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National Best-Seller
**PRESIDENTIAL
ANECDOTES**

Paul F. Boller, Jr.



neighborhood. They looked resignedly at each other. "Our time," said one of them. "We may as well donned their hats and left."¹⁸

The Influence of Flies

discussing independence, according to a story told in his old age, meetings were held near a meeting hall was besieged by flies. The delegates and silk stockings; while they talked they also brushed from their legs with their handkerchiefs. The next day, Jefferson said, that the delegates finally declared Independence at once and get away as quickly as possible. Jefferson told the story "with a friend; he was amused by "the influence of flies on a momentous event."¹⁹

Succession

Jefferson in Paris as U.S. minister to France and predecessor of French Minister of Foreign Affairs, the latter asked "Will Monsieur Franklin?" "I succeed him," replied Jefferson. "I will replace him."²⁰

Dirty Farmer

Jefferson, unattended by servants, once stopped at a inn. He dismounted, and, with whip in hand, sought accommodations for the night. The innkeeper, critically, concluded he was a farmer of not much account. He told him curtly, "We have no room for you, but if you will not have heard the remark, repeated the same answer. He then turned around, called for the innkeeper. Soon afterwards a wealthy gentleman entered. He asked the landlord that the man who had just left was the Vice-President of the United States. "Vice-President of the States!" exclaimed the landlord. "Yes, and a dirty farmer," said his informant. "Murder and death, and the death of the landlord; and he ordered his servants to tell him he could have the best of everything

in the hotel. The servants finally located Jefferson in a hotel in another part of town and gave him the landlord's message. "Tell him I have engaged a room here," said Jefferson. "Tell him that I value his good intentions highly, but if he has no room for a dirty farmer he shall have none for the Vice-President."²¹

Midnight Judges

Just before the Adams administration came to a close, the Federalists rushed a law through Congress increasing the number of U.S. courts throughout the country. Adams selected Federalists for the judgeships; and John Marshall, his Secretary of State, went to work filling out their commissions as rapidly as he could in order to beat the midnight deadline, March 3, when Adams's administration expired. Jefferson got wind of the matter, gave Levi Lincoln (his Attorney General designate) his watch, and ordered him to go to the State Department at midnight, take over the place, and see to it that no papers were removed from it after that hour. Lincoln accordingly entered Marshall's office at the appointed time. "I have been ordered by Mr. Jefferson," he told Marshall, "to take possession of this office and its papers." "Why," exclaimed Marshall, "Mr. Jefferson has not yet qualified." "Mr. Jefferson considers himself in the light of an executor," said Lincoln, "bound to take charge of the papers of the Government until he is duly qualified." "But it is not yet twelve o'clock," said Marshall, taking out his watch. Lincoln took out the watch Jefferson had given him and, holding it up, said, "This is the President's watch, and rules the hour." Marshall yielded at this point and, casting a farewell look at the commissions on the table, left the room. In after years he used to laugh and say he had been allowed to pick up nothing but his hat. But he did have one or two commissions in his pocket when he left, so the judges who received them came to be known as "John Adams's midnight judges."²²

Freedom of the Press

During a visit to Jefferson, the German scientist Baron Alexander von Humboldt saw a newspaper in the President's study filled with scurrilous abuse of him. "Why are these libels allowed?" exclaimed the Baron, picking up the paper. "Why is not this libelous journal

suppressed, or its Editor, at least, fined and imprisoned?" "Put that paper in your pocket, Baron," said Jefferson, smiling, "and should you hear the reality of our liberty, the freedom of the press questioned, show them this paper, and tell them where you found it."²³

Jefferson's Yes

On a visit home once, according to a popular story, Jefferson was out riding with some young men. They came across a rough-looking Kentuckian seated on the bank of a swollen stream waiting for someone to give him a ride. The Kentuckian waited until everyone but Jefferson had entered the stream, then asked the latter to take him across. Jefferson gave him the ride. When he had safely deposited him on the opposite bank, one of the young men cried: "I say! what made you let the young men pass and ask that gentleman to carry you over the creek?" "Wall," said the Kentuckian, "if you want to know, I'll tell you: I reckon a man carries yes or no in his face—the young chaps' faces said no—the old 'un's said yes." "It isn't every man that would have asked the President of the United States for a ride behind him," said the young man severely. The Kentuckian was astonished. "You don't say that was Tom Jefferson, do you?" he exclaimed. Then he added: "He's a . . . fine old fellow, anyway." "That was the President," emphasized the young man. The Kentuckian thought for a minute, then burst out with a laugh: "What do you suppose my wife, Polly, will say when I get back to Boone County, and tell her I've rid behind Jefferson? She'll say I voted for the *right man!*"²⁴

Quarreling with God

One afternoon when Jefferson was visiting his friend William Fitzhugh of Ravensworth, a servant ran up to report that a black man had cut himself severely with an axe. Fitzhugh immediately ordered the servant to go for a doctor. But Jefferson said the man might bleed to death before the doctor arrived and, pointing out that he himself had some experience with surgery, suggested they go and see what could be done at once for the poor fellow. Fitzhugh agreed; and when they reached the wounded man they found he had a severe cut in his calf. Jefferson quickly procured a needle and silk and in

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Speaker's and Coastmasters' Handbook
+ of Anecdotes By and About Famous Personalities

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Frankness

DULLES, JOHN FOSTER
MORGAN, J. P.

335. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles was musing on the art of diplomacy at a dinner party recently and remarked that he always tried to apply to his job a gem from the lips of the late financier, J. P. Morgan.

It seems J. P. was rebuking a young associate for certain indiscretions in the man's personal life which had come to the banker's attention.

"But Mr. Morgan," pleaded the underling. "I'm open and above board about it. I don't do anything behind closed doors."

"Hmph," snorted Morgan. "That's what doors are for."

Freedom

CHURCHILL, WINSTON

336. When Winston Churchill returned to London after the Boer War, he was walking through Hyde Park, famous for soap box speakers who are given free rein to sound off. This one was denouncing Queen Victoria in no uncertain terms. Standing nearby was an English bobby. Mr. Churchill demanded, "Aren't you going to do anything? Why don't you arrest the man?"

Replied the policeman, "Well, you see, it's this way, sir. It don't 'urt 'er, and it might 'elp 'im."

Friendship

COOLIDGE, CALVIN

337. Calvin Coolidge is reported to have picked his friends and those who might become friends. Then he avoided them—and enjoyed them to the limit.

LINCOLN, ABRAHAM

338. A visitor to the White House once asked President Lincoln, "What is your definition of a friend?"

"My definition of a friend?" the Great Emancipator repeated slowly. "One who has the same enemies you have."

Souvenir

paid at 50 scudi. This fellow, with his talents and skill, took six months. Even at 70 scudi his wage each month was only one-fourth of mine."

Souvenir

GARNER, JOHN NANCE

825. Former Vice-President Garner had lost a \$10 bet on a Washington baseball game, and the winner asked him to autograph the ball. "I'm giving it to my grandson for a souvenir," he explained. "He wants to frame it and hang it in his room."

"You mean the money's not going to be spent?" asked the Texan.

"That's right."

"Well," said Garner, "in that case, then I'll just write you a check."

Speech

RABBI GAMALIEL

826. When the great Rabbi Gamaliel, one of the wisest, told his servants, "Bring me something good," the servants brought a tongue. The rabbi said, "Go to the market, bring me something bad." Again the servants brought a tongue, saying, "A tongue, my master, may be the source of either good or evil. If it is good, there is nothing better. If it is bad, there is nothing worse."

—The *Talmud*

BRANDEIS, LOUIS D.
HOLMES, OLIVER WENDELL

827. Originally, freedom to speak was deemed a gift from heaven. A century later Judge Holmes and Judge Brandeis gave the concept a new connotation. No longer was it the right to speak—rather it was the right to hear. For only by the free flow of ideas does society become enriched.

Sports

CRAVATH, JEFF

828. Jeff Cravath once explained why he prefers running a ranch to his old job, coaching the Southern California football team: "Cattle don't have any alumni."

JAURÈS

Seven Bishops protesting against his Second Declaration of Indulgence, ?2 June 1688)

838 Things being come to the extremity that I have been forced to send away the Queen and my son, the Prince of Wales, that they might not fall into my enemy's hands, which they must have done, had they stayed, I am obliged to do the same thing . . . If I could have relied upon all my troops I might not have been put to this extremity I am in.

(To Lord Feversham, night of 10/11 December 1688: final message before his flight from London to France)

JAMES V (1512-42): King of Scotland

839 Adieu, farewell, it came with a lass, it will pass with a lass. (December 1542: said when James, defeated in the battle of Solway Moss and dying, heard of the birth of his daughter Mary, later Queen of Scots)

Jean JAURÈS (1859-1914): French socialist leader

840 You [Radical deputies] have wrested the people away from the protection of the Church and its teachings . . . You have silenced the old song which lulled human misery; and human misery awakens and cries out. It rises

JEFFERSON

before you, and now demands its place.

(Speech, Chamber of Deputies, 21 November 1893)

841 There is, then, over the affairs of the army a universal conspiracy of silence, of childlike mysteries, of clannishness, routine and intrigue.

(*L'Armée Nouvelle*, originally written 1910)

842 It is the duty of everyone of you not to miss any opportunity to show that you belong to that international socialist party which, at this hour when the storm is breaking, represents the sole prospect of maintaining peace or of restoring peace.

(Speech at Vaise, 24 July 1914)

Thomas JEFFERSON (1743-1826): third President of USA

843 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 for Declaration of Independence ?1775)

844 The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most

JEFFERSON

boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal . . . The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to the worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances.

(*Notes on the State of Virginia*, Query XVIII, written 1781)

845 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.

(*Ibid.* The context refers to the master-slave relationship in Virginia)

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

(Letter to W. S. Smith, 13 November 1787)

JEFFERSON

847 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.

(Letter to James Madison, 20 December 1787)

848 There is not a single crowned head in Europe whose talents or merits would entitle him to be elected a vestryman by the people of any parish in America.

(Letter to George Washington, from Paris, 2 May 1788)

849 Tranquillity is now restored to the capital: the shops are again opened; the people resuming their labours, and if the want of bread does not disturb our peace, we may hope a continuance of it. The demolition of the Bastille is going on.

(Letter from Paris to John Jay, 19 July 1789)

850 Equal and exact justice to all men . . . 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.

(First Inaugural Address, 4 March 1801)

JEFFERSON

851 Peace, commerce and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none.

(Ibid.)

852 If a due participation of office is a matter of right, how are vacancies to be obtained? Those by death are few; by resignation, none. [Usually quoted as 'Few die and none resign'.]

(Letter to Elias Shipman and others of New Haven, Connecticut, 12 July 1801)

853 When a man assumes a public trust, he should consider himself as public property.

(To Baron von Humboldt, 1807)

854 [of Tsar Alexander I of Russia] A more virtuous man, I believe, does not exist, nor one who is more enthusiastically devoted to better the condition of mankind.

(Letter to William Duane, 20 July 1807)

855 Some men look at constitutions with sanctimonious reverence and deem them like the ark of the covenant, too sacred to be touched.

(Letter to Samuel Kercheval, 12 July 1816)

856 This momentous question, like a firebell in the night, awakened and filled me with ter-

JEFFREYS

ror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union.

(Letter to John Adams, April 1820, over imposition by Congress of the Missouri Compromise)

857 Our first and fundamental maxim should be never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe. Our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cis-Atlantic affairs.

(Letter to James Monroe, 24 October 1823)

George (Baron) JEFFREYS (1648–89): English Chief Justice and Lord Chancellor

858 [of his Assize in the West of England after Monmouth's rebellion, 1685] I was not half bloody enough for him who sent me thither.

(To the Chaplain of the Tower of London shortly before his death, April 1689)

St JOAN of Arc (1412–31): French patriotic leader

859 Good prince, why do you not believe me. I tell you God pities you, He pities your kingdom and your people; for Saint Louis and Charlemagne are on their knees before Him, praying for you.

(To the Dauphin after her arrival at Chinon, March 1429)

860 K duke of the Mai Heaven cities of and rav: . . . to from F believe God, w we . . . hahaye France

(Letter Orleans

861 If send m self; tr all this of the f against penance than su prison.

(At her not set

JOHN King of

862 T blest us scarce equal. T the H longer c

(Letter the Tur Vienna,

: to her husband as the dial to the

eph Andrews. Bk. i, ch. 18.
minine, nor can forget—
one image, madly blind;
needle, and so stands the pole,
fond heart to my fix'd soul.
uan. Canto i, st. 196.
st, ye winds! my heart shall be
pass that still points to thee.
et William's Farewell to Black-

ace that heart can know,
needle true,
ch of joy or woe;
trembles too.
LE, Prayer for Indifference.
of its worship, though clouded,
ts faithfully o'er the dim sea,
room in this wintry world

spirit turns trembling to Thee.
The Heart's Prayer.
God should tend the soul,
needle to the Pole.
de to Rae Wilson, l. 115.

ong magnetic charms I feel,
nble like the amorous steel.
nd beauties less divine,
oneous needle does incline;
g the sympathy)
s again to Thee.
Bemerton, Aspiration. Norris
is metaphor, which he used
and in Contemplation and

le trembles to the pole.
of Fame, l. 431.

that directs the hour,
loadstone) by the secret

points upon the pole;
ig powers of my soul,
ie of Thy spirit, flee
and point alone to Thee.
Emblems. Bk. i, emb. 13.

e northern star,
nd resting quality
i the firmament.
Caesar. Act iii, sc. 1, l. 60.

dow, God the pole,
o Him is our soul.
on, in Bishop Joceline's
bedral.

of the simile of the soul
le is in Memorials of a
mond Lull of Majorca,

CONSTITUTION

1 'Tis constitution governs us all.
ISAAC BICKERSTAFFE, *The Hypocrite*. Act ii,
sc. 1.

2 Well can ye mouth fair Freedom's classic
line,
And talk of Constitutions o'er your wine.
THOMAS CAMPBELL, *On Poland*.

3 What's the Constitution between friends?
TIMOTHY J. CAMPBELL, about 1885, to Presi-
dent Cleveland who refused to sign a bill on
the grounds that it was unconstitutional.
Campbell was a Tammany member of the
House of Representatives, and the attribu-
tion to him is on the authority of William
Tyler Page.

4 As the British Constitution is the most sub-
tile organism which has proceeded from the
womb and the long gestation of progressive
history, so the American Constitution is, so
far as I can see, the most wonderful work
ever struck off at a given time by the brain
and purpose of man.
W. E. GLADSTONE, *Kin beyond Sea*. (*North
American Review*, Sept., 1878.)

5 Some men look at Constitutions with sancti-
monious 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. . . .
We might as well require a man to wear the
coat that fitted him as a boy, as civilized
society to remain ever under the regime of
their ancestors.
THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Writings*. Vol. xv, p. 40.

6 All that is valuable in the United States
Constitution is one thousand years old.
WENDELL PHILLIPS, *Speech*, Boston, 17 Feb.,
1861.

7 It's got so it is as easy to amend the Con-
stitution of the United States as it used to
be to draw a cork.
THOMAS RILEY MARSHALL. (*Literary Digest*,
20 June, 1925, p. 45.)

8 There is a higher law than the Constitution.
WILLIAM H. SEWARD, *Speech*, U. S. Senate,
March, 1850, condemning Daniel Webster
for support of the Fugitive Slave Law.

9 No philosopher's stone of a constitution can
produce golden conduct from leaden instincts.
HERBERT SPENCER, *Social Statics*. Pt. iii, ch. 21,
sec. 7.

CONTEMPLATION

10 The act of contemplation then creates the
thing contemplated.
ISAAC D'ISRAELI, *Literary Character*. Ch. xii.

11 All civil mankind have agreed in leaving one
day for contemplation against six for prac-
tice.
EMERSON, *Lectures and Biographical Studies:
The Preacher*.

If I were to compare action of a much higher
strain with a life of contemplation, I should not
venture to pronounce with much confidence in
favor of the former.
EMERSON, *Representative Men: Goethe*.

12 Give me, kind Heaven, a private station,
A mind serene for contemplation.
JOHN GAY, *Fables*: Pt. ii, *The Vulture, the
Sparrow, and Other Birds*.

13 He that contemplates hath a day without
night.
GEORGE HERBERT, *Jacula Prudentum*. (1640)

14 Wisdom's . . . best nurse, Contemplation.
MILTON, *Comus*, l. 377.

But first and chiefest, with thee bring
Him that yon soars on golden wing,
Guiding the fiery-wheeled throne,
The Cherub Contemplation.
MILTON, *Il Penseroso*, l. 51.

15 So sweet is zealous contemplation.
SHAKESPEARE, *Richard III*. Act iii, sc. 7, l. 94.

16 Contemplation makes a rare turkey-cock of
him:
How he jets under his advanced plumes.
SHAKESPEARE, *Twelfth Night*. Act ii, sc. 5, l. 35.

CONTEMPT

See also Ridicule, Scorn, Sneer

17 He that all despiseth all displeaseth. (Qui
omnes despicit, omnibus displicet.)
ALBERTANO OF BRESCIA, *Liber Consolationis*.
(CHAUCER, *Melibeus*. Sec. 15.)

18 Familiarity breeds contempt, while rarity
wins admiration. (Parit enim conversatio con-
temptum, raritas conciliat ipsis rebus admi-
rationem.)
APULEIUS, *De Deo Socratis*.

Familiarity breeds contempt. (Nimia familiaritas
parit Contemptum.)
ST. THOMAS AQUINAS, *Ad Joannem Fratrem
Monitio*; PUBLILIUS SYRUS, *Sententia*, No.
640; LIVY, *History*, bk. xxxv, ch. 10.

I find my familiarity with thee has bred con-
tempt.
CERVANTES, *Don Quixote*. Pt. i, ch. 6.

QUOTES

FDR sent a letter to the American Society of Newspaper Editors on April 16, 1941 and said of free speech and freedom of the press:

"Like all of our liberties, liberty of speech and of the press is not a mere phrase, a mere form of words, a constitutional abstraction. It has a living meaning -- whatever the press itself gives it."

Pres. could end the speech with a joke along the same lines that FDR ended his letter:

"I cannot better close this message to the American Society of Newspaper Editors than with a final assurance that those who disagree with what is being done, and with the manner in which it is being done, are free to use their freedom of speech."

"The truth is found when men are free to pursue it."
-- FDR, Feb. 22, 1936

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WH

t: **PETER'S**
QUOTATIONS

**IDEAS FOR
OUR TIME**

by Laurence J. Peter

By

LAURENCE J. PETER

WILLIAM MORROW AND COMPANY, INC.

NEW YORK 1977

ER'S QUOTATIONS
HE PETER PLAN
DUAL INSTRUCTION
ROOM INSTRUCTION
PEUTIC INSTRUCTION
CHER EDUCATION
ETER PRESCRIPTION
IPLE (WITH RAYMOND HULL)
RIPTIVE TEACHING

ght that has caused my misfortunes, but
ers.

—Marquis de Sade (1740–1814)

it, something always turns up—and it's
riends. —Orson Welles (The only
ou in adversity than a friend is a cred-

remembering that misfortunes hardest to
come.

—James Russell Lowell (1819–1891)

ou will not know yourself. If you are too
ow you.

—Thomas Fuller (1608–1661)

f but he that has it.

—William Shakespeare (1564–1616)

this, that we undo ourselves by impa-
their life and their limits, their sickness
ichel de Montaigne (1533–1592)

laid in one common heap whence every-
ortion, most people would be contented
rt. —Socrates (470?–399 B.C.)

ind that there should be some one who
gainst whom fortune has no power.

—Seneca (4 B.C.–A.D. 65)

are ill shuffled till I have a good hand.
745) (Fortune knocks but once, but
patience.)

world of ours who hold that things break
have observed for example that we all
The rich get it in the summertime and

—Bat Masterson

nciple. Without it a man hardly knows
t. —Henry Fielding (1707–1754)

itude to bear the misfortunes of others.
uc de La Rochefoucauld (1613–1680)

life who could not bear another's mis-
istian.

—Alexander Pope (1688–1744)

* *

By trying we can easily learn to endure adversity—another man's.
—Mark Twain

Calamities are of two kinds: misfortune to ourselves, and good for-
tune to others. —Ambrose Bierce

* *

Adversity reveals genius, prosperity conceals it.

—Horace (65–8 B.C.)

Prosperity doth best discover vice; but adversity doth best discover
virtue. —Francis Bacon (1561–1626)

We have a degree of delight . . . in the real misfortunes and pains
of others. —Edmund Burke (1729–1797)

Never find your delight in another's misfortune.

—Publilius Syrus (c. 1st century B.C.)

FREEDOM AND LIBERTY

The natural progress of things is for liberty to yield and government
to gain ground. —Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826) (Men fight
for freedom; then they begin to accumulate laws to take it away
from themselves.)

Freedom is not enough. —Lyndon B. Johnson

Liberty doesn't work as well in practice as it does in speeches.

—Will Rogers

It is by the goodness of God that in our country we have those three
unspeakably precious things: freedom of speech, freedom of con-
science, and the prudence never to practice either of them.

—Mark Twain

You are free and that is why you are lost.
(Liberty is always unfinished business.)

—Franz Kafka

Order without liberty and liberty without order are equally destruc-
tive. —Theodore Roosevelt

Wherever public spirit prevails, liberty is secure.

—Noah Webster (1758–1843)

We cannot defend freedom abroad by deserting it at home.

—Edward R. Murrow

What is freedom? Freedom is the right to choose: the right to create for yourself the alternatives of choice. Without the possibility of choice and the exercise of choice a man is not a man but a member, an instrument, a thing. —Archibald MacLeish

The price of freedom of religion or of speech or of the press is that we must put up with, and even pay for, a good deal of rubbish. —Justice Robert Jackson

The Constitution . . . speaks of liberty and prohibits the deprivation of liberty without due process of law. In prohibiting that deprivation the Constitution does not recognize an absolute and uncontrollable liberty. —Chief Justice Charles Evans Hughes

The contest for ages has been to rescue liberty from the grasp of executive power. —Daniel Webster (1782–1852)

The history of liberty is the history of resistance . . . [it is a] history of the limitation of governmental power. —Woodrow Wilson

By a careful cultural design, we control not the final behavior, but the *inclination* to behave—the motives, the desires, the wishes . . . we *increase* the feeling of freedom. —B. F. Skinner

Whereas each man claims his freedom as a matter of right, the freedom he accords to other men is a matter of toleration. —Walter Lippmann

Liberty is always dangerous, but it is the safest thing we have. —Harry Emerson Fosdick

If you accept the necessity for freedom of expression, it follows that in an intellectual controversy any attempt to coerce rather than to persuade . . . is not merely an offense against the person so coerced, but an erosion of the mechanics which make free expression work, and therefore make it possible. —Michael Kinsley

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. —Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865)

While the State exists, there is no freedom. When there is freedom, there will be no State. —Nikolai Lenin

To be free of bondage or restraint, to live under a government based on the consent of the citizens, these are basic among all freedoms . . . and this is the reason why a democracy is from every possible humane point of view the best form of government . . .

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ch or of the press is that
good deal of rubbish.
—Justice Robert Jackson

and prohibits the depriva-
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(1782-1852)

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—Woodrow Wilson

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the desires, the wishes
—B. F. Skinner

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—Walter Lippmann

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Lincoln (1809-1865)

When there is freedom,

under a government
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n of government . . .

What so many human beings in the modern world have failed to understand is that *freedom* is the greatest of all trusts.
—Ashley Montagu

Freedom is nothing else but a chance to be better.
—Albert Camus

There is no conflict between liberty and safety. We will have both or neither.
—Ramsey Clark

Liberty is being free from the things we don't like in order to be slaves of the things we do like.
—Ernest Benn (No one can enjoy freedom unless he is willing to surrender some part of it.)

Man had achieved *freedom from*—without yet having achieved *freedom to*—to be himself, to be productive, to be fully awake.
—Erich Fromm

The history of liberty has largely been the history of the observance of procedural safeguards.
—Justice Felix Frankfurter (Men rattle their chains to show that they are free.)

When people are free to do as they please, they usually imitate each other.
—Eric Hoffer

The spirit of liberty . . . is the spirit which is not too sure it is always right.
—Judge Learned Hand

The greatest dangers to liberty lurk in insidious encroachment by men of zeal, well-meaning but without understanding.
—Justice Louis D. Brandeis

The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is its natural manure.
—Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826)

A free society is one where it is safe to be unpopular.
—Adlai Stevenson

Those who profess to favor freedom, and yet depreciate agitation, are men who want rain without thunder and lightning.
—Frederick Douglass (1817?-1895)

A nation may lose its liberties in a day and not miss them in a century.
—Baron de Montesquieu (1689-1755)

Our liberty depends on freedom of the press, and that cannot be limited without being lost.
—Thomas Jefferson

The loss of liberty in general would soon follow the suppression of the liberty of the press; for it is an essential branch of liberty, so perhaps it is the best preservative of the whole.

—John Peter Zenger (1697–1746)

* *

The notion that the church, the press, and the universities should serve the state is essentially a Communist notion . . . In a free society these institutions must be wholly free—which is to say that their function is to serve as checks upon the state.

—Alan Barth

Man is forbidden to eat from the tree of knowledge of good and evil. He acts against God's command . . . From the standpoint of the Church, which represents authority, this is essentially sin. From the standpoint of man, however, this is the beginning of human freedom.

—Erich Fromm

* *

Liberty means responsibility. That is why most men dread it.

—George Bernard Shaw

In the end more than they wanted freedom, they wanted security. When the Athenians finally wanted not to give to society but for society to give to them, when the freedom they wished for was freedom from responsibility, then Athens ceased to be free.

—Edward Gibbon (1737–1794)

* *

The fact, in short, is that *freedom* to be meaningful in an organized society must consist of an amalgam of hierarchy of freedoms *and* restraints.

—Samuel Hendel

The story of man is the history, first, of the acceptance and imposition of restraints necessary to permit communal life; and second, of the emancipation of the individual within that system of necessary restraints.

—Justice Abe Fortas

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Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

—Wendell Phillips (1811–1884)

Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom must, like men, undergo the fatigue of supporting it.

—Thomas Paine (1737–1809)

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For we both alike know that into the discussion of human affairs the question of justice enters only where the pressure of necessity is equal, and that the powerful exact what they can, and the weak grant what they must. —Thucydides (471?-401? B.C.)

Liberty is so much latitude as the powerful choose to accord the weak. —Judge Learned Hand

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If Negro freedom is taken away, or that of any minority group, the freedom of all the people is taken away. —Paul Robeson

No Negro American can be free until the lowliest Negro in Mississippi is no longer disadvantaged because of his race.

—Ralph Bunche

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The purpose of freedom is to create it for others.

—Bernard Malamud

Liberty is the one thing you can't have unless you give it to others.

—William Allen White

* *

Those who suppress freedom always do so in the name of *law and order*. —John Lindsay

Order is the first requisite of liberty.

—Georg Wilhelm Hegel (1770-1831)

Many politicians . . . are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition, that no people ought to be free till they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool . . . who resolved not to go into the water till he had learned to swim.

—Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-1859)

Without freedom, no one really has a name.

—Milton Acorda

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Freedom comes from human beings, rather than from laws and institutions. —Clarence Darrow

To enjoy freedom we have to control ourselves.

—Virginia Woolf

* *

It is a great and dangerous error to suppose that all people are equally entitled to liberty. —John C. Calhoun (1782–1850)

Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves. —Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865)

* *

Restriction of free thought and free speech is the most dangerous of all subversions. It is the one un-American act that could most easily defeat us. —Justice William O. Douglas

You hear about constitutional rights, free speech and the free press. Every time I hear these words I say to myself, "That man is a Red!" . . . You never hear a *real* American talk like that! —Mayor Frank Hague

* *

The majority of us are for free speech only when it deals with those subjects concerning which we have no intense convictions. —Edmund B. Chaffee

At no time is freedom of speech more precious than when a man hits his thumb with a hammer. —Marshall Lumsden

* *

Freedom to live one's life with the window of the soul open to new thoughts, new ideas, new aspirations. —Harold Ickes

Liberty too can corrupt, and absolute liberty can corrupt absolutely. —Gertrude Himmelfarb

FREE ENTERPRISE

Free enterprise: A huge area of the American economy is still noticeable to observers with peripheral vision after they subtract the public sector, conglomerates, federally supported agriculture, monopolies, duopolies, and oligopolies. —Bernard Rosenberg

Private enterprise is ceasing to be free enterprise. —Franklin Delano Roosevelt

I don't meet competition, I crush it. —Charles Revson

Free enterprise ended in the United States a good many years ago. Big oil, big steel, big agriculture avoid the open marketplace. Big corporations fix prices among themselves and drive out the small entrepreneur. In their conglomerate forms, the huge corporations have begun to challenge the legitimacy of the state.

—Gore Vidal

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PROBLEMS

principles than to live up to them.
—Alfred Adler

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It is a man hardly knows whether he
Henry Fielding (1707–1754)

or what we believe in. —Lillian
if you don't believe in principle you

PROBLEMS

problem half solved.
—Charles F. Kettering

solution. It is that they can't see the
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any more than ceasing to be so.
—Emile M. Cioran

ition, not a theory.
—Grover Cleveland

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irke (1729–1797)

n solve are money problems. Many
ces today are the eventual result of
st century. —Jay W. Forrester

the problems of the next.
—R. H. Tawney

. . . is that no problem need any
—Norman Cousins

ns; anxiety beclouds the future; we
each newspaper we read.
—Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865)

your main roots run.
Henry David Thoreau (1817–1862)

en includes: (a) what is known, (b)
it is sought. —Edward Hodnett

PROGRESS

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To solve a problem it is necessary to think. It is necessary to think
even to decide what facts to collect.

—Robert Maynard Hutchins

PROFIT

To get profit without risk, experience without danger, and reward
without work, is as impossible as it is to live without being born.
—A. P. Gouthey

There is no way of keeping profits up but by keeping wages down.
—David Ricardo (1772–1823)

The society of excess profits for some and small returns for others,
the society in which a few prey upon the many, the society in
which few took advantage and many took great disadvantage,
must pass. —Wendell L. Willkie

In freeing peoples . . . our country's blessing will also come; for
profit follows righteousness. —Senator Albert J. Beveridge

Is it not . . . too true that capitalists have often seemed to regard
the men whom they used as mere instruments of profit, whose
physical and mental powers it was legitimate to exploit with as slight
cost to themselves as possible, either of money or of sympathy?
—Woodrow Wilson

The worst crime against working people is a company which fails
to operate at a profit. —Samuel Gompers

It is a socialist idea that making profits is a vice; I consider the real
vice is making losses. —Winston Churchill

No man profiteth but by the loss of others.
—Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592)

What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose
his own soul? —The Bible (Matthew 16:26)

The man who holds that every human right is secondary to his
profit must now give way to the advocate of human welfare.
—Theodore Roosevelt

PROGRESS

What we call "progress" is the exchange of one nuisance for another
nuisance. —Havelock Ellis

To make headway, improve your head. —B. C. Forbes

Is it progress if a cannibal uses knife and fork?

—Stanislaw J. Lec

Progress is the process whereby the human race is getting rid of whiskers, the vermiform appendix, and God.

—H. L. Mencken

There's always an easy solution to every human problem—neat, plausible and wrong.

—H. L. Mencken

The biggest problem in the world/Could have been solved when it was small.

—Witter Bynner (On second thought, the trouble with being tolerant is that people think you don't understand the problem.)

It is in the realm of uncertainties that progress, if it is ever encountered, must lie.

—Edward Searles

You can't sit on the lid of progress. If you do, you will be blown to pieces.

—Henry J. Kaiser

For most Americans, progress means accepting what is new because it is new, and discarding what is old because it is old.

—Lewis Mumford

Those who speak most of progress measure it by quantity and not by quality.

—George Santayana

Nothing but the victory of laughter over dogma.

—Benjamin Decasseres

The worst superstition of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is called progress. It is certain there will be no progress until there is an end to that kind of progress.

—George Faludy

In their worship of the machine, many Americans have settled for something less than a full life, something that is hardly even a tenth of life, or a hundredth of a life. They have confused progress with mechanization.

—Lewis Mumford

You've got to be a fool to want to stop the march of time.

—Pierre Auguste Renoir

Planned obsolescence is another word for progress.

—James Jeffrey Roche

Every step of progress means a duty repudiated, and a scripture torn up.

—George Bernard Shaw

The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little.

—Franklin Delano Roosevelt

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—Stanislaw J. Lec

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—H. L. Mencken

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—James Jeffrey Roche

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The reasonable man adapts himself to the world; the unreasonable one persists in trying to adapt the world to himself. Therefore all progress depends on the unreasonable man.

—George Bernard Shaw

In times like these, it helps to recall that there have *always* been times like these.

—Paul Harvey

A hundred years from now, I dare say, some dreamy collector will pay a cool thousand for an old milk bottle, and I wish I had the equivalent for what my hot-water bag will bring in 2034. Why we should be so beguiled by the antique is a riddle that perhaps only the interior decorator can solve.

—Cornelia Otis Skinner

A fashion ten years before its time is indecent. Ten years after its time it is hideous. After a century it becomes romantic.

—James Laver (On second thought, the history of science is the only history which displays cumulative progress of knowledge, hence the progress of science is the only yardstick by which we can measure the progress of mankind.)

PROPERTY

The moment the idea is admitted into society that property is not as sacred as the laws of God . . . anarchy and tyranny commence.

—John Adams (1735-1826)

We stand for the maintenance of private property.

—Adolf Hitler

The rights and interests of the laboring man will be protected and cared for, not by the labor agitators but by the Christian men to whom God in His infinite wisdom has given the control of the property interest of this country.

—George Baer

The power of perpetuating our property in our families is one of the most valuable and interesting circumstances belonging to it, and that which tends the most to the perpetuation of society itself.

—Edmund Burke (1729-1797)

The preservation of the rights of private property was the very keystone of the arch upon which all civilized governments rest.

—Joseph H. Choate

The man who has half a million dollars in property . . . has a much higher interest in the government than the man who has little or no property.

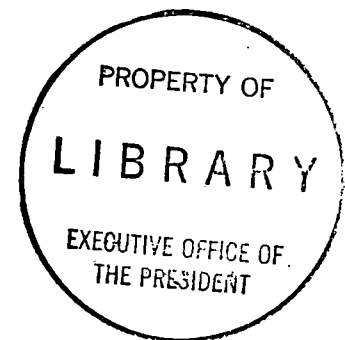
—Noah Webster (1758-1843)

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Freedom

639 Modern life means democracy, democracy means freeing intelligence for independent effectiveness—the emancipation of mind as an individual organ to do its own work. We naturally associate democracy, to be sure, with freedom of action, but freedom of action without freed capacity of thought behind it is only chaos.

JOHN DEWEY, "Democracy in Education," *John Dewey, The Middle Works, 1899-1924*, ed. Jo Ann Boydston, vol. 3, p. 229 (1977). First published in *The Elementary School Teacher*, December 1903.

640 But we know that freedom cannot be served by the devices of the tyrant. As it is an ancient truth that freedom cannot be legislated into existence, so it is no less obvious that freedom cannot be censored into existence. And any who act as if freedom's defenses are to be found in suppression and suspicion and fear confess a doctrine that is alien to America.

President DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, letter on intellectual freedom to Dr. Robert B. Downs, president of the American Library Association, June 24, 1953.—*Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1953*, p. 456.

641 For what avail the plough or sail,
Or land or life, if freedom fail?

RALPH WALDO EMERSON, "Boston," stanza 15, *The Complete Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, vol. 2, p. 897 (1929).

These words were also inscribed on a plaque in the stairwell of the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty.

642 You can muffle the drum, and you can loosen the strings of the lyre, but who shall command the skylark not to sing?

KAHLIL GIBRAN, "On Laws," final sentence, *The Prophet*, p. 46 (1968).

643 What the people wanted was a government which would provide a comfortable life for them, and with this as the foremost object ideas of freedom and self-reliance and service to the community were obscured to the point of disappearing. Athens was more and more looked on as a co-operative business possessed of great wealth in which all citizens had a right to share. . . . Athens had reached the point of rejecting independence, and the freedom she now wanted was freedom from responsibility. There could be only one result. . . . If men insisted on being free from the burden of a life that was self-dependent and also responsible for the common good, they would cease to be free at all. Responsibility was the price every man must pay for freedom. It was to be had on no other terms.

EDITH HAMILTON, *The Echo of Greece*, chapter 2, p. 47 (1957).

644 The greatest Glory of a free-born People,
Is to transmit that Freedom to their Children.

WILLIAM HAVARD, "Regulus, a Tragedy," act IV, scene iv.—Francis Longe, *Collection of Plays*, vol. 35, no. 2, p. 59 (1744). Regulus is speaking.

645 When we lose the right to be different, we lose the privilege to be free.

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES, address at Faneuil Hall, Boston, Massachusetts, on the 150th anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1925.—Hughes Papers, Library of Congress.

646 A man's worst difficulties begin when he is able to do as he likes.

THOMAS HENRY HUXLEY, address on university education, delivered at the formal opening of The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland, September 12, 1876.—*Science and Education* (vol. 3 of *Collected Essays*), p. 236 (1898, reprinted 1968).

647 If there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation, it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein.

Justice ROBERT H. JACKSON, *West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette*, 319 U.S. 642 (1943).

648 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.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, letter to H. L. Pierce and others, April 6, 1859.—*The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. Roy P. Basler, vol. 3, p. 375 (1953).

649 The maxims are, first, that the individual is not accountable to society for his actions, in so far as these concern the interests of no person but himself. Advice, instruction, persuasion, and avoidance by other people if thought necessary by them for their own good, are the only measures by which society can justifiably express its dislike or disapprobation of his conduct. Secondly, that for such actions as are prejudicial to the interests of others, the individual is accountable, and may be subjected either to social or to legal punishment, if society is of opinion that the one or the other is requisite for its protection.

JOHN STUART MILL, *On Liberty*, ed. David Spitz, chapter 5, p. 87 (1975). Originally published in 1859.

650 The only freedom which deserves the name, is that of pursuing our own good in our own way, so long as we do not attempt to deprive others of theirs, or impede their efforts to obtain it.

JOHN STUART MILL, *On Liberty*, ed. David Spitz, chapter 1, p. 14 (1975). Originally published in 1859.

651 The only part of the conduct of any one, for which he is amenable to society, is that which concerns others. In the part which merely concerns himself, his independence, is, of right, absolute. Over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign.

JOHN STUART MILL, *On Liberty*, ed. David Spitz, chapter 1, p. 11 (1975). Originally published in 1859.

652 There is a limit to the legitimate interference of collective opinion with individual independence: and to find that limit, and maintain it against encroachment, is as indispensable to a good condition of human affairs, as protection against political despotism.

JOHN STUART MILL, *On Liberty*, ed. David Spitz, chapter 1, p. 6 (1975). Originally published in 1859.

653 Yet we can maintain a free society only if we recognize that in a free society no one can win all the time. No one can have his own way all the time, and no one is right all the time.

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Freedom

President RICHARD M. NIXON, Alfred M. Landon lecture, Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kansas, September 16, 1970.—*Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Richard Nixon, 1970*, p. 758.

654 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.

President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, address to the National Education Association, New York City, June 30, 1938.—*The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1938*, p. 418 (1941).

655 In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms. The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world. The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world. The third is freedom from want—which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world. The fourth is freedom from fear—which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world.

President FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, State of the Union message to the Congress, January 6, 1941.—*The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1940*, p. 672 (1941).

A plaque in the stairwell of the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty is inscribed: "Liberty is the air America breathes. . . . In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential freedoms . . . freedom of speech and expression . . . freedom of worship . . . freedom from want . . . freedom from fear."

656 What would you have me do?
Search out some powerful patronage, and be
Like crawling ivy clinging to a tree?
No thank you. Dedicate, like all the others,
Verses to plutocrats, while caution smothers
Whatever might offend my lord and master?
No thank you. Kneel until my knee-caps fester,
Bend my back until I crack my spine,
And scratch another's back if he'll scratch mine?
No thank you. Dining out to curry favour,
Meeting the influential till I slaver,
Suiting my style to what the critics want
With slavish copy of the latest cant?
No thanks! Ready to jump through any hoop
To be the great man of a little group?
Be blown off course, with madrigals for sails,
By the old women sighing through their veils?
Labouring to write a line of such good breeding
Its only fault is—that it's not worth reading?
To ingratiate myself, abject with fear,

And fawn and flatter to avoid a sneer?
 No thanks, no thanks, no thanks! But . . . just to sing,
 Dream, laugh, and take my tilt of wing,
 To cock a snook whenever I shall choose,
 To fight for "yes" and "no", come win or lose,
 To travel without thought of fame or fortune
 Wherever I care to go to under the moon!
 Never to write a line that hasn't come
 Directly from my heart: and so, with some
 Modesty, to tell myself: "My boy,
 Be satisfied with a flower, a fruit, the joy
 Of a single leaf, so long as it was grown
 In your own garden. Then, if success is won
 By any chance, you have nothing to render to
 A hollow Caesar: the merit belongs to you."
 In short, I won't be a parasite; I'll be
 My own intention, stand alone and free,
 And suit my voice to what my own eyes see!

EDMOND ROSTAND, *Cyrano de Bergerac*, act II, trans. Christopher Fry, pp. 56-57
 (1975). Originally published in 1897.
 This is Cyrano's declaration of independence.

657 Eastward I go only by force; but westward I go free.

HENRY DAVID THOREAU, "Walking," *Excursions*, p. 266 (1894).
 The essay on walking was first published after Thoreau's death, in *Atlantic Monthly*, June 1862.

658 I must walk toward Oregon, and not toward Europe. And that way the nation is moving, and I may say that mankind progress from east to west. . . . We go eastward to realize history and study the works of art and literature, retracing the steps of the race; we go westward as into the future, with a spirit of enterprise and adventure.

HENRY DAVID THOREAU, "Walking," *Excursions*, p. 267 (1894).
 See note at No. 657.

659 To be what no one ever was,
 To be what everyone has been:
 Freedom is the mean of those
 Extremes that fence all effort in.

MARK VAN DOREN, "Freedom," *Morning Worship and Other Poems*, p. 124 (1960).

Freedom—defense of

660 A nation which makes the final sacrifice for life and freedom does not get beaten.

KEMAL ATATÜRK.—M. M. Mousharrafa, *Ataturk*, p. 130 (1944).
 He was the first president of the Republic of Turkey.

661 In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility—I welcome it.

Freedom—defense of

President JOHN F. KENNEDY, inaugural address, January 20, 1961.—*The Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: John F. Kennedy, 1961*, pp. 2-3.

This is one of seven inscriptions carved on the walls at the gravesite of John F. Kennedy, Arlington National Cemetery.

662 We in this country, in this generation, are—by destiny rather than choice—the watchmen on the walls of world freedom. We ask, therefore, that we may be worthy of our power and responsibility, that we may exercise our strength with wisdom and restraint, and that we may achieve in our time and for all time the ancient vision of “peace on earth, good will toward men.” That must always be our goal, and the righteousness of our cause must always underlie our strength. For as was written long ago: “except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain.”

President JOHN F. KENNEDY, remarks prepared for delivery at the Trade Mart in Dallas, Texas, November 22, 1963.—*Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: John F. Kennedy, 1963*, p. 894.

This speech was never delivered. President Kennedy was on his way to the Trade Mart when he was assassinated. The quotations are from the Bible, Luke 2:14 and Psalms 127:1, respectively.

663 No man is entitled to the blessings of freedom unless he be vigilant in its preservation.

DOUGLAS MACARTHUR, title of speech to the people of Japan, May 3, 1948, upon the first anniversary of the Japanese constitution.—MacArthur, *A Soldier Speaks*, p. 194 (1965).

Francis T. Miller, *General Douglas MacArthur, Fighter for Freedom*, p. 1 (1942), wrote, “[MacArthur] has said many times to friends: ‘The man who will not defend his freedom does not deserve to be free.’ ”

See also No. 1191.

664 Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom, must, like men, undergo the fatigues of supporting it.

THOMAS PAINE, “The Crisis,” no. 4, September 11, 1777.—*The Writings of Thomas Paine*, ed. Moncure D. Conway, vol. 1, p. 229 (1894).

665 We fight not to enslave, but to set a country free, and to make room upon the earth for honest men to live in.

THOMAS PAINE, “The Crisis,” no. 4, September 11, 1777, final paragraph.—*The Writings of Thomas Paine*, ed. Moncure D. Conway, vol. 1, p. 232 (1902, reprinted 1969).

666 The great German poet, Goethe, who also lived through a crisis of freedom, said to his generation: “What you have inherited from your fathers, earn over again for yourselves or it will not be yours.” We inherited freedom. We seem unaware that freedom has to be remade and re-earned in each generation of man.

ADLAI E. STEVENSON, “Politics and Morality,” *Saturday Review*, February 7, 1959, p. 12.

He quoted Goethe’s *Faust*, act I, scene i, “Was du ererbt von deinen Vätern hast, / Erwirb es, um es zu besitzen.” In Randall Jarrell’s translation, “That which you inherit from your fathers / You must earn in order to possess.”—*Goethe’s Faust*, p. 35 (1976).

BURTON K. WHEELER, *Yankee from the West*, chapter 19, p. 428 (1962).
Wheeler served in Congress 1923-1947.

Liberty

1045 This liberty will look easy by and by when nobody dies to get it.

MAXWELL ANDERSON, *Valley Forge*, act III, final sentence, p. 110 (1937). George Washington is speaking.

1046 Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof.

The Bible, Leviticus 25:10.

"In a letter written by a committee of the Pennsylvania Provincial Assembly, 1 Nov., 1751, ordering a bell for the tower of the new State House, it was directed that this quotation from the Bible should be inscribed around it 'well-shaped in large letters.'"—*The Home Book of Quotations*, 10th ed., ed. Burton Stevenson, pp. 1104-5 (1967).

The bell was ordered to celebrate fifty years of William Penn's Charter of Privileges. Penn left England in 1699 to return to America, where he drew up a document known as the Charter of Privileges, which was confirmed by the Assembly on October 28, 1701, and "remained substantially the fundamental law of Pennsylvania until 1776."—[Federal] Writer's Program, Pennsylvania, *Pennsylvania: A Guide to the Keystone State*, p. 30 (1940). The verse above is more fitting for a fiftieth anniversary than it appears, for it begins: "And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year . . ."

This bell, known as the Liberty Bell since about 1839, was rung July 8, 1776, with other church bells, announcing the adoption of the Declaration of Independence. The bell may be seen in Liberty Bell Pavilion, just north of Independence Hall in Philadelphia.

These words are also inscribed on a plaque in the stairwell of the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty.

1047 The United States appear to be destined by Providence to plague America with misery in the name of liberty.

Attributed to SIMÓN BOLÍVAR. Unverified.

1048 The defendants' objections to the evidence obtained by wire-tapping must, in my opinion, be sustained. It is, of course, immaterial where the physical connection with the telephone wires leading into the defendants' premises was made. And it is also immaterial that the intrusion was in aid of law enforcement. Experience should teach us to be most on our guard to protect liberty when the Government's purposes are beneficent. Men born to freedom are naturally alert to repel invasion of their liberty by evil-minded rulers. The greatest dangers to liberty lurk in insidious encroachment by men of zeal, well-meaning but without understanding.

Justice LOUIS D. BRANDEIS, dissenting, *Olmstead v. United States*, 277 U.S. 479 (1928).

The last sentence is one of many quotations inscribed on Cox Corridor II, a first floor House corridor, U.S. Capitol.

1049 Those who won our independence believed that the final end of the State was to make men free to develop their faculties; and that in its government the deliberative forces should prevail over the arbitrary. They valued liberty both as an end and as a means. They believed liberty to be the secret of happiness and courage to be the secret of liberty.

Liberty

Justice LOUIS D. BRANDEIS, concurring, *Whitney v. California*, 274 U.S. 375 (1927).

1050 The distinguishing part of our Constitution is its liberty. To preserve that liberty inviolate seems the particular duty and proper trust of a member of the House of Commons. But the liberty, the only liberty, I mean is a liberty connected with order: that not only exists along with order and virtue, but which cannot exist at all without them. It inheres in good and steady government, as in its substance and vital principle.

EDMUND BURKE, speech at his arrival at Bristol, October 13, 1774.—*The Works of the Right Honorable Edmund Burke*, vol. 2, p. 87 (1899).

1051 Men are qualified for civil liberty in exact proportion to their disposition to put moral chains upon their own appetites,—in proportion as their love to justice is above their rapacity,—in proportion as their soundness and sobriety of understanding is above their vanity and presumption,—in proportion as they are more disposed to listen to the counsels of the wise and good, in preference to the flattery of knaves. Society cannot exist, unless a controlling power upon will and appetite be placed somewhere; and the less of it there is within, the more there must be without. It is ordained in the eternal constitution of things, that men of intemperate minds cannot be free. Their passions forge their fetters.

EDMUND BURKE, "Letter to a Member of the National Assembly," 1791.—*The Works of the Right Honorable Edmund Burke*, vol. 4, pp. 51-52 (1899).

1052 That the greatest security of the people, against the encroachments and usurpations of their superiors, is to keep the Spirit of Liberty constantly awake, is an undeniable truth.

EDMUND BURKE, "A Free Briton's Advice to the Free Citizens of Dublin," no. 2, 1748.—*The Early Life, Correspondence and Writings of the Rt. Hon. Edmund Burke*, p. 338 (1923).

1053 The true danger is when liberty is nibbled away, for expedients, and by parts.

EDMUND BURKE, letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol, April 3, 1777.—*The Works of the Right Honorable Edmund Burke*, vol. 2, p. 199 (1899).

1054 It is the common fate of the indolent to see their rights become a prey to the active. The condition upon which God hath given liberty to man is eternal vigilance; which condition if he break, servitude is at once the consequence of his crime and the punishment of his guilt.

JOHN PHILPOT CURRAN, "Election of Lord Mayor of Dublin," speech before the Privy Council, July 10, 1790.—*The Speeches of the Right Honorable John Philpot Curran*, ed. Thomas Davis, pp. 94-95 (1847).

An early use of the words "eternal vigilance." *Bartlett's Familiar Quotations*, at least, lists this as the source of "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty" (15th ed., p. 397, footnote 8, 1980). But see also No. 1073.

1055 True liberty consists only in the power of doing what we ought to will, and in not being constrained to do what we ought not to will.

Attributed to JONATHAN EDWARDS.—George Seldes, *The Great Quotations*, p. 220 (1966). Unverified.

375 (1927).

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In the editor's introduction to Edwards's *Freedom of the Will*, ed. Paul Ramsey, p. 12 (1957), is a succinct summary of a portion of Edwards's definition of terms, part 1, section 5 (p. 164): "In other words, a man is free to do what he wills, but not to do what he does not will."

1056 Those who would give up essential Liberty, to purchase a little temporary Safety, deserve neither Liberty nor Safety.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, Pennsylvania Assembly: Reply to the Governor, November 11, 1755.—*The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Leonard W. Labaree, vol. 6, p. 242 (1963).

This quotation, slightly altered, is inscribed on a plaque in the stairwell of the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty: "They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little safety deserve neither liberty nor safety."

1057 Where liberty is, there is my country.

Attributed to BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

H. L. Mencken, *A New Dictionary of Quotations*, p. 682 (1942) gives "Where liberty dwells, there is my country," with a note that this was in a Franklin letter to Benjamin Vaughan, March 14, 1783, but the on-going project, *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, has been unable to identify this letter.

Alfred Owen Aldridge, *Man of Reason*, p. 169 (1959) says, "According to a tradition repeated by many biographers of Paine, Franklin at one time remarked in his hearing: 'Where liberty is, there is my country. . . .'" Aldridge adds, "the story must be written off as apocryphal."

Bartlett's Familiar Quotations, 15th ed., p. 367 (1982), attributes this to James Otis, as his motto (*Ubi libertas, ibi patria*), but this has not been verified in either his speeches or biographical sources. It has also been attributed to Algernon Sidney, but has not been verified in any source.

See also No. 347.

1058 The fundamental source of all your errors, sophisms, and false reasonings, is a total ignorance of the natural rights of mankind. Were you once to become acquainted with these, you could never entertain a thought, that all men are not, by nature, entitled to a parity of privileges. You would be convinced, that natural liberty is a gift of the beneficent Creator, to the whole human race; and that civil liberty is founded in that; and cannot be wrested from any people, without the most manifest violation of justice. *Civil liberty is only natural liberty, modified and secured by the sanctions of civil society.* It is not a thing, in its own nature, precarious and dependent on human will and caprice; but it is conformable to the constitution of man, as well as necessary to the *well-being* of society.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, "The Farmer Refuted," *The Works of Alexander Hamilton*, ed. John C. Hamilton, vol. 2, p. 61 (1850).

1059 Liberty lies in the hearts of men and women; when it dies there, no constitution, no law, no court can save it; no constitution, no law, no court can even do much to help it. . . . The spirit of liberty is the spirit which is not too sure that it is right; the spirit of liberty is the spirit which seeks to understand the minds of other men and women; the spirit of liberty is the spirit which weighs their interests alongside its own without bias; the spirit of liberty remembers that not even a sparrow falls to earth unheeded; the spirit of liberty is the spirit of Him who, near two thousand years ago, taught mankind that lesson it has never learned, but has never quite forgotten; that there may be a kingdom where the least shall be heard and considered side by side with the greatest.

Liberty

LEARNED HAND, "The Spirit of Liberty," speech at an "I Am an American Day" ceremony, Central Park, New York City, May 21, 1944.—Hand, *The Spirit of Liberty*, 3d ed., enl., ed. Irving Dilliard, p. 190 (1960).

1060 Is the relinquishment of the trial by jury and the liberty of the press necessary for your liberty? Will the abandonment of your most sacred rights tend to the security of your liberty? Liberty, the greatest of all earthly blessings—give us that precious jewel, and you may take every thing else! . . . Guard with jealous attention the public liberty. Suspect every one who approaches that jewel.

PATRICK HENRY, speech to the Virginia Convention, Richmond, Virginia, June 5, 1788.—*The Debates in the Several State Conventions on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, ed. Jonathan Elliot, vol. 3, p. 45 (1836, reprinted 1937).

1061 There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. . . . It is vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry, peace, peace—but there is no peace. The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God!—I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!

PATRICK HENRY, speech to the Virginia Convention, Richmond, Virginia, March 23, 1775.—William Wirt, *Sketches of the Life and Character of Patrick Henry*, 9th ed., pp. 141-42 (1836, reprinted 1970). The Biblical allusion is from Jeremiah 6:14.

"While there is no doubt as to the general effect of Henry's speech, questions as to its actual wording are not so easily disposed of. Not only is there no manuscript copy of the oration, there is no stenographic report. . . . It was not until some forty years later that William Wirt first reprinted a reconstruction of Henry's oration. In the absence of contemporary written information" there was much criticism of Wirt's text. Wirt collected much of the information for his biography of Patrick Henry "when many of Henry's auditors at St. John's [church] were still in their clear-minded fifties or sixties." Wirt collected information from "intelligent and reliable" auditors, including John Tyler, Judge St. George Tucker, and Edmund Randolph. "Wirt's text was based on a few very helpful sources plus many bits of information. He had ample proof for certain burning phrases . . . a remarkable resemblance to Henry's other speeches during that period," the fact that the speech conforms to others in "oratorical style and technique, even in the use of Biblical quotations or analogies. Of course, Wirt may have used fragments" from earlier speeches for the reconstruction. "Yet the information on the text as a whole is more precise than for many other great speeches in history."—Robert Douthat Meade, *Patrick Henry, Practical Revolutionary*, vol. 2, pp. 38-40 (1969).

"I can find no evidence that Patrick Henry's 'Give me liberty, or give me death' went ringing round the country in 1775, when he thus burst forth to the Virginia delegates, or in fact that it was quoted at all until after William Wirt's official life in 1817."—Carroll A. Wilson, "Familiar 'Small College' Quotations, II: Mark Hopkins and the Log," *The Colophon*, spring 1938, p. 204.

1062 God who gave us life gave us liberty.^a Can the liberties of a nation be secure when we have removed a conviction that these liberties are the gift of God? Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just, that his justice cannot sleep forever.^b Commerce between master and slave is despotism.^c Nothing is more certainly written in the book of

fate than that these people are to be free.^d Establish the law for educating the common people.^e This it is the business of the State to effect and on a general plan.^f

THOMAS JEFFERSON. Inscription on the northeast quadrant of the Jefferson Memorial, Washington, D.C., selected by the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Commission, from several writings of Jefferson's. The inscription omits words without ellipses.

^a "Draft of Instructions to the Virginia Delegates in the Continental Congress," *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Julian P. Boyd, vol. 1, p. 135 (1950).

^b "Notes on the State of Virginia," query 18, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Paul L. Ford, vol. 3, p. 267 (1894).

^c *Ibid.*, p. 266.

^d "Autobiography," in *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Andrew A. Lipscomb, vol. 1, p. 72 (1903).

^e Letter to George Wythe, August 13, 1786.—*The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Julian P. Boyd, vol. 10, p. 245 (1954).

^f Letter to George Washington, January 4, 1785 (i.e., 1786).—*The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Julian P. Boyd, vol. 9, p. 151 (1954).

1063 I would rather be exposed to the inconveniencies attending too much liberty than those attending too small a degree of it.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, letter to Archibald Stuart, December 23, 1791.—*The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Paul L. Ford, vol. 5, p. 409 (1895).

1064 It behoves every man who values liberty of conscience for himself, to resist invasions of it in the case of others; or their case may, by change of circumstances, become his own.

President THOMAS JEFFERSON, letter to Benjamin Rush, April 21, 1803.—*The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Paul L. Ford, vol. 8, p. 224, footnote 1 (1897).

1065 The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is its natural manure.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, letter to William Stephens Smith, November 13, 1787.—*The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Julian P. Boyd, vol. 12, p. 356 (1955).

A related idea was later expressed by Bertrand Barère de Vieuzac in a speech to the French national assembly, January 16, 1793: "L'arbre de la liberté . . . croît lorsqu'il est arrosé du sang de toute espèce de tyrans (The tree of liberty grows only when watered by the blood of tyrants)," *Archives Parlementaires de 1787 à 1860*, vol. 57, p. 368 (1900).

And much earlier Tertullian had said: "Plures efficimur quotiens metimur a vobis; semen est sanguis Christianorum (We multiply whenever we are mown down by you; the blood of Christians is seed)," *Apology*, trans. T. R. Glover, pp. 226-27 (1931).

1066 Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty.

President JOHN F. KENNEDY, inaugural address, January 20, 1961.—*The Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: John F. Kennedy, 1961*, p. 1.

This is one of seven inscriptions carved on the walls at the gravesite of John F. Kennedy, Arlington National Cemetery.

Liberty

1067 To one however who adores liberty, and the noble virtues of which it is the parent, there is some consolation in seeing, while we lament the fall of British liberty, the rise of that of America. Yes, my friend, like a young phoenix she will rise full plumed and glorious from her mother's ashes.

ARTHUR LEE, letter to Samuel Adams, December 24, 1772.—Richard Henry Lee, *Life of Arthur Lee*, vol. 1, p. 225 (1829, reprinted 1969).

Adams repeated the striking phrase in a letter to Lee, April 9, 1773: "But America 'shall rise full plumed and glorious from her Mothers Ashes.'"—*The Writings of Samuel Adams*, ed. Harry A. Cushing, vol. 3, p. 21 (1907, reprinted 1968).

1068 The Democracy of to-day hold the *liberty* of one man to be absolutely nothing, when in conflict with another man's right of *property*. Republicans, on the contrary, are for both the *man* and the *dollar*; but in cases of conflict, the man *before* the dollar.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, letter to Henry L. Pierce and others, April 6, 1859.—*The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. Roy P. Basler, vol. 3, p. 375 (1953).

1069 What constitutes the bulwark of our own liberty and independence? It is not our frowning battlements, our bristling sea coasts, the guns of our war steamers, or the strength of our gallant and disciplined army. These are not our reliance against a resumption of tyranny in our fair land. All of them may be turned against our liberties, without making us stronger or weaker for the struggle. Our reliance is in the *love of liberty* which God has planted in our bosoms. Our defense is in the preservation of the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands, every where. Destroy this spirit, and you have planted the seeds of despotism around your own doors.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, speech at Edwardsville, Illinois, September 11, 1858.—*The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. Roy P. Basler, vol. 3, p. 95 (1953).

The last two sentences appear in slightly varying form inscribed on a plaque in the stairwell of the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty: "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."

1070 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.

President ABRAHAM LINCOLN, address at sanitary fair, Baltimore, Maryland, April 18, 1864.—*The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. Roy P. Basler, vol. 7, pp. 301-2 (1953).

1071 The struggle between Liberty and Authority is the most conspicuous feature in the portions of history with which we are earliest familiar, particularly in that of Greece, Rome, and England.

JOHN STUART MILL, *On Liberty*, ed. David Spitz, chapter 1, p. 3 (1975). Originally published in 1859.

1072 He that would make his own liberty secure, must guard even his enemy from oppression; for if he violates this duty, he establishes a precedent that will reach to himself.

THOMAS PAINE, "Dissertation on First Principles of Government," *The Writings of Thomas Paine*, ed. Moncure D. Conway, vol. 3, p. 277 (1895). Originally published in 1795.

1073 Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty—power is ever stealing from the many to the few. . . . The hand entrusted with power becomes . . . the necessary enemy of the people. Only by continual oversight can the democrat in office be prevented from hardening into a despot: only by unintermitted Agitation can a people be kept sufficiently awake to principle not to let liberty be smothered in material prosperity.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, speech in Boston, Massachusetts, January 28, 1852.—*Speeches Before the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society*, p. 13 (1853).

The memorable and oft-quoted phrase, "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," was not in quotation marks in the printed edition of this speech. *The Home Book of Quotations*, ed. Burton Stevenson, 9th ed., p. 1106 (1964), notes that "It has been said that Mr. Phillips was quoting Thomas Jefferson, but in a letter dated 14 April, 1879, Mr. Phillips wrote: '“Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty” has been attributed to Jefferson, but no one has yet found it in his works or elsewhere.’ It has also been attributed to Patrick Henry."

See also No. 1054.

1074 Liberty means responsibility. That is why most men dread it.

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW, "Maxims for Revolutionists," appendix 2 to *Man and Superman*, in *The Collected Works of Bernard Shaw*, vol. 10, p. 218 (1930).

1075 Liberty—precious boon of Heaven—is meek and reasonable. She admits, that she belongs to all—to the high and the low; the rich and the poor; the black and the white—and, that she belongs to them all equally. . . . But true liberty acknowledges and defends the equal rights of all men, and all nations.

Representative GERRIT SMITH, remarks in the House, June 27, 1854, *Congressional Globe*, vol. 23, Appendix, p. 1016.

1076 The men of the future will yet fight their way to many a liberty that we do not even miss.

MAX STIRNER ([Johann] Kaspar Schmidt), *The Ego and His Own*, trans. Steven T. Byington, ed. James J. Martin, part 1, chapter 2, p. 127 (1973). Originally published in 1845.

1077 For the saddest epitaph which can be carved in memory of a vanished liberty is that it was lost because its possessors failed to stretch forth a saving hand while yet there was time.

Justice GEORGE SUTHERLAND, dissenting, *Associated Press v. National Labor Relations Board*, 301 U.S. 141 (1938).

1078 The contest, for ages, has been to rescue Liberty from the grasp of executive power.

Senator DANIEL WEBSTER, speech in the Senate, May 27, 1834, on President Andrew Jackson's protest.—*The Works of Daniel Webster*, 10th ed., vol. 4, p. 133 (1857).

Liberty

1079 God grants liberty only to those who love it, and are always ready to guard and defend it.

Senator DANIEL WEBSTER, remarks in the Senate, June 3, 1834.—*The Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster*, vol. 7, p. 47 (1903).

1080 The history of liberty is a history of resistance. The history of liberty is a history of the limitation of governmental power, not the increase of it.

WOODROW WILSON, governor of New Jersey, address to the New York Press Club, New York City, September 9, 1912.—*The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, ed. Arthur S. Link, vol. 25, p. 124 (1978).

1081 I would rather belong to a poor nation that was free than to a rich nation that had ceased to be in love with liberty. But we shall not be poor if we love liberty, because the nation that loves liberty truly sets every man free to do his best and be his best, and that means the release of all the splendid energies of a great people who think for themselves. A nation of employees cannot be free any more than a nation of employers can be.

President WOODROW WILSON, address on Latin American policy to the fifth annual convention of the Southern Commercial Congress, Mobile, Alabama, October 27, 1913.—*The Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, ed. Arthur S. Link, vol. 28, p. 451 (1978).

The first sentence is inscribed on a plaque in the stairwell of the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty.

Lies

1082 Fraud and prevarication are servile vices. They sometimes grow out of the necessities, always out of the habits, of slavish and degenerate spirits. . . . It is an erect countenance, it is a firm adherence to principle, it is a power of resisting false shame and frivolous fear, that assert our good faith and honor, and assure to us the confidence of mankind.

EDMUND BURKE, "Letters on a Regicide Peace," letter 3, 1796-1797, *The Works of the Right Honorable Edmund Burke*, vol. 5, p. 414 (1899).

1083 I think the inherent right of the Government to lie to save itself when faced with nuclear disaster is basic.

ARTHUR SYLVESTER, assistant secretary of defense, speech at a meeting of the New York chapter of Sigma Delta Chi, New York City, December 6, 1962, as reported by *The Washington Post*, December 7, 1962, p. A-2.

Life

1084 You can't make a silk purse out of a sow's ear, and you can't change human nature from intelligent self-interest into pure idealism—not in this life; and if you could, what would be left for paradise?

Representative JOSEPH G. CANNON, maxim quoted in a tribute to Cannon on his retirement, *The Sun*, Baltimore, Maryland, March 4, 1923.—*Congressional Record*, March 4, 1923, vol. 64, p. 5714.

"Uncle Joe" Cannon, who was Speaker of the House 1903-1911, served in the House for 46 years.

Prisons

This exchange was supposed to have taken place on July 23 or 24, 1846, in the Concord, Massachusetts, jail where Thoreau was placed for nonpayment of poll taxes. There are many versions of this story, but Thoreau's account does not mention a visit by Emerson, in his *Reform Papers*, ed. Wendell Glick, pp. 79-84 (1973), so it is probably apocryphal.

Privacy

1529 We are rapidly entering the age of no privacy, where everyone is open to surveillance at all times; where there are no secrets from government.

Justice WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS, dissenting, *Osborn v. United States*, 385 U.S. 341 (1966).

1530 Every man should know that his conversations, his correspondence, and his personal life are private. I have urged Congress—except when the Nation's security is at stake—to take action to that end.

President LYNDON B. JOHNSON, remarks at the swearing-in of Ramsey Clark as attorney general, March 10, 1967.—*Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Lyndon B. Johnson, 1967*, book 1, p. 313.

1531 Gentlemen do not read each other's mail.

HENRY L. STIMSON. As secretary of state under Herbert Hoover, Stimson closed the Department of State's code-breaking office, the so-called Black Chamber, in 1929. He later justified his action with this remark.—Stimson and McGeorge Bundy, *On Active Service in Peace and War*, p. 188 (1948). Also see David Kahn, *The Codebreakers*, p. 360 (1967).

Progress

1532 The advancement of the arts from year to year taxes our credulity, and seems to presage the arrival of that period when human improvement must end.

HENRY L. ELLSWORTH, U.S. commissioner of patents, *Annual Report*, p. 5 (1843).

1533 According to the ancient Chinese proverb, "A journey of a thousand miles must begin with a single step."

President JOHN F. KENNEDY, radio and television address to the American people on the nuclear test ban treaty, July 26, 1963.—*Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: John F. Kennedy, 1963*, p. 606.

1534 I walk slowly, but I never walk backward.

Attributed to ABRAHAM LINCOLN.—Representative Everett M. Dirksen, remarks in the House, September 18, 1941, *Congressional Record*, vol. 87, p. 7479. Unverified in *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. Roy P. Basler (1953).

He may have been paraphrasing this: "I hope to 'stand firm' enough to not go backward, and yet not go forward fast enough to wreck the country's cause."—President Lincoln, letter to Zachariah Chandler, November 20, 1863.—*Collected Works*, vol. 7, p. 24.

1535 Next came the Patent laws. These began in England in 1624; and, in this country, with the adoption of our constitution. Before then [these?], any man might instantly use

Progress

what another had invented; so that the inventor had no special advantage from his own invention. The patent system changed this; secured to the inventor, for a limited time, the exclusive use of his invention; and thereby added the fuel of *interest* to the *fire* of genius, in the discovery and production of new and useful things.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, second lecture on discoveries and inventions, delivered to the Phi Alpha Society of Illinois College at Jacksonville, Illinois, February 11, 1859.—*The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. Roy P. Basler, vol. 3, p. 357 (1953).

1536 The chief cause which made the fusion of the different elements of society so imperfect was the extreme difficulty which our ancestors found in passing from place to place. Of all inventions, the alphabet and the printing press alone excepted, those inventions which abridge distance have done most for the civilisation of our species. Every improvement of the means of locomotion benefits mankind morally and intellectually as well as materially, and not only facilitates the interchange of the various productions of nature and art, but tends to remove national and provincial antipathies, and to bind together all the branches of the great human family.

THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY, *The History of England*, 5th ed., vol. 1, chapter 3, p. 370 (1849).

“Of all inventions, the alphabet and the printing press alone excepted, those inventions which abridge distance have done most for civilization” was inscribed on one side of the Golden Door of the Transportation Building at the World’s Columbian Exposition, held in Chicago in 1893.

1537 Expositions are the timekeepers of progress.

President WILLIAM MCKINLEY, speech delivered at the Pan-American Exposition, Buffalo, New York, September 5, 1901.—*Modern Eloquence*, ed. Ashley H. Thorndike, rev. Adam Ward, vol. 11, p. 401 (1936).

This was McKinley’s last speech, as he was mortally wounded the next day at the Exposition. He served in Congress 1877–1884 and 1885–1891.

1538 Two conditions render difficult this historic situation of mankind: It is full of tremendously deadly armament, and it has not progressed morally as much as it has scientifically and technically.

POPE PAUL VI, sermon at the Shrine of Fatima, Portugal, May 13, 1967, as reported by *The New York Times*, May 14, 1967, p. 47.

1539 I was to learn later in life that we tend to meet any new situation by reorganizing; and a wonderful method it can be for creating the illusion of progress while producing confusion, inefficiency, and demoralization.

Attributed to PETRONIUS ARBITER.—Robert Townsend, *Up the Organization*, p. 162 (1970). Unverified.

1540 Our inventions are wont to be pretty toys, which distract our attention from serious things. They are but improved means to an unimproved end, . . . We are in great haste to construct a magnetic telegraph from Maine to Texas; but Maine and Texas, it may be, have nothing important to communicate.

HENRY DAVID THOREAU, *Walden*, chapter 1, p.67 (1966). Originally published in 1854.

Progress

1541 The day of large profits is probably past. There may be room for further intensive, but not extensive, development of industry in the present area of civilization.

D. CARROLL WRIGHT, U.S. commissioner of labor.—*Industrial Depressions*, first annual report of the U.S. Bureau of Labor, 1885, chapter 3, p. 257. House Executive Doc. 49-1, part 5.

Promise

1542 But not the first Illusion, the new earth,
The march upon the solitary fire,
The casting of the dice of death and birth
Against a giant, for a blind desire,
The stream uncrossed, the promise still untried,
The metal sleeping in the mountainside.

STEPHEN VINCENT BENÉT, *Western Star*, prelude, section 3, stanza 6, pp. 7-8 (1943).

The last two lines were quoted by Senator George McGovern in his remarks nominating R. Sargent Shriver as his vice presidential running mate on the Democratic ticket, in a television address from the Capitol, August 5, 1972.

Promises

1543 All men have a feeling, that they would rather you told them a civil lie than give them a point blank refusal. . . . If you make a promise, the thing is still uncertain, depends on a future day, and concerns but few people; but if you refuse you alienate people to a certainty and at once, and many people too.

QUINTUS TULLIUS CICERO, "On Standing for the Consulship," section 12.—*The Treatises of M. T. Cicero*, trans. C. D. Yonge, pp. 499, 500 (1872).

This work, also known as the "Handbook of Electioneering," was addressed to Marcus Tullius Cicero, the author's brother. Another translation of the passage is: "Human nature being what it is, all men prefer a false promise to a flat refusal. At the worst the man to whom you have lied may be angry. That risk, if you make a promise, is uncertain and deferred, and it affects only a few. But if you refuse you are sure to offend many, and that at once."—H. J. Haskell, *The New Deal in Old Rome*, p. 169 (1939).

1544 We must not promise what we ought not, lest we be called on to perform what we cannot.

Attributed to ABRAHAM LINCOLN, speech delivered before the first Republican state convention of Illinois, Bloomington, Illinois, May 29, 1856.—*The Writings of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. Arthur B. Lapsley, vol. 2, p. 249 (1905).

This version of the speech has been questioned because it was reconstructed by Henry C. Whitney, who made notes at the time but did not write it out until 1896. He did not claim that it was literally correct, only that he had followed the argument and that in many cases the sentences were as Lincoln spoke them. The only contemporary account of the so-called "Lost Speech" was a brief report in the Alton, Illinois, *Weekly Courier*, June 5, 1856, which does not contain this sentence.

Some historians believe the Whitney reconstruction "is not . . . worthy of serious consideration."—*The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. Roy P. Basler, vol. 2, p. 341 (1953).

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Political Quotations

A Collection of Notable Sayings on Politics from Antiquity through 1989

Daniel B. Baker, Editor



Gale Research Inc. • DETROIT • NEW YORK • LONDON

1196. Vietnam was the first war ever fought without any censorship. Without censorship, things can get terribly confused in the public mind. —Gen. William C. Westmoreland, *Time*, Apr 5, 1982

1197. If you can manipulate news, a judge can manipulate the law. A smart lawyer can keep a killer out of jail, a smart accountant can keep a thief from paying taxes, a smart reporter could ruin your reputation—unfairly. —Mario Cuomo, NBC-TV, Aug 21, 1986

FREEDOM/LIBERTY

1198. Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof. —Bible, inscribed on the Liberty Bell, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, ca. 500 B.C.

1199. Freedom suppressed and again regained bites with keener fangs than freedom never endangered. [*Acriores autem morsus sunt intermissae libertatis quam retentae.*] —Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De Officiis*, 44 B.C.

1200. Freedom can't be kept for nothing. If you set a high value on liberty, you must set a low value on everything else. [*Non potest gratis constare libertas. Hanc si magno aestimas, omnia parvo aestimanda sunt.*] —Lucius Annaeus Seneca (the Younger), *Letters to Lucilius*, ca. 63-65

1201. Every subject's duty is the king's; but every subject's soul is his own. —William Shakespeare, *Henry V*, 1599

1202. I confess it cannot be thought, but that men should fly from oppression, but disorder will give them but an incommodious sanctuary. —John Locke, preface, *First Tract on Government*, 1660

1203. A man cannot part with his liberty and have it too, convey it by compact to the magistrate, and retain it himself. —John Locke, *First Tract on Government*, 1660

1204. He that complies against his will is of his opinion still. —Samuel Butler (1), *Hudibras*, 1664

1205. Without Freedom of Thought, there can be no such Thing as Wisdom; and no such Thing as publick Liberty, without Freedom of Speech. —Benjamin Franklin, *The New England Courant*, Jul 9, 1722

— 1206. Liberty of thought is the life of the soul. —Voltaire, *Essay on Epic Poetry*, 1727

1207. Lean liberty is better than fat slavery. —Thomas Fuller, *Gnomologia*, 1732

1208. One of the greatest blessings a people, my Lords, can enjoy is liberty; but every good in this life has its alloy of evil. ... Like a changeable silk, we cannot easily discover where the one ends, or where the other begins. —4th Earl of Chesterfield, speech in the House of Lords, Jun 2, 1737

1209. Liberty is the right of doing whatever the laws permit. [*La liberté est le droit de faire tout ce que les lois permettent.*] —Charles Louis de Montesquieu, *De l'Esprit des lois*, 1748

1210. Those who would give up essential Liberty, to purchase a little temporary Safety, deserve neither Liberty nor Safety. —Benjamin Franklin, reply of the Pennsylvania Assembly to the governor, Nov 11, 1755

1211. What man loses by the social contract is his natural liberty and an unlimited right to everything he tries to get and succeeds in getting; what he gains is civil liberty and the proprietorship of all he possesses. [*Ce que l'homme perd par le contrat social, c'est sa liberté naturelle et un droit illimité à tout ce qui le tente et qu'il peut atteindre; ce qu'il gagne, c'est la liberté civile et la propriété de tout ce qu'il possède.*] —Jean Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, 1762

1212. Man is born free; and everywhere he is in chains. [*L'homme est né libre, et partout il est dans les fers.*] —Jean Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, 1762
1213. To renounce liberty is to renounce being a man, to surrender the rights of humanity and even its duties. [*Renoncer à sa liberté c'est renoncer à sa qualité d'homme, aux droits de l'humanité, même à ses devoirs.*] —Jean Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, 1762
1214. The jaws of power are always open to devour, and her arm is always stretched out, if possible, to destroy the freedom of thinking, speaking, and writing. —John Adams, "Dissertation on the Canon and the Feudal Law", Aug, 1765
1215. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people, so dead to all the feelings of liberty, as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest. —William Pitt, 1st Earl of Chatham, speech in the House of Commons, Jan 14, 1766
1216. The cause of Liberty is a cause of too much dignity to be sullied by turbulence and tumult. It ought to be maintained in a manner suitable to her nature. —John Dickinson, *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*, 1768
1217. It is an universal maxim, that the more liberty is given to everything which is in a state of growth, the more perfect it will become. —Joseph Priestly, *Essay on Government*, 1768
1218. The God who gave us life, gave us liberty at the same time. —Thomas Jefferson, "Draft of Instructions to the Virginia Delegates in the Continental Congress", Aug, 1774
1219. Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God!—I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death! —Patrick Henry, speech to the Virginia Convention, Mar 23, 1775
1220. Liberty can no more exist without virtue and independence, than the body can live and move without a soul. —John Adams, "Novanglus", *Boston Gazette*, Feb 6, 1775
1221. Abstract liberty, like other mere abstractions, is not to be found. —Edmund Burke, speech, "On Conciliation with the American Colonies", Mar 22, 1775
1222. Freedom and not servitude is the cure of anarchy; as religion, and not atheism, is the true remedy for superstition. —Edmund Burke, speech, "On Conciliation with the American Colonies", Mar 22, 1775
1223. 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 rather than live slaves. —Thomas Jefferson, "Declaration of the Causes of Taking Up Arms", Jul 6, 1775
1224. Nip the shoots of arbitrary power in the bud, is the only maxim which can ever preserve the liberties of any people. —John Adams, "Novanglus", *Boston Gazette*, Feb 6, 1775
1225. How is it that we hear the loudest yelps for liberty among the drivers of negroes. —Samuel Johnson, "On the American Revolutionaries", *Taxation No Tyranny*, 1775
1226. Those who expect to reap the blessing of freedom must, like men, undergo the fatigue of supporting it. —Thomas Paine, *The American Crisis*, Dec 23, 1776
1227. Though the flame of liberty may sometimes cease to shine, the coal can never expire. —Thomas Paine, *The American Crisis*, Dec 23, 1776
1228. 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. —Thomas Jefferson, closing lines, *Declaration of Independence*, 1776
1229. Liberty must be limited in order to be possessed. —Edmund Burke, *Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol*, Apr 3, 1777

Political Quotations

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Political Quotations

FREEDOM/LIBERTY

1230. The true danger is when liberty is nibbled away, for expedients, and by parts. —Edmund Burke, *Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol*, Apr 3, 1777

1231. Posterity! You will never know how much it cost the present generation to preserve your freedom! I hope you will make good use of it! If you do not, I shall repent it in Heaven that I ever took half the pains to preserve it! —John Adams, letter to Abigail Adams, Apr 26, 1777

1232. The people never give up their liberties but under some delusion. —Edmund Burke, speech in Buckinghamshire, England, 1784

1233. I am tired of ruling over slaves. —Frederick the Great, on his deathbed, Apr 1, 1786

1234. The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is its natural manure. —Thomas Jefferson, letter to William Stephens Smith, Nov 13, 1787

1235. What country can preserve its liberties, if its rulers are not warned from time to time, that this people preserve the spirit of resistance? —Thomas Jefferson, letter to Col. William S. Smith, Nov 13, 1787

1236. Since the general civilization of mankind, I believe there are more instances of the abridgment of freedom of the people, by gradual and silent encroachments of those in power, than by violent and sudden usurpations. —James Madison, speech to the Virginia Convention on adoption of the U.S. Constitution, Jun 6, 1788

1237. The natural progress of things is for liberty to yield and government to gain ground. —Thomas Jefferson, letter to Edward Carrington, May 27, 1788

1238. No human government has a right to enquire into private opinions, to presume that it knows them, or to act on that presumption. Men are the best judges of the consequences of their own opinions, and how far they are likely to influence their actions; and it is most unnatural and tyrannical to say, "As you think, so must you act. I will collect the evidence of your future conduct from what I know to be your opinions." —Charles James Fox, speech in the House of Commons, May 8, 1789

1239. We are not to expect to be translated from despotism to liberty in a feather bed. —Thomas Jefferson, letter to the Marquis de Lafayette, Apr 2, 1790

1240. The ground of liberty is to be gained in inches. —Thomas Jefferson, letter to Rev. Charles Clay, Jan 27, 1790

1241. The condition upon which God hath given liberty to men is eternal vigilance. —John Philpot Curran, speech in Dublin, Ireland, Jul 10, 1790

1242. To erect and concentrate and perpetuate a large monied interest ... must in the course of human events produce one or other of two evils, the prostration of agriculture at the feet of commerce, or a change in the present form of federal government, fatal to the existence of American liberty. —Patrick Henry, speech to the Virginia House of Representatives, Dec, 23, 1790

1243. I would rather be exposed to the inconveniencies attending too much liberty than those attending too small a degree of it. —Thomas Jefferson, letter to Archibald Stuart, Dec 23, 1791

1244. It is ordained in the eternal constitution of things that men of intemperate minds cannot be free. Their passions forge their fetters. —Edmund Burke, *Letter to a Member of the French National Assembly*, 1791

1245. It is not because we have been free, but because we have a right to be free, that we ought to demand freedom. Justice and liberty have neither birth nor race, youth nor age. It would be the same absurdity to assert, that we have a right to freedom, because the Englishmen of Alfred's reign were free, as that three and three are six, because they were so in the camps of Genghis Khan. —Sir James Mackintosh, *Vindicae Gallicae*, 1791

1246. O liberty! O liberty! what crimes are committed in thy name! [*O liberté! O liberté! que de crimes on commet en ton nom!*] —Mme. Roland, (Marie-Jeanne), quoted by Alphonse de Lamartine, *Histoire des Girondins*, 1847
1247. As for me, I think anyone, whoever he may be, who has done nothing for liberty, or has not done all he could deserves to be counted as an enemy to it. —Joseph-Pierre Fayau, speech to the National Convention, Nov 26, 1793
1248. He that would make his own liberty secure, must guard even his enemy from oppression; for if he violates this duty, he establishes a precedent that will reach to himself. —Thomas Paine, *Dissertation on First Principles of Government*, 1795
1249. A people are free in proportion as they form their own opinions. —Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Prospectus, *The Watchman*, 1796
1250. With what deep worship I have still adored/ The spirit of divinest Liberty. —Samuel Taylor Coleridge, "France: An Ode", 1798
1251. Freedom of religion, freedom of the press, freedom of person under the protection of habeas corpus; and trial by juries impartially selected,—these principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us. —Thomas Jefferson, first inaugural address, Mar 4, 1801
1252. The love of liberty is the love of others; the love of power is the love of ourselves. —William Hazlitt, "The Times Newspaper", *Political Essays*, 1819
1253. The boisterous sea of liberty is never without a wave. —Thomas Jefferson, letter to Richard Rush, Oct 20, 1820
1254. Individual liberty is individual power, and as the power of a community is a mass compounded of individual powers, the nation which enjoys the most freedom must necessarily be in proportion to its numbers the most powerful nation. —John Quincy Adams, letter to James Lloyd, Oct 1, 1822
1255. There is only one cure for the evils which newly acquired freedom produces, and that cure is freedom. —Lord Macaulay, "On Milton", 1825
1256. Tell a man whose house is on fire, to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher; tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen; but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present. I am in earnest—I will not equivocate —I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—AND I WILL BE HEARD. —William Lloyd Garrison, prospectus, *The Liberator*, Jan 1, 1831
1257. The history of the world is none other than the progress of the consciousness of freedom. [*Die Weltgeschichte ist der Fortschritt im Bewusstsein der Freiheit.*] —Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Introduction to the Philosophy of History*, 1832
1258. The contest, for ages, has been to rescue Liberty from the grasp of executive power. —Daniel Webster, speech in the U.S. Senate, May 27, 1834
1259. God grants liberty only to those who love it, and are always ready to guard and defend it. —Daniel Webster, speech in the U.S. Senate, Jun 3, 1834
1260. In America, a glorious fire has been lighted upon the alter of liberty. ... Keep it burning, and let the sparks that continually go up from it fall on other altars, and light up in distant lands the fire of freedom. —William Henry Harrison, speech in Dayton, Ohio, Sep 10, 1840
1261. See to the government. See that the government does not acquire too much power. Keep a check upon your rulers. Do this, and liberty is safe. —William Henry Harrison, speech during presidential campaign, 1840

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1262. At the moment that man inquires into the motives which govern the will of his sovereign—at that moment man revolts. If he obeys, no longer because the king commands, but because the king demonstrates the wisdom of his commands, it may be said that henceforth he will recognize no authority, and that he has become his own king. —Pierre Joseph Proudhon, *Qu'est-ce la propriété?*, 1840

1263. True freedom is to share/ All the chains our brothers wear,/ And, with heart and hand, to be/ Earnest to make others free! —James Russell Lowell, "Stanzas on Freedom", 1843

1264. Let your motto be resistance, resistance, RESISTANCE! No oppressed people have ever secured their liberty without resistance. —Henry Highland Garnet, "Address to the Slaves of the United States", 1843

1265. They are slaves who dare not be/ In the right with two or three. —James Russell Lowell, "Stanzas on Freedom", 1843

1266. I didn't know I was a slave until I found out I couldn't do the things I wanted. —Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, 1845

1267. Liberty exists in proportion to wholesome restraint. —Daniel Webster, speech at the Charleston Bar, May 10, 1847

1268. It is harder to preserve than to obtain liberty. —John C. Calhoun, speech in the U.S. Senate, Jan, 1848

1269. The liberty of the individual is the greatest thing of all, it is on this and on this alone that the true will of the people can develop. —Alexander Ivanovich Herzen, introduction, "To My Son Alexander", *From The Other Shore*, 1848-49

1270. The word "liberty" in the mouth of Mr. Webster sounds like the word "love" in the mouth of a courtesan. —Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Journal*, Feb 12, 1851

1271. No one can be perfectly free till all are free; no one can be perfectly moral till all are moral; no one can be perfectly happy till all are happy. —Herbert Spencer, *Social Statics*, 1851

1272. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. —Wendell Phillips, speech, 1852

1273. Liberty unregulated by law degenerates into anarchy, which soon becomes the most horrid of all despotisms. —Millard Fillmore, third annual message to Congress, Dec 5, 1852

1274. Let us remember that revolutions do not always establish freedom. Our own free institutions were not the offspring of our Revolution. They existed before. —Millard Fillmore, third annual message to Congress, Dec 5, 1852

1275. True liberty acknowledges and defends the equal rights of all men, and all nations. —Gerrit Smith, speech in U.S. House of Representatives, Jun 27, 1854

1276. My faith in the proposition that each man should do precisely as he pleases with all which is exclusively his own lies at the foundation of the sense of justice there is in me. I extend the principle to communities of men as well as to individuals. —Abraham Lincoln, speech in Peoria, Illinois, Oct 16, 1854

1277. Let us readopt the Declaration of Independence, and with it the practices and policy which harmonize with it. Let North and South—let all Americans—let all lovers of liberty everywhere join in the great and good work. If we do this, we shall not only save the Union, but we shall have so saved it that the succeeding millions of free, happy people, the world over, shall rise up and call us blessed to the latest generations. —Abraham Lincoln, speech in Peoria, Illinois, Oct 16, 1854

1278. He who would be free must strike the first blow. —Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom*, 1855

1279. If there is no struggle there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom and yet deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground, they want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters. This struggle may be a moral one, or it may be a physical one, and it may be both moral and physical, but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will. —Frederick Douglass, speech at Canandaigua, New York, Aug 4, 1857
1280. The whole history of the progress of human liberty shows that all concessions yet made to her august claims have been born of earnest struggle. —Frederick Douglass, speech in Canandaigua, New York, Aug 4, 1857
1281. The fight must go on. The cause of civil liberty must not be surrendered at the end of one or even one hundred defeats. —Abraham Lincoln, letter to H. Asbury, Nov 19, 1858
1282. The struggle between liberty and authority is the most conspicuous feature in the portions of history with which we are earliest familiar, particularly in that of Greece, Rome and England. —John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, 1859
1283. The only freedom which deserves the name, is that of pursuing our own good in our own way, so long as we do not attempt to deprive others of theirs, or impede their efforts to obtain it. —John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, 1859
1284. There is a limit to the legitimate interference of collective opinion with individual independence: and to find that limit, and maintain it against encroachment, is as indispensable to a good condition of human affairs, as protection against political despotism. —John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, 1859
1285. The sole end for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number is self-protection. —John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, 1859
1286. The individual is not accountable to society for his actions, insofar as these concern the interests of no person but himself. —John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, 1859
1287. The liberty of the individual must be thus far limited; he must not make himself a nuisance to other people. —John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, 1859
1288. Liberty consists in doing what one desires. —John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, 1859
1289. The only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilised community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others. His own good, either physical or moral, is not a sufficient warrant. —John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, 1859
1290. Whether in chains or in laurels, liberty knows nothing but victories. —Wendell Phillips, speech at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, Nov 1, 1859
1291. A person should be free to do as he likes in his own concerns; but he ought not to be free to do as he likes in acting for another, under the pretext that the affairs of the other are his own affairs. —John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, 1859
1292. The spirit of improvement is not always a spirit of liberty, for it may aim at forcing improvements on an unwilling people. —John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, 1859
1293. 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. —Abraham Lincoln, letter to H.L. Pierce, Apr 6, 1859
1294. Mankind are greater gainers by suffering each other to live as seems good to themselves, than by compelling each to live as seems good to the rest. —John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, 1859

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John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, 1859

1295. If this country cannot be saved without giving up the principle ... (of the Declaration of Independence), I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it. —Abraham Lincoln, speech in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Feb 22, 1861

1296. I am the son of Liberty and to her I owe all that I am. If it is necessary to veil her statue it is not for me to do it. —Camillo, Conte di Cavour, letter to the Countess of Circourt, Jan, 1861

1297. Liberty, misunderstood by materialists as the right to do or not to do anything not directly injurious to others, we understand as the faculty of choosing, among the various modes of fulfilling duty, those most in harmony with our own tendencies. —Giuseppe Mazzini, *On the Unity of Italy*, 1861

1298. A man who has nothing which he is willing to fight for, nothing which he cares more about than he does about his personal safety, is a miserable creature who has no chance of being free, unless made and kept so by the exertions of better men than himself. —John Stuart Mill, "The Contest in America", *Fraser's Magazine*, Feb, 1862

1299. In giving freedom to the slave, we assure freedom to the free. ... We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last, best hope of earth. —Abraham Lincoln, message to Congress, Dec 1, 1862

1300. Liberation is not deliverance. [*Libération n'est pas délivrance.*] —Victor Hugo, *Les Misérables*, 1862

1301. Human liberty, the only true foundation of human government. —Ulysses S. Grant, message to the citizens of Memphis, Tennessee, 1863

1302. Where Slavery is, there Liberty cannot be; and where Liberty is, there Slavery cannot be. —Charles Sumner, speech, "Slavery and the Rebellion" delivered at the Cooper Union, New York City, Nov 5, 1864

1303. 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. —Abraham Lincoln, speech in Baltimore, Maryland, Apr 18, 1864

1304. Whenever (I) hear any one, arguing for slavery I feel a strong impulse to see it tried on him personally. —Abraham Lincoln, speech to the 140th Indiana regiment, Mar 17, 1865

1305. For what avail the plow or sail, / Or land or life, if freedom fail? —Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Boston", *May-Day and Other Pieces*, 1867

1306. Where the State begins, individual liberty ceases, and vice versa. —Michael Bakunin, *Federalism, Socialism and Anti-Theologism*, 1868

1307. Intellectual slavery, of whatever nature it may be, will always have as a natural result both political and social slavery. —Michael Bakunin, *Federalism, Socialism and Anti-Theologism*, 1868

1308. When I found I had crossed that line, I looked at my hands to see if I was the same person. There was such a glory over everything. —Harriet Tubman, quoted by Sarah H. Bradford, *Harriet, the Moses of Her People*, 1869

1309. There was one of two things I had a right to, liberty or death. If I could not have one, I would have the other, for no man should take me alive. I should fight for my liberty as long as my strength lasted, and when the time came for me to go, the Lord would let them take me. —Harriet Tubman, quoted by Sarah H. Bradford, *Harriet, the Moses of Her People*, 1869

1310. Liberty is not a means to a higher political end. It is itself the highest political end. —Lord Acton, lecture on "The History of Freedom in Antiquity" at Bridgnorth, England, Feb 26, 1877

1311. The spirit of truth and the spirit of freedom—they are the pillars of society. [*Sandhedens og frihedens ånd,—det er samfundets stotter.*] —Henrik Ibsen, *Pillars of Society*, 1877

1312. Liberty, next to religion, has been the motive of good deeds and the common pretext of crime. —Lord Acton, lecture on "The History of Freedom in Antiquity" at Bridgnorth, England, Feb 26, 1877
1313. If the perpetual oscillation of nations between anarchy and despotism is to be replaced by the steady march of self-restraining freedom, it will be because men will gradually bring themselves to deal with political, as they now deal with scientific questions. —Thomas Henry Huxley, "Science and Culture", 1880
1314. The shallow consider liberty a release from all law, from every constraint. The wise see in it, on the contrary, the potent Law of Laws. —Walt Whitman, "Freedom", *Notes Left Over*, 1881
1315. Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp! cries she/ With silent lips. Give me your tired, your poor,/ Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,/ The wretched refuse of your teeming shore./ Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me;/ I lift my lamp beside the golden door. —Emma Lazarus, *The New Colossus*, 1886
1316. Liberty cannot live apart from constitutional principle. —Woodrow Wilson, *Political Science Quarterly*, Jun, 1887
1317. When liberty becomes license, some form of one-man power is not far distant. —Theodore Roosevelt, *Works*, 1887
1318. Liberty is the soul's right to breathe, and, when it can not take a long breath, laws are girdled too tight. —Henry Ward Beecher, *Proverbs from Plymouth Pulpit*, 1887
1319. Then what is freedom? It is the will to be responsible to ourselves. [*Denn was ist Freiheit? Dasz man den Willen zur Selbstverantwortlichkeit hat.*] —Friedrich Nietzsche, "Skirmishes in a War with the Age", *Twilight of the Idols*, 1888
1320. The demand of the Labour party is for economic freedom. It is the natural outcome of political enfranchisement. —Keir Hardie, speech to the inaugural conference of the Independent Labour party, Jan 13, 1893
1321. Liberty recast the old forms of government into the Republic, and it must remould our institutions of wealth into the Commonwealth. —Henry Demarest Lloyd, *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, 1894
1322. Liberty produces wealth and wealth destroys liberty. —Henry Demarest Lloyd, *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, 1894
1323. Liberty and monopoly cannot live together. —Henry Demarest Lloyd, *Wealth Against Commonwealth*, 1894
1324. It is by the goodness of God that in our country we have those three unspeakably precious things: freedom of speech, freedom of conscience, and the prudence never to practice either of them. —Mark Twain, *Following the Equator*, 1897
1325. It is a worthy thing to fight for one's freedom; it is another sight finer to fight for another man's. —Mark Twain, letter to the Reverend Joseph Twichell, 1898
1326. Freedom remains still the wisest cure for freedom's temporary inconveniences. —Prince Peter Kropotkin, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, 1899
1327. Irreverence is the champion of liberty and its only sure defense. —Mark Twain, *Notebook*, 1935
1328. Liberty is the most jealous and exacting mistress that can beguile the brain and soul of man. —Clarence S. Darrow, funeral oration for John P. Altgeld, Mar 14, 1902
1329. Liberty means responsibility. That is why most men dread it. —George Bernard Shaw, "Maxims for Revolutionists", *Man and Superman*, 1902

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ead it. —George Bernard Shaw,

Political Quotations

FREEDOM/LIBERTY

1331. Freedom, n. The distinction between freedom and liberty is not accurately known; naturalists have never been able to find a living specimen of either. —Ambrose Bierce, *The Devil's Dictionary*, 1906

1332. Liberty, n. One of Imagination's most precious possessions. —Ambrose Bierce, *The Devil's Dictionary*, 1906

1333. The ideals of liberty cannot be fixed from generation to generation; only its conception can be, the large image of what it is. Liberty fixed in unalterable law would be no liberty at all. —Woodrow Wilson, *Constitutional Government*, 1908

1334. Liberty is the means in the pursuit of happiness. —William Howard Taft, speech in Fresno, California, Oct 10, 1909

1335. Liberty trains for liberty. Responsibility is the first step in responsibility. —W.E.B. Du Bois, "The Legacy of John Brown", *John Brown*, 1909

1336. The cost of liberty is less than the price of repression. —W.E.B. Du Bois, "The Legacy of John Brown", *John Brown*, 1909

1337. No man can be just who is not free. —Woodrow Wilson, speech to the Democratic National Convention, Jul 7, 1912

1338. There will be no greater burden in our generation than to organize the forces of liberty on our time, in order to make conquest of a new freedom for America. —Woodrow Wilson, speech in Indianapolis, Indiana, Oct 3, 1912

1339. The only freedom consists in the people taking care of the government. —Woodrow Wilson, speech in New York City, Sep 4, 1912

1340. Liberty has never come from the government. Liberty has always come from the subjects of it. The history of liberty is a history of resistance. The history of liberty is a history of limitations of governmental power, not the increase in it. —Woodrow Wilson, speech at the New York Press Club, Sep 9, 1912

1341. Liberty is its own reward. —Woodrow Wilson, speech, Sep 12, 1912

1342. You cannot tear up ancient rootages and safely plant the tree of liberty in soil that is not native to it. —Woodrow Wilson, speech, Sep 25, 1912

1343. I would rather belong to a poor nation that was free than to a rich nation that had ceased to be in love with liberty. —Woodrow Wilson, speech in Mobile, Alabama, Oct 27, 1913

1344. Most men, after a little freedom, have preferred authority with the consoling assurances and the economy of effort which it brings. —Walter Lippmann, *A Preface to Morals*, 1913

1345. A thing that stands demonstrable is that nationhood is not achieved otherwise than in arms. ... We may make mistakes in the beginning and shoot the wrong people; but bloodshed is a cleansing and a sanctifying thing, and the nation which regards it as the final horror has lost its manhood. There are many things more horrible than bloodshed; and slavery is one of them. —Padraic Pearse, *The Coming Revolution*, 1913

1346. Liberty does not consist ... in mere general declarations of the rights of man. It consists in the translation of those declarations into definite action. —Woodrow Wilson, speech in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Jul 4, 1914

1347. Those men and women are fortunate who are born at a time when a great struggle for human freedom is in progress. —Emmeline Pankhurst, *My Own Story*, 1914

1348. There are two good things in life—freedom of thought and freedom of action. —W. Somerset Maugham, *Of Human Bondage*, 1915
1349. Liberty is often a fierce and intractable thing, to which no bounds can be set, and to which no bounds of a few men's choosing ought ever be set. —Woodrow Wilson, third annual message to Congress, Dec 7, 1915
1350. While the state exists there is no freedom; when there is freedom there will be no state. —Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, *The State and the Revolution*, 1917
1351. While there is a lower class I am in it, while there is a criminal class I am of it; while there is a soul in prison, I am not free. —Eugene V. Debs, speech in Cleveland, Ohio, Sep 9, 1917
1352. Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end, and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own. —Woodrow Wilson, speech to Congress, Apr 2, 1917
1353. We do not profess to be the champions of liberty, and then consent to see liberty destroyed. —Woodrow Wilson, speech in Indianapolis, Indiana, Sep 4, 1919
1354. There is no substitute for a militant freedom. —Calvin Coolidge, speech in Washington, D.C., Apr 27, 1922
1355. Radicalism is a label that is always applied to people who are endeavoring to get freedom. —Marcus Moziarh Garvey, *Philosophy and Opinions*, 1923
1356. Liberty is not collective, it is personal. All liberty is individual liberty. —Calvin Coolidge, speech in Washington, D.C., Sep 21, 1924
1357. When we lose the right to be different, we lose the privilege to be free. —Charles Evans Hughes, speech in Faneuil Hall, Boston, Massachusetts, Jun 17, 1925
1358. It is necessary to grow accustomed to freedom before one may walk in it sure-footedly. —Suzanne LaFollette, "Women and Marriage", *Concerning Women*, 1926
1359. Those who won our independence believed that the final end of the State was to make men free to develop their faculties; and that in its government the deliberative forces should prevail over the arbitrary. They valued liberty both as an end and as a means. They believed liberty to be the secret of happiness and courage to be the secret of liberty. —Louis D. Brandeis, concurring opinion, *Whitney v. California*, 1927
1360. Liberty don't work as good in practice as it does in Speech. —Will Rogers, *There's Not a Bathing Suit in Russia*, 1927
1361. Men born to freedom are naturally alert to repel invasion of their liberty by evil-minded rulers. The greatest dangers to liberty lurk in insidious encroachment by men of zeal, well-meaning but without understanding. —Louis D. Brandeis, dissenting opinion, *Olmstead v. United States*, 1928
1363. Freedom is a very great reality. But it means, above all things, freedom from lies. —D.H. Lawrence, *Pornography and Obscenity*, 1930
1364. Liberty is so much latitude as the powerful choose to accord to the weak. —Learned Hand, speech, Univ. of Pennsylvania Law School, Jun 1930
1365. It must be admitted that liberty is the hardest test that one can inflict on a people. To know how to be free is not given equally to all men and all nations. —Paul Valéry, "On the Subject of Dictatorship", *Reflections on the World Today*, 1931
1366. It is a good thing to demand liberty for ourselves and for those who agree with us, but it is a better thing and a rarer thing to give liberty to others who do not agree with us. —Franklin D. Roosevelt, radio address, Nov 22, 1933

1367. Liber things. There "Liberty and
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1367. Liberty is not just an idea, an abstract principle. It is power, effective power to do specific things. There is no such thing as liberty in general; liberty, so to speak, at large. —John Dewey, "Liberty and Social Control", *The Social Frontier*, Nov, 1935

1368. Freedom belongs to the strong. —Richard Wright, *Long Black Song*, 1936

1369. The truth is found when men are free to pursue it. —Franklin D. Roosevelt, speech at Temple Univ., Philadelphia, Feb 22, 1936

1370. The hungry and the homeless don't care about liberty any more than they care about cultural heritage. To pretend that they do care is cant. —E.M. Forster, "Liberty in England", *Abinger Harvest*, 1936

1371. The greater the importance of safeguarding the community from incitements to the overthrow of our institutions by force and violence, the more imperative is the need to preserve inviolate the constitutional rights of free speech, free press and free assembly in order to maintain the opportunity for free political discussion, to the end that government may be responsive to the will of the people and that changes, if desired, may be obtained by peaceful means. Therein lies the security of the Republic, the very foundation of constitutional government. —Charles Evans Hughes, *DeJonge v. Oregon*, 1937

1372. We hear about constitutional rights, free speech and the free press. Every time I hear these words I say to myself, "That man is a Red, that man is a Communist". You never hear a real American talk like that. —Frank Hague, *New York World-Telegram*, Apr 2, 1938

1373. For the saddest epitaph which can be carved in memory of a vanished liberty is that it was lost because its possessors failed to stretch forth a saving hand while yet there was time. —George Sutherland, dissenting opinion, *Associated Press v. National Labor Relations Board*, 1938

1374. Freedom to learn is the first necessity of guaranteeing that man himself shall be self-reliant enough to be free. —Franklin D. Roosevelt, speech in New York City, Jun 30, 1938

1375. Freedom is not worth fighting for if it means no more than license for everyone to get as much as he can for himself. —Dorothy Canfield Fisher, *Seasoned Timber*, 1939

1376. Morality, and the ideal of freedom which is the political expression of morality, are not the property of a given party or group, but a value that is fundamentally and universally human, to diffuse and enhance which all of us must devote our efforts and good will. ... No people will be truly free till all are free. —Benedetto Croce, *Freedom*, 1940

1377. Human kindness has never weakened the stamina or softened the fiber of a free people. A nation does not have to be cruel to be tough. —Franklin D. Roosevelt, radio address, Oct 13, 1940

1378. We have learned that freedom in itself is not enough. Freedom of speech is of no use to a man who has nothing to say. Freedom of worship is of no use to a man who has lost his God. —Franklin D. Roosevelt, campaign speech in Cleveland, Ohio, Nov 2, 1940

1379. We believe that the only whole man is a free man. —Franklin D. Roosevelt, speech at the dedication of the Great Smokey Mts. National Park, Sep 2, 1940

1380. Do not worry about what it costs. ... You can easily rebuild wealth, but you cannot create liberty when it has gone. Once a nation is put under another, it takes years and generations of struggle to get liberty back. —Ernest Bevin, speech in Cardiff, Wales, urging maximum war production, Nov, 1940

1381. If a nation values anything more than freedom, it will lose its freedom; and the irony of it is that if it is comfort or money that it values more, it will lose that too. —W. Somerset Maugham, *Strictly Personal*, 1941

1382. The dagger plunged in the name of Freedom is plunged into the breast of Freedom. —Jose Martí, *Granos de oro: pensamientos seleccionados en las Obras de Jose Martí*, 1942
1383. If liberty has any meaning it means freedom to improve. —Philip Wylie, introduction, *Generation of Vipers*, 1942
1384. The history of liberty has largely been the history of the observance of procedural safeguards. —Felix Frankfurter, *McNabb v. United States*, 1943
1385. Freedom is an indivisible word. If we want to enjoy it, and fight for it, we must be prepared to extend it to everyone, whether they are rich or poor, whether they agree with us or not, no matter what their race or the color of their skin. —Wendell Lewis Willkie, *One World*, 1943
1386. None who have always been free can understand the terrible fascinating power of the hope of freedom to those who are not free. —Pearl S. Buck, *What America Means to Me*, 1943
1387. Men would rather be starving and free than fed in bonds. —Pearl S. Buck, *What America Means to Me*, 1943
1388. A nation which makes the final sacrifice for life and freedom does not get beaten. —Kemal Atatürk, quoted by M.M. Mousharrafa, *Ataturk*, 1944
1389. Liberty lies in the hearts of men and women; when it dies there, no constitution, no law, no court can save it; no constitution, no law, no court can even do much to help it. —Learned Hand, speech in New York City, May 21, 1944
1390. The winning of freedom is not to be compared to the winning of a game—with the victory recorded forever in history. Freedom has its life in the hearts, the actions, the spirits of men and so it must be daily earned and refreshed—else like a flower cut from its life-giving roots, it will wither and die. —Dwight D. Eisenhower, speech to the English Speaking Union, London, England, 1944
1391. The ruling class or race must share their freedom with everyone in order to preserve it; or they must give it up. —Chester Bomar Himes, "Negro Martyrs are Needed", *Crisis*, May, 1944
1392. The system of private property is the most important guaranty of freedom, not only for those who own property, but scarcely less for those who do not. —Friedrich August von Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom*, 1944
1393. The spirit of liberty is the spirit which is not too sure it is right. —Learned Hand, speech in New York City, May 21, 1944
1394. I wish that every human life might be pure transparent freedom. —Simone de Beauvoir, *The Blood of Others*, 1946
1395. Political liberty is nothing else but the diffusion of power. —Lord Hailsham, (Quinton Hogg), *The Case for Conservatism*, 1947
1396. When poems stop talking about the moon and begin to mention poverty, trade unions, color, color lines and colonies, somebody tells the police. —Langston Hughes, *My Adventures as a Social Poet*, 1947
1397. No man is entitled to the blessings of freedom unless he be vigilant in its preservation. —Douglas MacArthur, title of a speech to the Japanese people, May 3, 1948
1398. The moment the slave resolves that he will no longer be a slave, his fetters fall. He frees himself and shows the way to others. Freedom and slavery are mental states. —Mohandas K. Gandhi, *Non-Violence in Peace and War*, 1948

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May 3, 1948

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1399. It is not enough merely to realize how freedom has been won. Essential also is it that we be ever alert to all threats to that freedom. ... One danger arises from too great a concentration of power in the hands of any individual or group: The power of concentrated finance, the power of selfish pressure groups, the power of any class organized in opposition to the whole—any one of these, when allowed to dominate, is fully capable of destroying individual freedom as is power concentrated in the political head of state. —Dwight D. Eisenhower, speech at Columbia Univ., Oct 12, 1948

1400. Diversity of opinion within the framework of loyalty to our free society is not only basic to a university but to the entire nation. —James Bryant Conant, *Education in a Divided World*, 1948

1401. The cause of liberty becomes a mockery if the price to be paid is the wholesale destruction of those who are to enjoy liberty. —Mohandas K. Gandhi, *Non-Violence in Peace and War*, 1948

1402. Freedom always entails danger. —W.E.B. Du Bois, “Freedom to Learn”, *Midwest Journal*, Winter, 1949

1403. Too little liberty brings stagnation, and too much brings chaos. —Bertrand Russell, “The Role of Individuality”, *Authority and the Individual*, 1949

1404. A Country can get more real joy out of just Hollering for their Freedom than they can if they get it. —Will Rogers, *The Autobiography of Will Rogers*, 1949

1405. While it is true that an inherently free and scrupulous person may be destroyed, such an individual can never be enslaved or used as a blind tool. —Albert Einstein, *Impact*, 1950

1406. Men are created different; they lose their social freedom and their individual autonomy in seeking to become like each other. —David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd*, 1950

1407. The American feels so rich in his opportunities for free expression that he often no longer knows what he is free from. Neither does he know where he is not free; he does not recognize his native autocrats when he sees them. —Erik H. Erikson, *Childhood and Society*, 1950

1408. Everything that is really great and inspiring is created by the individual who can labor in freedom. —Albert Einstein, *Out of My Later Years*, 1950

1409. Man in Society is not free where there is no law; he is most free where he cooperates best with his equals in the making of laws. —George Douglas Cole, *Essays in Social Theory*, 1950

1410. Liberty is the possibility of doubting, the possibility of making a mistake, the possibility of searching and experimenting, the possibility of saying “No” to any authority—literary, artistic, philosophic, religious, social, and even political. —Ignazio Silone, *The God That Failed*, 1950

1411. A hungry man is not a free man. —Adlai E. Stevenson Jr., speech in Kasson, Minnesota, Sep 6, 1952

1412. The mind is the expression of the soul, which belongs to God and must be let alone by government. —Adlai E. Stevenson Jr., speech in Salt Lake City, Utah, Oct 14, 1952

1413. Carelessness about our security is dangerous; carelessness about our freedom is also dangerous. —Adlai E. Stevenson Jr., speech in Detroit, Michigan, Oct 7, 1952

1414. The right to be let alone is indeed the beginning of all freedoms. —William O. Douglas, dissenting opinion, *Public Utilities Commission v. Pollak*, May 26, 1952

1415. We can afford no liberties with liberty itself. —Robert H. Jackson, dissenting opinion, *Zorach v. Clauson*, Apr 7, 1952

1416. Shouting is not a substitute for thinking and reason is not the subversion but the salvation of freedom. —Adlai E. Stevenson Jr., Godkin Lectures, Harvard Univ., Mar, 1954

1417. The 5th Amendment is an old friend and a good friend ... one of the great landmarks in men's struggle to be free of tyranny, to be decent and civilized. —William O. Douglas, *An Almanac of Liberty*, 1954
1418. Not for the flag/ Of any land because myself was born there/ Will I give up my life./ But I will love that land where man is free,/ And that will I defend. —Edna St. Vincent Millay, "Not for a Nation", *Mine the Harvest*, 1954
1419. The real guarantee of freedom is an equilibrium of social forces in conflict, not the triumph of any one force. —Max Eastman, *Reflections on the Failure of Socialism*, 1955
1420. It has been well said that a hungry man is more interested in four sandwiches than four freedoms. —Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., *The New York Times*, Mar 29, 1955
1421. Civilization exists precisely so that there may be no masses but rather men alert enough never to constitute masses. —Georges Bernanos, *Why Freedom?*, 1955
1422. Liberty is always unfinished business. —(American Civil Liberties Union) ACLU, title, *Annual Report, 1955-56*
1423. We cannot choose freedom established on a hierarchy of degrees of freedom, on a caste system of equality like military rank. We must be free not because we claim freedom, but because we practice it. —William Faulkner, *Harper's Magazine*, Jun, 1956
1424. He is free ... who knows how to keep in his own hands the power to decide, at each step, the course of his life, and who lives in a society which does not block the exercise of that power. —Salvador de Madariaga, *The New York Times*, Jan 29, 1957
1425. The most powerful single force in the world today is neither Communism nor capitalism, neither the H-bomb nor the guided missile—it is man's eternal desire to be free and independent. —John F. Kennedy, speech in Washington, D.C., Jul 2, 1957
1426. Freedom has been defined as the opportunity for self-discipline. ... Should we persistently fail to discipline ourselves, eventually there will be increasing pressure on government to redress the failure. By that process freedom will step by step disappear. —Dwight D. Eisenhower, fifth annual message to Congress, Jan 10, 1957
1427. In my opinion, you can't take freedom and allow freedom finally to be pushed back to the shores of the United States and maintain it in the United States. It can't be done. There's too much interdependence in the world. —Dwight D. Eisenhower, remarks in Washington, D.C., May 1, 1957
1428. Freedom is a hard-bought thing. —Paul Robeson, *Here I Stand*, 1958
1429. Freedom is not worth having if it does not connote freedom to err. —Mohandas K. Gandhi, quoted, *Saturday Review*, Mar 1, 1959
1430. If men and women are in chains, anywhere in the world, then freedom is endangered everywhere. —John F. Kennedy, campaign speech in Washington, D.C., Oct 2, 1960
1431. We have confused the free with the free and easy. —Adlai E. Stevenson Jr., *Putting First Things First*, 1960
1432. Liberty is never out of bounds or off limits; it spreads wherever it can capture the imagination of men. —E.B. White, "Letter from the West", *The Points of My Compass*, 1960
1433. In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger. I do not shrink from this responsibility—I welcome it. —John F. Kennedy, inaugural address, Jan 20, 1961
1434. Conformity is the jailer of freedom and the enemy of growth. —John F. Kennedy, speech to the United Nations General Assembly, Sep 25, 1961

Political Quotations

Political Quotations

FREEDOM/LIBERTY

1435. Freedom is not something that anybody can be given; freedom is something people take and people are as free as they want to be. —James Baldwin, "Notes for a Hypothetical Novel", *Nobody Knows My Name*, 1961

1436. We stand for freedom. That is our conviction for ourselves; that is our only commitment to others. —John F. Kennedy, message to Congress, May 25, 1961

1437. If the self-discipline of the free cannot match the iron discipline of the mailed fist, in economic, political, scientific, and all the other kinds of struggles, as well as the military, then the peril to freedom will continue to rise. —John F. Kennedy, speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, Apr 20, 1961

1438. The best road to progress is freedom's road. —John F. Kennedy, message to Congress, Mar 14, 1961

1439. The cost of freedom is always high, but Americans have always paid it. —John F. Kennedy, radio and television address, Oct 12, 1962

1440. History suggests that capitalism is a necessary condition for political freedom. Clearly it is not a sufficient condition. —Milton Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom*, 1962

1441. The kind of economic organization that provides economic freedom directly, namely, competitive capitalism, also promotes political freedom because it separates economic power from political power and in this way enables the one to offset the other. —Milton Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom*, 1962

1442. Freedom in economic arrangements is itself a component of freedom broadly understood, so economic freedom is an end in itself ... Economic freedom is also an indispensable means toward the achievement of political freedom. —Milton Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom*, 1962

1443. The wave of the future is not the conquest of the world by a single dogmatic creed but the liberation of the diverse energies of free nations and free men. —John F. Kennedy, speech at the Univ. of California, Berkeley, Mar 23, 1962

1444. Two thousand years ago the proudest boast was "Civis Romanus sum". Today, in the world of freedom, the proudest boast is "Ich bin ein Berliner." ... All free men, wherever they may live, are citizens of Berlin, and, therefore, as a free man, I take pride in the words, "Ich bin ein Berliner." —John F. Kennedy, speech in West Berlin, Jun 26, 1963

1445. Oppressed people cannot remain oppressed forever. —Martin Luther King Jr., "Letter from the Birmingham Jail", Jan 16, 1963

1446. No cause is left but the most ancient of all, the one, in fact, that from the beginning of our history has determined the very existence of politics, the cause of freedom versus tyranny. —Hannah Arendt, "Introduction", *On Revolution*, 1963

1447. Freedom is indivisible, and when one man is enslaved, all are not free. —John F. Kennedy, speech in West Berlin, Jun 26, 1963

1448. The free way of life proposes ends, but it does not prescribe means. —Robert F. Kennedy, "Berlin East and West", *The Pursuit of Justice*, 1964

1449. There can be no real freedom without the freedom to fail. —Eric Hoffer, *The Ordeal of Change*, 1964

1450. We must dare to think about "unthinkable things", because when things become "unthinkable," thinking stops and action becomes mindless. If we are to disabuse ourselves of old myths and to act wisely and creatively upon the new realities of our time, we must think about our problems with perfect freedom. —J. William Fulbright, speech in the U.S. Senate, Mar 25, 1964

1451. Freedom is the understanding of necessity and the transformation of necessity. —Mao Tse-tung, reported remarks, Aug 18, 1964
1452. Truth is on the side of the oppressed. —Malcolm X, speech at the Militant Labor Forum Symposium in New York City, May 29, 1964
1453. After you get your freedom, your enemy will respect you. —Malcolm X, speech in New York City, Dec 31, 1964
1454. Freedom to many means immediate betterment, as if by magic. ... Unless I can meet at least some of these aspirations, my support will wane and my head will roll just as surely as the tickbird follows the rhino. —Julius K. Nyerere, *Time*, Apr 9, 1964
1455. The suppression of civil liberties is to many less a matter of horror than the curtailment of the freedom to profit. —Marya Mannes, "A Time for Change", *But Will It Sell?*, 1964
1456. You can't separate peace from freedom because no one can be at peace unless he has his freedom. —Malcolm X, speech to the Militant Labor Forum Symposium in New York City, Jan 7, 1965
1457. Freedom is sweet, on the beat/ Freedom is sweet to the reet complete/ It's got zestness and bestness/ Sugar and cream on the blessedness,/ No more pains, no more chains,/ To keep free from being free./ Freedom is sweet fat, and that's for me. —Edward Kennedy Ellington, "Duke", "Sacred Concert", 1965
1458. Time is on the side of the oppressed today, it's against the oppressor. Truth is on the side of the oppressed today, it's against the oppressor. You don't need anything else. —Malcolm X, *Malcolm X Speaks*, 1965
1459. In a democracy dissent is an act of faith. Like medicine, the test of its value is not in its taste, but its effects. —J. William Fulbright, speech in the U.S. Senate, Apr 21, 1966
1460. Freedom is an internal achievement rather than an external judgment. —Adam Clayton Powell Jr., "Man's Debt to God", *Keep the Faith, Baby!*, 1967
1461. In the act of resistance the rudiments of freedom are already present. —Angela Yvonne Davis, *Lectures on Liberation, I*, 1968
1462. May God prevent us from becoming "right-thinking men"—that is to say men who agree perfectly with their own police. —Thomas Merton, quoted in his obituary, *The New York Times*, Dec 11, 1968
1463. We have to talk about liberating minds as well as liberating society. —Angela Yvonne Davis, open forum discussion with Herbert Marcuse at the University of California, Oct 24, 1969
1464. There are men—now in power in this country—who do not respect dissent, who cannot cope with turmoil, and who believe that the people of America are ready to support repression as long as it is done with a quiet voice and a business suit. And it is up to us to prove they are wrong. —John V. Lindsay, speech at the Univ. of California, Berkeley, Apr 2, 1970
1465. Yet we can maintain a free society only if we recognize that in a free society no one can win all the time. No one can have his own way all the time, and no one is right all the time. —Richard M. Nixon, Alfred M. Landon lecture at Kansas State Univ., Sep 16, 1970
1466. If you use words for political purposes, they soon lose whatever meaning they may have had. If you are tempted to brandish the word "free", remember that over the gates of Auschwitz there stretched—and still stretches—the inscription "Arbeit Macht Frei". —C.P. Snow, Baron Snow, speech at Loyola Univ., Chicago, 1970
1467. We know that the road to freedom has always been stalked by death. —Angela Yvonne Davis, "Tribute to George Jackson", *Daily World*, Aug 25, 1971

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The final greatness of the presidency lies in the truth that it is not just an office of incredible power but a breeding ground of indestructible myth.
Clinton Rossiter

I beg leave to assure the Congress that no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness. I do not wish to make any profit from it.
George Washington

Nothing in life is so exhilarating as to be shot at without result.
Ronald Reagan (referring to Winston Churchill's words) after the assassination attempt in March, 1981

Don't let it be forgot,
That once there was a spot —
For one brief shining moment
That was known as Camelot.
John F. Kennedy's favourite lines from the Alan Lerner script of the musical, 'Camelot'

The buck stops here. *Sign on the desk of President Harry S. Truman*

Pride

Pride has a greater share than goodness of heart in the remonstrances we make to those who are guilty of faults; we reprove not so much with a view to correct them as to persuade them that we are exempt from those faults ourselves.
La Rochefoucauld

Pride is seldom delicate: it will please itself with very mean advantages.
Samuel Johnson

The truly proud man is satisfied with his own good opinion, and does not seek to make converts to it.
William Hazlitt

Pride is the mask of one's own faults.
Jewish proverb

Pride is the direct appreciation of oneself.
Arthur Schopenhauer

There is a certain noble pride, through which merits shine brighter than through modesty.
Jean Paul Richter

The sun will set without thy assistance.
The Talmud

When a proud man hears another praised, he feels himself injured.
English proverb

A confessional passage has probably never been written that didn't stink a little bit of the writer's pride in having given up his pride.
J. D. Salinger

I do not believe that any peacock envies another peacock his tail, because every peacock is persuaded that his own tail is the finest in the world. The consequence of this is that peacocks are peaceable birds.
Bertrand Russell

Pride, perceiving humility honourable, often borrows her cloak.
Thomas Fuller

There is a paradox in pride: it makes some men ridiculous, but prevents others from becoming so.
Charles Caleb Colton

Pride had rather go out of the way than go behind.
Thomas Fuller

Progress

This world of ours is a new world, in which the unit of knowledge, the nature of human communities, the order of society, the order of ideas, the very notions of society and culture have changed, and will not return to what they have been in the past. What is new is new, not because it has never been there before, but because it has changed in quality.
J. Robert Oppenheimer

All progress is based upon the universal innate desire on the part of every organism to live beyond its income.
Samuel Butler

And from the discontent of man
The world's best progress springs.
Ella Wheeler Wilcox

Every gain made by individuals or society is almost instantly taken for granted.
Aldous Huxley

Do not seek to follow in the footsteps of the men of old; seek what they sought.
Matsuo Basho

Once you sink that first stake, they'll never make you pull it up.
Robert Moses

Flight is the only true sensation that men have achieved in modern history.
James Dickey

The fundamental magic of flying is a miracle that has nothing to do with any of its practical purposes — purposes of speed, accessibility and convenience — and will not change as they change. *Anne Morrow Lindbergh*

The really great visual experience today is to fly over a huge city and look down into the night. It's like a tremendous jubilant Christmas tree. You just feel life is worth living — when you come down you may have some doubts.
Gyorgy Kepes

A great devotee of the gospel of getting on. *George Bernard Shaw*

The century on which we are entering can be and must be the century of the common man.
Henry A. Wallace

To spur a willing horse. *Latin proverb*

Removing the faults in a stage-coach may produce a perfect stage-coach, but it is unlikely to produce the first motor car.
Edward de Bono

Progress might have been all right once, but it's gone on too long.
Ogden Nash

A thousand things advance; nine hundred and ninety-nine retreat; that is progress.
Henri Frédéric Amiel

The simple faith in progress is not a conviction belonging to strength, but one belonging to acquiescence and hence to weakness. *Norbert Wiener*

The major advances in civilization are processes which all but wreck the societies in which they occur.
Alfred North Whitehead

Behold the turtle. He makes progress only when he sticks his neck out.
James Bryant Conant

Always remember that the soundest way to progress in any organization is to help the man ahead of you to get promoted.
L. S. Hamaker

What saves a man is to take a step. Then another step. It is always the same step, but you have to take it.
Antoine de Saint-Exupéry

Is it progress if a cannibal uses knife and fork?
Stanislaw Lec

Daring ideas are like chessmen moved forward. They may be beaten, but they may start a winning game.
Goethe

The rule is jam tomorrow and jam yesterday — but never jam today.
Lewis Carroll

The art of progress is to preserve order amid change, and to preserve change amid order.
Alfred North Whitehead

Now here, you see, it takes all the running you can do to keep in the same place. If you want to get somewhere else, you must run at least twice as fast as that!
Lewis Carroll

There is nothing new except what has become antiquated. *Mlle. Bertin*

It so happens that the world is undergoing a transformation to which no change that has yet occurred can be compared, either in scope or in rapidity.
Charles de Gaulle

Modern kitchen — where the pot calls the kettle chartreuse. *Anon.*

If Jesus Christ were to come today, people would not even crucify him. They would ask him to dinner, and hear what he had to say, and make fun of him.
Thomas Carlyle

Man is flying too fast for a world that is round. Soon he will catch up with himself in a great rear-end collision and Man will never know that what hit him from behind was Man.
James Thurber

Every step of progress the world has made has been from scaffold to scaffold, and from stake to stake.
Wendell Phillips

Today every invention is received with a cry of triumph which soon turns into a cry of fear.
Bertolt Brecht

Once a man would spend a week patiently waiting if he missed a stage coach, but now he rages if he misses the first section of a revolving door.
Simeon Strunsky

The reasonable man adapts himself to the world; the unreasonable one persists in trying to adapt the world to himself. Therefore all progress depends upon the unreasonable man.
George Bernard Shaw

There is no royal road to anything. One thing at a time, and all things in succession. That which grows slowly endures.
J. G. Holland

Growth for the sake of growth is the ideology of the cancer cell.
Edward Abbey

The world owes all its onward impulses to men ill at ease. The happy man inevitably confines himself within ancient limits. *Nathaniel Hawthorne*

That which comes into the world to disturb nothing deserves neither respect nor patience. *René Char*

Occasionally we sigh for an earlier day when we could just look at the stars without worrying whether they were theirs or ours. *Bill Vaughan*

Every year it takes less time to fly across the Atlantic, and more time to drive to the office. *Anon.*

Is it progress if a cannibal uses knife and fork. *Stanislaw Lec*

Change is certain, progress is not. *E.H. Carr*

Proof and Certainty

There are no facts, only interpretations. *Friedrich Nietzsche*

Statistics are no substitute for judgement. *Henry Clay*

Get your facts first, and then you can distort 'em as much as you please. *Mark Twain*

'For example' is not proof. *Jewish proverb*

A half truth, like half a brick, is always more forcible as an argument than a whole one. It carries better. *Stephen Leacock*

He that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils, for time is the greatest innovator. *Francis Bacon*

You are all you will ever have for certain. *June Havoc*

Doubt is not a pleasant condition, but certainty is. *Voltaire*

To believe with certainty we must begin with doubting. *Stanislaus, King of Poland*

Modest doubt is call'd
The beacon of the wise. *Shakespeare, 'Troilus and Cressida'*

What men want is not knowledge, but certainty. *Bertrand Russell*

Psychiatry

If you talk to God, you are praying; if God talks to you, you have schizophrenia. *Thomas Szasz*

The psychiatrist must become a fellow traveller with his patient. *R. D. Laing*

Those modern analysts, they charge so much! In my day, for five marks Freud himself would treat you. For ten marks he would treat you and press your pants. For fifteen marks Freud would let *you* treat *him* — that included a choice of any two vegetables. *Woody Allen*

Psychiatry enables us to correct our faults by confessing our parents' shortcomings. *Laurence J. Peter*

Psychoanalysis is confession without absolution. *G. K. Chesterton*

Psychiatry is the care of the id by the odd. *Anon.*

The point of therapy is get unhooked, not to thrash around on how you got hooked. *Maryanne Walters*

The four-letter word for psychotherapy is 'talk.' *Anon.*

I can feel guilty about the past, apprehensive about the future, but only in the present can I act. The ability to be in the present moment is a major component of mental wellness. *Abraham Maslow*

Mental health problems do not affect three or four out of every five persons, but one out of one. *William Menninger*

The trouble with being a hypochondriac these days is that antibiotics have cured all the good diseases. *Caskie Stinnet*

The best cure for hypochondria is to forget about your own body and get interested in someone else's. *Goodman Ace*

Liberty and Human Rights

These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country, but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph.

Thomas Paine

It is a fair summary of history to say that the safeguards of liberty have frequently been forged in cases involving not very nice people.

Felix Frankfurter

The spirit of liberty is the spirit which is not too sure that it is right.

Learned Hand

Liberty is always dangerous — but it is the safest thing we have.

Harry Emerson Fosdick

None can love freedom heartily, but good men; the rest love not freedom, but licence.

John Milton

One should never put on one's best trousers to go out to battle for freedom and truth.

Henrik Ibsen

I understand by 'freedom of spirit' something quite definite — the unconditional will to say No, where it is dangerous to say No.

Friedrich Nietzsche

Man was born free and everywhere he is in shackles.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau

Liberty means responsibility. That is why most men dread it.

George Bernard Shaw

My definition of a free society is a society where it is safe to be unpopular.

Adlai Stevenson

For two decades the state has been taking liberties, and these liberties were once ours.

E. P. Thompson

By physical liberty I mean the right to do anything which does not interfere with the happiness of another. By intellectual liberty I mean the right to think wrong.

Robert G. Ingersoll

There can be no real freedom without the freedom to fail. *Eric Hoffer*

Liberty, as it is conceived by current opinion, has nothing inherent about it; it is a sort of gift or trust bestowed on the individual by the state pending good behaviour.

Mary McCarthy

The right to be heard does not automatically include the right to be taken seriously.

Hubert Humphrey

If liberty has any meaning it means freedom to improve. *Philip Wylie*

Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom must, like men, undergo the fatigue of supporting it.

Thomas Paine

Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, in order to assure the survival and the success of liberty.

John F. Kennedy

The most stringent protection of free speech would not protect a man in falsely shouting fire in a theatre and causing a panic... The question in every case is whether the words used are used in such circumstances and are of such a nature as to create a clear and present danger that they will bring about the substantive evils that Congress has a right to prevent.

Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.

Send these, the homeless, tempest toss'd, to me.
I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

Emma Lazarus (Inscription on the Statue of Liberty)

To be truly free, it takes more determination, courage, introspection and restraint than to be in shackles.

Pietro Bellusch

Equality of opportunity is an equal opportunity to prove unequal talents.

Viscount Samuel

The greatest right in the world is the right to be wrong. *Harry Weinberger*

We who lived in concentration camps can remember the men who walked through the huts comforting others, giving away their last piece of bread. They may have been few in number, but they offer sufficient proof that everything can be taken from a man but one thing: the last of human freedoms — to choose one's attitude in any given set of circumstances — to choose one's own way.

Viktor Frankl

The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no domination. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely give. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and freedom of nations can make them.

Woodrow Wilson

A free man is as jealous of his responsibilities as he is of his liberties.

Cyril James

All free men, wherever they may live, are citizens of Berlin. And therefore, as a free man, I take pride in the words 'Ich bin ein Berliner.'

John F. Kennedy

Liberty is the right to do what the law permits.

Montesquieu

Once freedom lights its beacon in a man's heart, the gods are powerless against him.

Jean-Paul Sartre

Equality is the result of human organization. We are not born equal.

Hannah Arendt

When you have robbed a man of everything, he is no longer in your power. He is free again.

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn

The effect of liberty on individuals is that they may do what they please: we ought to see what it will please them to do, before we risk congratulations.

Edmund Burke

We are in bondage to the law in order that we may be free.

Cicero

The most certain test by which we judge whether a country is really free is the amount of security enjoyed by minorities.

John, Lord Acton

People hardly ever make use of the freedom they have, for example, freedom of thought; instead they demand freedom of speech as a compensation.

Søren Kierkegaard

Life

Life only demands from the strength you possess. Only one feat is possible — not to have run away.

Dag Hammarskjöld

In three words I can sum up everything I've learned about life. It goes on.

Robert Frost

Life is ours to be spent, not to be saved.

D. H. Lawrence

Life is a luminous halo, a semi-transparent envelope surrounding us from the beginning.

Virginia Woolf

Life is ever
Since man was born,
Licking honey
From a thorn.

Louis Ginsberg

Life would be infinitely happier if we could only be born at the age of eighty and gradually approach eighteen.

Mark Twain

Life is like playing a violin in public and learning the instrument as one goes on.

Samuel Butler

The first half of our lives is ruined by our parents and the second half by our children.

Clarence Darrow

The great pleasure in life is doing what people say you cannot do.

Walter Bagehot

Life consists in what a man is thinking of all day.

Ralph Waldo Emerson

Life is action and passion; therefore, it is required of a man that he should share the passion and action of the time, at peril of being judged not to have lived.

Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.

May you live all the days of your life.

Jonathan Swift

I have measured out my life with coffee spoons.

T. S. Eliot

If there is a sin against life, it consists perhaps not so much in despairing of life as in hoping for another, and in eluding the implacable grandeur of this life.

Albert Camus

Life can only be understood backwards; but it must be lived forwards.

Søren Kierkegaard

The joy of life is variety; the tenderest love requires to be renewed by intervals of absence.

Samuel Johnson

There is a magnet in your heart that will attract true friends. That magnet is unselfishness, thinking of others first . . . when you learn to live for others, they will live for you.
Paramahansa Yogananda

Never join with your friend when he abuses his horse or his wife unless the one is to be sold, and the other to be buried.
Charles Caleb Colton

The Future

Upper classes are a nation's past; the middle-class is its future.
Ayn Rand

If you can look into the seeds of time and say, which grain will grow, and which will not, speak then to me.
Shakespeare, 'Macbeth'

Tomorrow is the most important thing in life. Comes in to us at midnight very clean. It's perfect when it arrives and it puts itself in our hands and hopes we've learnt something from yesterday.
John Wayne

Nothing in the world can one imagine beforehand, not the least thing. Everything is made up of so many unique particulars that cannot be foreseen.
Rainer Maria Rilke

You can never plan the future by the past.
Edmund Burke

One must care about a world one will not see.
Bertrand Russell

People are afraid of the future, of the unknown. If a man faces up to it, and takes the dare of the future, he can have some control over his destiny. That's an exciting idea to me, better than waiting with everybody else to see what's going to happen.
John H. Glenn, Jr.

The future is something which every one reaches at the rate of sixty miles an hour, whatever he does, whoever he is.
C.S. Lewis

My interest is in the future because I am going to spend the rest of my life there.
Charles F. Kettering

Tomorrow is a satire on today,
And shows its weakness.
Edward Young

The future comes one day at a time.
Dean Acheson

Never let the future disturb you. You will meet it, if you have to, with the same weapons of reason which today arm you against the present.
Marcus Aurelius

What we look for does not come to pass.
God finds a way for what none foresaw.
Euripides

With high hope for the future, no prediction is ventured.
Abraham Lincoln

We can pay our debt to the past by putting the future in debt to ourselves.
John Buchan

The future is not a gift — it is an achievement.
Harry Lauder

The world is full of people whose notion of a satisfactory future is, in fact, a return to the idealized past.
Robertson Davies

That which is escaped now is pain to come.
Proverb

Light tomorrow with today!
Elizabeth Barrett Browning

If tomorrow were never to come, it would not be worth living today.
Dagobert Runes

If we lacked imagination enough to foresee something better, life would indeed be a tragedy.
Laurence J. Peter

The afternoon knows what the morning never suspected.
Swedish proverb

You can only predict things after they've happened.
Eugene Ionesco

I never think of the future. It comes soon enough.
Albert Einstein

Life is an irreversible process and for that reason its future can never be a repetition of the past.
Walter Lippmann

I believe the future is only the past again, entered through another gate.
Arthur Wing Pinero

The world will be saved by one or two people.
André Gide

Hoyt, Jehiel K
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COPIOUS INDEXES

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KATE LOUISE ROBERTS



FUNK & WAGNALLS COMPANY
NEW YORK

1 I'll print it,
And shame the fools.
POPE—*Prologue to Satires*. L. 61.

2 Thou hast most traitorously corrupted the youth of the realm in erecting a grammar school: and whereas, before, our forefathers had no other books but the score and the tally, thou hast caused printing to be used, and, contrary to the king, his crown and dignity, thou hast built a paper-mill.

Henry VI. Pt. II. Act IV. Sc. 7. L. 35.

3 The jour printer with gray head and gaunt jaws works at his case,
He turns his quid of tobacco, while his eyes blur with the manuscript.

WALT WHITMAN—*Leaves of Grass*. Walt Whitman. Pt. XV. St. 77.

PRISON

4 In durance vile here must I wake and weep,
And all my frowsy couch in sorrow steep.

BURNS—*Epistle from Esopus to Maria in Chambers' Burns' Life and Work*. Vol. IV. P. 54. (See also KENDRICK)

5 Whene'er with haggard eyes I view
This dungeon that I'm rotting in,
I think of those companions true
Who studied with me at the University of Göttingen.

GEORGE CANNING—*Song. Of One Eleven Years in Prison*. Found in *The Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin*. Also in *Burlesque Plays and Poems*, edited by HENRY MORLEY.

6 Prison'd in a parlour snug and small,
Like bottled wasps upon a southern wall.

COWPER—*Retirement*. L. 493.

7 "And a bird-cage, sir," said Sam. "Veels vithin veels, a prison in a prison."

DICKENS—*Pickwick Papers*. Ch. XL.

8 As if a wheel had been in the midst of a wheel.

Ezekiel. X. 10.

9 In durance vile.

WILLIAM KENDRICK—*Falstaff's Wedding*. Act I. Sc. 2. BURKE—*Thoughts on the Present Discontent*.

(See also BURNS)

10 That which the world miscalls a jail,
A private closet is to me.

Locks, bars, and solitude together met,
Make me no prisoner, but an anchoret.

Attributed to SIR ROGER L'ESTRANGE. Also to LORD CAPEL. Found in the *New Foundling Hospital for Wit*. (Ed. 1786) IV. 40, as a supplementary stanza. See *Notes and Queries*, April 10, 1909. P. 288.

11 Stone walls do not a prison make,
Nor iron bars a cage,
Minds innocent and quiet take
That for an hermitage.

LOVELACE—*To Althea, from Prison*. IV.

12 Doubles grilles à gros cloux,
Triples portes, forts verroux,
Aux âmes vraiment méchantes
Vous représez l'enfer;
Mais aux âmes innocentes
Vous n'etes que du bois, des pierres, du fer.

Fast closed with double grills
And triple gates—the cell

To wicked souls is hell;

But to a mind that's innocent
'Tis only iron, wood and stone.

PELLISSON—*Written on the walls of his cell in the Bastille*. (About 1661)

13 Nor stony tower, nor walls of beaten brass,
Nor airless dungeon, nor strong links of iron,
Can be retentive to the strength of spirit;
But life, being weary of these worldly bars,
Never lacks power to dismiss itself.

Julius Caesar. Act I. Sc. 3. L. 93.

14 I have been studying how I may compare
This prison where I live unto the world:
And for because the world is populous
And here is not a creature but myself,
I cannot do it; yet I'll hammer it out.

Richard II. Act V. Sc. 5. L. 1.

PROBABILITY

15 Probability is the very guide of life.

CICERO—*De Natura*. 5. 12. Quoted by BISHOP BUTLER. Also used by HOOKER—*Ecclesiastical Polity*. Bk. I. Ch. VIII., and Bk. II. Ch. VII. Found in LOCKE—*Essays*. Bk. IV. Ch. XV. Also in HOBBS—*Leviathan*.

PROCRASTINATION (See TIME, TO-MORROW)

PROGRESS (See also EVOLUTION, GROWTH)

16 Westward the star of empire takes its way.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS—*Oration at Plymouth*. (1802) Misquoted from BERKELEY on inside cover of an early edition of BANCROFT'S *History of United States*.

(See also BERKELEY)

17 Laws and institutions are constantly tending to gravitate. Like clocks, they must be occasionally cleansed, and wound up, and set to true time.

HENRY WARD BEECHER—*Life Thoughts*.

18 Westward the course of empire takes its way;
The four first Acts already past,
A fifth shall close the Drama with the day;
Time's noblest offspring is the last.

BISHOP BERKELEY—*Verses on the Prospect of Planting Arts and Learning in America*. (See also ADAMS)

19 What is art
But life upon the larger scale, the higher,
When, graduating up in a spiral line
Of still expanding and ascending gyres,
It pushed toward the intense significance
Of all things, hungry for the Infinite?

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ense significance
the Infinite?

Art's life—and where we live, we suffer and toil.
E. B. BROWNING—*Aurora Leigh*. Bk. IV. L.
1150.
(See also EMERSON, GOETHE, MEREDITH, DE
STAËL)

¹
Finds progress, man's distinctive mark alone,
Not God's, and not the beast's;
God is, they are.
Man partly is, and wholly hopes to be.
ROBERT BROWNING—*A Death in the Desert*.
(See also POPE under HOPE)

²
Progress is
The law of life, man is not
Man as yet.
ROBERT BROWNING—*Paracelsus*. Pt. V.

³
Like plants in mines, which never saw the sun,
But dream of him, and guess where he may be,
And do their best to climb, and get to him.
ROBERT BROWNING—*Paracelsus*. Last page.

⁴
Hombre apercebido medio combatido.
A man prepared has half fought the battle.
CERVANTES—*Don Quixote*. 2. 17.

⁵
All things journey: sun and moon,
Morning, noon, and afternoon,
Night and all her stars;
'Twixt the east and western bars
Round they journey,
Come and go!
We go with them!
GEORGE ELIOT—*Spanish Gypsy*. Bk. III.
Song.

⁶
And striving to be Man, the worm
Mounts through all the spires of form.
EMERSON—*Mayday*.
(See also BROWNING)

⁷
So long as all the increased wealth which
modern progress brings, goes but to build up
great fortunes, to increase luxury, and make
sharper the contest between the House of Have
and the House of Want, progress is not real and
cannot be permanent.
HENRY GEORGE—*Progress and Poverty*. Intro-
ductory. *The Problem*.

⁸
Progress has not followed a straight ascending
line, but a spiral with rhythms of progress and
retrogression, of evolution and dissolution.
GOETHE.
(See also BROWNING)

⁹
He who moves not forward goes backward!
A capital saying!
GOETHE—*Herman and Dorothea*. Canto III.
L. 66.

¹⁰
To look up and not down,
To look forward and not back,
To look out and not in—and
To lend a hand.
EDWARD EVERETT HALE—*Rule of the "Harry*
Wadsworth Club." *From Ten Times One is*
Ten. (1870) Ch. IV.

¹¹
I have seen that Man moves over with each
new generation into a bigger body, more awful,
more reverent and more free than he has had
before.

GERALD STANLEY LEE—*Crowds*. Pt. II. Ch.
III.

¹²
From lower to the higher next,
Not to the top, is Nature's text;
And embryo good, to reach full stature,
Absorbs the evil in its nature.
LOWELL—*Festina Lente*. *Moral*.

¹³
New occasions teach new duties, time makes
ancient good uncouth;
They must upward still and onward, who would
keep abreast of truth.
LOWELL—*Present Crisis*.

¹⁴
"Spiral" the memorable Lady terms
Our mind's ascent.
GEORGE MEREDITH—*The World's Advance*.
G. M. TREVELYAN in notes to MEREDITH'S
Poetical Works says the "memorable Lady"
is MRS. BROWNING.
(See also E. B. BROWNING)

¹⁵
That in our proper motion we ascend
Up to our native seat; descent and fall
To us is adverse.
MILTON—*Paradise Lost*. Bk. II. L. 75.

¹⁶
Quod sequitur, fugio; quod fugit, usque sequor.
What follows I flee; what flees I ever pursue.
OVID—*Amorum*. II. 19, 36.

¹⁷
Vogue la galère.
Row on [whatever happens].
RABELAIS—*Gargantua*. I. 3.

¹⁸
Il est un terme de la vie au-delà duquel en
rétrograde en avançant.
There is a period of life when we go back
as we advance.
ROUSSEAU—*Emile*. II.

¹⁹
The march of intellect.
ROBERT SOUTHBY—*Sir T. More, or Colloquies*
on the Progress and Prospects of Society. Vol.
II. P. 361. Quoted by CARLYLE—*Miscel.*
Essays. Vol. I. P. 162. (Ed. 1888)

²⁰
L'esprit humain fait progrès toujours, mais
c'est progrès en spirale.
The human mind always makes progress,
but it is a progress in spirals.
MADAME DE STAËL.
(See also BROWNING)

²¹
If you strike a thorn or rose,
Keep a-goïn'!
If it hails or if it snows,
Keep a-goïn'!
'Tain't no use to sit and whine
'Cause the fish ain't on your line;
Bait you hook an' keep on tryin',
Keep a-goïn'!
FRANK L. STANTON—*Keep a-goïn'*.

1
When old words die out on the tongue, new melodies break forth from the heart; and where the old tracks are lost, new country is revealed with its wonders.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE—*Gitanjali*. 37.

2
The stone that is rolling, can gather no moss.

TUSSER—*Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry*. *Huswifely Admonitions*. GOSSON—*Ephemendes of Phialo*. MARSTON—*The Fawn*. SYRUS—*Maxims*. 524. Pierre volage ne queult mousse. *De l'hermite qui se désépéra pour le larron que ala en paradis avant que lui*. 13th Cent.

3
Qui n'a pas l'esprit de son âge,
De son âge a tout le malheur.
He who has not the spirit of his age, has all the misery of it.

VOLTAIRE—*Lettre à Cideville*.

4
Press on!—"for in the grave there is no work
And no device"—Press on! while yet ye may!
N. P. WILLIS—*From a Poem Delivered at Yale College*, 1827. L. 45.

PROMISES

5
Promise is most given when the least is said.

GEORGE CHAPMAN—*Trans. of MUSCÆUS—Hero and Leander*. L. 234.

6
Promettre c'est donner, espérer c'est jouir.
To promise is to give, to hope is to enjoy.

DELLILLE—*Jardins*. I.

7
You never bade me hope, 'tis true;
I asked you not to swear:
But I looked in those eyes of blue,
And read a promise there.

GERALD GRIFFIN—*You Never Bade Me Hope*.

8
We promise according to our hopes, and perform according to our fears.

LA ROCHEFOUCAULD—*Maxims*. No. 39.
(See also MACBETH)

9
Giants in
Their promises, but those obtained, weak pigmies

In their performance.

MASSINGER—*Great Duke*. Act II. Sc. 3.

10
Thy promises are like Adonis' gardens
That one day bloomed and fruitful were the next.

Henry VI. Pt. Act I. Sc. 6. L. 6.

11
His promises were, as he then was, mighty;
But his performance, as he is now, nothing.

Henry VIII. Act IV. Sc. 2. L. 41.

12
And be these juggling fiends no more believ'd,
That palter with us in a double sense:
That keep the word of promise to our ear,
And break it to our hope.

Macbeth. Act V. Sc. 8. L. 19.
(See also LA ROCHEFOUCAULD)

13
There buds the promise of celestial worth.
YOUNG—*The Last Day*. Bk. III. L. 317.

PROOF

14
You may prove anything by figures.
Quoted by CARLYLE—*Chartism*. No. 2.

15
You cannot demonstrate an emotion or prove an aspiration.

JOHN MORLEY—*Rousseau*. P. 402.

16
For when one's proofs are aptly chosen,
Four are as valid as four dozen.

PRIOR—*Alma*. Canto I. End.

17
Prove all things; hold fast that which is good.
I Thessalonians. V. 21.

PROPERTY (See POSSESSION)

PROPHECY

18
Be thou the rainbow to the storms of life!
The evening beam that smiles the clouds away,
And tints to-morrow with prophetic ray!

BYRON—*Bride of Abydos*. Canto II. St. 20.

19
Of all the horrid, hideous notes of woe,
Sadder than owl-songs or the midnight blast;
Is that portentous phrase, "I told you so."

BYRON—*Don Juan*. Canto XIV. St. 50.

20
The prophet's mantle, ere his flight began,
Dropt on the world—a sacred gift to man.

CAMPBELL—*Pleasures of Hope*. Pt. I. L. 43.

21
Bene qui conjiciet, vatem hunc perhibebo optimum.

I shall always consider the best guesser the best prophet.

CICERO—*De Divinatione*. II. 5. (Greek adage.)

(See also LOWELL, WALPOLE)

22
Ancestral voices prophesying war.

COLERIDGE—*Kubla Khan*.

23
We know in part, and we prophesy in part.
I Corinthians. XIII. 9.

24
From hence, no question, has sprung an observation . . . confirmed now into a settled opinion, that some long experienced souls in the world, before their dislodging, arrive to the height of prophetic spirits.

ERASMUS—*Praise of Folly*. (Old translation.)
(See also MILTON)

25
Thy voice sounds like a prophet's word;
And in its hollow tones are heard
The thanks of millions yet to be.

FITZ-GREENE HALLECK—*Marco Bozzaris*.

26
Prophet of evil! never hadst thou yet
A cheerful word for me. To mark the signs
Of coming mischief is thy great delight,
Good dost thou ne'er foretell nor bring to pass.

HOMER—*Iliad*. Bk. I. L. 138. BRYANT'S trans.

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1
Yet, who can help loving the land that has taught
us
Six hundred and eighty-five ways to dress eggs?
MOORE—*Fudge Family*. 8.
(See also REGNIÈRE)

2
Have the French for friends, but not for neigh-
bors.
EMPEROR NICEPHORUS (803) while treating
with ambassadors of CHARLEMAGNE.

3
On connoit en France 685 manières différentes
d'accommoder les œufs.
One knows in France 685 different ways of
preparing eggs.
DE LA REYNIÈRE.

4
Ye sons of France, awake to glory!
Hark! Hark! what myriads bid you rise!
Your children, wives, and grandsires hoary,
Behold their tears and hear their cries!
ROUGET DE LISLE—*The Marseilles Hymn*.
(1792)

5
Une nation de singes à larynx de perroquets.
A nation of monkeys with the throat of parrots.
SIÉYES—*Note to Mirabeau*. (Of France.)

FRAUD

6
The first and worst of all frauds is to cheat
one's self.
BAILEY—*Festus*. Sc. *Anywhere*.

7
Perplexed and troubled at his bad success
The Tempter stood, nor had what to reply,
Discovered in his fraud, thrown from his hope.
MILTON—*Paradise Regained*. Bk. IV. L. 1.

8
So glistered the dire Snake, and into fraud
Led Eve, our credulous mother, to the Tree
Of Prohibition, root of all our woe.
MILTON—*Paradise Lost*. Bk. IX. L. 643.

9
Some cursed fraud
Of enemy hath beguiled thee, yet unknown,
And me with thee hath ruined.
MILTON—*Paradise Lost*. Bk. IX. L. 904.

10
His heart as far from fraud as heaven from earth.
Two Gentlemen of Verona. Act II. Sc. 7. L.
78.

FREEDOM

11
Freedom all solace to man gives:
He lives at ease that freely lives.
JOHN BARBOUR—*The Bruce*. Bk. I. 225.

12
Whose service is perfect freedom.
Book of Common Prayer. *Collect for Peace*.

13
... for righteous monarchs,
Justly to judge, with their own eyes should see;
To rule o'er freemen, should themselves be free.
HENRY BROOKE—*Earl of Essex*. Act I.
(See also JOHNSON under Ox for parody of same)

14
Here the free spirit of mankind, at length,
Throws its last fetters off; and who shall place
A limit to the giant's unchained strength,
Or curb his swiftness in the forward race?
BRYANT—*The Ages*. XXXIII.

15
Hereditary bondsmen! Know ye not
Who would be free themselves must strike the
blow?
BYRON—*Childe Harold*. Canto II. St. 76.

16
Yet, Freedom! yet thy banner, torn, but flying,
Streams like the thunder-storm *against* the wind.
BYRON—*Childe Harold*. Canto IV. St. 98.

17
For Freedom's battle once begun,
Bequeath'd by bleeding sire to son,
Though baffled oft is ever won.
BYRON—*Giaour*. L. 123.

18
Sound the loud timbrel o'er Egypt's dark sea!
Jehovah hath triumphed—his people are free.
BYRON—*Sacred Songs*. *Sound the loud Timbrel*.

19
Hope for a season bade the world farewell,
And Freedom shrieked as Kosciusko fell!

* * * * *
O'er Prague's proud arch the fires of ruin glow.
CAMPBELL—*Pleasures of Hope*. L. 381.
(See also COLERIDGE)

20
England may as well dam up the waters of
the Nile with bulrushes as to fetter the step of
Freedom, more proud and firm in this youthful
land than where she treads the sequestered glens
of Scotland, or couches herself among the mag-
nificent mountains of Switzerland.

LYDIA MARIA CHILD—*Supposititious Speech of
James Otis*. *The Rebels*. Ch. IV.

21
Nulla enim minantis auctoritas apud liberos
est.

To freemen, threats are impotent.
CICERO—*Epistles*. XI. 3.

22
O what a loud and fearful shriek was there!
Ah me! they view'd beneath an hireling's sword
Fallen Kosciusco.

COLERIDGE—*Sonnet*
(See also CAMPBELL)

23
No, Freedom has a thousand charms to show
That slaves, how'er contented, never know.
COWPER—*Table Talk*. L. 260.

24
He is the freeman whom the truth makes free,
And all are slaves besides.
COWPER—*Task*. Bk. V. L. 733.

25
I want free life, and I want fresh air;
And I sigh for the canter after the cattle,
The crack of the whip like shots in battle,
The medley of horns, and hoofs, and heads
That wars, and wrangles, and scatters and
spreads;
The green beneath and the blue above,
And dash, and danger, and life and love.
F. DESPREZ—*Lasca*.

26
I am as free as nature first made man,
Ere the base laws of servitude began,
When wild in woods the noble savage ran.
DRYDEN—*Conquest of Granada*. Act I. Sc. 1.

bondsmen! Know ye not
be free themselves must strike the

Child Harold. Canto II. St. 76.

m! yet thy banner, torn, but flying,
the thunder-storm against the wind.
Child Harold. Canto IV. St. 98.

n's battle once begun,
by bleeding sire to son,
Fled off is ever won.
Giour. L. 123.

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th triumphed—his people are free.
Sacred Songs. Sound the loud Timbrel.

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* * * * *
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L—Pleasures of Hope. L. 381.
(See also COLERIDGE)

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th bulrushes as to fetter the step of
more proud and firm in this youthful
here she treads the sequestered glens
or couches herself among the mag-
mountains of Switzerland.
*ARIA CHILD—Supposititious Speech of
Otis. The Rebels. Ch. IV.*

im minantis auctoritas apud liberos
men, threats are impotent.
Epistles. XI. 3.

loud and fearful shriek was there!

y view'd beneath an hireling's sword
cusco.
GE—Sonnet
(See also CAMPBELL)

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s, how'er contented, never know.
—Table Talk. L. 260.

ee-man whom the truth makes free,
slaves besides.
—Task. Bk. V. L. 733.

life, and I want fresh air;
for the canter after the cattle,
of the whip like shots in battle,
y of horns, and hoofs, and heads
s, and wrangles, and scatters and
s;
beneath and the blue above,
and danger, and life and love.
REZ—Lasca.

as nature first made man,
se laws of servitude began,
in woods the noble savage ran:
—Conquest of Granada. Act I. Sc. 1.

¹
My angel,—his name is Freedom,—
Choose him to be your king;
He shall cut pathways east and west,
And fend you with his wing.
EMERSON—Boston Hymn.

²
We grant no dukedoms to the few,
We hold like rights and shall;
Equal on Sunday in the pew,
On Monday in the mall.
For what avail the plough or sail,
Or land, or life, if freedom fail?
EMERSON—Boston. St. 5.

³
I gave my life for freedom—This I know;
For those who bade me fight had told me so.
W. N. EWER—Five Souls.

⁴
Bred in the lap of Republican Freedom.
GODWIN—Enquirer. II. XII. 402.

⁵
Yes! to this thought I hold with firm persistence;
The last result of wisdom stamps it true;
He only earns his freedom and existence
Who daily conquers them anew.
GOETHE—Faust. Act V. Sc. 6.

⁶
Frei athmen macht das Leben nicht allein.
Merely to breathe freely does not mean to live.
GOETHE—Iphigenia auf Tauris. I. 2. 54.

⁷
Ay, call it holy ground,
The soil where first they trod,
They have left unstained, what there they
found,—
Freedom to worship God.
*FELICIA D. HEMANS—Landing of the Pilgrim
Fathers.*

⁸
Quisnam igitur liber? Sapiens, sibi qui im-
periosus;
Quem neque pauperies, neque mors, neque vin-
cula terrent
Responsare cupidinibus, contemnere honores
Fortis; et in se ipso totus, teres atque rotundus.
Who then is free? the wise man who is lord
over himself;
Whom neither poverty nor death, nor chains
alarm; strong to withstand his passions
and despise honors, and who is completely
finished and rounded off in himself.
HORACE—Satires. Bk. II. VII. 83.
(See also HENLEY under SOUL)

⁹
In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across
the sea,
With a glory in his bosom that transfigures you
and me;
As he died to make men holy, let us die to make
men free,
While God is marching on.
*JULIA WARD HOWE—Battle Hymn of the
Republic.*

¹⁰
One should never put on one's best trousers
to go out to fight for freedom.
IBSEN—Enemy of the People.

¹¹
All we have of freedom—all we use or know—
This our fathers bought for us, long and long ago.
KIPLING—The Old Issue.

¹² . . . That this nation, under God shall
have a new birth of freedom.
ABRAHAM LINCOLN—Gettysburg Address.

¹³
I intend no modification of my oft-expressed
wish that all men everywhere could be free.
*ABRAHAM LINCOLN—Letter to Horace Greeley,
Aug. 22, 1862. See RAYMOND'S History of
Lincoln's Administration.*

¹⁴
Freedom needs all her poets; it is they
Who give her aspirations wings,
And to the wiser law of music sway
Her wild imaginings.
*LOWELL—Memorial Verses. To the Memory
of Hood. St. 4.*

¹⁵
Quicquid multis peccatur, inultum est.
All go free when multitudes offend.
LUCAN—Pharsalia. V. 260.

¹⁶
Libertas ultima mundi
Quo steterit ferienda loco.
The remaining liberty of the world was to
be destroyed in the place where it stood.
LUCAN—Pharsalia. VII. 580.

¹⁷
Non bene, crede mihi, servo servitur amico;
Sit liber, dominus qui volet esse meus.
Service cannot be expected from a friend in
service; let him be a freeman who wishes to be
my master.
MARTIAL—Epigrams. II. 32. 7.

¹⁸
Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall.
MILTON—Paradise Lost. Bk. III. L. 99.

¹⁹
They can only set free men free . . .
And there is no need of that:
Free men set themselves free.
JAMES OPPENHEIM—The Slave.
(See also BROOKE)

²⁰
An quisquam est alius liber, nisi ducere vitam
Cui licet, ut voluit?
Is any man free except the one who can
pass his life as he pleases?
PERSIUS—Satires. V. 83.

²¹
Oh! let me live my own, and die so too!
(To live and die is all I have to do):
Maintain a poet's dignity and ease,
And see what friends, and read what books I
please.
POPE—Prologue to Satires. L. 261.

²²
Blandishments will not fascinate us, nor will
threats of a "halter" intimidate. For, under
God, we are determined that wheresoever, when-
soever, or howsoever we shall be called to make
our exit, we will die free men.
*JOSIAH QUINCY—Observations on the Boston
Port Bill, 1774.*

²³
Free soil, free men, free speech, Fremont.
Republican Rallying Cry, 1856.

- 1
O, nur eine freie Seele wird nicht alt.
Oh, only a free soul will never grow old!
JEAN PAUL RICHTER—*Titan*. Zykel 140.
- 2
Freiheit ist nur in dem Reich der Träume
Und das Schöne blüht nur im Gesang.
Freedom is only in the land of dreams, and
the beautiful only blooms in song.
SCHILLER—*The Beginning of the New Century*.
St. 9.
- 3
Der Mensch ist frei geschaffen, ist frei
Und würd' er in Ketten geboren.
Man is created free, and is free, even though
born in chains.
SCHILLER—*Die Worte des Glaubens*. St. 2.
- 4
Nemo liber est, qui corpori servit.
No man is free who is a slave to the flesh.
SENECA—*Epistolæ Ad Lucilium*. XCII.
- 5
When the mind's free,
The body's delicate.
King Lear. Act III. Sc. 4. L. 11.
- 6
The last link is broken
That bound me to thee,
And the words thou hast spoken
Have render'd me free.
FANNY STEERS—*Song*.
- 7
Rara temporum felicitate, ubi sentire quæ velis,
et quæ sentias dicere licet.
Such being the happiness of the times, that
you may think as you wish, and speak as you
think.
TACITUS—*Annales*. I. 1.
- 8
Of old sat Freedom on the heights
The thunders breaking at her feet:
Above her shook the starry lights;
She heard the torrents meet.
TENNYSON—*Of old sat Freedom*.
- 9
Red of the Dawn
Is it turning a fainter red? so be it, but when
shall we lay
The ghost of the Brute that is walking and ham-
mering us yet and be free?
TENNYSON—*The Dawn*.
- 10
The nations lift their right hands up and swear
Their oath of freedom.
WHITTIER—*Garibaldi*.
- 11
Freedom exists only where the people take
care of the government.
WOODROW WILSON. At the Workingman's
Dinner, N. Y., Sept. 4, 1912.
- 12
Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the
principles of peace and justice in the life of the
world as against selfish and autocratic power,
and to set up among the really free and self
governed peoples of the world such a concert of
purpose and of action as will henceforth insure
the observance of those principles.
WOODROW WILSON—*Address to Congress*.
(War with Germany being declared.) April
2, 1917.

- 13
Only free peoples can hold their purpose and
their honor steady to a common end, and prefer
the interests of mankind to any narrow interest
of their own.
WOODROW WILSON—*Address to Congress*.
(War with Germany being declared.) April
2, 1917.
- 14
How does the Meadow flower its bloom unfold?
Because the lovely little flower is free,
Down to its root, and in that freedom, bold.
WORDSWORTH—*A Poet! He hath put his Heart
to School*.
- 15
We must be free or die, who speak the tongue
That Shakespeare spake; the faith and morals
hold
Which Milton held.
WORDSWORTH—*Sonnets to National Independ-
ence and Liberty*. Pt. XVI.
- FRIENDS (See also FRIENDSHIP)
- 16
No friend's a friend till [he shall] prove a friend.
BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER—*The Faithful
Friends*. Act III. Sc. 3. L. 50.
- 17
It is better to avenge a friend than to mourn
for him.
Beowulf. VII.
- 18
Friend, of my infinite dreams
Little enough endures;
Little howe'er it seems,
It is yours, all yours.
ARTHUR BENSON—*The Gift*.
- 19
I have loved my friends as I do virtue, my
soul, my God.
SIR THOMAS BROWNE—*Religio Medici*. Pt.
II. Sec. V.
- 20
Now with my friend I desire not to share or
participate, but to engross his sorrows, that, by
making them mine own, I may more easily dis-
cuss them; for in mine own reason, and within
myself, I can command that which I cannot en-
treat without myself, and within the circle of
another.
SIR THOMAS BROWNE—*Religio Medici*. Pt.
II. Sec. V.
- 21
Let my hand,
This hand, lie in your own—my own true friend;
Aprile! Hand-in-hand with you, Aprile!
ROBERT BROWNING—*Paracelsus*. Sc. 5.
- 22
There is no man so friendless but what he can
find a friend sincere enough to tell him disagree-
able truths.
BULWER-LYTTON—*What Will He Do With It?*
Bk. II. Ch. XIV.
- 23
We twa hae run about the braes,
And pu'd the gowans fine.
BURNS—*Auld Lang Syne*.
- 24
His ancient, trusty, drouthy crony,
Tam lo'ed him like a vera brither—
They had been fou for weeks thegither!
BURNS—*Tam o' Shanter*.

- 1
Ah! were
Where w
Years ha
The hour
BYRON
- 2
'Twas su
And in th
CAMPB
St. 3
- 3
Give me
Bold I ca
But of al
send
Save, sav
GEORG
- 4
Greatly I
He hurts
CHURC
- 5
Friends I
men
But not c
CHURC
- 6
Amicus e
A frien
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- 7
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CORNEI
- 10
I would n
(Though I
sense,
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Who need
COWPER
- 11
Her dear
all,
And hates
COWPER
- 12
The man t
And prove
How he
Is such a f
Be very m
To pard
COWPER

elle erudite bellissima.
fair, most fair of the

ption to CASSANDRA
dition of the latter's
ELL—*Memoirs of Poti-
ACAULAY*)

selves Masters of the
k.
Talk. Learning.

r his Learning * * *
n with a man.
Talk. Learning.

iscunt.
teach.
Lucilium. VII.

act to oneself
arning likewise is.
Act IV. Sc. 3. L. 314.

ur, sir, why, give God
oast of it; and for your
that appear when there
y.
hing. Act III. Sc. 3. L.

thing it is!
Act I. Sc. 2. L. 160.

onsumed the midnight oil
. XI. St. 7.
TARCH UNDER ARGUMENT)

s wish a daughter of mine
ning.
he Rivals. Act I. Sc. 2.

to learn,
oth burn,
e return.
To My Daughter.

ightly.
ication.

ht
e a flower.
moriam. Conclusion. St.

with judicious eyes,
universities,
iment, for why?
anted loyalty;
books, as well discerning,
l body wanted learning.
*Epigram. On George I.'s
Bishop Ely's Library to
versity.
also BROWNE)*

ch viewed with equal eye
university;
l sent, well knowing why,
wanted loyalty;

But books to Cambridge sent, as well discerning
That that right loyal body wanted learning.
Another version of TRAPP.

¹
Our royal master saw with heedful eyes
The state of his two universities;
To one he sends a regiment, for why?
That learned body wanted loyalty.
To the other books he gave, as well discerning,
How much that loyal body wanted learning.
Version attributed to THOS. WARTON.
(See also BROWNE for answer.)

²
Ab uno disce omnes.
From one learn all.
VERGIL—*Aeneid. II. 65.*

³
Disce, puer, virtutem ex me, verumque laborem;
Fortunam ex aliis.
Learn, O youth, virtue from me and true
labor; fortune from others.
VERGIL—*Aeneid. XII. 435.*

⁴
Aut disce, aut discede; manet sors tertia, cædi.
Either learn, or depart; a third course is
open to you, and that is, submit to be flogged.
Winchester College. Motto of the Schoolroom.

⁵
Much learning shows how little mortals know,
Much wealth, how little worldings can enjoy.
YOUNG—*Night Thoughts. Night VI. L. 519.*

⁶
Were man to live coeval with the sun,
The patriarch-pupil would be learning still.
YOUNG—*Night Thoughts. Night VII. L. 86.*

LEE (RIVER)

⁷
Or this I ponder
Where'er I wander,
And thus grow fonder,
Sweet Cork, of thee,—
With thy bells of Shandon,
That sounds so grand on
The pleasant waters
Of the river Lee.
FATHER PROUT (Francis Mahoney)—*The Bells
of Shandon.*

LEISURE

⁸
And leave us leisure to be good.
GRAY—*Hymn. Adversity. Sc. 3.*

⁹
No blessed leisure for Love or Hope,
But only time for Grief.
HOOD—*The Song of the Shirt.*

¹⁰
Retired Leisure,
That in trim gardens takes his pleasure.
MILTON—*Il Penseroso. L. 49.*

¹¹
Mend when thou canst; be better at thy leisure.
King Lear. Act II. Sc. 4. L. 232.

¹²
Leisure is pain; take off our chariot wheels,
How heavily we drag the load of life!
Blest leisure is our curse; like that of Cain,
It makes us wander, wander earth around
To fly that tyrant, thought.
YOUNG—*Night Thoughts. Night II. L. 125.*

LEMON

¹³
My living in Yorkshire was so far out of the
way, that it was actually twelve miles from a
lemon.

SYDNEY SMITH—*Lady Holland's Memoir. Vol.
I. P. 262.*

LETTERS (See POST, WRITING)

LEVEN (RIVER)

¹⁴
On Leven's banks, while free to rove,
And tune the rural pipe to love,
I envied not the happiest swain
That ever trod the Arcadian plain.
Pure stream! in whose transparent wave
My youthful limbs I wont to lave;
No torrents stain thy limpid source,
No rocks impede thy dimpling course,
That sweetly warbles o'er its bed,
With white, round, polish'd pebbles spread.
SMOLLETT—*Ode to Leven Water.*

LIBERALITY (See also GENEROSITY, GIFTS)

¹⁵
He that's liberal
To all alike, may do a good by chance,
But never out of judgment.
BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER—*The Spanish
Curate. Act I. Sc. 1.*

¹⁶
Then gently scan your brother man,
Still gentler sister woman;
Tho' they may gang a kennin' wrang,
To step aside is human.
BURNS—*Address to the Unco Guid.*

¹⁷
It is better to believe that a man does possess
good qualities than to assert that he does not.
*Chinese Moral Maxims. Compiled by JOHN
FRANCIS DAVIS, F. R. S. China, 1823.*

¹⁸
The liberal soul shall be made fat.
Proverbs. XI. 25.

¹⁹
Shall I say to Cæsar
What you require of him? for he partly begs
To be desir'd to give. It much would please him,
That of his fortunes you should make a staff
To lean upon.
Antony and Cleopatra. Act III. Sc. 13. L. 67.

LIBERTY

²⁰
A day, an hour, of virtuous liberty
Is worth a whole eternity in bondage.
ADDISON—*Cato. Act II. Sc. 1.*

²¹
L'arbre de la liberté ne croit qu'arrosé par le
sang des tyrans.

The tree of liberty grows only when watered
by the blood of tyrants.
BARÈRE—*Speech in the Convention Nationale.
(1792)*

²²
But what is liberty without wisdom, and with-
out virtue? It is the greatest of all possible evils;
for it is folly, vice, and madness, without tuition
or restraint.
BURKE—*Reflections on the Revolution in
France.*

¹ My vigour relents. I pardon something to the spirit of liberty.

BURKE—*Speech on the Conciliation of America*. Vol. II. P. 118.

² The people never give up their liberties but under some delusion.

BURKE—*Speech at a County Meeting at Bucks*. (1784)

³ Liberty's in every blow!
Let us do or die.

BURNS—*Bruce to His Men at Bannockburn*.

⁴ Eternal Spirit of the chainless Mind!

Brightest in dungeons, Liberty! thou art,
For there thy habitation is the heart—
The heart which love of thee alone can bind;
And when thy sons to fetters are consign'd—
To fetters and damp vault's dayless gloom,
Their country conquers with their martyrdom.
BYRON—*Sonnet. Introductory to Prisoner of Chillon*.

⁵ When Liberty from Greece withdrew,
And o'er the Adriatic flew,

To where the Tiber pours his urn,
She struck the rude Tarpeian rock;
Sparks were kindled by the shock—
Again thy fires began to burn.
HENRY F. CARY—*Power of Eloquence*.

⁶ Yes, while I stood and gazed, my temples bare,
And shot my being through earth, sea, and air,
Possessing all things with intensest love,
O Liberty! my spirit felt thee there.

COLERIDGE—*France. An Ode. V.*

⁷ Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is Liberty.
I Corinthians. III. 17.

⁸ 'Tis liberty alone that gives the flower
Of fleeting life its lustre and perfume;
And we are weeds without it.

COWPER—*The Task. Bk. V. L. 446.*

⁹ Then liberty, like day,
Breaks on the soul, and by a flash from Heaven
Fires all the faculties with glorious joy.

COWPER—*The Task. Bk. V. L. 882.*

¹⁰ The condition upon which God hath given
liberty to man is eternal vigilance.

JOHN PHILPOT CURRAN—*Speech. July 10, 1790.*

¹¹ Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

JOHN PHILPOT CURRAN—*Speech. Dublin. (1808)*

¹² Rendre l'homme infâme, et le laisser libre, est
une absurdité qui peuple nos forêts d'assassins.

To brand man with infamy, and let him free,
is an absurdity that peoples our forests with
assassins.

DIDEROT.

¹³ The love of liberty with life is given,
And life itself the inferior gift of Heaven.

DRYDEN—*Palamon and Arcite. Bk. II. L. 291.*

¹⁴ The sun of liberty is set; you must light up the
candle of industry and economy.
BENJ. FRANKLIN. In Correspondence.

¹⁵ Those who would give up essential liberty to
purchase a little temporary safety deserve neither
liberty nor safety.

BENJ. FRANKLIN—*Motto to Historical Review of Pennsylvania.*

¹⁶ Where liberty dwells, there is my country.
BENJ. FRANKLIN.

¹⁷ Give me liberty, or give me death.

PATRICK HENRY—*Speech. March, 1775.*

¹⁸ The God who gave us life, gave us liberty at
the same time.

THOMAS JEFFERSON—*Summary View of the Rights of British America.*

¹⁹ As so often before, liberty has been wounded
in the house of its friends. Liberty in the wild
and freakish hands of fanatics has once more,
as frequently in the past, proved the effective
helpmate of autocracy and the twin-brother of
tyranny.

OTTO KAHN—*Speech at University of Wisconsin. Jan. 14, 1918.*

²⁰ The deadliest foe of democracy is not autocracy
but liberty frenzied. Liberty is not fool-proof.
For its beneficent working it demands self-restraint,
a sane and clear recognition of the practical
and attainable, and of the fact that there are
laws of nature which are beyond our power to
change.

OTTO KAHN—*Speech at University of Wisconsin. Jan. 14, 1918.*

²¹ Libertas, inquit, populi quem regna coercent,
Libertate perit.

The liberty of the people, he says, whom
power restrains unduly, perishes through liberty.

LUCANUS—*Pharsalia. Bk. III. 146.*

²² License they mean when they cry, Liberty!
For who loves that, must first be wise and good.
MILTON—*On the Detraction which followed upon my Writing Certain Treatises.*

²³ Justly thou abhorr'st
That son, who on the quiet state of men
Such trouble brought, affecting to subdue
Rational liberty; yet know withal,
Since thy original lapse, true liberty
Is lost.

MILTON—*Paradise Lost. Bk. XII. L. 79.*

²⁴ Oh! if there be, on this earthly sphere,
A boon, an offering Heaven holds dear,
'Tis the last libation Liberty draws
From the heart that bleeds and breaks in her
cause!

MOORE—*Lalla Rookh. Paradise and the Peri. St. 11.*

¹
Give me again my hollow tree
A crust of bread, and liberty!
POPE—*Imitations of Horace*. Bk. II. Satire
VI. L. 220.

²
O liberté! que de crimes on commét dans ton
nom!
O liberty! how many crimes are committed
in thy name!

MADAME ROLAND—*Memoirs. Appendix*. The
actual expression used is said to have been
"O liberté, comme on t'a jouée!"—"O
Liberty, how thou hast been played with!"
Spoken as she stood before a statue of
Liberty.

³
That treacherous phantom which men call
Liberty.
RUSKIN—*Seven Lamps of Architecture*. Ch.
VIII. Sect. XXI.

⁴
I must have liberty
Withal, as large a charter as the wind,
To blow on whom I please.
As *You Like It*. Act II. Sc. 7. L. 47.

⁵
Why, headstrong liberty is lash'd with woe;
There's nothing, situate under heaven's eye
But hath his bound, in earth, in sea, in sky.
Comedy of Errors. Act II. Sc. 1. L. 15.

⁶
So every bondman in his own hand bears
The power to cancel his captivity.
Julius Caesar. Act I. Sc. 3. L. 101.

⁷
Deep in the frozen regions of the north,
A goddess violated brought thee forth,
Immortal Liberty!
SMOLLETT—*Ode to Independence*. L. 5.

⁸
Behold! in Liberty's unclouded blaze
We lift our heads, a race of other days.
CHARLES SPRAGUE—*Centennial Ode*. St. 22.

⁹
Libertatem natura etiam mutis animalibus
datam.

Liberty is given by nature even to mute
animals.
TACITUS—*Annales*. IV. 17.

¹⁰
Eloquentia, alumna licentiæ, quam stulti liber-
tatem vocabant.
[That form of] eloquence, the foster-child of
license, which fools call liberty.
TACITUS—*Dialogus de Oratoribus*. 46.

¹¹
If the true spark of religious and civil liberty
be kindled, it will burn.
DANIEL WEBSTER—*Address*. Charlestown,
Mass. June 17, 1825. Bunker Hill Monu-
ment.

¹²
On the light of Liberty you saw arise the light
of Peace, like

"another morn,
Risen on mid-noon;"
and the sky on which you closed your eye was
cloudless.

DANIEL WEBSTER—*Speeches*. The Bunker
Hill Monument. (1825)

¹³
God grants liberty only to those who love it,
and are always ready to guard and defend it.
DANIEL WEBSTER—*Speech*. June 3, 1834.

¹⁴
Liberty exists in proportion to wholesome re-
straint.

DANIEL WEBSTER—*Speech at the Charleston
Bar Dinner*. May 10, 1847.

¹⁵
I shall defer my visit to Faneuil Hall, the
cradle of American liberty, until its doors shall
fly open, on golden hinges, to lovers of Union as
well as of Liberty.

DANIEL WEBSTER—*Letter*. April, 1851. When
refused the use of the Hall after his speech
on the Compromise Measures. (March 7,
1850) The Aldermen reversed their deci-
sion. MR. WEBSTER began his speech:
"This is Faneuil Hall—Open!"

LIBRARIES (See also Books)

¹⁶
The medicine chest of the soul.
Inscription on a Library. From the Greek.

¹⁷
Nutrimentum spiritus.
Food for the soul.
Inscription on Berlin Royal Library.
(See also CICERO under LEARNING, MIND)

¹⁸
The richest minds need not large libraries.
AMOS BRONSON ALCOCK—*Table Talk*. Bk. I.
Learning-Books.

¹⁹
Libraries are as the shrines where all the relics
of the ancient saints, full of true virtue, and that
without delusion or imposture, are preserved and
reposed.

BACON—*Libraries*.

²⁰
That place that does contain
My books, the best companions, is to me
A glorious court, where hourly I converse
With the old sages and philosophers;
And sometimes, for variety, I confer
With kings and emperors, and weigh their coun-
sels;

Calling their victories, if unjustly got,
Unto a strict account, and, in my fancy,
Deface their ill-placed statues.

BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER—*The Elder Brother*.
Act I. Sc. 2. L. 177.

²¹
A library is but the soul's burial-ground. It
is the land of shadows.

HENRY WARD BEECHER—*Star Papers*. Ox-
ford. *Bodleian Library*.

²²
All round the room my silent servants wait,
My friends in every season, bright and dim.
BARRY CORNWALL—*My Books*.

²³
A great library contains the diary of the human
race.

DAWSON—*Address on Opening the Birmingham
Free Library*.

²⁴
It is a vanity to persuade the world one hath
much learning, by getting a great library.

FULLER—*The Holy and Profane States*. Of
Books. Maxim 1.

DICTIONARY
of
QUOTATIONS



COLLECTED AND ARRANGED
AND WITH COMMENTS BY

Bergen Evans



DELACORTE PRESS/NEW YORK

called lawyers a fourth estate.

Lord Falkland, in Parliament in 1638, had referred to the menace of a fourth estate "which, if not well looked to, will turn us all out of doors." Fielding (1752) had, more justly than any of the others, called the mob "the fourth estate." In contemporary usage, it is a newspaper cliché for the press.

FOXES

1 Take us the foxes, the little foxes, that spoil the vines.

[Song of Solomon 2:15]

2 The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head. [Matthew 8:20]

3 A fox is a wolf who sends flowers. [Ruth Weston, quoted the *New York Post*, Nov. 8, 1955]

FRAGRANCE

4 The breath of flowers is far sweeter in the air (where it comes and goes like the warbling of music) than in the hand. [Francis Bacon: *Of Gardening*]

FRAILTY

5 Frailty, thy name is woman! [Shakespeare: *Hamlet* I.ii.]

6 Wit and woman are two frail things. [Thomas Overbury: *Characters*]

FRANCE

7 France was long a despotism tempered by epigrams. [Thomas Carlyle: *The French Revolution* I]

FRANKNESS

8 Candor and generosity, unless tempered by moderation, lead to ruin. [Tacitus: *History* III.lxxxvi.]

9 He has need of tough ears to hear himself frankly judged. [Montaigne: *Essays* III.xiii.]

10 From your confessor, lawyer and physician,

Hide not your case on no condition.

[Sir John Harington: *Metamorphosis of Ajax*]

11 Plain-dealing is a jewel, and he that useth it shall die a beggar. [Henry Porter: *The Two Angrie Women of Abington*]

12 Ignorance, Madam, pure ignorance. [Samuel Johnson: on being asked how he came, in his *Dictionary*, to define *pastern* as "the knee of a horse"; in *Boswell's Life* (1755)]

13 Always be ready to speak your mind, and a base man will avoid you. [William Blake: *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*]

14 I reside at Table Mountain, and my name is Truthful James;

I am not up to small deceit, or any sinful games.

[Bret Harte: *The Society upon the Stanislaus*]

15 Every man who says frankly and fully what he thinks is doing a public service. [Leslie Stephen: *The Suppression of Poisonous Opinions*]

FRAUD

16 A pious fraud. [Ovid: *Metamorphoses* IX]

17 Though fraud in other activities be detestable, in the management of war it is laudable and glorious, and he who overcomes an enemy by fraud is as much to be praised as he who does so by force. [Machiavelli: *Discorsi* III]

18 Frost and fraud have always foul ends. [William Camden: *Remains*]

FRAY

19 To the latter end of a fray and the beginning of a feast

Fits a dull fighter and a keen guest.

[Shakespeare: *I Henry IV* IV.ii.]

FREE

20 Paul said, But I was free born. [Acts: 22:28]

FREEDOM

21 It is a strange desire to seek power and to lose liberty; or to seek power over others and to lose power over a man's self. [Francis Bacon: *Of Great Place*]

He had said earlier that men in great place have no freedom of their persons, actions or time.

22 I would not my unhousted free condition

Put into circumscription and confine For the sea's worth.

[Shakespeare: *Othello* I.ii.]
 1 Sufficient to have stood, though free
 to fall.

[John Milton: *Paradise Lost* III.99]
 2 Man is born free, yet he is every-
 where in chains. [Jean Jacques Rous-
 seau: *The Social Contract* I.i.]

3 Those who expect to reap the
 blessings of freedom must, like men,
 undergo the fatigue of supporting it.
 [Thomas Paine: *The American Crisis* IV
 (September 12, 1777)]

4 Ne'er yet by force was freedom over-
 come.

[James Thomson (1700-1748): *Liberty*
 II.494]

5 Me this unchartered freedom tires;
 I feel the weight of chance desires:
 My hopes no more must change their
 name,
 I long for a repose that ever is the
 same.

[Wordsworth: *Ode to Duty*]

6 Yet, Freedom! yet thy banner, torn,
 but flying,
 Streams like the thunder-storm
 against the wind.

[Byron: *Childe Harold* IV.xcviii.]

7 My very chains and I grew friends,
 So much a long communion tends
 To make us what we are—even I
 Regain'd my freedom with a sigh.

[Byron: *The Prisoner of Chillon*]

8 When Freedom from her mountain
 height
 Unfurled her standard to the air,
 She tore the azure robe of night
 And set the stars of glory there.

[Joseph Rodman Drake: *The American
 Flag*]

9 But what is Freedom? Rightly under-
 stood,
 A universal license to be good.

[Hartley Coleridge: *Liberty*]

10 Of old sat Freedom on the heights,
 The thunders breaking at her feet;
 Above her shook the starry lights;
 She heard the torrents meet.

[Tennyson: *Of Old Sat Freedom*]

11 In giving freedom to the slave we as-
 sure freedom to the free—honorable
 alike in what we give and what we pre-
 serve. [Abraham Lincoln: *Annual Mes-
 sage to Congress* (1862)]

12 In the beauty of the lilies Christ was
 born across the sea,
 With a glory in his bosom that trans-
 figures you and me;
 As he died to make men holy, let us
 die to make men free,
 While God is marching on.

[Julia Ward Howe: *The Battle Hymn of
 the Republic*]

13 Yes, we'll rally round the flag, boys,
 we'll rally once again,
 Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom,
 We will rally from the hill-side, we'll
 gather from the plain,
 Shouting the battle-cry of Freedom.

[George Frederick Root: *The Battle-Cry
 of Freedom*]

14 It is by the goodness of God that in
 our country we have those three un-
 speakably precious things: freedom of
 speech, freedom of conscience, and
 the prudence never to practice either.

[Mark Twain: *Pudd'nhead Wilson's Cal-
 endar*]

15 The first is freedom of speech and
 expression—everywhere in the world.
 The second is freedom of every person to
 worship God in his own way—every-
 where in the world. The third is free-
 dom from want . . . everywhere in the
 world. The fourth is freedom from fear
 . . . anywhere in the world. [Franklin
 Delano Roosevelt: *The Four Freedoms*
 (Address, 1941)]

16 Freedom is the freedom to say that
 two plus two make four. If that is granted,
 all else follows. [George Orwell: *1984*
 VII]

17 While it is true that an inherently
 free and scrupulous person may be de-
 stroyed, such an individual can never be
 enslaved or used as a blind tool. [Al-
 bert Einstein: *Impact* (UNESCO), 1950]

18 This will remain the land of the free
 only so long as it is the home of the brave.
 [Elmer Davis: *But We Were Born Free*]

FREEDOM OF SPEECH

19 Give me the liberty to know, to utter,
 and to argue freely according to con-
 science, above all liberties. [John Mil-
 ton: *Areopagitica*]

20 I disapprove of what you say, but I
 will defend to the death your right to say
 it.

ER
 author may aspire to
 grapher can only hope
 h, and even this nega-
 as been yet granted to
 l Johnson: Preface to

: A writer of diction-
 drudge. [Samuel John-
 the *Dictionary*]

things I'd been better
 without:
 y, freckles, and doubt.
Inventory]

aste, All men are liars.

id, Ananias . . . thou
 o men, but unto God.
 hearing these words fell
 up the ghost. [Acts

*piece of land and said
 ing the full sale price to
 id received more than he
 Sapphira was party to the
 he too fell down dead.
 a common, jocular desig-
 in 19th-century America.
 credit to a liar, even
 the truth. [Cicero: De*

o have a good memory.
rgia LXIX]

*ished about 155 A.D. Of
 he says, "I have often
 So it was proverbial then.
 nt had appeared earlier
 De Institutione Oratoria
 gerson Sidney's Discourses
 t II.xv.*

an who does not know
 [Vauvenargues: *Réflex-*

*urse, if he is successful, we
 at he is a liar.*

ced, industrious, ambi-
 quite picturesque liar.
*he Private History of a
 Failed]*

he truth, the greater the

libel. [Attr. William Murray, Lord Mans-
 field: when (1784) he presided over the
 King's Bench, although he was probably
 merely quoting an established legal
 maxim.]

Also attr. Lord Ellenborough.

LIBERAL AND CONSERVATIVE

1 I often think it's comical
 How nature always does contrive
 That every boy and every gal,
 That's born into the world alive,
 Is either a little Liberal,
 Or else a little Conservative!

[W. S. Gilbert: *Iolanthe* II]

LIBERAL EDUCATION

2 Liberal Education makes not the
 Christian, not the Catholic, but the gen-
 tleman. [John Henry Newman: *The
 Idea of a University*, Discourse V]

3 Liberal Education, viewed in itself, is
 simply the cultivation of the intellect, as
 such, and its object is nothing more or
 less than intellectual excellence. [John
 Henry Newman: *The Idea of a Univer-*

4 A liberal education is an artificial ed-
 ucation which has not only prepared a
 man to escape the great evils of disobedi-
 ence to natural laws, but has trained him
 to appreciate and to seize upon the re-
 wards, which Nature scatters with as free
 a hand as her penalties. [T. H. Huxley:
Science and Education IV]

LIBERALISM

5 The function of Liberalism in the
 past was that of putting a limit to the
 powers of kings. The function of true
 Liberalism in the future will be that of
 putting a limit to the powers of Parlia-
 ments. [Herbert Spencer: *The Man Ver-*

LIBERALITY

6 The liberalitie of a poore man is his
 good will. [John Florio: *Firste Fruites*
 LXVIII]

7 Liberality should as well have banks
 as a stream. [Thomas Fuller (1608-
 1661): *The Holy State and the Profane
 State*]

8 What is called liberality is most often
 only the vanity of giving, which we like

better than the thing we give. [La Roche-
 foucauld: *Maxims*]

9 Liberality consists less in giving much
 than in giving at the right moment. [La
 Bruyère: *Les Caractères*]

LIBERATION

10 Freeing oppressed nationalities is per-
 haps the most dangerous of all philan-
 thropic enterprises. [William Bolitho:
Twelve Against the Gods, "Napoleon
 III"]

LIBERTY(IES)

11 Proclaim liberty throughout all the
 land unto all the inhabitants thereof.
 [Leviticus 25:10]

*Inscribed on the Liberty Bell, preserved
 in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.*

*Since the bell was cast in 1751, there
 was something prophetic in placing this
 inscription on it.*

12 Where the spirit of the Lord is, there
 is Liberty. [II Corinthians 3:17]

13 Few men desire liberty; most men
 wish only for a just master. [Sallust:
History IV]

14 Liberties and masters are not easily
 combined. [Tacitus: *Annals* IV]

15 The mountain nymph, sweet Liberty.
 [John Milton: *L'Allegro*]

16 For this is not the liberty which we
 can hope, that no grievance ever should
 arise in the Commonwealth, that let no
 man in this world expect; but when com-
 plaints are freely heard, deeply consid-
 ered, and speedily reformed, then is the
 utmost bound of civil liberty attained
 that wise men look for. [John Milton:
Areopagitica]

17 Liberty of conscience is nowadays not
 only understood to be the liberty of be-
 lieving what men please, but also of en-
 deavoring to propagate that belief as
 much as they can. [Jonathan Swift: *Ser-*

18 This is Liberty-hall, gentlemen. You
 may do just as you please here. [Oliver
 Goldsmith: *She Stoops to Conquer* II]

19 Liberty, too, must be limited in order
 to be possessed. [Edmund Burke: *Letter
 to the Sheriffs of Bristol*]

20 Abstract liberty, like other mere ab-
 stractions, is not to be found. [Edmund
 Burke: *Speech on Conciliation with*

America, March 22, 1775]

1 The people never give up their liberties but under some delusion. [Edmund Burke: in a speech at a county meeting at Buckinghamshire]

2 I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death! [Patrick Henry: in a speech at the Virginia Convention, St. John's Episcopal Church, Richmond, Virginia]

3 The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is its natural manure. [Thomas Jefferson: Letter to W. S. Smith, Nov. 13, 1787]

4 We are not to expect to be translated from despotism to liberty in a featherbed. [Thomas Jefferson: Letter to Lafayette, April 2, 1790]

5 A fig for those by law protected!
Liberty's a glorious feast!
Courts for cowards were erected;
Churches built to please the priest.

[Burns: *The Jolly Beggars*]

6 Two voices are there; one is of the sea,
One of the mountains; each a mighty voice:
In both from age to age thou didst rejoice,
They were thy chosen music, Liberty!

[Wordsworth: *On the Subjugation of Switzerland*]

7 The tree of Liberty only grows when watered by the blood of tyrants. [Bertrand Barère de Vieuzac: in a speech at the National Convention (1792)]

8 Liberty, equality, fraternity. (*Liberté, égalité, fraternité.*) [Motto of the French Republic: usually ascribed to Antoine-François Momoro (1756-94); it was abandoned in 1940]

9 O liberty! what crimes are committed in thy name! [Attr. Madame Roland: as she stood on the scaffold]

Quoted in Lamartine's *Histoire des Girondins*.

10 Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable! [Daniel Webster: in a speech in the Senate, Jan. 26, 1830]

11 Liberty, as a principle, has no application to any state of things anterior to the time when mankind have become

capable of being improved by free and equal discussion. [John Stuart Mill: *On Liberty* I]

12 Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. [Attr. commonly to Thomas Jefferson; but, so far as can be shown, first uttered by Wendell Phillips in a speech before the Massachusetts Antislavery Society, 1852]

13 He takes the strangest liberties—
But never takes his leave!

[John Godfrey Saxe: *My Familiar*]

14 Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses, yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.

Send these, the homeless, tempest tossed, to me:

I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

[Emma Lazarus: Inscription on Statue of Liberty, New York Harbor]

15 The liberty of thinking and of publishing whatever one likes . . . is the fountain-head of many evils. [Pope Leo XIII: *Immortale Dei*, Nov. 1, 1885]

16 Liberty means responsibility. That is why most men dread it. [G. B. Shaw: *Maxims for Revolutionists*]

17 Liberty does not consist in mere declarations of the rights of man. It consists in the translation of those declarations into definite actions. [Woodrow Wilson, Address, July 4, 1914]

LIBRARY(IES)

18 No place affords a more striking conviction of the vanity of human hopes than a public library. [Samuel Johnson: *The Rambler* No. 106]

19 Meek young men grow up in libraries, believing it their duty to accept the views which Cicero, which Locke, which Bacon, have given; forgetful that Cicero, Locke, and Bacon were only young men in libraries when they wrote these books. [Emerson: *The American Scholar* II]

LICENSE

20 For the Fifth Harry from curb'd license plucks

The muzzle of restraint, and the wild dog

Shall flesh his tooth on every innocent.

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117

t. **Crown's Book of
Political Quotations**

*Over 2500 Lively Quotes
from Plato to Reagan*

by Michael Jackman

CROWN PUBLISHERS, INC.
NEW YORK

Freedom

Necessity is the plea for every infringement of human freedom. It is the argument of tyrants; it is the creed of slaves.

William Pitt, the Younger

Those who expect to reap the blessings of freedom must, like men, undergo the fatigue of supporting it.

Thomas Paine

Those who suppress freedom always do so in the name of law and order.

John Lindsay

Freedom comes from human beings, rather than laws and institutions.

Clarence Darrow

When people are free to do as they please, they usually imitate each other.

Eric Hoffer

There's something contagious about demanding freedom.

Robin Morgan

None can love freedom heartily but good men; the rest love not freedom, but license.

John Milton

The realm of freedom does not commence until the point is passed where labor under compulsory of necessity and of external utility is required.

Karl Marx

Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves.

Abraham Lincoln

The purpose of freedom is to create it for others.

Bernard Malamud

Freedom, especially a woman's freedom, is a conquest to be made, not a gift to be received. It isn't granted. It must be taken.

Federico Fellini

One should never put on one's best trousers to go out to battle for freedom and truth

Henrik Ibsen

Those who profess to favor freedom, and yet deprecate agitation, are men who want rain without thunder and lightning.

Frederick Douglass

Freedom is that faculty which enlarges the usefulness of all other faculties.

Immanuel Kant

Freedom is the intense claim to obey no one but reason.

Heinrich Mann

Freedom is when bondage is understood.

J. Krishnamurti

The basic test of freedom is perhaps less in what we are free to do than in what we are free not to do.

Eric Hoffer

The history of the world is none other than the progress of the consciousness of freedom.

George Hegel

Freedom is as little lost in a day as won in a day.

Jean Paul Richter

A free society is one where it is safe to be unpopular.

Adlai Stevenson

If I want to be free from any other man's dictation, I must understand that I can have no other man under my control.

W. G. Sumner

Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves.

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W. G. Sumner

84 FREEDOM

You are free and that is why you are lost.

Franz Kafka

We cannot defend freedom abroad by deserting it at home.

Edward R. Murrow

Freedom is nothing else but a chance to be better.

Albert Camus

While the state exists, there is no freedom. When there is freedom, there will be no state.

Nikolai Lenin

The freedom we should seek is not the right to oppress others, but the right to live as we choose and think as we choose where our doing so does not prevent others from doing likewise.

Bertrand Russell

Free at last, free at last. Thank God Almighty, I'm free at last.

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Free Enterprise ?

After I asked him what he meant, he replied that freedom consisted of the unimpeded right to get rich, to use his ability, no matter what the cost to others, to win advancement.

Norman Thomas

I don't meet competition, I crush it.

Charles Revson

The suppression of civil liberties is to many less a matter for horror than the curtailment of the freedom to profit.

Marya Mannes

Laissez-faire, laissez passer. [No interference, and complete freedom of movement.]

François Quesnay

The American style of individualism.

Herbert Hoover

Yet it is that very individualism, so rampant in the United States, which has also led to the spoliation of the environment and has been at the roots of the neglect of the social services and other community needs.

Daniel Bell

Free enterprise ended in the United States a good many years ago. Big oil, big steel, big agriculture avoid the open marketplace.

Gore Vidal

Private enterprise is ceasing to be free enterprise.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

Laissez-faire, supply-and-demand,—one begins to be weary of all that. Leave all to egoism, to ravenous greed of money, of pleasure, of applause;—it is the gospel of despair.

Thomas Carlyle

The system has never failed us once. But we have failed the system every time we lose faith in the magic of the marketplace.

Ronald Reagan

Private enterprise . . . makes OK private action which would be considered dishonest in public action.

John F. Kennedy

What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?

Matthew 16:26

It is ridiculous to call this an industry. This is not. This is rat eat rat, dog eat dog. I'll kill 'em before they kill me. You're talking about the American way of survival of the fittest.

Ray Kroc

Avarice, the spur of industry.

David Hume

I have never believed in abandoning our economy to the ruthless workings of the marketplace regardless of the human suffering that might be ceased.

Bernard Baruch

We have always known that heedless self-interest was bad morals; we know now that it is bad economics.

Franklin D. Roosevelt

"A bargain," said the son. "Here's the rule for bargains—'Do other men for they would do you.' That's the true business precept. All others are counterfeits."

Charles Dickens

The Americans have little faith. They rely on the power of the dollar.

Ralph Waldo Emerson

Free Press/Free Speech

Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech or of the press.

First Amendment, U.S. Constitution, 1791

Freedom is the freedom to say that two plus two make four. If that is granted, all else follows.

George Orwell

The price of freedom of religion or of speech or of the press is that we must put up with, and even pay for, a good deal of rubbish.

Robert Jackson

It is by the goodness of God that in our country we have those three unspeakably precious things: freedom of speech, freedom of conscience, and the prudence never to practice either of them.

Mark Twain

Were nothing to pass the press but what were suited to the universal gusto, farewell typography!

Joseph Glanvill

To reign by opinion, begin by trampling it under your feet.

Jean Jacques Rousseau

The fundamental argument for freedom of opinion is the doubtfulness of all our beliefs.

Bertrand Russell

What this country needs is more free speech worth listening to.

Hansell B. Duckett

You hear about constitutional rights, free speech and the free press. Every time I hear these words I say to myself, "That man is Red!" . . . You never hear a *real* American talk like that.

Frank Hague

I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it.

C. S. Tallentyre

Literature should not be suppressed merely because it offends the moral code of the censor.

William O. Douglas

Our liberty depends on freedom of the press, and that cannot be limited without being lost.

Thomas Jefferson

The only real security for social well-being is the free exercise of men's minds.

Harold J. Laski

Freedom of opinion can only exist when the government thinks itself secure.

Bertrand Russell

Thus I have maintained by English history, that in proportion as the Press has been free, English Government has been secure.

Thomas Erskine

The best test of truth is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market. . . . We should be eternally vigilant against attempts to check the expression that we loathe.

Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.

Freedom of the press is the staff of life for any vital democracy.

Wendell Phillips

The key to security is public information.

Margaret Chase Smith

Absolute freedom of the press to discuss public questions is a foundation stone of American liberty.

Herbert Hoover

Speech

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Liberty

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

Leviticus 25:10

It is a great and dangerous error to suppose that all people are equally entitled to liberty.

John C. Calhoun

Liberty is the one thing you can't have unless you give it to others.

William Allen White

Liberty doesn't work as well in practice as it does in speeches.

Will Rogers

The people never give up their liberties but under some delusion.

Edmund Burke

They that give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety.

Benjamin Franklin

Liberty is always dangerous, but it is the safest thing we have.

Harry Emerson Fosdick

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

Thomas Jefferson

deliberate Liberty means responsibility. That is why most men dread it.

George Bernard Shaw

Liberty, n. One of Imagination's most precious possessions.

Ambrose Bierce

Few men desire liberty; most men wish only for a just master.

Sallust

The history of liberty is the history of resistance.

Woodrow Wilson

Liberty is so much latitude as the powerful choose to accord to the weak.

Learned Hand

I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!

Patrick Henry

The price we have to pay for money is paid in liberty.

Robert Louis Stevenson

Wherever public spirit prevails, liberty is secure.

Noah Webster

Mankind is tired of liberty.

Benito Mussolini

Only in states in which the power of the people is supreme has liberty any abode.

Cicero

The contest for ages has been to rescue liberty from the grasp of executive power.

Daniel Webster

Liberty, equality, fraternity.

Motto of the French Republic

Liberties and masters are not easily combined.

Tacitus

By fraternity only will liberty be saved.

Victor Hugo

Modern liberty begins in revolt.

H. M. Kallen

Liberty is the sovereignty of the individual.

Josiah Warren

Liberties . . . depend on the silence of the law.

Thomas Hobbes

Liberty is the power that we have over ourselves.

Hugo Grotius

He that would make his own liberty secure must guard even his enemy from oppression.

Thomas Paine

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MORROW'S
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**CONTEMPORARY
QUOTATIONS**

COMPILED BY
JONATHON GREEN

WILLIAM MORROW AND COMPANY, INC.

NEW YORK • 1982

ALFRED PINOCHET
Dictator of Chile

Democracy must be bathed in blood.

ELLERRE PROWSE**Bank manager 1975**

Democratic socialist makes as sense as pregnant virginity.

LESLIE PUTNEY**Novel writer**

Quest of Society 1972

People of a democracy are allowed to vote, they will vote away the freedoms which are essential to that democracy.

LES MERRILL SMITH**Novel author**

Democracy you can be respected by, but don't count on it.

ALAN STEVENSON**Novel politician 1952**

Secrecy is the secret weapon of democracy, and candour and confession are essential for the political soul.

TOPPARD**Playwright**

Democracy is the voting that's democracy, it's not the voting.

PAUL AWNEY**Historian**

New Statesman 1960

Democracy is not the absence of violent contrasts in income and opportunity, but equal opportunities for all.

TEAHOUSE OF THE ALAMOON

1956 screenplay by John Patrick, based on the play by

John Patrick: Democracy is a system of choice. It's the right choice, it's the wrong choice.

'THE THIRD MAN'

by Graham Greene and Orson Welles

Welles: In Switzerland they had five hundred years of

democracy and peace and what did they produce? The cuckoo clock!

PETER USTINOV**British actor and wit**

Nova 1968

American democracy is the inalienable right to sit on your own front porch, in your pyjamas, drinking a can of beer and shouting out 'Where else is this possible?' Which doesn't seem to me to be freedom, really.

E. B. WHITE**American writer**

Democracy is the recurrent suspicion that more than half the people are right more than half the time.

'One Man's Meat'

The duty of a democracy is to know then what it knows now.

Freedom

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION 1955

Liberty is always unfinished business.

CLAUDE AVELINE**French writer**

'Avec Toi-même'

To be free is . . . the interior certainty that every man is responsible for humanity, and not just before it.

JAMES BALDWIN**American author**

'Nobody Knows My Name' 1961

Freedom is not something that anybody can be given. Freedom is something people take, and people are as free as they want to be.

ROLAND BARTHES**French academic**

Mythologies 1957

When man proclaims his primal freedom . . . his subordination is least disputable.

SIR ISAIAH BERLIN**British philosopher**

'Two Concepts of Liberty'

Liberty is liberty – not equality or fairness or justice or human happiness or a quiet conscience.

LORD BOYD-ORR**British politician 1955**

If people have to choose between freedom and sandwiches they will take sandwiches.

ANDRE BRETON**French artist**

quoted in *'The Autobiography of Surrealism'* by Marcel Jean, 1981

It would be wrong for man to allow himself to be intimidated by a few monstrous historical failures: he is still free to believe in his freedom.

ALBERT CAMUS**French writer**

'The Rebel' 1951

Absolute freedom mocks at justice. Absolute justice denies freedom.

ELIAS CANETTI**Bulgarian writer**

The wind is the only thing in civilisation to enjoy freedom.

MALCOLM DE CHAZAL**French writer**

'Sens Plastique' 1949

The freedom to be oneself is the highest form of justice towards others.

GEORGE CLINTON**American rock musician**

Free your mind and your ass will follow.

LORD DEVLIN**British lawyer**

in his report on *Fleet Street*, 1967

Diversity of opinion is the essence of freedom.

ALBERT EINSTEIN

German physicist

'Out of my later years' 1950

By freedom I understand social conditions of such a kind that the expression of opinions and assertions about general and particular matters of knowledge will not involve dangers or serious disadvantages for him who expresses them.

FEDERICO FELLINI

Italian film director

Freedom, especially a woman's freedom, is a conquest to be made, not a gift to be received. It isn't granted. It must be taken.

ROBERT FROST

American poet

Esquire 1965

The moments of freedom, they can't be given to you. You have to take them.

If society fits you comfortably enough, you call it freedom.

ATHOL FUGARD

South African playwright

The Guardian 1971

How real a concept is freedom? You start to function when coming to terms with a set of limitations.

MOHANDAS K. GANDHI

Indian leader 1959

Freedom is not worth having if it does not connote the freedom to err.

PIERRE GAXOTTE

French writer

'Themes and Variations'

Liberty is not at the beginning, but at the end. Liberty is the fruit of good order.

ERIC HOFFER

American philosopher

in *'The Faber Book of Aphorisms'* 1964

The basic test of freedom is perhaps less in what we are free to do than in what we are free not to do.

'The Passionate State of Mind' 1954

When people are free to do as they please, they usually imitate each other.

ALFRED KAZIN

American critic

Esquire 1967

Freedom speaks only for freedom. Political superstition claims to speak for the world at large. No one and nothing can do that and be authentic.

JOHN F. KENNEDY

American president 1963

Freedom is indivisible and when one man is enslaved, all are not free.

1961

It is one of the ironies of our time that the techniques of a harsh and repressive system should be able to instill discipline and ardour in its servants – while the blessings of liberty have too often stood for privilege, materialism and a life of ease.

MICHAEL KUSTOW

British arts administrator

The Listener 1970

Increased awareness is the first step to freedom. A people that denies the arts is an unfree people.

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

British journalist

'Freedom and the Politicians'

Countries cannot become free. Countries cannot be oppressed. Only men can be free or not free.

MALCOLM X

American radical

'Malcolm X Speaks' 1965

Nobody can give you freedom. Nobody can give you equality or justice or anything. If you're a man, you take it.

You can't separate peace from freedom because no one can be at peace unless he has his freedom.

H. L. MENCKEN

American essayist

'Minority Report' 1956

What men value in this world is not rights, but privileges.

Most people want security in this world, not liberty.

MARIA MONTESSORI**Italian educator***'The Montessori Method'*

Discipline must come through liberty. . . We do not consider an individual disciplined when he has been rendered as artificially silent as a mute and as immovable as a paralytic. He is an individual *annihilated*, not *disciplined*.

ZERO MOSTEL**American comedian***New York Times 1965*

The freedom of any society varies proportionately with the volume of its laughter.

GEORGE ORWELL**British essayist 1945**

Liberty is the right to tell people what they do not want to hear.

ALAN PATON**South African writer 1967**

To give up the task of reforming society is to give up one's responsibility as a free man.

DON PLATT

There is no tyranny so despotic as that of public opinion among a free people.

TOM ROBINSON**British rock singer**

Freedom is indivisible. You can't have it at the expense of someone else. Either there's oppression or there isn't.

JEAN-PAUL SARTRE**French philosopher***The Observer 1970*

As soon as man apprehends himself as free and wishes to use his freedom, his activity is play.

HUGH SCANLON**British trade unionist***The Observer 1977*

Liberty is conforming to the majority.

ADLAI STEVENSON**American politician**

A hungry man is not a free man.

GRAHAM SUTHERLAND**British artist***The Observer 1974*

I don't think anyone is free – one creates one's own prison.

LECH WALESA**Polish trade unionist***interviewed by Oriana Fallaci 1981*

Freedom is a food which must be carefully administered when people are too hungry for it.

SIMONE WEIL**French philosopher***'The Need for Roots' 1952*

Liberty, taking the word in its concrete sense, consists in the ability to choose.

RAYMOND WILLIAMS**British academic***'Culture & Society' 1958*

The practical liberty of thought and expression is a natural right and a common necessity. The growth of understanding is so difficult that none of us can arrogate to himself or to an institution or a class the right to determine its channels of advance. Any educational system will reflect the content of a society. Any emphasis or exploration will follow from an emphasis of common need. Yet no system and no emphasis can be adequate if they fail to allow for real flexibility, for real alternative courses. To deny these practical liberties is to burn the common seed.

TENNESSEE WILLIAMS**American playwright**

To be free is to have achieved your life.

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only for freedom. Political claims to speak for the No one and nothing can authentic.

NEDY**ident 1963**

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ABOUT DETROIT

Some color notes about the city

- "Spirit of Detroit"
- Detroit Lions haven't had a winning season since 1956. This year, they were trampled by the **Redskins** in their first game of the season, but they've won every game since. The city is abuzz with their winning streak. The Lions will not play this weekend -- so there's no opportunity for this to change before the President's speech.
- About fishing -- This is salmon fishing season -- really big this year.
- Detroit Pistons -- NBA Champs '89 and '90

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

October 17, 1991

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN TELECONFERENCE WITH THE
ASSOCIATED PRESS MANAGING EDITORS ASSOCIATION CONVENTION

Old Executive Office Building

12:15 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Ralph. Thank you very much. Thank you for the plug for the Texas Rangers. It's nice being introduced in Detroit by a fellow Texan. It's also nice to see Lou Boccardi again. He's on the corner of my screen -- about half of Lou is there. But let me just say I am very sorry I couldn't join you for today's lunch, especially since it's miserable, rainy and cold here, and I'm sure it's nice and sunny out there.

Let me open with an apology. I know that many of you depend on Washington to provide grist for news stories. And I know that we just haven't held up our end of the deal. In recent weeks, things around here have been just plain dull.

Actually, I appreciate this opportunity to speak with you. I'd like to get a couple of gripes off my chest. First, can you get the delivery people to stop throwing our paper in the shrubs? And I know you love it when people ask about that.

Second -- and I know you're tired of hearing this one -- but couldn't you focus on the good news for once? You know, there's a great Anne Murray song -- I'm a country music fan -- Anne Murray of Canada, a song called "A Little Good News." And let me recite for you one verse. One nice verse:

"I came home this evening. I bet that the news will be the same. Somebody takes a hostage, somebody steals a plane. How I want to hear the anchorman talk about a county fair, how we cleaned the air, how everybody learned to care."

Well, I think that's a great idea, not exactly what your work is about, and I understand that. But I've just about had it with all the bad news about lawyers, and bankruptcies, and strikes, and business seizures, and stock splits, and profit-sharing, and wars, and bitter personal feuds. Just once, just once, I'd like to see you limit the sports pages to scores and standings.

Today I want to talk about a subject that many of your papers discuss regularly: our administration's domestic policy. And I've talked with audiences around the nation about our initiatives on crime, on education, on energy, transportation and many other matters. But today let me focus on an issue of great concern in Detroit and, as a matter of fact, throughout our nation -- economic growth. And let me start with some good news. I cite this recognizing that a lot of people are still hurting. But the trends, the economic trends, look good.

Industrial production, for example, has risen for five straight months. Housing starts have risen 26 percent since January. The unemployment rate in September fell to 6.7 percent, down three-tenths of a percent in three months, and the lowest rate in nearly

MORE

five years.* The Index of Leading Economic Indicators has held steady or increased for seven straight months, and it's jumped five percent since January.

Inflation -- now, this is solid good news -- it's fallen a 2.7 percent annual rate. Mortgage interest rates have dropped to the lowest level since 1977. And over the years, our administration has promised a series of initiatives that would stimulate economic growth and make our economy much stronger -- initiatives that would instantly restore much needed confidence in our economic progress. Congress generally has chosen to avoid these proposals, either by preventing votes or changing the subject.

Maybe you're tired of hearing me talk about this, but the capital gains tax offers a case in point. Against the argument that the cut raises questions of fairness, let me ask you to judge. The capital gains tax effects future wealth, not present wealth. High capital gains rates discourage investment in untried products and services. They make it difficult for people with ideas to get the capital they need to make a difference. Historically, when capital gains rates fall, revenues increase, and the rich assume the lion's share of the tax burden.

Let me read you a quote about capital gains: "The tax on capital gains directly effects the ease or difficulty experienced by new ventures in obtaining capital and thereby the strength and potential for the growth of the economy." John F. Kennedy said that.

A capital gains cut will set off an explosion of small business formation, which means that your ad people will have new clients and you might be able to give your reporters a pay raise after all. In short, a capital gains cut would give our economy a much-needed boost. It would raise real estate prices and cut the overall cost of the savings and loan cleanup. It would help people of imagination and drive.

As I've said a number of times, the capital gains tax is a tax on the American dream. And nevertheless, in three years congressional leaders have not permitted one single up or down vote on our capital gains proposals. If they were convinced that this is a tax break for the rich and would be unpopular across the country, they ought to at least let it come to a vote. Consider other items in our growth package. We proposed a comprehensive banking reform legislation. And Congress has the opportunity to make America's banking system more efficient and more competitive internationally. But it has got to act now. It's hung up on the House side, incidentally -- the House of Representatives.

Only comprehensive legislation which addresses the fundamental problems facing the banking industry will strengthen our banks and support economic growth. We've offered proposals to ease the credit crunch that affects lenders nationwide -- lenders who, for instance, make it possible for newspapers to build new presses and plants, purchase new equipment and improve their fitness in the incredibly competitive media business. We've promoted incentives for savings, investment, entrepreneurship. We've proposed increasing federal expenditures on research and development. And we've advocated a permanent R&D tax credit.

We have worked aggressively to open foreign markets to American goods and services. And we continue to press for a successful conclusion to the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade talks. This is a very important thing. And then, as you all know, we've begun negotiating a North American free trade agreement, which

*five months

would create a unified market consisting of the United States, Canada, just across the river from you, and Mexico.

We've pursued the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative, which promises to encourage economic growth throughout our hemisphere and build ties of mutual interest. We've promoted tort reform -- and this is an important one, and I sure would like to ask your support -- we have promoted tort reform to cut down on needless litigation and the costs that that imposes on every single industry. And we've fought against regulations that produce red tape without improving the quality of American life. We've still got a ways to go there, I will admit.

We've worked to build a more intelligent, flexible workforce through our America 2000 Education Strategy. It's a little longer-range, but very, very important. And, finally, we've worked to maintain the fiscal discipline established by last year's controversial budget agreement.

When people say that we have no domestic agenda, they simply have not seen the facts. We have a good forward-looking agenda. Congressional leaders just won't act on it. This is one of the great problems of a divided government, where you have the President of one party and both Houses controlled by another.

I know that you will spend two sessions discussing economic issues tomorrow. And I'd also like to encourage you to think about ways of improving the coverage of economic issues. They're not the sexiest, they're not the most vital, they aren't the most interesting, but they are the most vital.

Urge your reporters to take a hard, fair, informed look at these policies and then at the congressional alternatives. Ask them to study the history of capital gains cuts. Ask them to discuss banking reform proposals with leading bankers in your town. Ask them to dig deeper and deeper for the facts and to treat sweeping generalizations and slogans, whether they come from me or somebody else, with proper skepticism. Well, since you're editors, I suppose you could tell them, not ask them.

A free press truly can serve as a guide to good public policy, but only if reporters and editors take seriously their duty to inform the public in a comprehensive, balanced manner. I am very sorry that I couldn't join you today in Detroit. But I am glad that we have been able to get together by this video hookup, and I wish you all the best in your meetings over the next three days.

May God bless our great country. And now I'll be glad to take a couple of questions.

Q Mr. President, many of the people in this room feel that the American people didn't receive an entirely complete or timely report on the Persian Gulf war because of the requirement for press pools in virtually every situation, not just situations where independent reporting was physically impossible. One particularly sensitive issue was prior review of stories and pictures. Right now, a group of editors is talking with Pentagon people about those feelings. Without prejudging what they come up with, I wondered if you think it's possible to restore the kind of aggressive and independent reporting that characterized American newspaper reporting of World War II and Korea and Vietnam, rather than this somewhat pool-driven, briefing-driven coverage of the Persian Gulf war?

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, I think there can be room for improvement. I thought some of you all's people were going to meet with Dick Cheney on this. It is my understanding that the final decision on whether to go public with disputed material really rested at the hands of the outlets.

Let me address myself to the broader question. I do think that the pooling worked to some degree. I don't agree with you and I have to tell you this -- and I expect I'm the only one. I don't know how many people you've got in the room, but the vote will be overwhelmingly against me -- I think that the American people felt that they got very strong, intrusive coverage of the war. I really believe that. I also believe, and I think you might agree with this one, that there must be discipline. There cannot be everybody strolling around in a hostile environment. And I think when we saw some taken prisoner, that was pretty good evidence that there was some reason to have some kind of pooling mechanism.

But, look, I can't argue with you that it was perfect. I do think the American people feel they got good, thorough coverage and that's a credit to every single person in the room there and many, many more in other media forums all around the country. But I'd like to think we could improve it. The Desert Storm, the rules for this are not locked in concrete. They were tailored for this particular operation that had long logistic problems.

I also would like to -- and I may be on weak ground here, but I thought that in World War II -- and I'm old enough to remember some of it -- that there was real censorship of all these dispatches. I know my mail was censored, for example, as a little guy flying or floating around on an aircraft carrier. And I think that if you look back, you'll find that there was an awful lot of pure censorship there that was not anywhere near matched by what went on under the Desert Storm arrangements.

But let me just offer you a spirit, having defined some differences here, of cooperation, because we do want the best, most intrusive coverage possible, and that can be done with the safety of everybody in mind and the national interest in mind. I say "national interest" because I'm still reminded of the Saturday Night Live program. I don't know whether any of you saw that, about the guy getting up, "Now, could you please give us the code words that would help Saddam Hussein understand what he's up against?" Or, "Could you give us directly the place that you plan for the Marines to land? Would it be this on the map or that?" And it went on and on and on. I showed this to a couple of people and it hit -- with all respect now -- (laughter) -- it hit a familiar chord with some.

We don't want to go to one extreme or another. And if we need to do a better job of finding the balance, we'll sure try. I think in Dick Cheney we've got an extraordinarily reasonable man, and I know he's already trying to improve the whole pooling concept and the restrictions that did cause you understandable concern.

Q Thank you.

Q Mr. President, one of the most disturbing issues that emerged from the Thomas hearings and confirmation process was the whole issue of sexual harassment in the workplace. Do you think that your support of Judge Thomas, the continuing perception of the "old boys' network" in Washington D.C. and in government, your positions on abortion, all cause you a problem with women as you approach your reelection? And related to that, what are the things that you're thinking about doing that, in the words of Judge Thomas, can help heal the wounds that have emerged from the hearings, the great divisions of race and gender and class?

THE PRESIDENT: That's a very broad, penetrating question. Let me try to respond. And the answer to your question is no. To begin with, I don't think that I have, as a result of all this, an increased problem with women. I go back -- if you want to put it in a -- and I think you put it in a political context. But I noticed on the surveys that everybody lives and dies by that women

supported Judge Thomas overwhelmingly. Women activists, feminist groups might not have, but women overwhelmingly supported Judge Thomas as did men, as did the entire country with minority Americans, Afro-Americans supporting him even more than the national average. When you've separated out the Afro-Americans, support was even stronger there.

So I don't start from the defensive posture on having nominated this good man to the court. And I also believe that he will be an independent justice. And I believe that he going to surprise some who think they know exactly where he stands on every single social issue.

Now, in terms of discrimination, sexual harassment in the workplace, I have a civil rights bill before the Congress now -- you haven't heard much about it because they just keep beating me over the head to pass their civil rights bill -- I'm talking about the Democratic leaders. Ours is the only one, I believe, that addresses further the question of sexual harassment in the workplace. And we have a good policy on this as it is in the Executive Branch, And I think everybody should take it very, very seriously. And maybe even though a lot of it was deeply offensive to American families across this country with its graphic detail, maybe something good will come out of it. And by that, I mean a sensitizing of the populous to the problem, the legitimate problem of sexual harassment.

Having said that, I wish that the country had been spared some of the detail that I think should have been assigned to the Congress. Anita Hill, as you remember, she didn't want to bring out this graphic detail. And had that graphic detail not been out there, I think the hearing could have been properly done. Her charges could have been properly heard in some executive session. And I don't think the people would have been denied anything that they had a right to know about. I think sometimes when you get to subjects that are that sensitive, it is well to delegate to your elected officials.

So I was troubled -- I was thinking of my little grandchildren hearing some of the graphic sex allegations. And yet, setting that aside for a minute, I do think there was something sensitizing about the question of sexual harassment. The problem is, there was also something sensitizing about the process itself, where a good man, on the eve of confirmation, had a last-minute charge raised about him, a charge stemming back from ten years before. And this troubled the American people, and I think that's one of the reasons support for Judge Thomas -- about to be Mr. Justice, Thomas -- increased as the hearings went on.

So let's hope -- you know, I think you also mentioned -- I didn't write the notes down properly here -- I think you also mentioned what Justice Thomas said -- maybe you didn't -- but I've been doing a series of interviews here -- what he said about healing and getting on with it I think makes a good deal of sense.

I will be coming out -- in answer to part of your question here -- next week with some suggestions -- not in anger, not for partisan political gain, certainly not assailing the Congress in which I once served, but hopefully making constructive suggestions as to how we can avoid in the future, that which the American people -- I think rather unanimously think -- has been a kind of a messy situation.

It's been very interesting here. Everyone -- including me -- have been glued to our television sets. We saw some ugliness. We saw some good things. We saw some people that wanted to bring this man down for reasons having nothing to do with sexual harassment. But we also saw the prevailing wisdom of the American people.

So I don't think that these -- what I think of is the women's groups, feminist groups that were on the television every day berating those that voted the other way -- voting for Thomas -- I don't think they speak for all the women in this country.

And I might say something I hope you don't think is too controversial. I don't believe that the civil rights leaders all speak for the American people on a matter of this nature. If they did, how come support for Judge Thomas would have been so strong among black Americans?

So I've learned a lot. I'm still -- as you can tell from this rambling answer -- trying to sort it out, and I will be for the next few days, then I'll have some constructive suggestions. And I expect half the people in that room -- maybe more -- will criticize and the other half might see some merits to what I suggest. But we're a strong country and we can get beyond the ugliness of all of this, and let's hope something good comes out of it. And I want to do my part to heal whatever wounds do exist out there.

THE PRESS: Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, thank you all very much. Ralph, thank you, sir.

Q Thank you, Mr. President. (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT: Over and out.

END

12:39 P.M. EDT