

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library
Digital Library Collections

This is a PDF of a folder from our textual collections.

Collection: Speechwriting, Office of: Research Office:
Records, 1981-1989

SERIES: I: SPEECHES, 1981-1989

Folder Title: 05/12/1986 Medal of Freedom Luncheon
(2 of 2)

Box: 265

To see more digitized collections visit:

<https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/digitized-textual-material>

To see all Ronald Reagan Presidential Library Inventories, visit:

<https://www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/white-house-inventories>

Contact a reference archivist at: reagan.library@nara.gov

Citation Guidelines: <https://reaganlibrary.gov/archives/research-support/citation-guide>

National Archives Catalogue: <https://catalog.archives.gov/>

Last Updated: 05/02/2024

MORROW'S
INTERNATIONAL
DICTIONARY OF
CONTEMPORARY
QUOTATIONS

*A Treasury of Wit, Cynicism
and Wisdom—Over 7,000 Lively
Quotes Reflecting Accurately the
Tastes and Attitudes of Our Time*

JONATHON GREEN

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.

24TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Presidential Medal of Freedom

Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony.

19 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 291

February 23, 1983

LENGTH: 1868 words

One of the greatest privileges and the most distinct pleasures of my job is the duty that I perform today, awarding our nation's highest civilian honor, the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

This medal is given to those who have risen to pinnacles of achievement in their fields. It's a recognition of their accomplishments, hard work, and dedication for America and for humanity. The recipients of this award have touched all our lives with their contributions, strengthening the fabric of our society and improving the quality of our life.

The men and women that we honor today come from across our land -- some, children of immigrants; some, immigrants themselves; many from humble beginnings. But they all share a quality that Carl Sandburg once summed up so well when he wrote, "Man is born with rainbows in his heart."

These men and women never lost sight of them, living out their dreams in their adult lives. We can their award "The Medal of Freedom," because only in a free society such as ours do we have the opportunity to climb as high and go as far as our dreams, talent, and energy will take us.

I'm reminded of the scene that took place in Washington the first summer that I was here as President. It was evening on Memorial Day, and the National Symphony was giving the traditional free concert on the West Lawn of the Capitol. As a backdrop, the Capitol dome was lighted and stood out dramatically against the clear night sky with our flag waving over it. And Maxim Shostakovitch was conducting his first concert since leaving the Soviet Union. And after a standing ovation from the audience, Shostakovitch spoke quietly and with measured eloquence. "Today," he said, "for you and me is a great day. For you it is a great national day, and for me, I'm happy twice -- to play for you and to be free."

Well, I know the 12 men and women we're about to honor understand how Shostakovich felt. With their talent and with the freedom of our way, the life that was given them to use it, by working and living among us, they've broadened and enriched freedom for us all. We're proud and grateful they're Americans.

Now, let me read the citation, and I will present the medal to each one.

[As the President called each name, the recipient or the person accepting for the recipient went to the podium to receive the medal and remained standing behind the President. The President read the citations which accompany the medals. The texts of the citations are printed below.]

George Balanchine. Accepting the medal for Mr. Balanchine is Suzanne Farrell, principal dancer of the New York City Ballet and his student.

The genius of George Balanchine has enriched the lives of all Americans who love the dance. Since he arrived in America as a young man in 1933, he has entertained and inspired millions with his stage and film choreography. Major among his greatest contributions as a ballet master are the founding of the first American classical ballet company, the great New York City Ballet, and the School of American Ballet. Throughout his career Mr. Balanchine has entertained, captivated and amazed our diverse population, lifting our spirits and broadening our horizons through his talent and art.

And the next is a posthumous award to Paul W. Bryant, and Bear Bryant's grand-daughter, Mary Harmon Tyson, will accept the medal on behalf of her family.

In many ways, American sports embody the best in our national character -- dedication, teamwork, honor and friendship. Paul "Bear" Bryant embodied football. The winner of more games than any other coach in history, Bear Bryant was a true American hero. A hard but beloved taskmaster he pushed ordinary people to perform extraordinary feats. Patriotic to the core, devoted to his players and inspired by a winning spirit that never quit, Bear Bryant gave his country the gift of a legend. In making the impossible seem easy, he lived what we all strive to be.

James Burnham:

As a scholar, writer, historian and philosopher, James Burnham has profoundly affected the way America views itself and the world. Since the 1930's, Mr. Burnham has shaped the thinking of world leaders. His observations have changed society and his writings have become guiding lights in mankind's quest for truth. Freedom, reason and decency have had few greater champions in this century than James Burnham.

And I owe him a personal debt, because throughout the years traveling the mashpotato circuit I have quoted you widely. [Laughter]

Dr. James Cheek:

As the president of one of our country's greatest institutions of higher learning, and as an outstanding black American scholar, James Cheek embodies the spirit of excellence in education. Dr. Cheek's distinguished career and community work are impressive testimony to his commitment to his calling and his country. His efforts have helped to build a better life for black Americans and a better country for us all.

R. Buckminster Fuller:

A true Renaissance Man, and one of the greatest minds of our times, Richard Buckminster Fuller's contributions as a geometrician, educator, and architect-designer are benchmarks of accomplishment in their fields. Among his most notable inventions and discoveries are synergetic geometry, geodesic structures and tensegrity structures. Mr. Fuller reminds us all that America is a land of pioneers, haven for innovative thinking and the free expression of ideas.

Reverend Billy Graham:

Reverend William "Billy" Graham's untiring evangelism has spread the word of God to every corner of the globe, and made him one of the most inspirational spiritual leaders of the Twentieth Century. As a deeply committed Christian, his challenge to accept Jesus Christ has lifted the hearts, assuaged the sorrows and renewed the hopes of millions. Billy Graham is an American who lives first and always for his fellow citizens. In honoring him, we give thanks for God's greatest spiritual gifts -- faith, hope, and love.

And, Billy, I'm going to have to tell them something that you told me, because with all of this, too, there is a practical side of life. Reverend Graham was in the Soviet Union, and invited by a bureaucrat of that governmental structure to lunch, and found himself faced with a lunch, as he described it, that was more magnificent and more of a gourmet type of thing than he had ever seen -- caviar that wouldn't stop and every other thing that you could eat. And he couldn't resist saying to his host, "But how can you live this way, do this, when there are so many people out there in your country that don't have enough to eat, that are hungry?" And the man said, "I worked hard for his." And, God bless him, Billy Graham said, "That's what the capitalists say." [Laughter]

Lili Osborne will accept the medal on behalf of Eric Hoffer.

Eric Hoffer:

The son of immigrant parents, Eric Hoffer is an example of both the opportunity and the vitality of the American way of life. After overcoming his loss of sight as a child, Eric Hoffer educated himself in our public libraries. As an adult he has relished hard work and believed in its dignity, spending 23 years in jobs ranging from lumber-jack to dockworker. As America's longshoreman philosopher, his books on philosophy have become classics. Mr. Hoffer's spirit, self-reliance and great accomplishments remind us all that the United States remains a land where each of us is free to achieve the best that lies within us.

I only had one opportunity, but I shall treasure the day that as Governor of California I was able to have him come over to my office, and I got some pretty good sound and salty advice. [Laughter]

Clare Booth Luce. Clare?

A novelist, playwright, politician, diplomat, and advisor to Presidents, Clare Booth Luce has served and enriched her country in many fields. Her brilliance of mind, gracious warmth and great fortitude have propelled her to exceptional heights of accomplishment. As a Congresswoman, Ambassador, and Member of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, Clare Booth Luce has been a persistent and effective advocate of freedom, both at home and abroad. She has earned the respect of people from all over the world, and the love of her fellow Americans.

Dr. Dumas Malone. And the medal will be accepted by his son, Gifford Malone.

As one of the foremost historians, authors, and scholars of this century, Dumas Malone has recounted the birth of our nation and the ideals of our Founding Fathers. Among Dr. Malone's most notable accomplishments is his biography of Thomas Jefferson, now regarded as the most authoritative work of

its kind. Dr. Malone's contributions to our national lore will remain invaluable to succeeding generations as each takes up responsibility for the heritage of freedom so eloquently described in his articles and books.

Mabel Mercer -- and the citation:

Mabel Mercer has been called a living testament to the artfulness of the American song, and a legend if there ever was one. Her talent, her elegance and her unique way with a lyric have gathered a devoted following all over the world. Her special style has influenced some of America's most famous performers, earning her the reputation of a singer's singer. Miss Mercer's career has spanned more than 60 years and she continues to delight audiences and critics alike. With her incomparable talent she has helped shape and enrich American music.

Simon Ramo:

As an engineer, businessman, physicist and defense and aero-space pioneer, Simon Ramo's career has been on the forefront of American technology, development and growth. The son of a storekeeper in Salt Lake City, Dr. Ramo built his business from a one-room office to a nationwide network of production plants. A shining symbol of American ingenuity and innovativeness, Dr. Ramo was also a distinguished author, philanthropist and civic leader. His life's work has strengthened America's freedom and protected our peace.

And in addition, while I was Governor, once he wrote a speech for me to give at a very distinguished educational gathering that quieted all charges that I was not of an intellectual capacity. [Laughter]

And Jacob K. Javits:

— In an outstanding public career of nearly 34 years Jacob Javits has distinguished himself as a New York State Attorney General, United States Representative and United States Senator. He has ably represented the people of New York in the Congress and all Americans to the world. With leadership and wisdom he has guided America through historic turning points, striving always for justice at home and peace in the world.

Well, that concludes the presentations. By the achievements of their lifetimes and by their presence here today, in person or in spirit, each recipient has brought honor to the White House. And I thank you for being our guests today. God bless you all and [addressing the honorees behind him on the podium] God bless all of you.

Note: The President spoke at 1:12 p.m. in the East Room at the White House following a luncheon for the recipients and their guests.

10TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Presidential Medal of Freedom

Remarks on Awarding the Medal to the Late Senator Henry M.
Jackson.

20 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 941

June 26, 1984

LENGTH: 1751 words

The President. Well, ladies and gentlemen, honored guests, and Mrs. Helen Jackson, thank all of you for coming here today. Won't you please be seated?

We're here to honor Henry "Scoop" Jackson, who was one of the great Senators in our history and a great patriot who loved freedom first, last, and always.

It's less than a year since his death, but already we can define with confidence the lasting nature of his contribution. Henry Jackson was a protector of the Nation, a protector of its freedoms and values. There are always a few such people in each generation. Let others push each chic new belief or become distracted by the latest fashionable reading of history. The protectors listen and nod and go about seeing to it that the ideals that shaped this nation are allowed to survive and flourish. They defend the permanent against the merely prevalent. They have few illusions.

Henry Jackson understood that there is great good in the world and great evil, too, that there are saints and sinners among us. He had no illusions about totalitarians, but his understanding of the existence of evil didn't sour or dishearten him. He had a great hope and great faith in America. He felt we could do anything. He liked to quote Teddy Roosevelt: "We see across the dangers the great future, and we rejoice as a grant refreshed . . . the great victories are yet to be won, the greatest deeds yet to be done."

Scoop came to the Congress in 1941, a year when the locomotive of history seemed wrenched from its tracks. In Europe, the ideals of the West were under siege; in America, isolationists warned against involvement. Scoop watched history unfold. He watched Norway, the country of his immigrant parents, fall to Hitler. He came to see [some] n1 conclusions about the world. And from then until the day he died, he rejected isolationism as an acceptable way for a great democracy to comport itself in the world. This view sprang from the heart of the F.D.R. tradition of foreign policy: We accept our responsibilities in the world; we do not flee them.

n1 White House correction.

Henry Jackson absorbed within himself the three great strains of thought that go to the making of a noble foreign policy: a love of freedom; a will to defend it; and the knowledge that America could not and must not attempt to float along alone, a blissful island of democracy in a sea of totalitarianism.

Scoop Jackson was convinced that there's no place for partisanship in foreign and defense policy. He used to say, "In matters of national security, the

best politics is no politics." His sense of bipartisanship was not only natural and complete; it was courageous. He wanted to be President, but I think he must have known that his outspoken ideas on the security of the Nation would deprive him of the chance to be his party's nominee in 1972 and '76. Still, he would not cut his convictions to fit the prevailing style.

I'm deeply proud, as he would have been, to have Jackson Democrats serve in my administration. I'm proud that some of them have found a home here.

Scoop Jackson believed in a strong defense for only one reason: because it would help preserve the peace by deterring military violence. He believed in arms control, because he wanted a more secure world. But he refused to support any arms control initiative that would not, in his judgment, serve the security interests of the Nation and ensure the survival of the West. His command of the facts and his ability to grasp detail were legendary. At congressional hearings, people often learned more from his questions than they did from anyone else's answers.

It was very much like Scoop to see that there was a growing problem in Central America -- and to see that the challenge of protecting freedom and independence there would require the commitment of Democrats and Republicans alike. He conceived the Bipartisan Commission on Central America and became one of its most active leaders. He knew that stable, democratic institutions cannot be achieved in that region without the security that American assistance can provide. He saw the Commission's work completed, and if he were alive today, he would be working tirelessly to get its recommendations accepted by the Congress.

Scoop helped shape national policy on dozens of complex issues -- on strategic planning and arms control, on the Soviet Union and Central America, on human rights and Israel, and the cause of Soviet Jewry.

His support for Israel grew out of his knowledge that political decisions must spring from moral convictions. It wasn't some grand geopolitical abstraction that made him back the creation of Israel; it was seeing the concentration camps firsthand at the end of the war. At Buchenwald he saw the evil, as he said, "written on the sky," and he never forgot.

He said the Jews of Europe most have a homeland. He did everything he could to strengthen the alliance between the United States and Israel, recognizing that we are two great democracies, two great cultures, standing together. Today both nations are safer because of his efforts.

He never stopped speaking out against anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. And he was never afraid to speak out against anti-Semitism at home. And Scoop Jackson just would not be bullied. He conceived and fought for the Jackson amendment to the Trade Act of 1974. There's hardly a soul among the hundreds of thousands of Soviet Jews who later found freedom in the West who was not sustained in the struggle to emigrate by the certain knowledge that Scoop was at his side.

Scoop was always at the side of the weak and forgotten. With some people, all you have to do to win their friendship is to be strong and powerful. With Scoop, all you had to do was be vulnerable and alone. And so when Simas Kudirka was in jail in Moscow, it was Scoop who helped mobilize the Congress to demand his release. When Baptists in the Soviet Union were persecuted, it was Scoop

who went again and again to the floor of the Senate to plead their cause. When free trade unionists were under attack in Poland, Scoop worked with the American labor movement to help them.

A few years ago, he was invited to visit the Soviet Union. The invitation was withdrawn when he said he could not go without calling on Andrei Sakharov. If Scoop were here today, I know he would speak out on behalf of Sakharov, just as Sakharov, a man of immense courage and humanity, stood up in Moscow and hailed the Jackson amendment as a triumph of "the freedom loving tradition of the American people."

Scoop Jackson was a serious man -- not somber or self-important, but steady and solemn. He didn't think much of the cosmetics of politics. He wasn't interested in image. He was a practitioner of the art of politics, and he was a personage in the affairs of the world. But there was no cause too great or too small for his attention.

When he wasn't on the floor of the Senate or talking to the leaders of the world, he was usually in his office on the phone -- consoling a constituent in a moment of grief, tracking down a lost social security check, congratulating an honor student, or helping a small businessman who was caught up in redtape.

The principles which guided his public life guided his private life. By the time he died, dozens of young men and women had been helped through school by a scholarship fund that he established and sustained. No one knew the money came from Scoop, until a change in the financial disclosure laws many years later forced him to fess up. He had never told the voters; he'd never even told his own staff.

Other people were embarrassed when the disclosure laws revealed their vanities. Scoop was embarrassed when it revealed his virtues.

One night last September, Scoop worked a long day and went home with a cold. There he fell into the sleep from which he never emerged. The next day, it was as if Washington had changed. Something was missing, some big presence.

A few days later, in a eulogy for Scoop, it was pointed out that there's a room in the Senate where members of the public are greeted. And on the walls of that room are the portraits of five of the greatest U.S. Senators, men chosen by the members of the Senate to reflect the best that chamber ever knew. There's Robert Taft, who, like Scoop, was Mr. Integrity, and LaFollette, who, like Scoop, often swam against the tide. There's Calhoun, who loved the South as Scoop loved the West, and Webster, who tried, like Scoop, to be a force to hold the Nation together, in spite of its differences. And there's Henry Clay, a gifted man, who, like Scoop, would have been a great president.

It happens that there is no appropriate space on the walls of that room for another portrait. So, I'm joining those who would suggest to the majority leader that the Senate make room and commission a portrait so that Scoop Jackson can be with his peers. And when it's all done and in place, I'd be very proud to be among those who would go to the Senate and unveil it, Republicans and Democrats alike a bipartisan effort in memory of the great bipartisan patriot of our time.

And, now, I am deeply honored to present to you, Mrs. Helen Jackson, the Medal of Freedom in honor of your husband, Senator Henry Jackson of the State of Washington.

Let me read the citation.

Representative and Senator for more than four decades, Henry Martin Jackson was one of the greatest lawmakers of our century. He helped to build the community of democracies and worked tirelessly to keep it vigorous and secure. He pioneered in the preservation of the Nation's natural heritage, and he embodied integrity and decency in the profession of politics. For those who make freedom their cause Henry Jackson will always inspire honor, courage, and hope.

Mrs. Jackson. Mr. President, I'm proud to accept this great honor the Nation has bestowed on my husband.

I accept this award not only on behalf of Anna Marie, Peter, and myself but also on behalf of all those who worked with Scoop and shared his causes and convictions over the years. As Scoop used to say, "If you believe in the cause of freedom, then proclaim it, live it and protect it, for humanity's future depends upon it."

Mr. President, we thank you for today from the bottom of our hearts.

Note: The President spoke at 1:32 p.m. at the ceremony in the Rose Garden at the White House.

5TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Presidential Medal of Freedom

Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony.

1985 Pub. Papers 679

May 23, 1985

LENGTH: 1694 words

From my days on the dinner circuit and in Hollywood, I can remember when associations holding a dinner and wanted someone prominent in public life to attend their annual dinner they would notify the individual that he or she had recently won the society's highest award, an award that they could collect if they showed up. And if they didn't, they would pick somebody else to give the honor to.

Well, a couple of months ago an invitation for lunch at the White House was sent to some of the individuals gathered in this room today, an invitation that also notified them they were recipients of this country's highest civilian honor. But I want to assure you that as flattered as Nancy and I are to have you here, this was not some conspiracy on our part to get this distinguished and talented group over to the house for lunch. Because, you see, the invitation really did not come from us at all. It comes from an entire nation, from all of America.

For your achievements in diplomacy, entertainment, government, politics, learning, culture, and science, the American people honor you today. Each of you has achieved that hardest of all things to achieve in his life -- something that will last and endure and take on life of its own.

My guess is that probably as long as this nation lasts, your descendants will speak with pride of the day you attended a White House ceremony and received this, the Medal of Freedom -- America's highest civilian honor. And 50 years from now, a century from now, historians will know your names and your achievements. You've left humanity a legacy, and on behalf of the American people, Nancy and I want to congratulate you.

You know, one of our medal winners today once made a film with Frank Capra about a man who took his own life for granted and was saddened by how little impact he seemed to have had on the world. But then a benevolent angel gave him the opportunity to see how different his hometown would have been had he not lived. And the man was astonished to discover how much good he had done without knowing it -- how many people he had touched and how many lives he had made richer and happier.

Well, more than you will ever know, this world would have been much poorer and a dimmer place without each of you. In a million countless ways you've inspired and uplifted your fellow men and women, and we want you never to forget that. And we are grateful to you for it, also.

It's a wonderful day for you and your families and for Nancy and myself, and I was just thinking, sometimes it's fun to be President. [Laughter]

LEXIS NEXIS LEXIS NEXIS

But I'm about to present the medals, but I want each of you to know that it comes with the heartfelt thanks, the admiration and pride of the some 238 million Americans who couldn't be here for lunch, but are, believe me, here in spirit. [As the President called each name, the recipient or the person accepting for the recipient went to the podium to receive the medal and remained standing behind the President. The President read the citations which accompany the medals. The texts of the citations are printed below.]

So, now, the first Medal of Freedom goes to Count Basie, and it will be received by his son, Aaron Woodward. Aaron.

For more than half a century, William "Count" Basie enraptured the people of America with his brilliant and innovative work in the field of jazz. In the 1930's and 40's, the Count became part of the fabric of American life as the leader of one of the greatest bands of the Big Band Era. His songs, from "April in Paris" to "One O'Clock Jump," are American classics. Count Basie cut a notch in musical history and found a place in our hearts forever. Among the royalty of American arts and entertainment, there is no one more honored and more beloved than the Count.

And now -- there's a middle name here that's bothering me -- I hadn't used it before myself, but -- Captain Jacques-Yves Cousteau. Did I get it right?

For decades, Captain Jacques-Yves Cousteau has been a celebrated undersea explorer. His journeys aboard the Calypso have become known to millions through his books and films. His manned, undersea colonies yielded wealth of research and data and made important technical advances. His aqualung has made underwater diving available to all. Captain Cousteau perhaps has done more than any other individual to reveal the mysteries of the oceans that cover more than two-thirds of the surface of our planet. It is, therefore, likely that he will be remembered not only as a pioneer in his time, but as a dominant figure in world history.

And Dr. Jerome Holland to receive -- and his wife, Mrs. Laura Holland.

Dr. Jerome Hartwell Holland, one of thirteen children in a small-town family in New York State, rose from poverty to become a leading educator, civil rights activist, author and diplomat. Dr. Holland dedicated his career to improving the lives of others, particularly his fellow black Americans, and to working for peace. A man of vigor and wisdom, Dr. Holland led a life of service, the memory of which today serves as an inspiration to millions.

Sidney Hook:

Scholar, philosopher, and thinker -- Sidney Hook stands as one of the most eminent intellectual forces of our time. His commitment to rational thought and civil discourse has made him an eloquent spokesman for fair play in public life. His devotion to freedom made him one of the first to warn the intellectual world of its moral obligations and personal stake in the struggle between freedom and totalitarianism. A man of truth, a man of action, Sidney Hook's life and work make him one of America's greatest scholars, patriots, and lovers of liberty.

Jeane Kirkpatrick:

For four years as the Representative of the United States to the United Nations, Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick held high the flag of our country with courage and wisdom. She is an endlessly articulate spokeswoman for the moral and practical benefits of freedom and a tireless defender of the decency of the West. Jeane Kirkpatrick is a patriot, and there is no honor more appropriate for her than one entitled, "The Presidential Medal of Freedom." It's bestowed this day by a nation that knows Jeane Kirkpatrick's work has only just begun.

Dr. George M. Low. This will be received by his wife, Mrs. Mary Low.

During his distinguished public service at NASA, Dr. George M. Low helped lead this nation's space program to its greatest achievements, directing the first manned landing on the moon and planning the shuttle program. As President of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, he continued to make his mark on the future, improving academic excellence and launching a program to spur technological innovation. Our nation will be reaping the benefits of his wisdom and vision for years to come.

Frank Reynolds, to be received by Mrs. Henrietta Reynolds.

Reporter and anchorman, family man and a patriot, Frank Reynolds' life exemplified the highest standards of his profession. His commitment to the truth, his unflinching sense of fairness, his long experience as both witness and participant in the great events of our time earned him the respect of his colleagues and the trust and admiration of the American people. We honor his memory for his aggressive but fair-minded reporting and devotion to profession, to family, and to country.

S. Dillon Ripley:

Upon becoming Secretary of the Smithsonian Institute, S. Dillon Ripley ordered the statue of Joseph Henry turned so that it faced not inward toward the castle, but outward toward the Mall, thereby signaling his intentions to open the Institution to the world. During the next 20 years, S. Dillon Ripley did just that, opening eight museums and doubling the number of visitors to the Institution. With dedication and tireless effort, S. Dillon Ripley made the Smithsonian one of the greatest museums and centers of learning on Earth.

Frank Sinatra:

For nearly 50 years, Americans have been putting their dreams away and letting one man take their place in our hearts. Singer, actor, humanitarian, patron of art and mentor of artists, Francis Albert Sinatra and his impact on America's popular culture are without peer. His love of country, his generosity toward those less fortunate, his distinctive art, and his winning and passionate persona make him one of our most remarkable and distinguished Americans, and one who truly did it "His Way."

James M. Stewart:

James Maitland Stewart arrived in Hollywood in 1935, and today, half a century later, his credits include more than 70 pictures, including such classics as "Mr. Smith Goes to Washington," "The Philadelphia Story," and "It's a Wonderful Life." A patriot, Mr. Stewart served with distinction as a pilot during World War II, rising to the rank of Colonel in the Eighth Air Force.

His typically America characters -- boyish, honest and kind -- mirror the Jimmy Stewart in real life -- an American boy who grew to a glorious manhood, but never lost his sense of wonder or his innocence.

Lieutenant General Albert C. Wedemeyer:

As one of America's most distinguished soldiers and patriots, Albert C. Wedemeyer has earned the gratitude of his country and the admiration of his countrymen. In the face of crisis and controversy, his integrity and his opposition to totalitarianism remained unshakeable. For his resolute defense of liberty and his abiding sense of personal honor, Albert C. Wedemeyer has earned the thanks and the deep affection of all who struggle for the cause of human freedom.

Chuck Yeager:

A hero in war and peace, Charles Yeager has served his country with dedication and courage beyond ordinary measure. On October 14, 1947, in a rocket plane which he named "Clamorous Glynnis" after his wife, Chuck Yeager became the first human being to travel faster than the speed of sound, and in doing so, showed to the world the real meaning of "The Right Stuff."

Well, that concludes our presentation. And congratulations to all of you who've made all of our lives richer.

Thank you. God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 1:26 p.m. in the East Room at the White House following a luncheon for the recipients and their guests.

3RD DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Public Papers of the Presidents
Presidential Medal of Freedom
Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony.

1985 Pub. Papers 1365

November 7, 1985

LENGTH: 1530 words

The President. Welcome. The Medal of Freedom is our nation's highest honor for those outside the Armed Forces who've rendered outstanding service to their country. It acknowledges discipline, courage, high standards, and moral character.

The three Americans we honor today have contributed among them more than a century of public service. They have been personally involved in answering the great questions of their day, questions of war or peace in a nuclear age. And today we underscore their impressive contributions with a token of appreciation from their fellow countrymen.

Paul Nitze brought unmatched experience and expertise to his current responsibilities. He has served so long and so faithfully in the highest councils of state that his presence has been almost taken for granted. Today we acknowledge for all the world that Paul is indeed an exceptional individual, a great man and a great public servant.

And Paul Nitze played a key role in the design and implementation of the Marshall plan. He was a principal architect of our security strategy after World War II, helping us understand what it would take in resources and commitment to meet the new challenges emerging in the postwar world.

Paul, we may need to call on you to give our current foreign assistance program the same boost that you gave to Harry Truman's.

Paul Nitze has held numerous positions of high responsibility -- Secretary of the Navy, Assistant Secretary of Defense, and Deputy Secretary of Defense. For the past 15 years he's played a special role in the Nation's search for ground arms policy. He worked in government to ensure our approach was right. When he saw things headed in the wrong direction, he worked outside the Government to alert his fellow citizens.

Paul is now playing an indispensable role in our efforts to forge a bold and creative arms control policy. Peace and equilibrium are terms we associate with international affairs, and yet they also describe Paul Nitze, the man who seeks them. He is consistently shrewd, but never cynical; impressively erudite, yet never pedantic; immensely dignified, yet never stuffy; always hopeful, and yet ever realistic. We're happy, then, to honor him for what he has done and, even more, for what he is.

Now, we also honor Roberta and Albert Wohlstetter, two of the finest strategic analysts and security specialists our country has known. In saying this, however, we only begin to describe their work in helping citizens and

statesmen to understand fundamental relationships in this unclear age between technology, politics, history, and psychology.

It's been the good fortune of our country to have these two brilliant people help us make sense of the unprecedented security problems we've faced in our modern age. Roberta Wohlstetter, a generation ahead of her time, asserted her influence in areas dominated by and, in some cases, reserved for men. She rose above all obstacles and has had a profound influence. Her inquiries went to the heart of the system of our society, focusing on essential questions. Her analysis of the problems of terrorism, intelligence, and warning and, with Albert, the problem of nuclear deterrence, broke new ground and opened new alternatives for policymakers.

I dare say that she has blankly enjoyed posing the same penetrating questions to her husband that she has to the intellectual and political leaders of the country. And that is certainly one explanation for the clarity and persuasiveness of his own voluminous words on strategy, politics, and world affairs. Albert Wohlstetter is a brilliant man with enormous strength of character. His intellectual integrity is renowned, and his analytical standards have been increasingly and unceasingly rigorous.

He's been a steady hand in an uncertain time. His understanding on many levels has been indispensable to the well-being of the free world. In these last 30 years, Albert has been influential in helping to design and deploy our strategic forces -- an awesome task. He's sought ways to make our forces safer from attack, less destructive, and thereby less dangerous to us all. Many of the basic concepts and requirements for deterrence in the nuclear age -- analysis on which we've operated -- can be traced to this outstanding individual. And his work on the problem of nuclear proliferation gave us the insight we needed to better curb the irresponsible flow of sensitive material and technology.

Albert has always argued that in the nuclear age technological advances can, if properly understood and applied, make things better; but his point, and Roberta's, has been a deeper one than that. He has shown us that we have to create choices and, then, exercise them.

The Wohlstetters have created choices for our society where others saw none. They've taught us that there is an escape from fatalism.

Those we honor today continue to make contributions. Their genius has made it possible for us to start on a new path which can free mankind of the fear of nuclear holocaust. These three people began their work in far different times, four decades ago when our national success was far from certain. Who would have foreseen the extraordinary achievements of the past generation, not the least of these a general peace, which has remained intact for 40 years. We praise these three extraordinary individuals who played a significant role in the most successful of all peace movements. They gave us strength through clarity; security through preparedness; and progress through intellect. They were the engineers and architects of a system that works and has served mankind well. They are the innovators who are leading mankind to the next step forward: Peace, based on protection, rather than retaliation.

Jonathan Swift, author of Gulliver's Travels, once wrote, "Who'er excels in what we prize, appears a hero in our eyes." Well, these individuals are indeed

American heroes.

I will now read the citations, which accompany our expression of gratitude for all that our honorees have done.

[At this point, the President read the citation which accompanied the medal. The text of the citation follows.]

Paul H. Nitze:

In a career spanning nine Presidencies, Paul Nitze has made enormous contributions to the freedom and security of his country. Paul Nitze exemplifies the powers of mind, commitment, and character needed to fulfill America's world responsibilities. He was present at the creation of the strategy that has kept us at peace for 40 years. His deep understanding of the issues of war and peace, his discharge of high public assignments, and his advice to those in authority have been invaluable to our national well-being. He remains the most rigorous, demanding, and independent of analysts and the wisest of counselors.

Paul, congratulations, and thank you.

Ambassador Nitze. Thank you, Mr. President. Mr. President, I'm deeply honored at having received and you having awarded me the Medal for Freedom. There is, I think, the task that gives the greatest opportunity for development and for doing things is service in this government. You, today, have really a marvelous team helping you on foreign policy and national security, led by Secretary Shultz and Bud McFarlane, but they're also supported by an able team of negotiators, a most able team of negotiators, in Geneva. And we all thank you for your leadership.

— Thank you, Mr. President.

The President. Thank you.

Now, Roberta and Albert Wohlstetter -- one citation, but two medals.

[At this point, the President read the citation which accompanied the medal. The text of the citation follows.]

Participants in the nuclear era's most momentous events, Roberta and Albert Wohlstetter have shaped the ideas and deeds of statesmen, and have helped create a safer world. Over four decades, they have marshaled logic, science, and history and enlarged our democracy's capacity to learn and to act. Through their work, we have seen that mankind's safety need not rest on threats to the innocent, and that nuclear weapons need not spread inexorably. Their powers of thought and exposition are, in themselves, among the Free World's best defenses.

I want to make sure I have these right. Albert, to you. All right.

Mrs. Wohlstetter. Thank you, Mr. President.

The President. And now -- all right. Thank you both, and congratulations.

Mrs. Wohlstetter. Thank you. I'm dazzled and very deeply honored. Thank you very much.

Mr. Wohlstetter. Mr. President, I receive this great honor not only for myself but for the brilliant and devoted research men and students with whom I've been lucky enough to work for nearly 35 years. I take particular pride in being given this Medal of Freedom from a President who's stressed that it's freedom that we're defending, that we have to defend it without bringing on a holocaust that would end both free and unfree societies.

I'm most grateful and honored, Mr. President. Thank you very much.

Note: The President spoke at 11:05 a.m. in the East Room at the White House.

15TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Public Papers of the Presidents
Presidential Medal of Freedom
Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony

20 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 428

March 26, 1984

LENGTH: 2037 words

Thanks you very much. We're delighted to welcome you to the White House. Over its history this room has been the site of many occasions honoring America's heroes, and today we carry on in that tradition.

During my inaugural address, I noted that those who say that we're in a time when there are no heroes, they just don't know where to look. A few months ago, we had a reception on the White House lawn for some of America's latest heroes: the soldiers, sailors, and marines who rescued the American medical students on the island of Grenada. It's a memory that we'll long cherish; seeing those medical students -- some who once had admittedly negative feelings toward the military -- throwing their arms around those brave young men who had rescued them, taking pictures of them, and introducing them to their parents as heroes. All of us can be proud of the courage and dedication of our military personnel in Grenada, in Beirut, wherever they're stationed, domestically or on foreign shores.

This is also a good opportunity to note the heroism of some other Americans who cherish freedom: the people of El Salvador. Yesterday those valiant people braved guerrilla violence and sabotage to do what we take for granted -- cast their votes for President. While the final vote count is not yet in, it looks like the turnout is another victory for freedom over tyranny, of liberty over repression, and courage over intimidation.

We have already heard by phone from so many of our Congressmen who were down there as observers, both Democrat and Republican, and some who in their legislative activities have not looked with too much favor upon what we've been doing. But the calls we're getting back are, all of them, just complete enthusiasm of the heroism they saw there on the part of these people who, in spite of everything, insisted on going to vote.

But these are the very qualities that we're here to honor today in a group of our own heroes -- individuals whose bravery, dedication, and creativity have enormously contributed to our quality of life and the cause of human freedom.

The Medal of Freedom is designed not to honor individuals for single acts of bravery, but instead, to acknowledge lifetime accomplishments that have changed the face and the soul of our country. The people we honor today are people who refused to take the easy way out, and the rest of us are better off for it. They're people who knew the risks and the overwhelming effort that could be required, but were undeterred from their goals. They are people who set standards for themselves and refused to compromise. And they're people who were not afraid to travel in unexplored territory.

By honoring them today, we, as a free people, are thanking them. Choices they made have enriched the lives of free men and women everywhere, and we're grateful.

Now, let me read the citations and present the medals to each recipient. And the first is Senator Howard H. Baker, Jr.

The citation:

As a Member of the United States Senate, one of the country's most powerful and influential citizens, and an individual whose character shines brightly as an example to others, Howard Baker has been a force for responsibility and civility on a generation of Americans. In his almost 20 years of service, he has earned the respect and admiration of his fellow citizens regardless of their political persuasion. As Majority Leader of the Senate, his quiet, cooperative style and keen legislative skills have honored America's finest traditions of enlightened political leadership and statesmanship.

Citation:

As a giant in the world of entertainment, James Cagney has left his mark not only on the film industry but on the hearts of all his fellow Americans. In some 40 years in entertainment, performing on stage and screen, he mastered drama and action adventure, as well as music and dance. One of his most remembered performances, as George M. Cohan in "Yankee Doodle Dandy," was a whirlwind singing and dancing film that inspired a Nation at war when it sorely needed a lift in spirit. James Cagney's professional and personal life has brought great credit to him and left unforgettable memories with millions who have followed his career.

Could I add something else? And this didn't have anything to do with the award. As a great star at the same studio where I started, he was never too busy to hold out a hand to a young fellow just trying to get underway.

Now, Mr. John Chambers will accept for his father, the late Mr Whittaker Chambers.

At a critical moment in our Nation's history, Whittaker Chambers stood alone against the brooding terrors of our age. Consummate intellectual, writer of moving majestic prose, and witness to the truth, he became the focus of the momentous controversy in American history that symbolized our century's epic struggle between freedom and totalitarianism, a controversy in which the solitary figure of Whittaker Chambers personified the mystery of human redemption in the face of evil and suffering. As long as humanity speaks of virtue and dreams of freedom, the life and writings of Whittaker Chambers will ennoble and inspire. The words of Arthur Koestler are his epitaph: "The witness is gone; the testimony will stand."

Leo Cherne:

Although he has never held elected office, Leo Cherne has had more influence on governmental policy than many Members of Congress. Since the late 1930's, Leo Cherne has stepped forward and with brilliance, energy, and moral passion helped this Nation overcome countless challenges. His lifetime devoted to aiding his country and to serving the cause of human freedom, especially

20 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 428

through his work on behalf of refugees, reflects the strong and generous character of a man who deserves the respect and gratitude of all Americans.

Dr. Denton Cooley:

In an outstanding professional career, Dr. Denton Cooley has distinguished himself time and again in the field of medicine. As one of this country's leading heart surgeons, he has charted new territory in his search for ways to prolong and enrich human life. His efforts have saved the lives not only of his own patients, but of those of many other doctors who have studied and mastered techniques developed by him.

As a heart surgeon and as a creative, independent thinker, Dr. Denton Cooley is a force for innovation in American medicine.

Ernest Jennings "Tennessee Ernie" Ford:

Through his musical talents, warm personality, and quick "down-home" wit Tennessee Ernie Ford won the hearts of the American people. Ford's music, which revealed his character and soul to all who listened, inspired as well as entertained his audiences. His respect for traditional values, his strong faith in God, and his unlimited capacity for human kindness have greatly endeared him to his fellow countrymen.

America is a Nation richer in spirit because of Tennessee Ernie Ford.

Dr. Hector Garcia:

Dr. Hector Garcia's patriotism and community concern exemplify the meaning of good citizenship. His many community-building endeavors included his work as a founder and first National Chairman of the American G.I. Forum, a veterans' organization which has done much to improve the lot of Americans of Mexican descent. Over the years, he has faithfully represented our government on numerous occasions, overseas and domestically. Dr. Hector Garcia is a credit to his family and community, and to all Americans.

Through his efforts, based on a deep belief in traditional American ideals, he has made this a better country.

General Andrew Goodpaster:

During his long service to his country, General Andrew Goodpaster shouldered heavy responsibility and worked tirelessly with the highest professional standards. His organizational and diplomatic skills helped shape the NATO Alliance and develop American military and foreign policy over three decades. As Supreme Allied Commander of the NATO Alliance, Presidential representative, and soldier, General Goodpaster has earned a well-deserved reputation as a thoughtful and diligent public servant. His work has contributed immensely to the security and freedom of his country and to the cause of peace.

Lincoln Kirstein:

Lincoln Kirstein is an author and entrepreneur who has honored and delighted Americans through his enormous contribution to ballet in our country. Through his commitment, two major institutions of American dance, the New York City

Ballet and the School of American Ballet, were created and flourished. Developing and fostering appreciation for the arts have always depended on the energy, creativity, and commitment of individual citizens. Lincoln Kirstein stands tall as one of a select and treasured few in the world of American art.

Louis L'Amour:

Through his western novels, Louis L'Amour has played a leading role in shaping our national identity. His writings portrayed the rugged individual and the deep-seated values of those who conquered the American frontier. Starting out from humble beginnings, he has lived a fulfilling and adventurous life. An eminently successful writer, more than 100 million copies of his novels are in print, L'Amour's descriptions of America and Americans have added to our understanding of our past and reaffirmed our potential as an exploring, pioneering, and free people.

Dr. Norman Vincent Peale:

With a deep understanding of human behavior and an appreciation for God's role in our lives, Dr. Norman Vincent Peale helped originate a philosophy of happiness. Through the American Foundation of Religion and Psychiatry and his many books, Dr. Peale became an advocate of the joy of life, helping millions find new meaning in their lives. Few Americans have contributed so much to the personal happiness of their fellow citizens as Dr. Norman Vincent Peale.

Mrs. Jackie Robinson will accept for her late husband, Mr. Jackie Robinson.

As an individual of courage and conviction, and as a skilled and dedicated athlete, Jackie Robinson stood tall among his peers. His courage opened the door of professional sports to all Americans when, in 1947, he became the first black baseball player in the major leagues. He bravely demonstrated to all that skill and sportsmanship, not race or ethnic background, are the qualities by which athletes should be judged. In doing so, he struck a mighty blow for equality, freedom, and the American way of life. Jackie Robinson was a good citizen, a great man, and a true American champion.

Mr. Gamal el-Sadat will accept for his father, the late President Anwar el-Sadat.

President Anwar el-Sadat, as a soldier, led his country in war, but his greatest acts of courage came in pursuit of peace. He captured the imagination of people everywhere by taking the first great step toward achieving a lasting peace between Egypt and Israel. His humanity and sense of responsibility, even now that he is gone, remain a giant force for peace and stability in the world. Anwar el-Sadat was a peacemaker of monumental wisdom and tenderness who will remain forever a hero in the hearts of the American people.

Eunice Kennedy Shriver:

With enormous conviction and unrelenting effort, Eunice Kennedy Shriver has labored on behalf of America's least powerful people, the mentally retarded. Over the last two decades, she has been on the forefront of numerous initiatives on the behalf of the mentally retarded, from creating day camps, to establishing research centers, to the founding of the Special Olympics. Her decency and goodness have touched the lives of many, and Eunice Kennedy

Shriver deserves America's praise, gratitude, and love.

Well, that concludes our presentations. And, again, I offer my personal congratulations to the recipients. As a representative of the American people, I want to thank each of you for what you've done that has added so much to our lives. Thank you, and God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 1:10 p.m. in the East Room at the White House, following a luncheon for the recipients and their guests. As printed above, the citations follow the texts of the citations which accompanied the medals.

25TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Presidential Medal of Freedom

Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for Kate Smith.

18 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1394

October 26, 1982

LENGTH: 402 words

The President. Well, I'm delighted to visit North Carolina to pay tribute to one of the Tar Heel State's most distinguished residents -- a lady who is very dear to Americans everywhere.

Kate Smith is one of America's great singers of this or any other century. Her splendid voice alone has earned her a place in the history books. But it's also won her a place in our hearts because of the extra something that reaches out to the spirit as well as to the ear of the listener.

Kate always sang from her heart. And so, we always listened with our hearts. It's been truly said that one of the most inspiring things that our GI's in World War II in Europe and the Pacific, and later in Korea and Vietnam, ever heard was the voice of Kate Smith. The same is true for all of us.

But I think the citation for Kate's Medal of Freedom -- the highest civilian honor that our nation can bestow -- says it all.

[At this point, the President read the citation, the text of which follows.]

The voice of Kate Smith is known and loved by millions of Americans, young and old. In war and peace, it has been an inspiration. Those simple but deeply moving words, "God bless America," have taken on added meaning for all of us because of the way Kate Smith sang them. Thanks to her they have become a cherished part of all our lives, an undying reminder of the beauty, the courage and the heart of this great land of ours. In giving us a magnificent, selfless talent like Kate Smith, God has truly blessed America.

So, Kate, on behalf of a grateful nation, it's my privilege to present to you the Presidential Medal of Freedom, an honor that you have earned many times over through your singing, charitable work, love of country, and by being an inspiration to all of us.

Helena M. Steene. Mr. President, as Miss Smith's sister, may I speak for her?

The President. Yes.

Mrs. Steene.[Inaudible] -- in saying, thank you very much. This is my sister. This is also one of the greatest ladies I have ever known. She has always -- [inaudible] -- for her country. Thank you.

Note: The President spoke at 1:33 p.m. in Room B at the Raleigh Civic Center in Raleigh, N.C.

Following the presentation ceremony, the President attended a fundraising reception for North Carolina Republican candidates in the Civic Center. He then returned to Washington, D.C.

27TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Presidential Medal of Freedom

Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for Ambassador Philip
C. Habib.

18 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1094

September 7, 1982

LENGTH: 1056 words

The President. It's a real pleasure for me -- first, won't you be seated, please? -- for my first official act back in Washington to pay tribute to a truly great American.

Ladies and gentlemen, we're here today to honor one of the most dedicated and outstanding individuals that has ever served the United States Government and the American people. Ambassador Philip Habib, our Special Emissary to the Middle East, is a sterling example of the highest standards of the Foreign Service. His career is the story of a lifetime committed to the service of his country and to the resolution of conflicts between nations. And the most recent chapter of that story tells of his efforts to free Lebanon from warfare and armed occupation.

Phil accepted this challenge without hesitation, despite the great personal sacrifices involved both for himself and, I might add, for a brave and patient wife, Mrs. Habib. She has just seen him today for the first time in almost 4 months.

By his skillful diplomacy and tireless activity, Phil has led the efforts of this Government to build a framework in which the leaders of Lebanon could once again protect the right of their people to security and freedom. What he accomplished was the vital first step which made it possible for launching a fresh start in the quest for peace, not only for Lebanon but for Israel and her other Arab neighbors as well.

Phil was not alone. When we honor him we honor all of you in government service -- diplomats, soldiers, analysts, and secretaries -- who've shown once again your commitment, loyalty, and skill. Phil might say that he and the rest of you were only doing your jobs. In fact, he has said that to me about what he's been doing for all these many months. I say that your efforts give vital support to the foreign policy of the United States, and our Nation owes you all a debt of gratitude.

The Presidential Medal of Freedom is the highest civilian award that is given in the United States. What the Olympic Gold Medal is to athletes, what the Congressional Medal of Honor is to the military, the Presidential Medal of Freedom is to the private United States citizen. The names of those who have received this honor are stars in the American sky: Omar Bradley, Carl Sandourg, Helen Keller, Dr. Jonas Salk, Bryce Harlow, just to name several of them.

But I'm going to read the citation.

[At this point, the President read the citation, the text of which follows.]

As the President's Special Emissary, Ambassador Philip C. Habib came out of retirement in 1981 to serve his country in the pursuit of peace and justice in the Middle East. His successful negotiation of the cease-fire in Lebanon and the resolution of the West Beirut crisis stands out as one of the unique feats of diplomacy in modern times. Ambassador Habib's efforts conducted in the most difficult and trying of circumstances over a period of months, not only brought honor and respect to the United States but also won for him world-wide admiration. Of the greatest importance, Philip Habib's mission saved the City of Beirut and thousands of innocent lives and brought us one step closer to a peaceful resolution to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Now, if you'll just hold that for a moment, we will put the emblem -- since it's symbolic -- can never tell, you know, because after what you've been through, I'm not sure that you could carry that out without -- [laughter] --

But, Phil, I just want to say on behalf of all the people of America, thank you for, really, service above and beyond the call. And this goes for your wife, who, I know, sat here with the rest of us watching television sometimes when we wondered if we hand't ought to be giving you combat pay. [Laughter] But thank you, and God bless you.

Ambassador Habib. Mr. President, Mrs. Reagan, ladies and gentlemen, my friends:

The President has been kind enough to allow me to say a few words after that very distinguished introduction that he gave me.

You honor me very greatly, Mr. President. It's a long way, as I once said, for a boy from Brooklyn via Idaho, out to California and then here. But I wouldn't let this occasion go by without, of course, saying that whatever we accomplished, as you know, was a team effort.

My right-hand man, Morris Draper, sitting right over here -- I used to say half jokingly that Morris did all the work, and I got all the credit. I don't know whether he thought it was half jokingly or not. [Laughter]

But the team was a great one, and there was no one on the team that I and Morris appreciated more than you, Mr. President, for the very simple reason that you told us what to do, and then you gave us the leeway to do it. And George Shultz, Secretary Shultz, backed us completely in those very tense days of the last few weeks. And in the end, we succeeded in doing what you had asked us to do.

It's particularly fitting, considering that my mother and father came from Lebanon, that their son had something to do with bringing a bit of peace to that harried land. There still is a great deal to do. The situation remains extremely tenuous. Each morning I pick up the traffic and read it, wondering if something might go wrong so we have to start all over again. But, so far, we're on track.

I am a chronic optimist, Mr. President, and I'm convinced that it's going to stay on track. And it's going to stay on track partly because of the initiative you most recently took with respect to peace in the Middle East.

There is no more worthy cause. There is no more subject worthy of greater concern on the part of the United States than the cause of peace in the Middle East. Peace and justice for all the nations in the Middle East is what all of us have striven for for many years. And, under your leadership and that of Secretary Shultz, I would hope that it'll be with us very soon.

Other than that, just let me say again, thank you very much for this honor, and thank you on behalf of not only myself, my family, my only grandchild -- who's been quiet all the while -- [laughter] -- but also on behalf of all my colleagues in the Foreign Service who've made me what I am today.

Note: The President spoke at 5:16 p.m. in the East Room at the White House.

30TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for the Presidential
Medal of Freedom

1981 Pub. Papers 906

October 9, 1981

LENGTH: 3786 words

The President. Ladies and gentlemen, I don't know why I should think of this at this lovely luncheon with all of you here today, but I did think of it. Many years ago in the days of austerity in England, after the Labor government had just gotten in, I'd arrived for the royal command performance at the Savoy Hotel. I went down to the dining room and knew that there was rationing and you couldn't get food such as we've had today, but then on the menu I saw pheasant. And I thought, well, you can't go wrong if you can get pheasant. So, I ordered pheasant. I didn't know about their custom of serving game birds. And the waiter came in and with a flourish removed the silver lid, and I was looking at a bird that was looking back at me. [Laughter] The head and the ruff were on, the eyes were open, the big yellow legs were there attached to him. So, it did kind of curb my appetite a little. [Laughter]

But the very next day, Virginia Mayo and her husband, Michael O'Shea, arrived. And we went down to the dining room together. And I saw his eyes stop -- I just knew, at the same place on the menu. I knew what was in his mind, and he ordered. Then I waited and didn't say a word. [Laughter] And the same flourish and the silver lid removed and there was that bird looking at him, but he topped me. As the waiter started away, he grabbed him by the coattail, and the waiter, surprised, stopped. And Mike said, "Bring me liniment and I'll have that bird flying again in 15 minutes." [Laughter]

Now, that story has absolutely nothing to do with today's luncheon. [Laughter] Well, maybe if I reach a little it does, because we have some high fliers here with us today who have flown, in the line of achievement in their own lives and in their service to humanity, very high.

The President's medal of freedom is the highest civilian honor that's given in the United States. What the Olympic Gold Medal is to athletes, what the Congressional Medal of Honor is to the military, the Presidential Medal of Freedom is to the private United States Citizen. The names of those who have received this honor are stars in the American sky -- Helen Keller, Aaron Copland, Walt Disney, Carl Sandburg, General Omar Bradley, Dr. Jonas Salk, Jessie Owens. The list goes on through the most illustrious and prominent of our citizens.

And today, we're adding the names of Charles (Tex) Thornton, a man whose energy and enterprise are symbolic of America herself; Morris Leibman, an honored American possessing a fine legal mind and a true humanitarian heart; Walter Judd, a doctor who ministered to the world's need for freedom and liberty; Bryce Harlow, an architect of public policy whose contributions have strengthened our democracy's political process; Ella Grasso, a genuine public servant who fought against death as she fought for political principle, with dignity; and Eubie Blake, an historical figure in American performing arts and

I can think of no one more respected by him than you, Mr. President. It is therefore deeply touching that you have honored him in this way. And that makes this award all the more meaningful to him, to our mother, and to the two younger generations of our family here today.

Thank you.

The President. Morris I. Leibman:

[At this point, the President read the citation, the text of which follows:]

Attorney, teacher, scholar and philanthropist, Morris Leibman is living proof that a full career in the private sector can flourish hand in hand with civic and humanitarian duties. As a generous patron of the arts and charities, as a legal scholar as well as practitioner, as a founding member of the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies and as Chairman of the American Bar Association's Standing Committee on Law and National Security, Morris Leibman has served selflessly to make America a just, healthy society within and a strong, secure nation without.

Mr. Leibman. Thank you, Mr. President. In the shadow of the assassination of recent hours, we thank the Lord that you, Mr. President, are here with us today. And we continue to be inspired by your courage and total commitment.

I and the other awardees, I feel certain, are humbled by the privilege of participating in this ceremony. We understand that on this occasion, we represent millions of citizens dedicated to our free society. This is an occasion of remembrance and rededication -- remembrance of America's uniqueness, the noble experiment of government by melting pot of free people; rededication to your leadership and guidance to meaningful patriotism, to national purpose, to national will and strength and credibility.

Our great American ideals and goals lose vitality without vibrant expression. You, Mr. President, have established yourself as the great communicator, a most important aspect of leadership in this world of competing and conflicting ideologies. A number of us present here today have struggled with the problem of improving the systems, forms, and structures for communicating American foreign policy, nationally and internationally. Under your leadership and under your Presidency, we eagerly renew our dedication to this effort and look forward to working with you in your great responsibility for continuing the dialog of Western civilization and the preservation of the free world.

Thank you, Mr. President.

The President. Walter H. Judd:

[At this point, the President read the citation, the text of which follows:]

Legislator, physician, missionary and orator, Walter Judd has served his nation and mankind with unflinching courage and distinction -- as a youthful medical missionary in China, as a highly respected Member of Congress for two decades, and as a lifelong foe of tyranny and friend of freedom both at home and abroad. The skills of a healer, the eloquence of a great communicator, and his firm grasp of domestic and international affairs have made Walter Judd an articulate spokesman for all those who cherish liberty and a model for all

Americans who aspire to serve mankind as physicians, spiritual leaders and statesmen.

Dr. Judd. To respond, of course, Mr. President, to your conferring on me so extraordinary an honor as this means that I must borrow Mr. Shakespeare's words: I can no other answer make save thanks and thanks and ever thanks.

I'm glad that this medal is called the Medal of Freedom. Concern for that greatest of all our blessings in this beautiful land has been, I think, a consistent and at least a major influence in my own life and motivation.

Freedom has been central to the efforts I made as a missionary in China, and as a political missionary in the House of Representatives and, in these last 19 years, as what might perhaps be called, "missionary-at-large," especially to the colleges and high schools of our country, working with the youth to help develop a deeper understanding of what freedom makes possible -- as has been demonstrated in these other awards -- and what freedom requires.

Whenever I find my battery is running down, I like to go over to the monument, not so far from here, erected to the memory of that great American patriot who wrote down in immortal words the fundamental faith and philosophy which gave our Nation its birth and its greatness, Thomas Jefferson.

You've been there. And on the corona, in giant letters above his head, are these words of his personal declaration: "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

Now, that, to the best of my ability, has been the basic standard by which I tried to judge which of the various solutions being offered for this, that, or the other difficult problem for our country was right or nearest right. And that's what we're trying to do in retirement.

If followed, those principles and policies, would they strengthen the oppressor or would they strengthen the oppressed? Where does the United States stand -- with wisdom and a recognition of timing and what's appropriate and what is possible at a given moment?

Now, I believe, Mr. President, that you and I and all of us in this blessed land were born to be free. And if we were born to be free, then so were the Czechs and the Poles and the Cubans and the Chinese and the Cambodians and the Afghans. And if they weren't born to be free, neither were we.

Now, this is not a note, I hope, a note of gloom or despair. On the contrary, it's the main basis for confidence and hope for our future. Surely the universe is on the side of human freedom, including the nature of the man and the nature of the woman. They can be arrested human beings. They can be in prison. They can be starved and brainwashed and beaten and sent to concentration camps and liquidated. But they cannot be separated in the end from that which is in them from their Creator -- the urge to be free.

So, Mr. President, it's an honor not only for me, but for all of us in this land, to be joined with you in this noblest of crusades: Freedom.

The President. Thank you, Walter.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, Bryce N. Harlow:

[At this point, the President read the citation, the text of which follows:]

Counsellor to Presidents and sage observer of nearly half a century of Washington history, Bryce Harlow's vision, integrity and persuasiveness have helped to shape his nation's destiny as leader of the Free World. Never a candidate for elected office himself, his experience and advice have helped bring out the best in countless public servants of both parties, in the White House, in the Congress and across the nation. Bryce Harlow is a sterling example of the positive side of politics -- a life spent reconciling divergent interests, erving high moral principles, and channeling the forces of public policy toward the public good.

Mr. Harlow. Mrs. Reagan, please don't consider me discourteous, I'm standing up. [Laughter]

I thank you, Mr. President, very, very much. And that eloquent citation -- I wish I had said it. I love every word in it. Thank you. [Laughter] The Harlow contingent here very deeply appreciates the great honor paid us, both by this very special award and by your personal participation. I mean that particularly, your personal participation in these proceedings, because we all know the vast energy and time drain on the President of the United States.

Now, this has come, of course, this award and all, the whole affair, as a tremendous surprise to me, as I guess it has perhaps to the others. When Mike Deaver called me about it last week, to alert me to it, I said, interrupted him, and I said, "Mr. Deaver, you've got a bad mistake on your hands. You have the wrong man and the wrong telephone number and you'd better hang up and start over." [Laughter] But then he said the nicest thing in my life, he said, "Oh, no. No," he said, "I've got the right man. It's you, Bryce Harlow." And I think that was music. I was afraid I was right and he was wrong. [Laughter]

The best I can figure it, Mr. President, the part of this award that is concerned with me, is my public service not my private service to the private sector. And that's the part that concerns me most -- the public service started when you were 27 years old. This is when I came to Washington from Oklahoma City. I came here to spend 1 year and to complete my education and then go back to Oklahoma and teach school. Well, that never did happen. Things happened to me instead. The war came -- that's for one. And then came Truman and Eisenhower and all the rest and a whole phantasmagoria of spectaculars. We all remember the gigantic events of our country and the world.

Somehow, and for reasons I don't to this day understand, I got entangled, embroiled, enmeshed in those activities, in those issues of those times. And in the course of that, I got involved and entangled with a great host of our national leaders, like the great Walter Judd and many others. And so, I spent nearly all of those years, Mr. President, working with the leaders of our country in the Congress and in the executive branch, including here at the White House, and the leadership of the Armed Forces during the war in the high command.

Now, the point that's relevant about that to this meeting is just simply this: It's not that I come -- [inaudible] -- but that I was never a leader in any of that. I was never the front man. I was never the boss or the chief.

I was always the behind-the-scenes fellow. I was always the assistant, the counsellor, if you will.

Well now, if that's true, and it is, what am I doing here? I think that's a good question. Why would one with a career so unobtrusive, retiree, be here, receiving an award so utterly prestigious? That fascinated me greatly when I was called by Mike Deaver. And I came to this thought. Apparently here somewhere, and I hope it's you, Mr. President, came to the idea, "Well, this little "go-fer" for Uncle Sam -- [laughter] -- and all his wanderings for four decades, did, in his own right, perhaps working for and through and around the great people, helping them, enough for our country to make him worthwhile."

Now, if that is true, if that's the reason that this comes to me, then I say it's absolutely marvelous -- not because of me, Mr. President, but because I am projected across the county in millions of people who are working their tails off, getting little attention at all, who are working, who are loyal, who have the integrity, who are doing for their bosses, and doing for their bosses causes, expecting no recognition whatever.

And here's what I think may happen. Some of them will see about this award, maybe. Some of them may even see it some way or hear about it or read about it. And he'll say, "Hey, Joe, did you see where President Reagan gave a kind of a medal to this little fellow Harlow?" [Laughter] And he'll say, "No, what for?" He'll say, "For doing what we're doing." "Oh, we'd better work harder, hadn't we? We might get one." Mr. President, if it works like that, how beautiful it fits in with your program to constantly improve the quality, the standards, the productivity of American life.

Thank you, sir.

The President. Bryce, you know it's been common language that this particular job must be a very lonely place. It isn't really all that lonely, and now we all know why.

To Ella T. Grasso, to be accepted by her husband, Dr. Thomas A. Grasso.

[At this point, the President read the citation, the text of which follows:]

Long before the women's movement had gained prominence, Ella Grasso had already begun the long, hard ascent to distinction as an elected public servant. A fond wife and mother, she proved that it is possible to reconcile a full family life with a long and eventful political career. As a champion of moral as well as political principle, Mrs. Grasso won the respect of fellow citizens of both parties and served as the first woman governor to be elected to office in her own right. Tireless in the pursuit of duty and courageous in the face of illness, Ella Grasso has earned the admiration of all Americans as a legislator, a governor and a woman of outstanding character and achievement.

Dr. Grasso. Mr. President, I thank you ver much for this signal honor. I haven't prepared anything officially; I'd like to speak to you from my heart.

Today is a bittersweet day in my life. We have been here under five Presidents, President Kennedy, President Johnson, President Nixon, President Ford, President Carter, and now you, Mr. President. I know this is the last time that I'll be here, because it was through the good fortune of Ella, my

dear wife, that we were invited here. Ah, bittersweet, I say. It's bitter because of the loss of Ella. However, it's a happy occasion because she has been selected, or was selected as a recipient of this medal. It's unfortunate that the other brand has to present it to us. [Laughter] Let me go over that again. [Laughter] Very good.

Ella was an adviser to Presidents, U.S. Senators, Congressmen, and women and people interested in politics. She was a strange mixture of many, many things. She had integrity, sympathy, understanding. She was straight as an arrow. She was a good wife, an excellent mother and, above all, brought to politics a certain integrity that our good President is attempting to bring.

I think that this country lacks that type of person. And I, personally, and I know Ella, admired President Reagan very much. You know, in politics you have to do many things. The first thing you must do is get elected. And many times in getting elected, you know, you have to get elected.

And you fill in the valleys about what I am trying to say. Ella lived courageously. She died courageously. She died with a prayer on her lips.

And I am indeed honored to receive this medal, and I shall take it home and, of all the credits she has received, my son and daughter will not get this medal -- I'm keeping it myself. [Laughter] Thank you.

The President. Now, I'm going to switch microphones, if you will bear with me for a moment.

This last one is to James H. (Eubie) Blake:

[At this point, the President read the citation, the text of which follows:]

... Last of the great ragtime composers and pianists, the son of slaves, and a pioneer crusader for Black Americans in the world of arts and entertainment, Eubie Blake is a national treasure. As pianist, showman and, above all, as composer, he has added immeasurably to America's musical heritage and helped to clear the way for succeeding generations of talented artists who, but for his example, might have been denied access to the artistic mainstream.

And I understand that Eubie is going to respond in his own inimitable and unique way. He is 98 years old, he told me.

Mr. Blake. Ninety-eight and a half!

The President. Ninety-eight and a half!

[Laughter and applause]

Mr. Blake. Mr. President, I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

The President. Ther just happens to be a piano here. [Lauther]

[At this point, Mr. Blake played a ragtime version of "Memory of You" on the piano.]

Mr. Blake. All I ever wanted to do was play the piano. You know, my mother used to say that, "You ain't ever going to be nothing but a piano plunker." And you know, that's what I am, a piano plunker. [Applause]

The President. Eubie, thank you very much.

Ladies and gentlemen, I think because of six Americans, some of whom couldn't be here, but were represented, all of us go away a little bit better, and better Americans because of them. And now my saddest words: I have to say I have to leave you because I am scheduled to sign a proclamation for the fellow that I guess made it all possible -- the Columbus Day Proclamation. [Laughter] And the time has caught up with me, so I'm going to go and say a thank you to Christopher Columbus, with the Spanish Ambassador in attendance, too, because they did it together. [Laughter]

Thank you all very much for being here. God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 1:12 p.m. at a luncheon honoring the medal recipients in the East Room at the White House. Prior to the luncheon and presentation ceremony, the President hosted a reception for the award winners in the Blue Room.

4TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Public Papers of the Presidents

Presidential Medal of Freedom

Remarks at the Presentation Ceremony for Mother Teresa.

1985 Pub. Paper 828

June 20, 1985

LENGTH: 919 words

The President. This great house receives many great visitors, but none more special or more revered than our beloved guest today. A month ago, we awarded the Medal of Freedom to 13 heroes who have done their country proud. Only one of the recipients could not attend because she had work to do -- not special work, not unusual work for her, but everyday work which is both special and urgent in its own right. Mother Teresa was busy, as usual, saving the world. And I mean that quite literally. And so we rather appreciated her priorities, and we're very happy, indeed, that she could come to America this week.

Now, a moment ago, I said we'd awarded the Medal of Freedom to heroes who've done our country proud. And I believe Mother Teresa might point out here that she is most certainly not an American but a daughter of Yugoslavia, and she has not spent her adult life in this country but in India. However, it simply occurred to us when we wanted to honor her that the goodness in some hearts transcends all borders and all narrow nationalistic considerations.

Some people, some very few people are, in the truest sense, citizens of the world; Mother Teresa is. And we love her so much we asked her to accept our tribute, and she graciously accepted. And I will now read the citation.

Most of us talk about kindness and compassion, but Mother Teresa, the saint of the gutters, lives it. As a teenager, she went to India to teach young girls. In time, Mother Teresa began to work among the poor and the dying of Calcutta. Her order of the Missionaries of Charity has spread throughout the world, serving the poorest of the poor.

Mother Teresa is a heroine of our times. And to the many honors she has received, including the Nobel Peace Prize, we add with deep affection and endless respect, the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

[At this point, the President presented the award to Mother Teresa.]

May I say that this is the first time I've given the Medal of Freedom with the intuition that the recipient might take it home, melt it down and turn it into something that can be sold to help the poor. [Laughter]

And I want to thank you for something, Mother Teresa. Your great work and your life have inspired so many Americans to become personally involved, themselves, in helping the poor. So many men and women in every area of life, in government and the private sector, have been led by the light of your love, and they have given greatly of themselves. And we thank you for your radiant example.

Mother Teresa. I am most unworthy of this generous gift of our President, Mr. Reagan, and his wife and you people of United States. But I accept it for the greater glory of God and in the name of the millions of poor people that this gift, in spirit and in love, will penetrate the hearts of the people. For in giving it to me, you are giving it to them, to my hands, with your great love and concern.

I've never realized that you loved the people so tenderly. I had the experience, I was last time here, a sister from Ethiopia found me and said, "Our people are dying. Our children are dying. Mother, do something." And the only person that came in my mind while she was talking, it was the President. And immediately I wrote to him, and I said, "I don't know, but this is what happened to me." And next day it was that immediately he arranged to bring food to our people. And I can tell you the gift that has come from your people, from your country, has brought life -- new life -- to our suffering people in Ethiopia.

I also want to thank the families here in United States for their continual and delicate love that they have given, and they have shown, by leaving their children to become sisters and to serve the poor throughout the world. We are now over the world and trying to bring the tenderness and the love of Jesus.

And you, you cannot go where we go. You cannot do what we do. But together, we are doing something beautiful for God. And my gratitude to you, President, and your family and to your people. It's my prayer for you that you may grow in holiness to this tender love for the poorest of the poor. But this love begins at home, in your own family, and it begins by praying together. Prayer gives a clean heart, and a clean heart can see God. And if you see God in each other, you will have love, peace, joy together. And works of love are works of peace. And love begins at home. So, my sisters, brothers, and fathers, you are going -- and all our poor people, thousands and thousands and thousands of people that we deal with, I bring their gratitude to you. And keep the joy of loving. Love them, and begin in your own family first. And that love will penetrate right through the furthest place where no one has ever been -- there is that tenderness and love of Christ.

And remember that whatever you do to the least, you do it to Him, Jesus said. You did it to me. What a wonderful opportunity for each one of us to be 24 hours with Jesus. And in doing what we are doing, as he said, if you receive a little child in my name, you receive me. If you give a glass of water in my name, you give it to me. What a wonderful and beautiful tenderness and love of Christ for each one of us.

So, once more, I want to thank you for this beautiful gift, which I am sure it will bring great joy to our people by sharing it with them.

God bless you and keep you in his heart.

Note: The President spoke at 3:01 p.m. in the Rose Garden at the White House.

x7500 ⇒ Sandy
Scheduling

Carol

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

4/4/86

MEMORANDUM

TO: FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR. (Coordinate with J. Courtemanche)

FROM: FREDERICK J. RYAN, JR. *JJR*

SUBJECT: APPROVED PRESIDENTIAL ACTIVITY

MEETING: Medal of Freedom Luncheon

DATE: May 12, 1986

TIME: 12:00 noon

DURATION: 90 minutes

LOCATION: Residence

REMARKS REQUIRED: Yes

MEDIA COVERAGE: Coordinate with Press Office

FIRST LADY
PARTICIPATION: Yes

NOTE: PROJECT OFFICER, SEE ATTACHED CHECKLIST

K. Barun
P. Buchanan
D. Chew
M. Coyne
E. Crispen
M. Daniels
T. Dawson
D. Dellinger
B. Elliott
J. Erkenbeck
L. Faulkner
C. Fuller
W. Henkel

C. Hicks
J. Hooley
A. Kingon
J. Kuhn
C. McCain
W. Ball
R. Riley
G. Walters
R. Shaddick
B. Shaddix
L. Speakes
J. Courtemanche
WHCA Audio/Visual
WHCA Operations

¹ Could we forbear dispute, and practise love,
We should agree as angels do above.

EDMUND WALLER, *Of Divine Love*. Canto iii.

² An argument in a circle. (Circulus in probando.)

UNKNOWN. A Latin proverb.

ARISTOCRACY, see Ancestry

ART AND ARTISTS

See also Painting, Sculpture, Skill

I—Art: Definitions

³ The art which is grand and yet simple is that which presupposes the greatest elevation both in artist and in public.

AMIEL, *Journal*, 9 Dec., 1877.

Art strives for form, and hopes for beauty.

GEORGE BELLOWS. (STANLEY WALKER, *City Editor*, p. 152.)

⁴ Art, unless quickened from above and from within, has in it nothing beyond itself which is visible beauty.

JOHN BROWN, *Horæ Subsecivæ: Notes on Art*.

The beautiful is the most useful in art; but the sublime is the most helpful to morals, for it elevates the mind. (Le beau est plus utile à l'art; mais le sublime est plus utile aux mœurs, parce qu'il élève les esprits.)

JOUBERT, *Pensées*. No. 326.

It is the treating of the commonplace with the feeling of the sublime that gives to art its true power.

J. F. MILLET, *MS. Note*, accompanying unpublished sketches.

⁵ 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 pushes toward the intense significance
Of all things, hungry for the Infinite?
Art's life,—and where we live, we suffer and toil.

E. B. BROWNING, *Aurora Leigh*. Bk. iv, l. 1151.

The secret of life is in art.

OSCAR WILDE, *The English Renaissance*.

⁶ It is the glory and good of Art,
That Art remains the one way possible
Of speaking truth, to mouths like mine at least.

ROBERT BROWNING, *The Ring and the Book*. Pt. xii, l. 837.

⁷ All the arts relating to human life are linked together by a subtle bond of mutual relationship. (Omnes artes, quæ ad humanitatem pertinent, habent quoddam commune vinculum et quasi cognatione quadam inter se continentur.)

CICERO, *Pro Archia Poeta*. Ch. i, sec. 2.

⁸ Art is science in the flesh.

JEAN COCTEAU, *Le Rappel à l'Ordre*, p. 7.

⁹ Art is an absolute mistress; she will not be coquetted with or slighted; she requires the most entire self-devotion, and she repays with grand triumphs.

CHARLOTTE CUSHMAN. (*American Actors*. Ch. 10.)

Art is a jealous mistress, and if a man have a genius for painting, poetry, music, architecture, or philosophy, he makes a bad husband and an ill provider.

EMERSON, *Conduct of Life: Wealth*.

¹⁰ 'Tis the privilege of Art
Thus to play its cheerful part,
Man on earth to acclimate
And bend the exile to his fate.

EMERSON, *Essays, First Series: Art*.

¹¹ Art is the path of the creator to his work.

EMERSON, *Essays, Second Series: The Poet*.

Classic art was the art of necessity; modern romantic art bears the stamp of caprice and chance.

EMERSON, *Journals*, 1856.

Perpetual modernness is the measure of merit in every work of art.

EMERSON, *Representative Men: Plato*.

The conscious utterance of thought, by speech or action, to any end, is Art. . . . From its first to its last works, Art is the spirit's voluntary use and combination of things to serve its end.

EMERSON, *Society and Solitude: Art*.

¹² The highest problem of every art is, by means of appearances, to produce the illusion of a loftier reality.

GOETHE, *Truth and Poetry*. Bk. xi.

¹³ The temple of art is built of words. Painting and sculpture and music are but the blazon of its windows, borrowing all their significance from the light, and suggestive only of the temple's uses.

J. G. HOLLAND, *Plain Talks on Familiar Subjects: Art and Life*.

¹⁴ Great art is an instant arrested in eternity.

JAMES HUNEKER, *Pathos of Distance*, p. 120.

¹⁵ Art is not a thing: it is a way.

ELBERT HUBBARD, *Epigrams*.

¹⁶ An art is a handicraft in flower.

GEORGE ILES, *Jottings*.

¹⁷ Art is nothing more than the shadow of humanity.

HENRY JAMES, *Lectures: University in Arts*.

¹⁸ Art is power.

LONGFELLOW, *Hyperion*. Bk. iii, ch. v.

Art is the gift of God, and must be used
Unto His glory.

LONGFELLOW, *Michael Angelo*. Pt. i, sec. 2.

1 Art is the desire of a man to express himself,
to record the reactions of his personality to
the world he lives in.

AMY LOWELL, *Tendencies in Modern American Poetry*, p. 7.

2 Art is the conveyance of spirit by means of
matter.

SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA, *Americans Are Boys*.

3 And now too late, we see these things are
one:

That art is sacrifice and self-control,
And who loves beauty must be stern of soul.

ALICE DUER MILLER, *An American in France*.

4 Art is a reaching out into the ugliness of the
world for vagrant beauty and the imprison-
ing of it in a tangible dream.

GEORGE JEAN NATHAN, *Critic and the Drama*.

Great art is as irrational as great music. It is
mad with its own loveliness.

GEORGE JEAN NATHAN, *House of Satan*, p. 18.

5 Art is a form of catharsis.

DOROTHY PARKER, *Art*.

6 Art does not represent things falsely, but
truly as they appear to mankind.

RUSKIN, *Stones of Venice: The Fall*. Ch. 2.

Fine art is that in which the hand, the head and
the heart go together.

RUSKIN, *The Two Paths*. Lecture ii.

7 That which takes effect by chance is not an
art. (Non est ars, quæ ad effectum casu
venit.)

SENECA, *Epistulae ad Lucilium*. Epis. xxix, sec. 3.

8 Art has been maligned. . . . She is a goddess
of dainty thought—reticent of habit, abjur-
ing all obtrusiveness, purposing in no way to
better others.

J. McNEILL WEISTLER, "Ten O'Clock."

Art happens—no hovel is safe from it, no Prince
may depend upon it, the vastest intelligence can-
not bring it about.

J. McNEILL WEISTLER, "Ten O'Clock."

9 The moral life of a man forms part of the
subject-matter of the artist, but the morality
of art consists in the perfect use of an im-
perfect medium.

OSCAR WILDE, *The Picture of Dorian Gray: Preface*.

II—Art: Apothegms

10 Art is far feeble than necessity. (Τέχνη δ'
ἀνάγκης ἀσθενεστέρα μακρῶ.)

ÆSCHYLUS, *Prometheus Bound*, l. 514.

11 Art can never give the rules that make an
art.

EDMUND BURKE, *On the Sublime and Beautiful*. Pt. i, sec. 9.

12 The history of art is the history of revivals.
SAMUEL BUTLER THE YOUNGER, *Note-Books*,
p. 130.

13 The fine arts once divorcing themselves from
truth, are quite certain to fall mad, if they
do not die.

CARLYLE, *Latter-Day Pamphlets*. No. 8.

May the Devil fly away with the fine arts!

CARLYLE, *Latter-Day Pamphlets*. No. 8. Quoted
as the exclamation of "one of our most dis-
tinguished public men."

14 Art for art's sake. (L'art pour l'art.)

VICTOR COUSSIN, *Lecture xxii*, Sorbonne, 1818.
Venerate art as art.

WILLIAM HAZLITT, *On Patronage*.

All loved Art in a seemly way
With an earnest soul and a capital A.

JAMES JEFFREY ROCHE, *The V-a-s-e*.

15 Art thrives most

Where commerce has enrich'd the busy
coast.

COWPER, *Charity*, l. 113.

16 Blest be the art that can immortalise.

COWPER, *On the Receipt of My Mother's Pic-
ture*, l. 8.

17 New arts destroy the old.

EMERSON, *Essays, First Series: Circles*.

The arts and inventions of each period are only
its costume, and do not invigorate men.

EMERSON, *Essays, First Series: Self-Reliance*.

Life too near paralyses art.

EMERSON, *Journals*. Vol. v, p. 292.

18 Painting was called "silent poetry," and
poetry "speaking painting." The laws of each
art are convertible into the laws of any other.

EMERSON, *Society and Solitude: Art*.

19 Art is either a plagiarist or a revolutionist.

PAUL GAUGUIN. (HUNZKER, *Pathos of Dis-
tance*, p. 128.)

20 All passes. Art alone

Enduring stays to us:

The Bust outlasts the throne,—

The Coin, Tiberius.

(Tout passe,—L'art robuste

Seul a l'éternité,

Le buste

Survit à la cité.)

THÉOPHILE GAUTIER, *L'Art*. (Austin Dobson,
tr.)

21 When they talk'd of their Raphaels, Correg-
gios, and stuff,

He shifted his trumpet, and only took snuff.
GOLDSMITH, *Retaliation*, l. 145.

I do not want Michael Angelo for breakfast—for luncheon—for dinner—for tea—for supper—for between meals.

MARK TWAIN, *Innocents Abroad*. Ch. 3.

To my mind the old masters are not art; their value is in their scarcity.

THOMAS A. EDISON. (*Golden Book*, April, 1931.)

¹ His art is of the lambent and not of the forked kind.

ARTHUR HELPS, *Friends in Council*. Bk. ii, ch. 2.

² A fine judgment in discerning art. (*Judicium subtile videndis artibus.*)

HORACE, *Epistles*. Bk. ii, epis. 1, l. 242.

³ Build your art horse-high, pig-tight and bull-strong.

ELBERT HUBBARD, *Epigrams*. "Horse-high, pig-tight and bull-strong," the definition of a legal boundary fence.

⁴ Art has its fanatics and even its monomaniacs.

VICTOR HUGO, *Ninety-three*. Pt. ii, bk. ii, ch. 6.

⁵ Piety in art—poetry in art—Puseyism in art—let us be careful how we confound them.

ANNA JAMESON, *Memoirs and Essays: The House of Titian*.

⁶ Art hath an enemy called ignorance.

BEN JONSON, *Every Man Out of His Humour: Induction*, l. 216.

Art hath no enemy but ignorance.

JOHN TAYLOR, *To John Booker*. Quoting the Latin proverb, *Ars non habet inimicum nisi ignorantem*.

⁷ We have learned to whittle the Eden Tree to the shape of a surplice-peg,

We have learned to bottle our parents twain in the yolk of an addled egg,

We know that the tail must wag the dog, for the horse is drawn by the cart;

But the Devil whoops, as he whooped of old: "It's clever, but is it Art?"

RUDYARD KIPLING, *The Conundrum of the Workshops*.

⁸ As the sun colours flowers so does art colour life.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK, *Pleasures of Life*. Ch. 5.

⁹ Art must be parochial in the beginning to be cosmopolitan in the end.

GEORGE MOORE, *Ave*, p. 5.

Blessed are the innocent, for theirs is the kingdom of Art!

GEORGE MOORE, *Ave*, p. 165.

¹⁰ If the art is concealed, it succeeds. (*Si latet ars, prodest.*)

OVID, *Ars Amatoria*. Bk. ii, l. 313. The source.

perhaps, of the epigram, "Art consists in concealing art." (*Ars est celare artem.*) The art referred to here, of course, is that of deceit or cunning.

It is a chief point of art to dissemble art.

BRIAN MELBANCKE, *Philotinus*. Sig. G 1. (1583)

It is art to conceal art.

NICHOLAS BRETON, *Works*. Vol. ii, p. 11. (1637)

For art in the sense of artifice, see CUNNINGO.

¹¹ Nothing is so poor and melancholy as art that is interested in itself and not in its subject.

SANTAYANA, *Life of Reason*. Vol. iv, p. 152.

¹² Seraphs share with thee Knowledge;
But Art, O Man, is thine alone!

SCHILLER, *The Artists*. St. 2.

¹³ And Art made tongue-tied by Authority.

SHAKESPEARE, *Sonnets*. No. lxi.

¹⁴ Fashion is a potency in art, making it hard to judge between the temporary and the lasting.

E. C. STEDMAN, *Poets of America*. Ch. 2.

¹⁵ This thing which you would almost bet
Portrays a Spanish omelette,
Depicts instead, with wondrous skill,
A horse and cart upon a hill.

Now, Mr. Dove has too much art
To show the horse or show the cart;
Instead, he paints the *creak* and *strain*.
Get it? No pike is half as plain.

BERT LESTON TAYLOR, *Post-Impressionism*.

¹⁶ Statues and pictures and verse may be grand,
But they are not the life for which they stand.

JAMES THOMSON (B. V.), *Sunday Up the River*.

¹⁷ All the arts are brothers; each one is a light to the others.

VOLTAIRE, *Note to Ode on the Death of the Princess de Bareith*.

All arts are one,—all branches on one tree;
All fingers, as it were, upon one hand.

W. W. STORY, *A Contemporary Criticism*.

¹⁸ Listen! There never was an artistic period.
There never was an Art-loving nation.

J. MCNEILL WHISTLER, "Ten O'Clock."

Art is upon the Town!—to be chucked under the chin by the passing gallant.

J. MCNEILL WHISTLER, "Ten O'Clock."

¹⁹ Art never expresses anything but itself.

OSCAR WILDE, *The Decay of Lying*.

²⁰ Art! would that thou wert able to paint character and spirit; then there would be on earth no fairer picture. (*Ars utinam mores*

animumque effingere posses; Pulchrior in terris nulla tabella foret.)

UNKNOWN. *Inscription*, on portrait of Giovanna Tornabouni, by Ghirlandaio, dated 1488. Formerly in Morgan Library, N. Y.

III—Art is Long

1 Life is short, the art long, opportunity fleeting, experience treacherous, judgment difficult. (Ὁ βίος βραχύς, ἡ δὲ τέχνη μακρὴ, ὁ δὲ καιρὸς ὀξύς, ἡ δὲ πείρα σφαλερή, ἡ δὲ κρίσις χαλεπή.)

HIPPOCRATES, *Aphorisms*. Sec. i, No. 1. Hippocrates is writing of the art of healing.

This is the utterance of the greatest of physicians, that life is short and art long. (Illa maximi medicorum exclamatio est, Vitam brevem est, longam artem.)

SENECA, *De Brevitate Vitæ*. Sec. 1.

Art is long, life short, experience deceiving.

RICHARD BRATHWAITE, *English Gentleman*, 74. (1630)

Art is long, life short; judgment difficult, opportunity transient.

GOETHE, *Wilhelm Meister*. Bk. vii, ch. ix.

Art is long, and Time is fleeting.

LONGFELLOW, *A Psalm of Life*.

2 The life so short, the craft so long to learn, Th' assay so hard, so sharp the conquering.

CHAUCER, *The Parlement of Foules: Proem*, l. 1. (1380)

3 Art is difficult, transient is her reward. (Schwer ist die Kunst, vergänglich ist ihr Preis.)

SCHILLER, *Wallenstein: Prolog*, l. 40.

4 Skill comes so slow, and life so fast doth fly, We learn so little and forget so much.

SIR JOHN DAVIES, *Nosce Teipsum*. Sec. i, st. 19.

5 One science only will one genius fit: So vast is art, so narrow human wit.

POPE, *Essay on Criticism*. Pt. i, l. 60.

6 The day is short, the work is much.

BEN SYRA, *Sayings*.

7 So many worlds, so much to do, So little done, such things to be.

TENNYSON, *In Memoriam*. Sec. lxxiii.

So much to do; so little done.

CECIL RHODES, *Last words*.

IV—Art and Nature

8 It is the fashion to talk as if art were a sort of addition to nature, with power to perfect what nature has begun or correct her when going aside. . . . In truth man has no power over nature except that of motion,—the power of putting natural bodies together or

separating them; nature performs all the rest within herself.

FRANCIS BACON, *Description of the Intellectual Globe*. Ch. 2.

9 That hunger of the heart Which comes when Nature man deserts for Art.

BULWER-LYTTON, *The New Timon*. Pt. i, sec. iv, l. 69.

Nature I loved, and, next to Nature, Art.

W. S. LANDOR, *The Last Fruit of an Old Tree: Dedication*.

10 No work of art can be great but as it deceives; to be otherwise, is the prerogative of nature only.

EDMUND BURKE, *On the Sublime and Beautiful*. Pt. ii, sec. 11.

11 Not without art, but yet to Nature true.

CHARLES CHURCHILL, *The Rosciad*, l. 699.

12 Things perfected by nature are better than those finished by art. (Meliora sunt ea quæ natura quam illa quæ arte perfecta sunt.)

CICERO, *De Natura Deorum*. Bk. ii, ch. 34, sec. 87.

13 By viewing nature, nature's handmaid, art, Makes mighty things from small beginnings grow;

Thus fishes first to shipping did impart, Their tail the rudder, and their head the prow.

DRYDEN, *Annus Mirabilis*. St. 155.

14 Art may err, but nature cannot miss.

DRYDEN, *The Cock and the Fox*, l. 452.

Nothing but Nature can give a sincere pleasure; where that is not imitated, 'tis grotesque painting; the fine woman ends in a fish's tail.

DRYDEN, *Essays*. Vol. ii, p. 161.

Men at first produce effect by studying nature, and afterwards look at nature only to produce effect.

HAZLITT, *Lectures on Dramatic Literature*, 139.

15 Nature paints the best part of the picture, carves the best part of the statue, builds the best part of the house, speaks the best part of the oration.

EMERSON, *Essays, First Series: Art*.

And in their vaunted works of Art, The master-stroke is still her part.

EMERSON, *Nature*. Pt. ii.

These temples grew as grows the grass; Art might obey, but not surpass.

EMERSON, *The Problem*.

16 To me nature is everything that man is born to, and art is the difference he makes in it.

JOHN ERSKINE, *Gentle Reader*, Dec., 1931.

17 As all Nature's thousand changes But one changeless God proclaim;

So in Art's wide kingdom ranges
 One sole meaning still the same:
 This is Truth, eternal Reason,
 Which from Beauty takes its dress,
 And serene through time and season
 Stands for aye in loveliness.
 GOETHE, *Wilhelm Meister's Travels*. Ch. 14.

1
 Art may make a suit of clothes: but Nature
 must produce a man.

DAVID HUME, *Essays*: No. xv, *The Epicurean*.

2
 Nature is a revelation of God;
 Art a revelation of man.

LONGFELLOW, *Hyperion*. Bk. iii, ch. 5.

Art is the child of Nature; yes,
 Her darling child, in whom we trace
 The features of the mother's face,
 Her aspect and her attitude;
 All her majestic loveliness
 Chastened and softened and subdued
 Into a more attractive grace,
 And with a human sense imbued.
 He is the greatest artist, then,
 Whether of pencil or of pen,
 Who follows Nature. Never man,
 As artist or as artisan,
 Pursuing his own fantasies,
 Can touch the human heart, or please,
 Or satisfy our nobler needs,
 As he who sets his willing feet
 In Nature's footprints, light and fleet,
 And follows fearless where she leads.

LONGFELLOW, *Kéramos*, l. 382.

3
 Art is consummate when it seems to be nature.
 (Ἡ τέχνη τέλειος, ἥνικ' ἀν φύσιν εἶναι δοκῇ.)

LONGINUS, *De Sublimitate*. Ch. xxii, sec. 2.

4
 Nature in no case cometh short of art, for the
 arts are copiers of natural forms. (Οὐκ ἔστι
 χεῖρον οὐδέμια φύσιν τέχνης.)

MARCUS AURELIUS, *Meditations*. Bk. xi, sec. 10.
 The first phrase is quoted, apparently, from
 some unknown poet.

All art is but imitation of nature. (Omnis ars
 naturæ imitatio est.)

SENECA, *Epistula ad Lucillum*. Epis. lxxv, sec. 3.

Whoe'er from Nature takes a view,
 Must copy and improve it too.

WILLIAM COMBE, *Dr. Syntax in Search of the
 Picturesque*. Canto ii.

Art, as far as it can, follows nature, as a pupil
 imitates his master; thus your art must be, as it
 were, God's grandchild.

(L'arte vostra quella, quanto puote,
 Segue, come il maestro fa il discente,
 Sì che vostr' arte a Dio quasi è nipote.)

DANTE, *Inferno*. Canto xi, l. 103.

Art imitates nature.

RICHARD FRANCK, *Northern Memoirs*, p. 52.

Wherein the Graver had a strife
 With Nature, to out-do the life.

BEN JONSON, *Shakespeare's Portrait*.

5
 Art is Nature made by Man
 To Man the interpreter of God.

OWEN MEREDITH, *The Artist*. St. 26.

6
 Nature is God's, Art is man's instrument.

SIR THOMAS OVERBURY, *A Wife*. St. 8. (1614)

Nature is, not at variance with Art, nor Art
 with Nature. . . . Art is the perfection of Na-
 ture. . . . Nature hath made one world and Art
 another. In brief, all things are artificial; for Na-
 ture is the Art of God.

SIR THOMAS BROWNE, *Religio Medici*. Pt. i,
 sec. 16. (1642) Thomas Hobbes quotes the
 last sentence without acknowledgment at
 the beginning of his introduction to *Levia-
 than*.

Art is man's nature; nature is God's art.

P. J. BAILEY, *Festus: Proem*.

Nature is the art of God. (Deus æternus, arte sua,
 quæ natura est.)

DANTE, *De Monarchia*. Pt. i, l. 3.

7
 All nature is but art.

POPE, *Essay on Man*. Epis. i, l. 289.

8
 Art is the right hand of nature. The latter
 only gave us being, but 'twas the former made
 us men.

SCHILLER, *Fiesco*. Act ii, sc. 17.

When nature conquers, Art must then give way.
 (Und siegt Natur, so muss die Kunst entweichen.)

SCHILLER, to Goethe when he staged Voltaire's
Mahomet.

9
 New Art would better Nature's best,
 But Nature knows a thing or two.

OWEN SEAMAN, *Ars Postera*.

10
 Nature's above art in that respect.

SHAKESPEARE, *King Lear*. Act iv, sc. 6, l. 86.

In scorn of nature, art gave lifeless life.

SHAKESPEARE, *The Rape of Lucrece*. St. 197.

Look, when a painter would surpass the life,
 In limning out a well-proportion'd steed,
 His art with nature's workmanship at strife,
 As if the dead the living should exceed.

SHAKESPEARE, *Venus and Adonis*, l. 289.

Over that art
 Which, you say, adds to nature, is an art
 That nature makes. . . . The art itself is nature.

SHAKESPEARE, *Winter's Tale*. Act iv, sc. 4, l. 90.

11
 When Love owes to Nature his charms,
 How vain are the lessons of Art!

HORACE SMITH, *Horace in London*. Bk. i, 19.

12
 But who can paint

Like Nature? Can Imagination boast,
 Amid its gay creation, hues like hers?
 Or can it mix them with that matchless skill?

THOMSON, *The Seasons: Spring*, l. 468.

13
 Nature is usually wrong.

J. MCNEILL WHISTLER, "Ten O'Clock."

¹ Nature contains the elements, in colour and form, of all pictures, as the keyboard contains the notes of all music. But the artist is born to pick, and choose, and group with science, these elements, that the result may be beautiful.

J. McNEILL WHISTLER. Inscribed beneath his bust in the Hall of Fame.

V—Art: The Artist

² What is the Artist's duty? . . .
To praise and celebrate,
Because his love is great,
The lively miracle
Of Universal Beauty.

WILLIAM ALLINGHAM, *The Artist's Duty*.

³ The great artist is the simplifier.
AMIEL, *Journal*, 25 Nov., 1861.

⁴ Who of the gods first taught the artist's craft
Laid on the human race their greatest curse.
("Ὅστις τέχνην κατέδειξε πρῶτος τῶν θεῶν, οὗτος μέγιστον εὔρεν ἀνθρώποις κακόν.")

ANTIPHANES, *Knephous*, Frag., l. 1.

⁵ Let each man exercise the art he knows.
("Ἐρδοί τις ἢ ἕκαστος εἶδεν τέχνην.")

ARISTOPHANES, *The Wasps*, l. 1431. CICERO (*Tusculanarum Disputationum*. Bk. i, ch. 18, sec. 41) puts this into Latin: "Quam quisque norit artem, in hac se exercent."

⁶ To be an artist is a great thing, but to be an artist and not know it is the most glorious plight in the world.

J. M. BARRIE, *Sentimental Tommy*, p. 436.

An artist without sentiment is a painter without colours.

J. M. BARRIE, *Tommy and Grael*, p. 24.

⁷ The study of the beautiful is a duel in which the artist cries out with terror before he is vanquished.

CHARLES BAUDELAIRE, *An Artist's Confession*.

⁸ Every artist dips his brush in his own soul, and paints his own nature into his pictures.

HENRY WARD BEECHER, *Proverbs from Plymouth Pulpit*.

Every artist writes his own autobiography.

HAVELOCK ELLIS, *The New Spirit*, p. 178.

⁹ The man who never in his mind and thought travelled to heaven, is no artist. . . . Mere enthusiasm is the all in all. . . . Passion and expression are beauty itself.

WILLIAM BLAKE. (GILCHRIST, *Life*, i, 310.)

¹⁰ None but blockheads copy each other.

WILLIAM BLAKE. (GILCHRIST, *Life*, ii, 174.)

To admire on principle is the only way to imitate without loss of originality.

S. T. COLERIDGE, *Biographia Literaria*. Ch. iv.

¹¹ And you, great sculptor—so, you gave
A score of years to Art, her slave,
And that's your Venus, whence we turn
To yonder girl that fords the burn!

ROBERT BROWNING, *The Last Ride Together*.
Artists! Margaret's smile receive,
And on canvas show it;
But for perfect worship leave
Dora to her poet.

THOMAS CAMPBELL, *Margaret and Dora*.

¹² Does he paint? he fain would write a poem—
Does he write? he fain would paint a picture,
Put to proof art alien to the artist's,
Once, and only once, and for one only,
So to be the man and leave the artist,
Gain the man's joy, miss the artist's sorrow.

ROBERT BROWNING, *One Word More*. St. 8.

¹³ An artist has liberty, if he is free to create
any image in any material that he chooses.

G. K. CHESTERTON, *Generally Speaking*, p. 125.

¹⁴ Work thou for pleasure! Sing or paint or
carve

The thing thou lovest, though the body starve.
Who works for glory misses off the goal;
Who works for money coins his very soul.
Work for the work's sake, then, and it may be
That these things shall be added unto thee.

KENYON COX, *The Gospel of Art*. (*Century Magazine*, Feb., 1895.)

There is no way to success in art but to take off
your coat, grind paint, and work like a digger
on the railroad, all day and every day.

EMERSON, *Conduct of Life; Power*. Quoted as
having been said by "a brave painter."

He that seeks popularity in art closes the door
on his own genius: as he must needs paint for
other minds, and not for his own.

ANNA JAMESON, *Memoirs and Essays: Wash-
ington Allston*.

Art should never try to be popular.

OSCAR WILDE, *The Soul of Man under Social-
ism*.

¹⁵ The torpid artist seeks inspiration at any cost,
by virtue or by vice, by friend or by fiend, by
prayer or by wine.

EMERSON, *Conduct of Life: Power*.

You cannot hide any secret. If the artist succor
his flagging spirits by opium or wine, his work
will characterize itself as the effect of opium or
wine.

EMERSON, *Conduct of Life: Worship*.

¹⁶ Artists must be sacrificed to their art. Like
bees, they must put their lives into the sting
they give.

EMERSON, *Letters and Social Aims: Inspira-
tion*.

Every artist was first an amateur.

EMERSON, *Letters and Social Aims: Progress
of Culture*.

1
The true artist has the planet for his pedestal; the adventurer, after years of strife, has nothing broader than his shoes.

EMERSON, *Representative Men: Uses of Great Men*.

2
A man may be an artist though he have not his tools about him.

THOMAS FULLER, *Gnomologia*. No. 288.

3
And I thought, like Dr. Faustus, of the emptiness of art,

How we take a fragment for the whole, and call the whole a part.

O. W. HOLMES, *Nux Postcænetica*. St. 2.

4
The artist needs no religion beyond his work.

ELBERT HUBBARD, *The Philistine*. Vol. xi, p. 136.

5
Scratch an artist and you surprise a child.

JAMES HUNEKER, *Chopin*, p. 25.

6
To draw a moral, to preach a doctrine, is like shouting at the north star. Life is a vast and awful business. The great artist sets down his vision of it and is silent.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN, *Modern Drama*, p. 109.

7
Emigravit is the inscription on the tombstone where he lies;

Dead he is not, but departed,—for the artist never dies.

LONGFELLOW, *Nuremberg*. St. 13.

And it came to pass that after a time the artist was forgotten, but the work lived.

OLIVE SCHREINER, *The Artist's Secret*.

But he is dust; we may not know
His happy or unhappy story:

Nameless, and dead these centuries,
His work outlives him,—there's his glory!

THOMAS BAILEY ALDRICH, *On an Intaglio Head of Minerva*.

8
Nothing can come out of an artist that is not in the man.

H. L. MENCKEN, *Prejudices*. Ser. v, p. 90.

9
The learned understand the theory of art, the unlearned its pleasure. (Docti rationem artis, intelligunt, indocti voluptatem.)

QUINTILIAN, *De Institutione Oratoria*. Bk. ii, ch. 17, sec. 42.

10
Back of the canvas that throbs the painter is hinted and hidden;

Into the statue that breathes the soul of the sculptor is bidden.

RICHARD REALF, *Indirection*.

Behind the poem is the poet's soul;
Behind the canvas throbs the artist's heart.

CHARLES HANSON TOWNE, *Manhattan*.

11
People always confuse the man and the artist because chance has united them in the same body. (On confond toujours l'homme et

l'artist sous pretexte que le hasard les a réunis dans le même corps.)

JULES RENARD, *Journal*. Referring to Verlaine.

The artist and censor differ in this wise: that the first is a decent mind in an indecent body and that the second is an indecent mind in a decent body.

G. J. NATHAN, *The Autobiography of an Attitude*.

12
It is futile to assign the place an artist is likely to take in the future. There are fashions in immortality as there are trivial fashions. . . . Books and pictures read differently to different generations.

WILLIAM ROTHENSTEIN, *Men and Memories*. Vol. i, p. 66.

13
He is the greatest artist who has embodied in the sum of his works, the greatest number of the greatest ideas.

RUSKIN, *Modern Painters*. Vol. i, pt. i, ch. 2, 9.

If it is the love of that which your work represents—if, being a landscape painter, it is love of hills and trees that moves you—if, being a figure painter, it is love of human beauty, and human soul that moves you—if, being a flower or animal painter, it is love, and wonder, and delight in petal and in limb that move you, then the Spirit is upon you, and the earth is yours, and the fullness thereof.

RUSKIN, *The Two Paths*. Lect. i.

14
An artist is a dreamer consenting to dream of the actual world.

GEORGE SANTAYANA, *The Life of Reason*, p. 39.

Choice is what separates the artist from the common herd.

MORDAUNT SHAIRP, *The Green Bay Tree*. Act i.

15
Good material often stands idle for want of an artist. (Sæpe bona materia cessat sine artifice.)

SENECA, *Epistula ad Lucilium*. Epis. xlvii, 16.

16
In framing an artist, art hath thus decreed,
To make some good, but others to exceed.

SHAKESPEARE, *Pericles*. Act ii, sc. 3, l. 15.

17
The true artist will let his wife starve, his children go barefoot, his mother drudge for his living at seventy, sooner than work at anything but his art.

BERNARD SHAW, *Man and Superman*. Act i.

18
In fields of air he writes his name,
And treads the chambers of the sky;
He reads the stars, and grasps the flame
That quivers round the throne on high.

CHARLES SPRAGUE, *Art*.

19
There is no such thing as a dumb poet or a handless painter. The essence of an artist is that he should be articulate.

SWINBURNE, *Essays and Studies: Matthew Arnold's New Poems*.

¹
The Grecian artist gleaned from many faces,
And in a perfect whole the parts combined.

H. T. TUCKERMAN, *Mary*.

²
A great artist can paint a great picture on a
small canvas.

C. D. WARNER, *Washington Irving*. Ch. 6.

³
A life passed among pictures makes not a
painter—else the policeman in the National
Gallery might assert himself. As well allege
that he who lives in a library must needs die a
poet.

JAMES MCNEILL WHISTLER, *The Gentle Art
of Making Enemies*, p. 26.

⁴
Around the mighty master came
The marvels which his pencil wrought,
Those miracles of power whose fame
Is wide as human thought.

WHITTIER, *Raphael*.

⁵
Artists, like the Greek gods, are only revealed
to one another.

OSCAR WILDE, *The English Renaissance*.

⁶
High is our calling, Friend!—Creative Art
(Whether the instrument of words she use,
Or pencil pregnant with ethereal hues,
Demands the service of a mind and heart.
Though sensitive, yet, in their weakest part
Heroically fashioned.

WORDSWORTH, *Miscellaneous Sonnets*. Pt. ii,
No. 3.

VI—Art: Bohemia

⁷
I'd rather live in Bohemia than in any other
land.

JOHN BOYLE O'REILLY, *Bohemia*.

⁸
We all draw a little and compose a little, and
none of us have any idea of time or money.

DICKENS, *Bleak House*. Ch. 43.

⁹
One of those queer artistic dives,
Where funny people had their fling.
Artists, and writers, and their wives—
Poets, all that sort of thing.

OLIVER HERFORD, *The Women of the Better
Class*.

¹⁰
Bohème is not down on the map because it is
not a money-order office.

ELBERT HUBBARD, *The Philistine*. Vol. xi, p. 189.

¹¹
Authors and actors and artists and such
Never know nothing and never know
much . . .

Playwrights and poets and such horses' necks
Start off from anywhere, end up at sex.
Diarists, critics, and similar roe
Never say nothing, and never say no.

People Who Do Things exceed my endurance:
God, for a man that solicits insurance!
DOROTHY PARKER, *Bohemia*.

ASPIRATION

See also Ambition, Purpose

¹²
By aspiring to a similitude of God in goodness,
or love, neither man nor angel ever trans-
gressed, or shall transgress.

BACON, *Advancement of Learning*. Bk. ii.

As the hart panteth after the waterbrooks, so
panteth my soul after Thee, O God.

Old Testament: Psalms, xlii, 1.

¹³
Let each man think himself an act of God,
His mind a thought, his life a breath of God;
And let each try, by great thoughts and good
deeds,

To show the most of Heaven he hath in him.

P. J. BAILEY, *Festus: Proem*.

¹⁴
Alas, that the longest hill
Must end in a vale; but still,
Who climbs with toil, wheresoe'er,
Shall find wings waiting there.

H. C. BEECHING, *Going Down Hill on a Bicycle*.

God, give me hills to climb,
And strength for climbing!

ARTHUR GUITERMAN, *Hills*.

He that stays in the valley shall never get over
the hill.

JOHN RAY, *English Proverbs*. No. 152.

Man can climb to the highest summits, but he
cannot dwell there long.

BERNARD SHAW, *Candida*. Act iii.

And the most difficult of tasks to keep
Heights which the soul is competent to gain.

WORDSWORTH, *The Excursion*. Bk. iv, l. 138.

¹⁵
No bird soars too high if he soars with his own
wings.

WILLIAM BLAKE, *Proverbs of Hell*.

¹⁶
Oh that men would seek immortal moments!
WILLIAM BLAKE. (GILCHRIST, *Life*. Vol. i, p.
65.)

¹⁷
The high that proved too high, the heroic for
earth too hard,

The passion that left the ground to lose it-
self in the sky,

Are music sent up to God by the lover and the
bard;

Enough that he heard it once: we shall hear
it by and by.

ROBERT BROWNING, *Abt Vogler*.

Burrow awhile and build, broad on the roots of
things.

ROBERT BROWNING, *Abt Vogler*. St. 2.

Ah, but a man's reach should exceed his grasp,
Or what's a heaven for?

ROBERT BROWNING, *Andrea del Sarto*.

gennes, when the latter remarked, "You replace Mr. Franklin," as envoy to France.

¹ Nations should wear mourning only for their benefactors. . . . Antiquity would have raised altars to this mighty genius, who, to the advantage of mankind, compassing in his mind the heavens and the earth, was able to restrain alike thunderbolts and tyrants.

MIRABEAU, *Address*, moving that the French National Assembly should go into mourning, when Franklin's death was announced.

"Antiquity," said Mirabeau, "would raise Altars to honor him!"

FLORENCE EARLE COATES, *Franklin*.

² Prudence is a wooden Juggernaut, before whom Benjamin Franklin walks with the portly air of a high priest.

R. L. STEVENSON, *Crabbed Age and Youth*.

³ He snatched the thunderbolt from heaven, then the sceptre from tyrants. (Eripuit cœlo fulmen, mox sceptrum tyrannis.)

A. R. J. TURGOT, *Inscription*, for the Houdon bust of Franklin, 1778. According to Condorcet (*Vie de Turgot*, p. 200) this is the phrase as Turgot wrote it, but it is frequently misquoted, "Eripuit cœlo fulmen, sceptrumque tyrannis." Frederick von der Trenck, at his trial before the Revolutionary Tribunal of Paris, 9 July, 1794, asserted that he was the author of the line. (GARTENLAUBE, *Last Hours of Baron Trenck*.) Manilius (*Astronomica*, i, 104) has the line, "Eripuit Jovi fulmen viresque tonandi." Cardinal Melchior de Polignac (*Anti-Lucretius*, i, 96) published in 1745, has, "Eripuit fulmenque Jovi, Phœboque sagittas."

Notwithstanding my experiments with electricity the thunderbolt continues to fall under our noses and beards; and as for the tyrant, there are a million of us still engaged at snatching away his sceptre.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, *Letter to Felix Nogaret*, commenting on Turgot's inscription.

FRANKNESS, see Candor

FRATERNITY, see Brotherhood

FRAUD, see Deceit

FREEDOM

See also Liberty

I—Freedom: Definitions

⁴ Ah! freedom is a noble thing!
Freedom makes man to have liking!
Freedom all solace to man gives!
He lives at ease, that freely lives!

JOHN BARBOUR, *The Bruce*. Bk. i, l. 228.

⁵ Freedom is not caprice, but room to enlarge.
C. A. BARTOL, *Radical Problems: Open Questions*.

⁶ O Freedom! thou art not, as poets dream,
A fair young girl, with light and delicate limbs,
And wavy tresses. . . . A bearded man,
Armed to the teeth, art thou; one mailed hand

Grasps the broad shield, and one the sword;
thy brow

Glorious in beauty though it be, is scarred
With tokens of old wars; thy massive limbs
Are strong with struggling.

BRYANT, *The Antiquity of Freedom*.

⁷ Perfect freedom is reserved for the man who
lives by his own work and in that work does
what he wants to do.

R. G. COLLINGWOOD, *Speculum Mentis*.

⁸ Restraint from ill is freedom to the wise.

DANIEL DEFOE, *The True-Born Englishman*.
Pt. ii, l. 206.

But what is Freedom? Rightly understood,
A universal license to be good.

HARTLEY COLERIDGE, *Liberty*.

Where justice reigns, 'tis freedom to obey.

MONTGOMERY, *Greenland*. Canto iv, l. 88.

That sweet bondage which is freedom's self.

SHELLEY, *Queen Mab*. Canto ix, l. 76.

Nought nobler is than to be free;
The stars of heaven are free because

In amplitude of liberty

Their joy is to obey the laws.

WILLIAM WATSON, *The Things that Are More Excellent*.

⁹ Is freedom anything but the right to live as
we wish? Nothing else. ('Ἄλλο τι ἐστὶν εὐθερία
ἢ τὸ ἐξείναι ὡς βουλόμεθα διεξάγειν οὐδέν.)

EPICETUS, *Discourses*. Bk. ii, ch. 1, sec. 23.

He is free who lives as he chooses. ('Ἐλεύθερός
ἐστὶν ὁ ζῶν ὡς βούλεται.)

EPICETUS, *Discourses*. Bk. iv, ch. 1, sec. 1.

Is any man free except the one who can live as
he chooses? (An quisquam est alius liber, nisi
ducere vitam Cui licet ut libuit?)

PERSIUS, *Satires*. Sat. v, l. 83.

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 ob-
tain it.

JOHN STUART MILL, *On Liberty*. Ch. 1.

¹⁰ No man is free who is not master of himself.
(Οὐδείς ἐλεύθερος ἑαυτοῦ μὴ κρατῶν.)

EPICETUS [?], *Encheiridion*. Frag. 35. Sto-
bæus ascribes this maxim to Pythagoras.

¹¹ Who then is free? The wise man, who is lord
over himself, whom neither poverty, nor
death, nor bonds affright, who bravely defies
his passions, and scorns ambition, who in
himself is a whole, smoothed and rounded,
so that nothing from outside can rest on

the polished surface, and against whom Fortune in her onset is ever defeated.

HORACE, *Satires*. Bk ii, sat. 7, l. 83.

1 There will be no true freedom without virtue, no true science without religion, no true industry without the fear of God and love to your fellow-citizens. Workers of England, be wise, and then you *must* be free, for you will be *fit* to be free.

CHARLES KINGSLEY, *Placard*, 1848.

2 Men are free when they are in a living homeland, not when they are straying and breaking away. . . . The most unfree souls go west, and shout of freedom. Men are freest when they are most unconscious of freedom.

D. H. LAWRENCE, *Studies in Classic American Literature*.

3 'Tis not a freedom that, where all command.
ANDREW MARVELL, *The First Anniversary*.

Inferior, who is free?

MILTON, *Paradise Lost*. Bk. ix, l. 825.

4 To be free is to live under a government by law.

WILLIAM MURRAY, EARL OF MANSFIELD, *King v. Shipley*. (3 *Douglas's Rep.* 170.)

Freedom is political power divided into small fragments.

THOMAS HOBBS. (MAINE, *Popular Government*, p. 70.)

That man is free who is protected from injury.

DANIEL WEBSTER, *Address to Charlestown Bar*, 10 May, 1847.

5 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, *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*, l. 261.

6 Man is created free, and is free, even though born in chains. (Der Mensch ist frei geschaffen, ist frei Und würd' er in Ketten geboren.)

SCHILLER, *Die Worte des Glaubens*. St. 2.

7 What is freedom? It means not being a slave to any circumstance, to any constraint, to any chance; it means compelling Fortune to enter the lists on equal terms. (Quæ sit libertas? Nulli rei servire, nulli necessitati, nullis casibus, fortunam in æquum deducere.)

SENECA, *Epistula ad Lucilium*. Epis. li, sec. 9.

Freedom is re-created year by year,
In hearts wide open on the Godward side.

J. R. LOWELL, *Freedom*, l. 21.

8 What other liberty is there worth having,
if we have not freedom and peace in our

minds,—if our inmost and most private man is but a sour and turbid pool?

H. D. THOREAU, *Journal*, 26 Oct., 1853.

9 Freedom exists only where the people take care of the government.

WOODROW WILSON, *Speech*, N. Y., 4 Sept., 1912.

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

THOMAS PAINE, *The Crisis*. No. iv.

II—Freedom: Apothegms

10 The cause of freedom is the cause of God.

W. L. BOWLES, *To Edmund Burke*.

11 Whilst freedom is true to itself, everything becomes subject to it.

EDMUND BURKE, *Speech*, at Bristol.

Depend upon it, the lovers of freedom will be free.

EDMUND BURKE, *Speech*, 1780.

12 Hereditary bondsmen! know ye not
Who would be free themselves must strike
the blow?

BYRON, *Childe Harold*. Canto ii, st. 76.

They can only set free men free . . .
And there is no need of that:

Free men set themselves free.

JAMES OPPENHEIM, *The Slave*.

13 Freedom suppressed and again regained bites with keener fangs than freedom never endangered. (Acriores autem morsus sunt intermissæ libertatis quam retentæ.)

CICERO, *De Officiis*. Bk. ii, ch. 7, sec. 24.

Regained my freedom with a sigh.

BYRON, *The Prisoner of Chillon*. St. 14.

14 Freedom our pain, and plenty our disease.

DRYDEN, *Absalom and Achitophel*. Pt. ii, l. 32.

15 Wherever snow falls, man is free. Where the orange blooms, man is the foe of man.

R. W. EMERSON, *Journals*, 1862.

Countries are well cultivated, not as they are fertile, but as they are free.

MONTESQUIEU.

17 No bad man is free. (Τολμῶν οὐδ' ἐλεύθερος ἐστίν.)

EPICETUS, *Discourses*. Bk. iv, ch. 1, sec. 4.

Usually quoted as the Stoic maxim, "All bad men are slaves." (Πάντες κακοὶ δούλοι.)

No man who is in fear, or sorrow, or turmoil is free, but whoever is rid of sorrows and fears and turmoils, that man is by the self-same course rid also of slavery.

EPICETUS, *Discourses*. Bk. ii, ch. 1, sec. 24.

Let them fear bondage who are slaves to fear,
The sweetest freedom is an honest heart.

JOHN FORD, *The Lady's Trial*. Act i, sc. 3.

18 Bred in the lap of Republican Freedom.

WILLIAM GODWIN, *Enquiry*. Bk. ii, 12, 402.

19 We are not free; it was not intended we

should be. A book of rules is placed in our cradle, and we never get rid of it until we reach our graves. Then we are free, and only then.

E. W. HOWE, *Howe's Monthly*.

1 There is no freedom on earth or in any star for those who deny freedom to others.

ELBERT HUBBARD, *A Thousand and One Epigrams*.

No! true freedom is to share
All the chains our brothers wear.

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, *Stanzas on Freedom*.

2 A man should never put on his best trousers when he goes out to battle for freedom and truth.

HENRIK IBSEN, *An Enemy of the People*. Act v.

3 Pray you use your freedom,
And, so far as you please, allow me mine.

PHILIP MASSINGER, *Duke of Milan*. Act iv, sc. 3.

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

MILTON, *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*.

5 The path of freedom is blocked much more by those who wish to obey than by those who desire to command.

M. D. PETRE. (INGE, *Wit and Wisdom: Preface*.)

6 Freedom is only in the land of dreams. (Freiheit ist nur in dem Reich der Träume.)

SCHILLER, *The Beginning of the New Century*.

7 Freedom, near at hand, makes an old man brave. (Fortem facit vicina libertas senem.)

SENECA, *Hippolytus*, l. 139.

8 They wish to be free, and know not how to be just. (Ils veulent être libres et ne savent pas être justes.)

ABBÉ JOSEPH SIEYÈS, in the Constituent Assembly, 10 Aug., 1789. (DUMONT, *Recollections of Mirabeau*.)

9 O, lift your natures up;
Embrace our aims: work out your freedom.

TENNYSON, *The Princess*. Pt. ii, l. 74.

10 Ne'er yet by force was freedom overcome.

JAMES THOMSON, *Liberty*. Pt. ii, l. 494.

11 Man is free at the moment he wishes to be.

VOLTAIRE, *Brutus*. Act ii, sc. 1.

III—Freedom: Its Virtues

12 The time will come when men
Will be as free and equal as the waves,
That seem to jostle, but that never jar.

ALFRED AUSTIN, *Tower of Babel*. Act ii, sc. 1.

13 Yet, Freedom, yet thy banner, torn but flying,

Streams like the thunder-storm against the wind.

BYRON, *Childe Harold*. Canto iv, st. 98.

And Freedom hallows with her tread
The silent cities of the dead.

BYRON, *On the Star of "The Legion of Honour."*

14 No! Freedom has a thousand charms to show
That slaves, howe'er contented, never
know. . . .

Religion, virtue, truth—whate'er we call
A blessing—freedom is the pledge of all.

WILLIAM COWPER, *Table Talk*, l. 260.

15 I want free life, and I want fresh air;
And I sigh for the canter after the cattle,
The crack of the whips like shots in a battle,
The mellow of hoofs, and horns, 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!

FRANK DESPREZ, *Lasca*.

16 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.

17 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*.

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

EMERSON, *Boston*.

18 Aye, call it holy ground,
The soil where first they trod!

They have left unstained what there they
found—

Freedom to worship God!

FELICIA DOROTHEA HEMANS, *Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers*.

19 Oh, only a free soul will never grow old! (O, nur eine freie Seele wird nicht alt.)

JEAN PAUL RICHTER, *Titan*. Zykel 140.

20 All the arts of pleasure grow when suckled
by freedom. (Von der Freiheit gesäugt wachsen die Künste der Lust.)

SCHILLER, *Der Spaziergang*, l. 122.

21 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*.

And Freedom rear'd in that august sunrise
Her beautiful bold brow.

TENNYSON, *The Poet*.

1
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, *War Address to Congress*, 2 April, 1917.

2
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*. St. 5.

IV—Freedom: Its Defense

3
This hand, to tyrants ever sworn the foe,
For Freedom only deals the deadly blow;
Then sheathes in calm repose the deadly blade,
For gentle Peace in Freedom's hallowed shade.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, *Inscription in an Album*, 1842. See 2065:1.

4
"Freedom!" their battle-cry,—
"Freedom! or leave to die!"

G. H. BOKER, *The Black Regiment*.

5
Righteous monarchs,
Justly to judge, with their own eyes should see;
To rule o'er freemen should themselves be free.

HENRY BROOKE, *The Earl of Essex*. Act i. The lines are spoken by Queen Elizabeth.

Johnson was present when a tragedy was read in which there occurred this line: Who rules o'er freemen should himself be free. The company admired it much.—"I cannot agree with you," said Johnson, "it might as well be said, Who drives fat oxen should himself be fat."

BOSWELL, *Life of Johnson*, June, 1784.

6
For he was Freedom's champion, one of those,
The few in number, who had not o'erstept
The charter to chastise which she bestows
On such as wield her weapons; he had kept

The whiteness of his soul, and thus men o'er him wept.

BYRON, *Childe Harold*. Canto iii, st. 57.

7
For Freedom's battle once begun,
Bequeath'd by bleeding sire to son,
Though baffled oft is ever won.

BYRON, *The Giaour*, l. 123.

The greatest glory of a freeborn people
Is to transmit that freedom to their children.

WILLIAM HAVARD, *Regulus*. Act v. sc. 4.

All we have of freedom, all we use or know—
This our fathers bought for us, long and long ago.

RUDYARD KIPLING, *The Old Issue*.

8
Hope, for a season, bade the world farewell,
And Freedom shrieked—as Kosciusko fell!

CAMPBELL, *The Pleasures of Hope*. Pt. i, l. 381.

O what a loud and fearful shriek was there! . . .
Ah me! they saw beneath a Hireling's sword
Their Kosciusko fall!

S. T. COLERIDGE, *Sonnet: Kosciusko*.

9
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, l. 63. (Bayard Taylor, tr.)

10
Off with the fetters
That chafe and restrain!
Off with the chain!

RICHARD HOVEY, *Vagabondia*.

11
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*.

12
Freedom needs all her poets: it is they
Who give her aspirations wings,
And to the wiser law of music sway
Her wild imaginings.

J. R. LOWELL, *To the Memory of Hood*. St. 4.

13
'Tis sweeter to bleed for an age at thy shrine
Than to sleep but a moment in chains!

THOMAS MOORE, *Remember the Glories of Brien the Brave*.

O Freedom! once thy flame hath fled,
It never lights again.

THOMAS MOORE, *Weep On, Weep On*.

14
Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered,
yet we have this consolation within us, that
the harder the conflict, the more glorious the
triumph. What we obtain too cheap, we
esteem too lightly. . . . It would be strange
indeed if so celestial an article as freedom
should not be highly rated.

THOMAS PAINE, *The Crisis: Introduction*.

15
Freedom and Arts together fall;
Fools grant whate'er Ambition craves,
And men, once ignorant, are slaves.

POPE, *Brutus: Chorus*, l. 26.

16
Blandishments will not fascinate us, nor will
threats of a "halter" intimidate. For, under
God, we are determined that wheresoever,
whensoever, or howsoever we shall be called
to make our exit, we will die free men.

JOSIAH QUINCY, *Observations on the Boston Port Bill*, 1774.

17
O Freedom! if to me belong

Nor mighty Milton's gift divine,
Nor Marvell's wit and graceful song,
Still with a love as deep and strong
As theirs, I lay, like them, my best gifts on
thy shrine!

WHITTIER, *Proem*.

The nations lift their right hands up and swear
Their oath of freedom.

WHITTIER, *Garibaldi*.

V—Freedom of Speech

1 Liberty of speech inviteth and provoketh
liberty to be used again, and so bringeth much
to a man's knowledge.

BACON, *Advancement of Learning*. Bk. ii.

2 The most beautiful thing in the world is free-
dom of speech. (*ἡ ἀρετή*.)

DIOGENES. (DIOGENES LAERTIUS, *Diogenes*, 69.)

3 To speak his thoughts is every freeman's right,
In peace and war, in council and in fight.

HOMER, *Iliad*. Bk. xii, l. 249. (Pope, tr.)

4 Such being the happiness of the times, that
you may think as you wish, and speak as you
think. (Rara temporum felicitate, ubi sentire
quæ velis, et quæ sentias dicere licet.)

TACITUS, *History*. Bk. i, sec. 1. Tacitus is re-
ferring to the reigns of Nerva and Trajan.

I may stand alone,

But would not change my free thoughts for a
throne.

BYRON, *Don Juan*. Canto xi, st. 89.

5 I disapprove of what you say, but I will de-
fend to the death your right to say it.

Attributed to VOLTAIRE by S. G. Tallentyre (E.
Beatrice Hall), in her book, *The Friends of
Voltaire* (p. 199), published in 1906, but later
stated by her to be a summary of Voltaire's
attitude toward *De l'Ésprit* by Claude Adrien
Helvétius. For further discussion see APPEN-
DIX.

FRIEND

I—Friend: Definitions

6 What is a friend? A single soul dwelling in two
bodies. (*Μία ψυχή δύο σώμασιν ἐνοικοῦσα*.)

ARISTOTLE. (DIOGENES LAERTIUS, *Aristotle*. Bk.
v, sec. 20.)

He ought not to pretend to friendship's name,
Who reckons not himself and friend the same.

SAMUEL TUCKER, *The Adventures of Five Hours*.

Two friends, two bodies with one soul inspired.

HOMER, *Iliad*. Bk. xvi, l. 267. (Pope, tr.)

True friends are those seeking solitude together.

ABEL BONNARD, *The Art of Friendship*. Pt. ii.

7 A faithful friend is the medicine of life.

Apocrypha: Ecclesiasticus, vi, 16.

I do not remember to have met with any saying
that has pleased me more than that of a friend's
being the medicine of life.

UNKNOWN, *The Speaker*. No. 68.

8 A friend is a person with whom I may be
sincere.

EMERSON, *Essays, First Series: Friendship*.

What is a Friend? I will tell you. It is a person
with whom you dare to be yourself.

FRANK CRANE, *A Definition of Friendship*.

9 A friend may well be reckoned the master-
piece of Nature.

EMERSON, *Essays, First Series: Friendship*.

A divine person is the prophecy of the mind; a
friend is the hope of the heart.

EMERSON, *Essays, Second Series: Character*.

A man's friends are his magnetisms.

EMERSON, *Conduct of Life: Fate*.

Friends are fictions founded on some single mo-
mentary experience.

EMERSON, *Journals*. Vol. x, p. 11.

11 There are three faithful friends—an old wife,
an old dog, and ready money.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, *Poor Richard*, 1738.

A Father's a Treasure; a Brother's a Comfort;
a Friend is both.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, *Poor Richard*, 1747.

12 O ev'ry sacred name in one! my Friend!

HOMER, *Odyssey*. Bk. xxii, l. 226. (Pope, tr.)

13 A faithful friend is a true image of the Deity.

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE, *Sayings of Napoleon*.

14 A friend is another I. (*ἄλλος ἐγώ*.)

ZENO. (DIOGENES LAERTIUS, *Zeno*. Bk. vii, sec.
23.) "Alter ego" is, of course, the Latin.

A friend is, as it were, a second self. (*Amicus est
tamquam alter idem*.)

CICERO, *De Amicitia*. Ch. 21, sec. 80.

II—Friend: Apothegms

15 It is better to have one friend of great value
than many friends who are good for nothing.

ANARCHARSIS. (LAERTIUS, *Anarcharsis*. Sec. 105.)

16 A friend to all is a friend to none. (*Ἦ φίλοι,
οὐδεὶς φίλος*.)

ARISTOTLE. (LAERTIUS, *Aristotle*, Sec. 21.)

All men's friend, no man's friend.

WODROUPE, *Spared Hours*, 475.

17 Friends are like fiddle-strings, they must not
be screwed too tight.

H. G. BOHN, *Hand-Book of Proverbs*, p. 358.

18 Let me have no good thing unknown to a
friend. (*Ἄγνωστον δὲ φίλῳ μηδὲν ἔχοιμι καλόν*.)

CALLIMACHUS, *Fragmenta Incertæ*. No. 121.

19 O my friends, there is no friend. (*Ἦ φίλοι
οὐδεὶς φίλος*.)

CHILO. (DIOGENES LAERTIUS, *Chilo*.)

20 *Defendit numerus* [there is safety in num-
bers] is the maxim of the foolish; *Deperdit
numerus* [there is ruin in numbers] of the wise.

C. C. COLTON, *Lacon*. Vol. 1, No. 34. Referring
to the number of one's friends.

Line after line my gushing eyes o'erflow,
Led thro' a safe variety of woe:
Now warm in love, now with'ring in my bloom,
Lost in a convent's solitary gloom!

POPE, *Eloisa to Abelard*, l. 35.

1 Heav'n first taught letters for some wretch's
aid,

Some banish'd lover, or some captive maid;
They live, they speak, they breathe what love
inspires,

Warm from the soul, and faithful to its fires;
The virgin's wish without her fears impart,
Excuse the blush, and pour out all the heart,
Speed the soft intercourse from soul to soul,
And waft a sigh from Indus to the Pole.

POPE, *Eloisa to Abelard*, l. 51.

And oft the pangs of absence to remove.
By letters, soft interpreters of love.

MATTHEW PRIOR, *Henry and Emma*, l. 147.

2 What! have I 'scaped love-letters in the holi-
day-time of my beauty, and am I now a sub-
ject for them?

SHAKESPEARE, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*.
Act ii, sc. 1, l. 1.

LIBERALITY, see Gifts and Giving

LIBERTY

See also Freedom

I—Liberty: Definitions

3 Among a people generally corrupt, liberty
cannot long exist.

EDMUND BURKE, *Letter*, to the Sheriffs of
Bristol.

Liberty, too, must be limited in order to be
possessed.

EDMUND BURKE, *Letter*, to the Sheriffs of
Bristol.

The only liberty I mean, is a liberty connected
with order; that not only exists along with or-
der and virtue, but which cannot exist at all
without them.

EDMUND BURKE, *Speech*, at Bristol, 13 Oct.,
1774.

Abstract liberty, like other mere abstractions, is
not to be found.

EDMUND BURKE, *Speech on Conciliation with
America*.

4 Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is lib-
erty.

New Testament: II Corinthians, iii, 17.

5 Man's liberty ends, and it ought to end, when
that liberty becomes the curse of his neigh-
bours.

FREDERIC WILLIAM FARRAR, *Ideals of Nations*.

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

HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK, *Liberty*.

7 Only in fetters is liberty:
Without its banks could a river be?

LOUIS GINSBERG, *Fetters*.

8 The love of liberty is the love of others; the
love of power is the love of ourselves.

WILLIAM HAZLITT, *Political Essays: On the
Connection Between Toad-Eaters and Ty-
rants*.

9 Liberty is the breath of progress.

R. G. INGERSOLL, *How to Reform Mankind*.

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

THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Summary View of the
Rights of British America*.

There can be no prescription old enough to super-
sede the Law of Nature and the grant of God
Almighty, who has given to all men a natural
right to be free, and they have it ordinarily in
their power to make themselves so, if they
please.

JAMES OTIS, *Rights of the British Colonies*, p. 14.

11 Liberty in the lowest rank of every nation is
little more than the choice of working or
starving.

SAMUEL JOHNSON, (*Works*, vi, 151.)

Ask this man what country and liberty mean,
and he will reply that he wants money, and
nothing to do. (Demandez à cet homme ce que
c'est que la patrie et la liberté, il vous répondra
qu'il veut de l'argent et ne rien faire.)

PAUL DE KOCK, *L'Homme aux Trois Culottes*.
Ch. 4.

12 The world has never had a good definition of
the word liberty.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, *Address*, Baltimore, 18
April, 1864. For full quotation see APPENDIX.

13 All that makes existence valuable to anyone
depends on the enforcement of restraints
upon the actions of other people.

J. S. MILL, *On Liberty*. Ch. 1.

The liberty of the individual must be thus far
limited; he must not make himself a nuisance
to other people.

J. S. MILL, *On Liberty*. Ch. 3.

14 The Mountain Nymph, sweet Liberty.

MILTON, *L'Allegro*, l. 36.

15 God makes no man a slave, no doubter free;
Abiding faith alone wins liberty.

JAMES JEFFREY ROCHE, *Washington*.

16 That treacherous phantom which men call
Liberty.

RUSKIN, *Seven Lamps of Architecture*. Ch.
viii, sec. 10.

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

BERNARD SHAW, *Maxims for Revolutionists*.

¹ The supremacy of the people tends to liberty. (Populi imperium juxta libertatem.)

TACITUS, *Annals*. Bk. vi, sec. 42.

Liberty is given by nature even to mute animals. (Libertatem natura etiam mutis animalibus datam.)

TACITUS, *History*. Bk. iv, sec. 17.

² Liberty, when it begins to take root, is a plant of rapid growth.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, *Letter to James Madison*, 2 March, 1788.

If the true spark of religious and civil liberty be kindled, it will burn. Human agency cannot extinguish it. Like the earth's central fire, it may be smothered for a time; the ocean may overwhelm it; mountains may press it down; but its inherent and unconquerable force will heave both the ocean and the land, and at some time or other, in some place or other, the volcano will break out and flame up to heaven.

DANIEL WEBSTER, *Address*, 17 June, 1825, at Bunker Hill Monument.

³ Liberty exists in proportion to wholesome restraint; the more restraint on others to keep off from us, the more liberty we have.

DANIEL WEBSTER, *Speech*. 10 May, 1847.

A liberty to do that only which is good, just, and honest.

JOHN WINTHROP, *Life and Letters*, ii, 341.

⁴ 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 of it.

WOODROW WILSON, *Speech*, New York Press Club, 9 Sept., 1912.

II—Liberty: Apothegms

⁵ The tree of liberty grows only when watered by the blood of tyrants. (L'arbre de la liberté ne croît qu'arrosé par le sang des tyrans.)

BERTRAND BARÈRE, *Speech*, French National Assembly, 1792.

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 S. Smith*, Paris, 13 Nov., 1787. (*Writings*, iv, 467.)

⁶ I pardon something to the spirit of liberty.

EDMUND BURKE, *Speech on Conciliation with America*, 22 March, 1775.

The people never give up their liberties except under some delusion.

EDMUND BURKE, *Speech*, Bucks, 1784.

⁷ Liberty's in every blow! Let us do or die.

BURNS, *Bruce to His Men at Bannockburn*.

"Make way for liberty!" he cried,

Made way for liberty, and died.

MONTGOMERY, *The Patriot's Pass-Word*, l. 1

Fair Liberty was all his cry;

For her he stood prepared to die.

SWIFT, *On the Death of Dr. Swift*, l. 411.

This hand, the tyrant smiting, ne'er will sword release,

Till liberty assure the quietude of peace.

A translation by John D. Long, formerly governor of Massachusetts, of the Latin lines by Algernon Sidney, the last of which, "Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietam," is the motto on the arms of Massachusetts.

⁸ O sweet name of liberty! (O nomen dulce libertatis!)

CICERO, *In Verrem*. No. v, sec. 63.

O liberty! how many crimes are committed in thy name! (O liberté! que de crimes on commet dans ton nom!)

MADAME ROLAND, *Mémoires: Appendix*. LAMARTINE, *Histoire des Girondins*, ch. li, p. 8, states that Madame Roland said this on the scaffold a moment before her execution, addressing a large statue of Liberty which had been erected beside the guillotine, but others allege that what she really said was, "O Liberté, comme on t'a jouée!" (O Liberty, how you have been trifled with).

⁹ Strangers to liberty, 'tis true;

But that delight they never knew

And therefore never missed.

COWPER, *The Caged Linnets*.

¹⁰ To those the truth makes free,
Sacred as truth itself is lawful liberty.

AUBREY DE VERE, *Liberty*.

¹¹ The sun of liberty is set; you must light up the candle of industry and economy.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN (attr.). Said to be in his correspondence.

¹² Where liberty dwells there is my country. (Ubi libertas, ibi patria.)

A Latin phrase whose author is unknown, but which Algernon Sidney (c. 1640) adopted as his motto. A similar sentiment is attributed to Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Paine.

¹³ Liberty, thy thousand tongues

None silence, who design no wrongs.

MATTHEW GREEN, *The Spleen*, l. 418.

¹⁴ The boisterous sea of liberty is never without a wave.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Writings*. Vol. xv, p. 283.

¹⁵ Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof.

Old Testament: Leviticus, xxv, 10. By an odd coincidence, 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." It was this bell, so tradition says, which announced the signing of the Declaration of Independence, 4 July, 1776, and it is still preserved in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

¹ He that would make his own liberty secure must guard even his enemy from oppression. THOMAS PAINE, *Dissertation on First Principles of Government*, p. 242.

Whether in chains or in laurels, liberty knows nothing but victories. WENDELL PHILLIPS, *Speech on John Brown*, 1 Nov., 1859.

² I must have liberty Withal, as large a charter as the wind To blow on whom I please. SHAKESPEARE, *As You Like It*. Act ii, sc. 7, l. 47.

So loving-jealous of his liberty. SHAKESPEARE, *Romeo and Juliet*. Act ii, sc. 2, l. 182.

A fig for those by law protected! Liberty's a glorious feast! Courts for cowards were erected, Churches built to please the priest. ROBERT BURNS, *The Jolly Beggars*, line 292. Air, *Jolly Mortals, Fill Your Glasses*.

³ With empty praise of liberty. (Inani jactatione libertatis.) TACITUS, *Agricola*. Sec. 42.

⁴ Liberty . . . came after a long time. (Libertas . . . longo post tempore venit.) VERGIL, *Eclogues*. No. i, l. 27.

⁵ 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.

III—Liberty: Its Virtues

⁶ When Liberty is gone, Life grows insipid, and has lost its relish. ADDISON, *Cato*. Act ii, sc. 3.

'Tis liberty alone that gives the flower Of fleeting life its lustre and perfume. COWPER, *The Task*. Bk. v, l. 446.

Oh! remember life can be No charm for him who lives not free. THOMAS MOORE, *Before the Battle*.

⁷ But little do or can the best of us: That little is achieved through Liberty. ROBERT BROWNING, *Why I Am a Liberal*.

⁸ Liberty . . . is one of the greatest blessings that Heaven has bestowed upon mankind. CERVANTES, *Don Quixote*. Pt. ii, ch. 58.

⁹ Thou rising Sun! thou blue rejoicing Sky! Yea, every thing that is and will be free!

Bear witness for me, wheresoe'er ye be, With what deep worship I have still adored The spirit of divinest Liberty.

S. T. COLERIDGE, *France: An Ode*. St. 1. 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. S. T. COLERIDGE, *France: An Ode*. St. 5.

Liberty, like day, Breaks on the soul, and by a flash from Heav'n Fires all the faculties with glorious joy. COWPER, *The Task*. Bk. v, l. 883.

¹⁰ The love of liberty with life is giv'n, And life itself th' inferior gift of Heav'n. JOHN DRYDEN, *Palamon and Arcite*. Bk. ii, l. 291.

¹¹ Liberty is worth whatever the best civilization is worth. HENRY GILES, *The Worth of Liberty*.

¹² For ever in thine eyes, O Liberty, Shines that high light whereby the world is saved. And though thou slay us, we will trust to thee! JOHN HAY, *Liberty*.

¹³ What light is to the eyes—what air is to the lungs—what love is to the heart, liberty is to the soul of man. Without liberty, the brain is a dungeon, where the chained thoughts die with their pinions pressed against the hingeless doors. R. G. INGERSOLL, *Progress*.

¹⁵ Deep in the frozen regions of the north, A goddess violated brought thee forth, Immortal Liberty! SMOLLETT, *Ode to Independence*, l. 5.

¹⁶ Behold in Liberty's unclouded blaze We lift our heads, a race of other days. CHARLES SPRAGUE, *Centennial Ode*. St. 22.

¹⁷ I tell you, liberty is the best of all things; never live beneath the noose of a servile halter. (Dico tibi verum, libertas optima rerum; Nunquam servili sub nexa vivito fili.) SIR WILLIAM WALLACE, quoting a medieval proverb.

¹⁸ And, best beloved of best men, liberty, Free lives and lips, free hands of men free-born. SWINBURNE, *Atalanta in Calydon: Althaea*.

¹⁹ If but the least and frailest, let me be Evermore numbered with the truly free Who find Thy service perfect liberty! WHITTIER, *What of the Day?* l. 13.

¹ 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. We shall not be poor if we love liberty.

WOODROW WILSON, *Speech*, Mobile, Ala., 27 Oct., 1912.

IV—Liberty: Its Defense

² 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.

JOHN PHILPOT CURRAN, *Speech upon the Right of Election*, 10 July, 1790.

Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, *Public Opinion*. This was an address delivered before the Massachusetts Antislavery Society, 28 Jan., 1852. The phrase is not in quotation marks. 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.

³ Liberty can neither be got, nor kept, but by so much care, that mankind are generally unwilling to give the price for it.

LORD HALIFAX, *Works*, p. 62.

⁴ The ground of liberty must be gained by inches.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Writings*. Vol. viii, p. 3.

We are not to expect to be translated from despotism to liberty in a feather bed.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Writings*. Vol. viii, p. 13.

⁵ By no sword save her own falls Liberty.

R. U. JOHNSON, *Hands Across Sea*.

⁶ Unless that liberty, which is of such a kind as arms can neither procure nor take away, which alone is the fruit of piety, of justice, of temperance, and unadulterated virtue, shall have taken deep root in your minds and hearts, there will not long be wanting one who will snatch from you by treachery what you have acquired by arms.

MILTON, *Second Defence of People of England*.

⁷ The manna of popular liberty must be gathered each day, or it is rotten. . . . Only by uninterrupted agitation can a people be kept sufficiently awake to principle not to let liberty be smothered by material prosperity. Republics exist only on tenure of being agitated.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, *Address: Public Opinion*, Boston, 28 Jan., 1852.

⁸ Our liberties and our lives are in danger. (Libertas et anima nostra in dubio est.)

SALLUST, *Catilina*. Sec. 52.

⁹ God grants liberty only to those who love it, and are always ready to guard and defend it.

WEBSTER, *Speech*, U. S. Senate, 3 June, 1834.

V—Liberty and Bondage

¹⁰ A day, an hour, of virtuous liberty Is worth a whole eternity in bondage.

ADDISON, *Cato*. Act ii, sc. 1.

¹¹ Chains or conquest, liberty or death.

ADDISON, *Cato*. Act ii, sc. 4, last line.

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*, Virginia House of Delegates, 23 March, 1775. (Arranged by William Wirt, 1817.)

¹² The Athenians will not sell their liberties for all the gold either above or under ground.

ARISTIDES, to the Lacedæmonians. (PLUTARCH, *Lives: Aristides*. Sec. 10.)

We sell our birthright whenever we sell our liberty for any price of gold or honor.

E. P. WHIFFLE, *Outlooks on Society: Literature and Politics*.

¹³ 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.

BYRON, *The Prisoner of Chillon: Introductory*.

¹⁴ He who, through fear of poverty, forfeits liberty, which is better than mines of wealth, will . . . be a slave forever. (Sic qui pauperiem veritus potiore metallis libertate caret, . . . serviet æternum.)

CICERO, *Epistles*. Bk. i, epis. 10, l. 39.

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

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN(?), *Historical Review of Pennsylvania*. (1759)

This sentence was much used in the Revolutionary period. It occurs even so early as November, 1755, in an answer by the Assembly of Pennsylvania to the Governor.

FROTHINGHAM, *Rise of the Republic of the United States*.

¹⁵ Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage.

New Testament: Galatians, v, 1.

¹⁶ A bean in liberty is better than a comfit in prison.

GEORGE HERBERT, *Jacula Prudentum*.

Lean liberty is better than fat slavery.

THOMAS FULLER, *Gnomologia*. No. 3158.

- 1 Preferring
Hard liberty before the easy yoke
Of servile pomp.
MILTON, *Paradise Lost*. Bk. ii, l. 255.
- 2 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!
THOMAS MOORE, *Lalla Rookh: Paradise and
the Peri*. St. 11.
- The tribute most high to a head that is royal,
Is love from a heart that loves liberty too.
THOMAS MOORE, *The Prince's Day*.
- 3 "An 't please Your Honour," quoth the peasant,
"This same dessert is not so pleasant:
Give me again my hollow tree,
A crust of bread and Liberty!"
POPE, *Imitations of Horace: Satires*. Bk. ii,
sat. 6, l. 218.
- No use have I for such a life, and so farewell:
my wood and hole, secure from alarms, will
solace me with homely vetch. (Haud mihi vita
Est opus hac, et valeas: me silva cavusque Tutus
ab insidiis tenui solabitur, ervo.)
HORACE, *Satires*. Bk. ii, sat. 6, l. 115. Horace is
telling the story of a peasant who tried to
live in a palace.
- I had rather munch a crust of brown bread and an
onion in a corner, without ado or ceremony, than
feed upon a turkey at another man's table, where
I am forced to chew slowly, drink little, wipe
my mouth every minute, and cannot sneeze or
cough, or do other things that are the privileges
of liberty and solitude.
CERVANTES, *Don Quixote*. Pt. i, ch. 11.
- 4 He that roars for liberty
Faster binds a tyrant's power,
And the tyrant's cruel glee
Forces on the freer hour.
TENNYSON, *The Vision of Sin*. Pt. iv, st. 17.

VI—Liberty and Licence

- 5 What is liberty without wisdom and without
virtue? It is the greatest of all possible evils;
for it is folly, vice, and madness, without
tuition or restraint.
EDMUND BURKE, *Reflections on the Revolution
in France*.
- More liberty begets desire of more;
The hunger still increases with the store.
DRYDEN, *Hind and the Panther*. Pt. i, l. 519.
- 6 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*, University of Wisconsin,
14 Jan., 1918.

The deadliest foe of democracy is not autocracy
but liberty frenzied. Liberty is not fool-proof.
For its beneficent working it demands self-
restraint.

- OTTO KAHN, *Speech*, University of Wisconsin,
14 Jan., 1918.
- 7 It is not good to have too much liberty. It is
not good to have all one wants.
BLAISE PASCAL, *Pensées*. No. 379.
- 8 What in some is called liberty, in others is
called licence. (Quæ in aliis libertas est, in
aliis licentia vocatur.)
QUINTILLIAN, *De Institutione Oratoria*. Bk. iii,
ch. 8, sec. 48.
- Foster-child of licence, which fools call liberty.
(Alumna licentiæ, quam stulti libertatem voca-
bant.)
TACITUS, *Dialogus de Oratoribus*. Sec. 40.
- 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*.
- 9 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.
SHAKESPEARE, *The Comedy of Errors*, ii, 1, 15.
- And liberty plucks justice by the nose.
SHAKESPEARE, *Measure for Measure*, i, 3, 29.
- 10 Liberty, guest amiable,
Plants both elbow: on the table.
(La liberté, convive aimable,
Met les deux coudes sur la table.)
VOLTAIRE.
- 11 The weight of too much liberty.
WORDSWORTH, *Miscellaneous Sonnets*. Pt. i, 1.

LIBRARY

See also Books, Reading

I—Libraries: Their Virtues

- 12 Libraries, which are as the shrines where all
the relics of the ancient saints, full of true
virtue, and that without delusion or impos-
ture, are preserved and reposed.
BACON, *Advancement of Learning*. Bk. ii.
- 13 These are the tombs of such as cannot die.
GEORGE CRABBE, *The Library*.
- Shelved around us lie The mummied authors.
BAYARD TAYLOR, *The Poet's Journal: Third
Evening*.
- Thou can't not die. Here thou art more than
safe
Where every book is thy epitaph.
VAUGHAN, *On Sir Thomas Bodley's Library*.
- 14 The true University of these days is a Col-
lection of Books.
CARLYLE, *Heroes and Hero-Worship*. Lect. v.