October 1781, Washington insisted that "the same honors shall be granted to the surrendering army as were granted to the garrison of Charleston." He was thinking of the humiliation General Henry Clinton had inflicted on American forces when General Benjamin Lincoln surrendered Charleston, South Carolina, to the British in 1780 and his refusal to accord them "the honors of war" at the surrender ceremony. The minute Cornwallis heard of Washington's decision, he announced that he was ill and would send Brigadier General Charles O'Hara in his place. At the ceremony, O'Hara tried to hand his sword over to the French rather than to the Americans, but Washington thereupon refused to accept it. He also forced O'Hara to surrender to General Lincoln, the officer whom Clinton had insulted at Charleston. After all, if Cornwallis was to be represented at the surrender by a deputy, the American commander would be too![23]

Yorktown Toasts

After the British surrender at Yorktown, Washington invited Cornwallis and his officers to dinner. "The United States!" toasted French commander Rochambeau. "The King of France!" toasted Washington. "The King!" toasted Cornwallis. To which Washington is said to have added: "Of England! Confine him there and I'll drink him a full bumper!"[24]

Franklin's Toast

Benjamin Franklin, as American minister to France, attended a diplomatic dinner in Paris shortly after Yorktown. The French foreign minister, Vergennes, opened the dinner by toasting his King in champagne: "His Majesty, Louis the Sixteenth, who, like the moon, fills the earth with a soft, benevolent glow." The British ambassador then rose to give his toast: "George the Third, who, like the sun at noonday, spreads his light and illumines the world." Then the aging Franklin rose and exclaimed: "I cannot give you the sun nor the moon, but I give you George Washington, General of the armies of the United States, who, like Joshua of old, commanded both the sun and the moon to stand still, and both obeyed."[25]

Refuses a Crown

Conditions in America after the victory at Yorktown were far from reassuring. Inflation was rampant, and the expression "not worth a Continental," referring to paper money issued by the Continental Congress, began circulating. Army pay was months in arrears and, since Congress seemed incapable of meeting its financial obligations, many soldiers faced the prospect of returning to civilian life, upon the disbanding of the army, without money or jobs. Overcome by the apparent hopelessness of the situation, Colonel Lewis Nicola of Pennsylvania wrote Washington a letter on May 22, 1782, in which he proposed that the Commander-in-Chief seize power with the help of the army, make himself king or dictator, and establish a strong, stable government able to meet its financial obligations. "Republican bigots," said Nicola, would undoubtedly consider his plan as "meriting fire and fagots" if they got wind of it, but he trusted Washington to keep it in strict confidence until the time came to act.

Washington did keep Nicola's scheme in strict confidence; but he also rejected it at once with scorn and contempt. "With a mixture of great surprise and astonishment," he told Nicola, "I read with attention the sentiments you have submitted to my perusal. Be as-

sured, Sir, no occurrence in the course of the War, has given me more painful sensations than your information of there being such ideas existing in the Army as you have expressed, and I must view [them] with abhorrence and reprehend with severity. . . . I am much at a loss to conceive what part of my conduct could have given encouragement to an address which to me seems big with the greatest mischiefs that can befall my Country. If I am not deceived in myself, you could not have found a person to whom your schemes were more disagreeable. . . . Let me conjure you then, if you have any regard for your Country, for yourself or posterity, or respect for me, to banish these thoughts from your Mind, and never communicate, as from yourself, or any one else, a sentiment of like nature."

That was the end of Nicola's scheme. In a state of extreme agitation, Nicola dashed off a letter of apology to Washington for having made such proposals. Then, worried lest this letter had been too confused, he sent off another imploring Washington to clear him of "every suspicion of harbouring sinister designs." Still reeling from the impact of Washington's reply, he wrote again to disavow the ideas he had advanced in his first letter. He took no part in the Newburgh crisis which developed a few months later.[26]

The Newburgh Crisis

During the winter of 1782–83, as the American people awaited the final conclusion of peace with Great Britain, the officers at Washington's headquarters in Newburgh, N.Y., became increasingly restless. Despite considerable pressure, Congress still had not raised money to pay their salaries; it also showed signs of going back on its promise to give them pensions when they left the service after the peace treaty was signed. The situation at Newburgh was potentially explosive and Washington knew it. Instead of going to Mount Vernon for a few weeks, as he had originally planned, he decided to remain in Newburgh that winter.

Washington's fears turned out to be well-founded. On March 10, 1783, anonymous papers began circulating in the Newburgh camp, calling for a mass meeting of the officers to discuss their grievances and plan strong action of some kind. Washington denounced the proceedings as "irregular and disorderly" and called a meeting of his own for Saturday, March 15, at noon. When he met with his officers on that day, he faced, for the first time in his career, a

sullen and hostile audience. In his address, he did his best to bring his men to their senses. He promised to do everything humanly possible to see that they received their just dues from their civilian superiors in Congress. He also urged continued patience with Congress which, he explained, moved slowly, like all deliberative bodies. "By thus determining and thus acting," he said in conclusion, the officers would "afford occasion for posterity to say, when speaking of the glorious example you have exhibited to mankind, 'had this day been wanting, the world had never seen the last stage of perfection to which human nature is capable of attaining.' "

But the officers were unmoved by Washington's plea. The chill in the room was unmistakable. Then, remembering that he had brought with him a letter from a Congressman promising speedy action on the officers' grievances, Washington took it out of his pocket to read. At this point, he seemed bewildered, paused for a moment as though he were having difficulty with the letter, and then reached into his pocket again and took out a pair of eyeglasses. Apologizing for the interruption, he remarked quietly: "I have already grown gray in the service of my country. I am now going blind." His remark stunned the officers. "Never, through all the war, did his Excellency achieve a greater victory than on this occasion," said General Philip Schuyler afterward. "The whole assembly were in tears at the conclusion of his address." According to David Humphreys, it was "a proud day" for the army; Washington appeared "unspeakably greater" on this occasion "than ever he did before." After Washington left, the officers voted unanimously to follow his advice. "I have ever considered," wrote David Cobb, one of Washington's aides, many years later, "that the United States are indebted for their republican form of government solely to the firm and determined republicanism of General Washington at this time."[27]

Resigns Commission

After the signing of the peace treaty with Britain, Washington had a farewell meeting with his officers in New York and then went to Annapolis to surrender the commission he had accepted from Congress eight years before. At noon on December 23, 1783, he entered the Hall of Congress, crowded with spectators, civilian and military, and took the place assigned him. After a brief pause, Thomas Mifflin, president of Congress, announced that Congress was ready to receive

his communication. Washington thereupon rose and began reading his prepared address: "The great events on which my resignation depended, having at length taken place, I now have the honor of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them, to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country." With increasing emotion, he continued for a few brief paragraphs, paused for a moment to regain his composure, then concluded simply: "Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and, bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life." Delivering his commission to the president, he returned to his place and received, standing, the response of Congress, delivered by Mifflin. After listening quietly to some words of praise, he left. The next morning he hastened down to Mount Vernon. "The scene is at last closed," he wrote Governor Clinton of New York. "I feel myself eased of a load of public care. I hope to spend the remainder of my days in cultivating the affections of good men, and in the practice of the domestic virtues."[28]

The Ragged Boys

Once, after the Revolution, it is said, Washington was staying in an inn in Boston where General Howe had once lodged. He supposedly got into a conversation with a little girl there. "You have seen the soldiers on both sides," he said; "which do you like best?" The little girl said she liked the redcoats best. Washington laughed and said: "Yes, my dear, the redcoats do look the best, but it takes the ragged boys to do the fighting."[29]

Washington Makes Up His Mind

Shortly after the Revolution, young Albert Gallatin (later Jefferson's Secretary of the Treasury) went to Virginia to buy some land in the western part of the state. While there he attended a meeting to select a pass for a road through the Allegheny Mountains, presided over by Washington. Gallatin was impressed by the care with which the former Revolutionary commander interrogated the settlers and hunters in the region, but he was put off by Washington's delay in

settling on what was clearly the best route to follow. Suddenly he pointed impatiently to the only pass on the map that seemed practicable and cried: "Oh, it is plain enough!" The room became silent. Washington himself paused, laid down his pen, and, obviously offended, looked up sternly at the young Frenchman for a moment. Then he resumed his inquiries. But after a few minutes he stopped abruptly, threw down his pen, and, looking at Gallatin, announced: "You are right, sir!" Reflected Gallatin later: "It was so on all occasions with General Washington. He was slow in forming an opinion, and never decided until he knew he was right."[30]

Royal Gift

In 1786, the King of Spain presented Washington with two high-born jackasses. One died en route to America, but the other, an enormous creature of pure Andalusian breed which Washington named Royal Gift, was taken to Mount Vernon, where a large harem of mares awaited him for breeding mules. But when a mare was placed in Royal Gift's paddock, he sniffed at her gingerly and then turned away. After exposing him to a long succession of mares without rousing his passions, Washington began wondering whether the jackass was impotent, too "full of Royalty to have anything to do with a plebeian race" of Americans, or, like the Spanish King himself, too old to react speedily to "female allurements." But at length he discovered a way of tricking Royal Gift into performing. He introduced him to "the excitements of a female ass"; then, when the royal beast began to "evidence desires to which he [had] seemed almost a stranger" before, he quickly removed the donkey and substituted a mare.[31]

National Defense

When the Constitutional Convention got around to discussing the power of Congress to raise an army, one of the delegates moved "that the standing army be restricted to five thousand men at any time." Washington was amused by the motion, but as chairman could not offer a motion himself. Instead, he whispered to one of the delegates sitting near him that they had better amend the motion so as to provide that "no foreign army should invade the United States at any time with more than three thousand troops."[32]

Cooling Things

After his return from France, Thomas Jefferson asked Washington at breakfast one morning why the Constitution-framers had agreed to a second chamber in Congress at the 1787 convention. "Why did you pour that coffee into your saucer?" Washington asked him. "To cool it," said Jefferson. "Even so," said Washington, "we pour legislation into the senatorial saucer to cool it."[33]

The First Inauguration

At sunrise on April 30, 1789, thirteen guns sounded at the southern end of Manhattan; a little later Washington rose and began preparing for the day's festivities. He had his hair powdered, donned a brown suit with buttons decorated with spread eagles, and put on white silk stockings and shoes with silver buckles. He also got out his dress sword. By the time he had eaten breakfast, church bells were ringing and people were gathering before his house.

A few minutes after noon, a delegation from Congress arrived to escort the President-elect to Federal Hall. Washington bowed, shook hands, entered a grand coach drawn by four fine horses, and, at twelve-thirty, started off amid cheering crowds. At Federal Hall he got out of the carriage, walked through the ranks of militiamen lined up outside, entered the building, and was escorted to the Senate Chamber, where the Senators, members of the House of Representatives, foreign diplomats, and other dignitaries awaited him. Vice-President–elect John Adams formally welcomed him, then announced: "Sir, the Senate and the House of Representatives are ready to attend you to take the oath required by the Constitution. It will be administered by the Chancellor of the State of New York." "I am ready to proceed," replied Washington. Adams bowed and led him into a small half-enclosed portico overlooking Wall and Broad streets. In front of him was a small table draped in red on which lay a large Bible on a crimson velvet cushion. The streets below were crowded with people; so were the windows and rooftops of all the adjoining buildings.

As Washington appeared on the portico, a great shout went up. Washington bowed three or four times, put his hand on his heart, and finally sat down in an armchair next to the table. A moment later he arose, moved to the railing where he could be seen by as

many people as possible, and prepared to take the oath of office. The crowd became suddenly still. The Secretary of the Senate raised the Bible, and Chancellor Robert R. Livingston came forward to administer the oath. Washington put his hand on the Bible, and Livingston asked: "Do you solemnly swear that you will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and will, to the best of your ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States?" "I solemnly swear," replied Washington, repeating the oath and adding "So help me God," then bent forward to kiss the Bible. "It is done," announced Livingston; turning to the crowd below, he shouted: "Long live George Washington, President of the United States!" The crowd echoed his cry, the flag was raised on the cupola of Federal Hall, thirteen guns sounded on the Battery, and church bells began tolling. After bowing several times to acknowledge the congratulations of the spectators, Washington re-entered the Senate Chamber, took his seat on the dais there, and waited for people to resume their places. As he rose to read his inaugural address, all the spectators rose with him; and after he bowed, they sat down again.

In his inaugural address, which he delivered in a deep, low, tremulous voice, Washington called on "that Almighty God who rules over the universe" to help the American people find "liberties and happiness" under "a government instituted by themselves" and urged a spirit of moderation in the years ahead. "This great man," observed Pennsylvania Senator William Maclay, "was agitated and embarrassed more than ever he was by the leveled cannon or pointed musket. He trembled, and several times could scarce make out to read. . . ." His face, according to another observer, was "grave almost to sadness" throughout. While Washington was speaking, he moved his manuscript nervously from his left to his right hand, put several fingers of his left hand in the pocket of his breeches, and, at one point, made a flourish with his right hand which "left a rather ungainly impression." Maclay, disappointed at Washington's delivery, "felt hurt that he was not first in everything." But most people were deeply moved by the address. "It seemed to me," said the famous orator Fisher Ames afterward, "an allegory in which virtue was personified, and addressing those whom she would make her votaries. Her power over the heart was never greater."

After his inaugural, Washington walked with other public officials to St. Paul's Chapel to hear services performed by the Chaplain of

Congress. After church he dined at home and in the evening joined friends in observing the illumination of the city and the display of fireworks. After it was all over he wrote his friends: "I greatly fear that my countrymen will expect too much from me."[34]

First Reception

After he became President, Washington began holding three kinds of official receptions: "levees" on Tuesdays for men only; Martha's tea parties for both men and women on Fridays; and official dinners on Thursdays. At the first levee, David Humphreys, Washington's aide, arranged for the guests to assemble in what he called the "presence chamber," and then he took Washington to the door, threw it open, and shouted: "The President of the United States!" According to Jefferson, Washington was so unnerved by Humphreys's ceremonial arrangements that he felt ill at ease throughout the reception. When it was over he told his aide angrily: "Well, you have taken me in once, but by God, you will never take me in a second time!" After that, the receptions were not so ceremonious, though they never became informal.[35]

On Time

When Washington invited people to his official dinners, he expected them to be on time. Once a Congressman arrived late and found everyone at the table. "We are obliged to be punctual here," Washington told him. "My cook never asks whether the company has arrived, but whether the hour has."[36]

Advice and Consent

On Saturday, August 22, 1789, Washington went to the Senate Chamber with Secretary of War Henry Knox and announced that he had called to receive "advice and consent" on some provisions in a treaty with the Creek Indians. He handed Vice-President Adams some papers, and Adams read from them to the Senators. Unfortunately, carriages driving by outside made him almost inaudible; and when he had finished, Robert Morris asked that the papers be read again. Adams at once obliged, then asked: "Do you advise and consent?" There was a moment of silence. Then William Maclay said that

the Senate needed more information and asked for additional documents. Washington "wore an aspect of stern displeasure" while Maclay was speaking. The Senate decided to postpone the first article of the treaty and move on to the others. After more debate Morris moved that the treaty be referred to a committee. Washington "started up in a violent fret" at this and cried: "This defeats every purpose of my coming here!" But he finally agreed to postponing the discussion until Monday and withdrew "with a discontented air."

On Monday Washington returned to the Senate Chamber. He was now "placid and serene, and manifested a spirit of accommodation." But a long, tedious debate on two of the treaty's provisions left him completely frustrated. Leaving the chamber, he reportedly exclaimed that "he would be damned if he ever went there again!" He never did. Though the Senate eventually approved the treaty with only minor revisions, Washington stopped trying to consult personally with the Senators about treaties. Instead, he sent the Senate written messages. Subsequent Presidents have followed his precedent.[37]

Pacifism

When Philadelphia Quaker Warner Mifflin visited the President to discuss slavery with him, he was treated with "kindness and respect" and reported afterward that Washington showed some understanding of the Friends' pacifist policy during the Revolution. "Mr. Mifflin," Washington asked at one point, "will you please to inform me on what principle you were opposed to the revolution?" "Yes, friend Washington," replied Mifflin, "upon the same principles that I should be opposed to a change in this government—all that ever was gained by revolutions are not an adequate compensation to the poor mangled soldier for the loss of life or limb." After a moment's pause, Washington declared: "Mr. Mifflin, I honor your sentiments; there is more in that than mankind have generally considered."[38]

Poses for Life Mask

Once Washington posed for a life mask by the young American artist Joseph Wright. "He oiled my features over," Washington recalled, "and, placing me flat upon my back upon a cot, proceeded

to daub my face with the plaster. Whilst in this ludicrous attitude, Mrs. Washington entered the room, and seeing my face thus overspread with the plaster, involuntarily exclaimed. Her cry excited in me a disposition to smile, which gave my mouth a slight twist or compression of the lips that is now observable in the busts which Wright afterwards made."[39]

Loses His Temper

In November 1791, an American army under General Arthur St. Clair operating in the west was ambushed by Indians and cut to pieces. Washington had warned St. Clair against surprise, and the news came as a terrible blow. He was entertaining guests at dinner when a messenger arrived with a dispatch. He left the table, read it and then returned without any signs of agitation. When the guests moved to the drawing room, he "spoke courteously to every lady in the room, as was his custom"; afterward, alone with his secretary, Tobias Lear, he still struggled for self-control. He "walked backward and forward for some minutes" without speaking; then he "broke out suddenly in bitter lamentations." In a renewed effort at self-control, he "walked about the room several times, agitated but saying nothing," then "stopped short and stood still a few seconds, when his wrath became terrible." In a paroxysm of anguish, he struck his fists against his forehead and "hurled imprecations upon St. Clair." He then sat down, remaining still for a few moments; and finally, having gained control of his emotions, said quietly: "This must not go beyond this room." After another pause, he said: "General St. Clair shall have full justice." Later on, he expressed sympathy for St. Clair in his terrible "misfortune."[40]

Controls Temper

Washington's "features," said painter Gilbert Stuart, "were indicative of the strongest and most ungovernable passions. Had he been born in the forests, he would have been the fiercest man among the savages." Talking one day to General "Light Horse Harry" Lee, Stuart happened to remark that Washington had a terrible temper but held it under wonderful control. General Lee reported the remark to the Washingtons at breakfast a few days later. "I saw your portrait the other day, a capital likeness," said Lee, "but Stuart says you have a tremendous temper." "Upon my word," said Mrs. Washington, coloring, "Mr. Stuart takes a great deal on himself, to make such a remark." "But stay, my dear lady," said General Lee, "he added that the President had it under wonderful control." With something like a smile, Washington remarked, "He's right."[41]

Recommendation

In the summer of 1797, the French revolutionist Constantin Volney visited Mount Vernon at the beginning of a tour of the United States; before leaving he asked Washington for a general letter of recommendation to the American people. Anxious to avoid any controversy over the Frenchman, who was a freethinker, Washington simply wrote on a sheet of paper: "C. Volney needs no recommendation from Geo. Washington."[42]

Fireman

Washington, it is said, was an enthusiastic fireman. He began running to fires when he was a boy and was still running to them in his old age. Only a few months before his death, he was riding down King Street in Alexandria when a fire was discovered near the market. He stopped his horse at once and yelled to some men who stood idly by: "It is your duty to lead in such matters! Follow me!" Throwing his reins to his servants, he leaped to the ground and began pumping the engine, into which a few boys were languidly dumping buckets of water. Cheering citizens rushed to aid him, and within a few minutes the old engine was throwing the highest stream that had ever gushed from its pipe.[43]

President Bush (continued)

AND WE NOTE THE INTERNATIONAL IMPORTANCE AND APPEAL OF

GEORGE WASHINGTON - WHO IMBUED THE NEW ELECTED OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENCY WITH GREATNESS AND DIGNITY. THANKS TO THE EXAMPLE HE SET, THAT OFFICE HAS SURVIVED THE TEST OF TIME TO BECOME ONE OF THE MOST POSITIVELY INFLUENTIAL IN HISTORY ...

THOMAS JEFFERSON - WHO PROVIDED NOT ONLY AMERICA - BUT ALL THE WORLD - WITH THE TENETS OF MODERN DEMOCRACY. IT IS THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, MORE THAN ANY OTHER DOCUMENT, THAT HAS SERVED AS A MODEL FOR FUNDAMENTAL DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES IN OTHER NATIONS...

THEODORE ROOSEVELT - WHO, AS A DRIVING FORCE BEHIND THE PANAMA CANAL, SERVED AS AN ARCHITECT OF COMMERCE AND COMMUNICATION WITH IMMEASURABLE INTERNATIONAL IMPACT...

AND ABRAHAM LINCOLN. TO A WORLD WATCHING IN OUR NATION'S DARKEST HOUR, WONDERING IF THE "GREAT AMERICAN EXPERIMENT" WOULD FAIL, HE PROVED THAT A NATION "CONCEIVED IN LIBERTY" CAN AND WILL ENDURE.

AND SO, AS AMERICANS, WE ARE MINDFUL NOT ONLY OF WHAT MOUNT RUSHMORE MEANS TO US, BUT ALSO HOW AND WHY IT STRIKES A RESPONSIVE CHORD IN DISTANT LANDS ...

continued...

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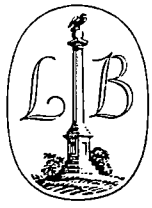
Familiar Quotations

A collection of passages, phrases and proverbs traced to their sources in ancient and modern literature

FIFTEENTH AND 125TH ANNIVERSARY EDITION
REVISED AND ENLARGED

John Bartlett

Edited by EMILY MORISON BECK
and the editorial staff of Little, Brown and Company



LITTLE, BROWN AND COMPANY • BOSTON • TORONTO

1 Would it be too bold to imagine, that in the great length of time, since the earth began to exist, perhaps millions of ages before the commencement of the history of mankind, would it be too bold to imagine, that all warm-blooded animals have arisen from one living filament which the Great First Cause endued with animality . . . and thus possessing the faculty of continuing to improve by its own inherent activity, and of delivering down those improvements by generation to its posterity, world without end![1]
Zoonomia [1794]

Charles Lee
1731–1782

2 Beware that your Northern laurels do not change to Southern willows.[2]
To General Horatio Gates after the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga [October 17, 1777]

Beilby Porteus
1731–1808

3 One murder made a villain,[3]
Millions, a hero. *Death [1759], l. 154*

4 War its thousands slays, Peace, its ten thousands.[4] *Ib. l. 178*

Pierre de Beaumarchais
1732–1799

5 Judging by the virtues expected of a servant, does your Excellency know many masters who would be worthy valets?
Le Barbier de Séville [1775], act I, sc. ii

6 I quickly laugh at everything, for fear of having to cry.[5] *Ib.*

7 If you assure me that your intentions are honorable. *Ib. IV, vi*

8 If you are mediocre and you grovel, you shall succeed.
Le Mariage de Figaro [1784], act III, sc. iii

[1] Here the grandfather of Charles Darwin announces his own early theory of organic evolution.

[2] Gates was later defeated by Cornwallis at Camden, South Carolina [August 16, 1780], and was relieved of his command.

[3] See Seneca, 114:32; Young, 330:1; and J. R. Lowell, 567:20.

[4] See *I Samuel 18:7*, 13:4.

[5] Je me presse de rire de tout, de peur d'être obligé d'en pleurer.
See La Bruyère, 315:7, and Byron, 461:10.

9 You went to some trouble to be born, and that's all.[6] *Ib. V, iii*

10 If censorship reigns there cannot be sincere flattery, and only small men are afraid of small writings. *Ib.*

John Dickinson
1732–1808

11 Then join hand in hand, brave Americans all!
By uniting we stand, by dividing we fall.[7]
The Liberty Song [1768]

Richard Henry Lee
1732–1794

12 That these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.
Resolution moved at the Continental Congress [June 7, 1776; adopted July 2][8]

Julie de Lespinasse
1732–1776

13 The logic of the heart is absurd.
Letter to M. Guibert [August 27, 1774]

George Washington[9]
1732–1799

14 Discipline is the soul of an army. It makes small numbers formidable; procures success to the weak, and esteem to all.
Letter of Instructions to the Captains of the Virginia Regiments [July 29, 1759]

[6] Vous vous êtes donné la peine de naître, et rien de plus.

[7] United we stand, divided we fall. — *A watchword of the American Revolution*
See Aesop, 66:22.

[8] See John Adams, 381:6.

[9] The Father of your Country. — HENRY KNOX, *Letter to Washington* [March 19, 1787]
See Henry (Light-Horse Harry) Lee, 402:10, and Franklin, 348:11.
I can't tell a lie. I did it [cut the cherry tree] with my hatchet. — *Attributed to Washington as a child;* MASON LOCKE WEEMS [1759–1825], *The Life of George Washington* [1800]
Father, I cannot tell a lie. I did it with my little hatchet. — MARK TWAIN [1835–1910], *Mark Twain as Washington*

1 Let us therefore animate and encourage each other, and show the whole world that a Freeman, contending for liberty on his own ground, is superior to any slavish mercenary on earth.

General Orders, Headquarters, New York [July 2, 1776]

2 The time is now near at hand which must probably determine whether Americans are to be freemen or slaves; whether they are to have any property they can call their own; whether their houses and farms are to be pillaged and destroyed, and themselves consigned to a state of wretchedness from which no human efforts will deliver them. The fate of unborn millions will now depend, under God, on the courage and conduct of this army. Our cruel and unrelenting enemy leaves us only the choice of brave resistance, or the most abject submission. We have, therefore, to resolve to conquer or die.

Address to the Continental Army before the battle of Long Island [August 27, 1776]

3 There is nothing that gives a man consequence, and renders him fit for command, like a support that renders him independent of everybody but the State he serves.

Letter to the president of Congress, Heights of Harlem [September 24, 1776]

4 To place any dependence upon militia, is, assuredly, resting upon a broken staff.

Ib.

5 Without a decisive naval force we can do nothing definitive. And with it, everything honorable and glorious.[1]

To Lafayette [November 15, 1781]

6 If men are to be precluded from offering their sentiments on a matter which may involve the most serious and alarming consequences that can invite the consideration of mankind, reason is of no use to us; the freedom of speech may be taken away, and dumb and silent we may be led, like sheep to the slaughter.

Address to officers of the Army [March 15, 1783]

7 The preservation of the sacred fire of liberty, and the destiny of the republican model of government, are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally staked, on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.

First Inaugural Address [April 30, 1789]

8 Happily the Government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens in giving it on all occasions their effectual support.

Letter to the Jewish congregation of Newport, Rhode Island [1790]

9 To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace.[2]

First Annual Address [to both houses of Congress, January 8, 1790]

10 The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government.

Farewell Address [September 17, 1796]

11 Let me now . . . warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party. *Ib.*

12 Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. . . . The Nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. *Ib.*

13 'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances, with any portion of the foreign world. *Ib.*

14 There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. *Ib.*

15 It is well, I die hard, but I am not afraid to go. *Last words [December 14, 1799]*

Joseph Priestley[3]

1733–1804

16 It was ill policy in Leo the Tenth to patronize polite literature. He was cherishing an enemy in disguise. And the English hierar-

[1] See Themistocles, 70:19; Bacon, 181:11; Waller, 276:3; Mahan, 642:8; and Morison, 800:11.

[2] See Aristotle, 87:24; Vegetius, 128:25; Robert Burton, 259:13; Fénelon, 316:12; and Lowell, 568:9.

[3] See the Bentham footnote to Francis Hutcheson, 342:19. Bentham credits Priestley's *Essay on Government* [1768] — or the work of Cesare Bonesana, Marchese di Beccaria [1738–1794] — with inspiring his concept of "the greatest happiness of the greatest number."

the radical multicultural road, many more parents will want to run for cover. The strongest argument against vouchers is that they threaten to further Balkanize American education and thus American culture. The strongest argument *for* vouchers is that Balkanization now seems more likely within the public system than outside it. It is not too late to stop the voucher train. But it's now or never.

ABIGAIL THERNSTROM has just completed a study of school choice in Massachusetts for the Pioneer Institute, Boston.

The big busts busted.

MOUNT RUSHMORE: THE REAL STORY

By Alex Heard

On July 4 America will observe the sort-of fiftieth anniversary of Mount Rushmore, the world's largest sculpture, and the sort-of "soaring vision" of its bold and patriotic sculptor, Gutzon Borglum. The sort-ofs are there for two reasons. In the first instance because this is an oddly calculated fiftieth. In the second, because Borglum's brand of patriotism had a weird, cranky, ugly side to it that, on the Fourth, will be meticulously airbrushed out of the picture presented to the nation.

The idea for a colossal monument in the Black Hills was proposed in 1924 by Doane Robinson, state historian of South Dakota and a booster who believed that one way to help get his state out of its boom-and-bust rut (caused by its dependence on mining and farming) was to construct a tourist attraction so massive that nobody could ignore it. Robinson wrote to Borglum, one of America's foremost sculptors, urging him to come out and find a site in the Black Hills for a sculpture depicting legendary Western figures such as Buffalo Bill and Lewis and Clark. Borglum agreed, but wanted to carve presidents instead.

The official reason for celebrating Rushmore this summer is that "America's Shrine of Democracy" never received "a proper dedication." Actually, it's been dedicated at least six times: in 1925, in a ceremony that featured men in colonial uniforms and coonskin caps; in 1927, when President Coolidge visited the site and judged the project worthy of federal largess; on July 4, 1930, when the first head—George Washington's—was completed; in August 1936, when FDR dedicated Jefferson; in 1937, when Lincoln was unveiled; and on July 2, 1939, as part of South Dakota's Golden Jubilee of Statehood, when Teddy Roosevelt's bust was christened. (So what happened in 1941? Borglum died, and with World War II looming, the government cut off funding; thus we're celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of work stoppage.)

The real motive behind this Golden Anniversary Campaign was explained last summer at a press conference held at the Rosslyn, Virginia, offices of the Gannett Foundation (a.k.a., as of July 4, the Freedom Forum), a group chaired by South Dakota native and former *USA Today* czar Al Neuharth. Basically, we're talking about a fund-raising opportunity. The Mount Rushmore National Memorial Society, a non-profit group that works with the National Park Service to preserve Mount Rushmore, hopes to bring in $40 million over the next three years, through a combination of corporate grants, private donations, and commemorative coin sales, with an eye toward upgrades and maintenance at the site. In the long run, the busts are all doomed. As *Outside* magazine pointed out recently, the Rushmore granite is eroding at a rate of one inch per 10,000 years, and within 500 generations "the presidents will look like bald little children." But in the meantime, face-lifts are needed. All four noggins have been defaced by cracks, one of the worst being a 40-foot-long fault that meanders through Washington's forehead. During the press conference, Dan Wenk, Mount Rushmore's superintendent, darkly warned reporters that if this isn't done, the Rushmore figures could become a mystery to our descendants, "like Easter Island or the Sphinx."

The campaign kick-off is the Fourth, which will witness the sort of high-stepping patrioglitzorama that has become standard operating procedure for such occasions. Bob Hope will help emcee a TV extravaganza that will also feature famous Dakotans Tom Brokaw and Mary Hart. Radio City Music Hall Productions—which handled the entertainment for the Bicentennial of Washington's Inaugural, the We The People parade celebrating the Constitution's 200th, Coca-Cola's 100th, and the soon-to-come "100th Anniversary of Basketball"—is putting on the Rushmore show. Jimmy Stewart, Mary Tyler Moore, Billy Dee Williams, and Barry Bostwick (who

ALEX HEARD is a frequent contributor.

will perform his one-millionth stentorian impersonation of George Washington) will be there, hoofing and warbling their way through a pageant titled "By Dawn's Early Light." There will also be "a never-before-attempted special effect finale." (Hopeful prediction: a man in an Uncle Sam suit will make a death-defying "bungee cord" leap off Lincoln's chin.) The Rushmore people wanted to bag all five living presidents, but so far they're having trouble getting commitments. George Bush has been playing a tough game of "maybe I'll come, maybe I'll go fishing."

There was one thing, however, about the press conference that seemed strange. Gutzon Borglum's name was mentioned only twice—and quickly at that. Once in connection with the Hall of Records. And once by Neuharth, who smiled like a man who had just sat on an ice cube and chattered vaguely about Borglum's "patriotism—his intense commitment to democratic ideals."

Afterward I went to the Library of Congress, which has Borglum's papers, and looked him up. I learned that he was a many-angled, prickly person. On the up side, he was a self-made, energetic visionary—with a passion for Progressive politics and the little guy—who overcame huge obstacles to carve a monument of undeniable majesty. On the down side, he was a blowhard, racist, jingoist anti-Semite, and a member of the Ku Klux Klan during its salad days in the 1920s. In addition to Jews and blacks, he especially disliked Catholics and the "wretched refuse" who are welcomed with raised torch by the Statue of Liberty.

Check out this excerpt from one sample of Borglumania, a letter he typed up in 1923 called "SUGGESTIONS FOR IMMIGRATION." "The Nordic has ever been a camp maker: the Mediteranean [sic] has ever been a camp follower," he wrote to his friend D. C. Stephenson, Grand Dragon of the Northern Realm of the Ku Klux Klan, and a questionable figure in his own right. (In 1925 he was put in prison for thirty-one years for the murder of a woman he abducted, raped, and bit repeatedly, giving her fatal blood poisoning.) "[T]he one establishes, creates, builds; the other attaches, feeds upon, corrupts. The first founded our nation, constituted our civilization, builded [sic] our free institutions," and "while Anglo-Saxons have themselves sinned grievously against the principle of pure nationalism by illicit slave and alien servant traffic, it has been the character of the cargo that has eaten into the very moral fiber of our race character, rather than the moral depravity of Anglo-Saxon traders."

Immigration was a major issue in Borglum's day, and in "SUGGESTIONS FOR IMMIGRATION" he proposes a sweeping solution to the problem: slam the gates immediately and instruct Congress to study "the record of [Europe]'s races," the idea being to find out which countries send good stock—i.e., northern European ones—and bar or severely restrict everybody else. Immigration would be resumed on a pick-and-choose basis, with new immigrants serving probationary stints to prove they aren't lazybones. The paper's last page is labeled "NOTES." Here Borglum offers a few extra thoughts he may have intended to work into a more polished version. These would make a helluva dramatic reading for "By Dawn's Early Light." I see a gruff—but choked-up—Wilford Brimley, dressed as Borglum, standing in a lone spotlight, and saying:



DRAWING BY VINT LAWRENCE FOR THE NEW REPUBLIC

> If you cross a thorough-bred with a jackass you get a mule. If you cross a pure bred with a mongrel dog you get a mongrel. So in races.... If you cross any of the others with each other it is curious that the lowest race in civilization is the strongest physically and breeding (crossed) is always down. A Negro and Jew will produce Negro, but Hindu and Jew—Jew; Chinese and Jew, offspring Jew; Italian and Jew, offspring Jew; any European race and Jew, offspring Jew.

The fact is that Mount Rushmore—if it's politically correct to say this ... well, heat up the p.c. branding iron and let me have it—like many aspects of our national reality, is a mixed bag of pride-inducing and cringe-inducing facts. We won't hear about it on the Fourth, but Indians sure have a legitimate beef on the

subject of Mount Rushmore's land deed. The mountain sits in sacred Indian territory that the U.S. government gave the Indians—exclusively and forever—in the Treaty of 1868. When wildcatting white miners found gold in the Black Hills, however, the government shifted, offering to let the Indians keep the Hills if they let us simply remove the valuable minerals. Senator William Allison of Iowa chaired a commission that went out from Washington to explain the "new realities" to the Sioux. As Dee Brown writes in *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, when Spotted Tail, a Brulé Teton, heard about Washington's offer, he "took this proposal as a ludicrous joke." But it stuck. And the Indians were eventually ejected. The Homestake Mining Company, one of the many companies that moved in, has mined the Black Hills since 1876; its CEO today is Harry Conger, chairman of the Mount Rushmore Preservation Fund.

In Borglum's case the plan seems to be to blather on about his patriotism and hope no one notices his crankier side. "By Dawn's Early Light" will have an entire segment focusing on his vision and patriotism, complete with readings from his papers. Fortunately, he left behind ample, usable raw material in the form of cornball speeches and articles with titles like "The World As I Want It" and "If I Were President." The officially boosted history of the monument is Rex Alan Smith's 1985 book, *The Carving of Mount Rushmore*. The book tells us only that Borglum was "an ardent patriot" who was never "tainted by even a hint of public or private scandal."

You get a different story in the only Borglum biography that doesn't wax away the unsightly hairs: *Six Wars at a Time*, published in 1985 by Howard and Audrey Karl Shaff. The Shaffs make it clear that Borglum was a serious anti-Semite, though they offer mitigating arguments in his favor. He was a treasured friend of many prominent Jewish leaders of the day—including Felix Frankfurter—who appear to have taken his diatribes with a grain of salt. And the Shaffs argue that Borglum came to his senses after the Nazis took power. He attacked Hitler early and publicly, and aimed his diatribes at Nazi fans like Charles Lindbergh.

Borglum's Klan involvement is another matter. At the very least, it raises "serious questions of judgment." The first invitation to Borglum to carve a monument came from the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Their Atlanta president, Helen C. Plane, wrote to him, suggesting a frieze celebrating the Confederate cause on Stone Mountain, a mammoth granite rock near Atlanta. In a follow-up letter after his visit, she suggested working the noble Klan into the frieze: "[T]he KKK . . . saved us from Negro domination and carpetbag rule. . . . Why not represent a small group of them in their nightly uniform approaching in the distance?" Borglum was baffled, but cooperative. "Gutzon was not sure how he should respond," the Shaffs write. "The KKK had not existed when he first went to Georgia. He needed time to assess the situation, but he did not want to risk offending Mrs. Plane, so he included a KKK altar in his plans for the memorial." (The altar never got off the drawing board.)

Later he joined up—in time rising to rub elbows with members of the Klan's cabinet, called the "Kloncilium." A consistent theme in his letters to Stephenson is his despair over the dismal quality of the Klan leadership, which to him meant that it would fail as a viable political force. After one dispiriting meeting with high Klandom in 1923, he wrote, "A Jew, a negro or a Romanist could not crawl into a more cowardly position nor seek neutral ground more quickly than did every Klan leader I appealed to."

Klan power struggles were instrumental in the fate of Borglum's plans for Stone Mountain. Borglum had envisaged smoothing off an area 400 feet high and a quarter-mile long—twelve vertical acres of granite. On this, he planned to carve a gigantic frieze showing massed Confederate infantry, cavalry, and artillery sweeping down to converge on the central figures of Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, and Jefferson Davis. This was not to be. In 1924 Borglum fell afoul of Hollins Randolph, head of the Stone Mountain Memorial Association. Among other things, Randolph was angry about Borglum's failure to support William G. McAdoo, a losing candidate for the 1924 Democratic presidential nomination who was backed by a Klan faction. The executive committee voted to dump Borglum from the project, and he got the word while working at Stone Mountain.

What happened next would make a nice episode of "The Dukes of Hazzard." Borglum had his crew smash the Stone Mountain model and drop it over the side. When the Stone Mountain Memorial Association learned of this, it dispatched the sheriff and a posse to pick up Borglum. Borglum was tipped off by his assistant Jesse Tucker, who put him in his car and headed for the state line. "The chase went on for several hours as Tucker took the backroads heading north with the sheriff right behind them," write the Shaffs. "At times their pursuers came so close that Tucker ordered 'the Chief' to get down on the floor in case there was shooting. Finally in the early morning they crossed the border to safety in North Carolina." (After Borglum fled, a new sculptor was brought in. Eventually a less ambitious version of this Mount Rushmore of the Slavocracy—featuring Lee, Jackson, and Davis—was finished. It was dedicated in 1970.)

In 1924 Borglum was literally a fugitive from a Georgia chain gang. Fortunately he had somewhere else to go. In the spring of that same year he had received the letter from Doane Robinson proposing the Black Hills monument. The letter arrived at Stone Mountain while Borglum was on business in Connecticut. Tucker opened it and joyously wrote across the top—"Here it is, Borglum! Let's go!"—before forwarding it. They went, and the rest, as the saying goes, is history.

Well, all the history that's fit to print, anyway. •