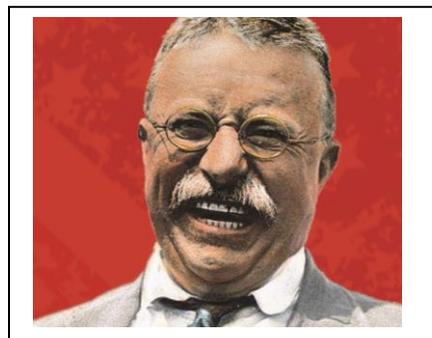
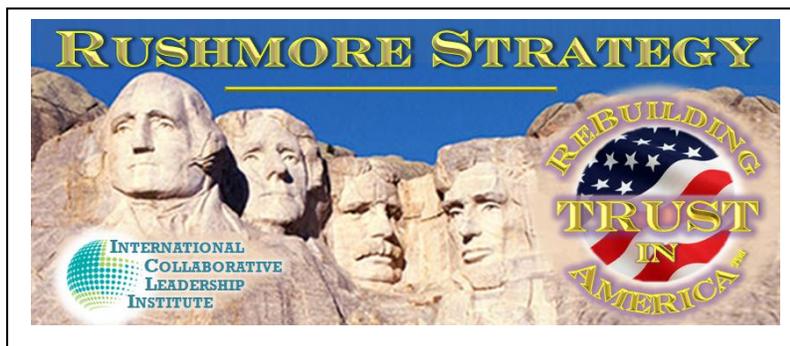


Teddy Roosevelt on the Spirit of America



Road Map-- How to Keep a Democracy from Collapsing

This speech is comparable to George Washington's Farewell Address. It is just as relevant today as it was over a century ago when he wrote it. TR emphasizes the importance of action and striving towards worthy goals in life over idle criticism, laziness and inaction. A country's success, TR stated, depends on disciplined work and character. Democracies require leaders of the finest character to hold all citizens to the highest standards. As you read through this speech (abridged for brevity & clarity) note how TR:

- 1) pits *polarities* in thinking against each other,
- 2) then views *polarities* as *paradox* (a duality of truths), and
- 3) then positions a *solution* that *embraces the differentials in a higher order of thinking*.

Herein TR articulates his core values reflecting those of Washington, Jefferson, & Lincoln.

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*Citizenship in a Republic*¹

Sorbonne, Paris, April 23, 1910

Pressures of a New Civilization

[Stressful] conditions accentuate vices and virtues, energy and ruthlessness, all the good qualities and all the defects of an intense individualism, self-reliant, self-centered, far more conscious of its rights than of its duties, and blind to its own shortcomings.

Recapturing the Possessions of Mind and Spirit

As [our]country grows, people [must look] back to try to recover the possessions of the mind and the spirit, which perforce their fathers [often had to throw] aside in order better to wage the rough battles [protecting our liberties and taming our frontier].

[As] leaders of thought and of action grope their way forward, realizing that the life of material gain, whether for a nation or an individual, is of value only as a foundation, only as there is added to it the uplift that comes from devotion to loftier ideals.

The new life can be developed in full only by freely drawing upon the treasure-houses of [ancient] wisdom and learning. It is a great mistake for any nation to merely copy another; but it is even a greater mistake, not to be anxious to learn [and be] willing and able to adapt that learning to new conditions and make it fruitful and productive.

Individual Citizenship

Individual citizenship [is] of vital importance [because] democratic republics represent the most gigantic of all possible social experiments, the one fraught with great responsibilities alike for good and evil.

The success of republics, like ours, means the glory, and our failure [means] the despair of mankind.

The question of the quality of the individual citizen is supreme. In the long run, success or failure will be conditioned upon the way in which the average man, the average woman, does his or her duty, first in the ordinary, every-day affairs of life, and next in those great occasional crises which call for heroic virtues.

The average citizen must be a good citizen if our republics are to succeed. The stream will not permanently rise higher than the main source; and the main source of national power and national greatness is found in the average citizenship of the nation.

Therefore it behooves us to do our best to see that the standard of the average citizen is kept high; and the average cannot be kept high unless the standard of the leaders is very much higher

¹ Note: Most of Roosevelt's method for addressing key issues uses a Yin/Yang "Synergy of Differentials" framework, posing two differential ideas/ideals against each other, then postulating a higher order position that integrates both. Teddy consistently proposes a common sense (wisdom) solution that requires balance, alignment, and integration. Probably no other President in America's history understood how to use the power of the Presidency for the mutual good, and no other President understood how to marry ideals with implementation. Between Teddy and Franklin Roosevelt, no other Presidents got more done in such a short period of time.

Great Expectations of Leadership in a Republic

It is well if a large proportion of the leaders in any republic, in any democracy, are drawn from those [who] possess the gifts of sympathy with plain people and of devotion to great ideals.

To [leaders] much has been given; and from [leaders], much should be expected.

Beware Cynicism

Yet there are certain failings against which it is especially incumbent that both men of trained and cultivated intellect, and men of inherited wealth and position should especially guard themselves, because to these failings they are especially liable; and if yielded to, chances of useful service are at an end.

Let the man of learning, the man of lettered leisure, beware of that queer and cheap temptation to pose to himself and to others as a cynic, as the man who has outgrown emotions and beliefs, the man to whom good and evil are as one. The poorest way to face life is to face it with a sneer.

There are many men who feel a kind of twisted pride in cynicism; there are many who confine themselves to criticism of the way others do what they themselves dare not even attempt.

There is no more unhealthy being, no man less worthy of respect, than he who either holds, or feigns to hold, an attitude of sneering disbelief toward all that is great and lofty, whether in achievement or in that noble effort, even if it fails.

A cynical habit of thought and speech, a readiness to criticize work which the critic himself never tries to perform, an intellectual aloofness which will not accept contact with life's realities— all these are marks, not of superiority but of weakness.

They mark the men unfit to bear their part painfully in the stern strife of living, who seek, in the affection of contempt for the achievement of others, to hide from others and from themselves in their own weakness. The role is easy: there is none easier, save only the role of the man who sneers alike at both criticism and performance.

Man in the Arena

It is not the critic who counts; not the man who points out how the strong man stumbles or where the doer of deeds could have done them better.

*Courage enlarges,
cowardice diminishes resources.
In desperate straits the fears of the
timid aggravate the dangers that
imperil the brave. -- Christian Bovee*

The credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena,



whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood;
who strives valiantly; who errs, who comes short again and again,
because there is no effort without error and shortcoming;
but who does actually strive to do the deeds;
who knows great enthusiasms, the great devotions;
who spends himself in a worthy cause;
who at the best knows in the end the triumph of high achievement, and who
at the worst, if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly, so that his place shall
never be with those cold and timid souls who neither know victory nor defeat.

Shame on the man of cultivated taste who permits refinement to develop into fastidiousness that unfits him for doing the rough work of a workaday world.

Among the free peoples who govern themselves there is but a small field of usefulness open for the men of cloistered life who shrink from contact with their fellows.

Still less room is there for those who deride the slight of what is done by those who actually bear the brunt of the day; nor yet for others who always profess that they would like to take action, if only the conditions of life were not exactly what they actually are.

The man who does nothing cuts the same sordid figure in the pages of history, whether he be a cynic, or fop, or voluptuary. There is little use for the being whose tepid soul knows nothing of great and generous emotion, of the high pride, the stern belief, the lofty enthusiasm, of the men who quell the storm and ride the thunder.

Character Stands at the Pinnacle of History

Let us remember in the lessons of history that [the fine arts] stand second to certain other things

There is need of a sound body, and even more of a sound mind. But above mind and above body stands character—the sum of those qualities which we mean when we speak of a man’s force and courage, of his good faith and sense of honor. I believe in giving to all the people a good education.

But education must contain much besides book-learning in order to be really good. We must ever remember that no keenness and subtleness of intellect, no polish, no cleverness, in any way make up for the lack of the great solid qualities:

- Self restraint and self mastery,
- Common sense,
- Courage and resolution
- the power of accepting individual responsibility yet of acting in conjunction with others, —these are the qualities which mark a masterful people. Without them no people can control [themselves], or save [themselves] from being controlled from the outside.

Two Qualities in Citizens – Efficiency & Morality

In short, the good citizen in a republic must realize that they ought to possess two sets of qualities, and that neither avails without the other:

1) Being Strong & Efficient

The good citizen is not a good citizen unless he is an efficient citizen; he is useless if he is inefficient. There is nothing to be done with that type of citizen of whom all that can be said is that he is harmless. Virtue which is dependent upon a sluggish circulation is not impressive. There is little place in active life for the timid good man.

The man who is saved by weakness from robust wickedness is likewise rendered immune from robust virtues. The good citizen in a republic must first of all be able to hold his own. He is no good citizen unless he has the ability which will make him work hard and which at need will make him fight hard.

2) *Guided by a Moral Compass*

He also must have qualities which direct the efficiency into channels for the public good. If a man's efficiency is not guided and regulated by a moral sense, then the more efficient he is the worse he is, the more dangerous to the body politic. Courage, intellect, all the masterful qualities, serve but to make a man more evil if they are merely used for that man's own advancement, with brutal indifference to the rights of others.

It speaks ill for the community if the community worships those qualities and treats their possessors as heroes regardless of whether the qualities are used rightly or wrongly.

It makes no difference as to the precise way in which this sinister efficiency is shown.

It makes no difference whether such a man's force and ability betray themselves in a career of money-maker or politician, soldier or orator, journalist or popular leader.

If the man works for evil, then the more successful he is the more he should be despised and condemned by all upright and far-seeing men.

To judge a man merely by success is an abhorrent wrong; and if the people at large habitually so judge men, if they grow to condone wickedness because the wicked man triumphs, they show their inability to understand that in the last analysis free institutions rest upon the character of citizenship, and that by such admiration of evil they prove themselves unfit for liberty.

Good citizenship is not good citizenship if only exhibited in the home. The duties of the individual to the State, [are essential] to carry on the free government in a complex industrial civilization.

Pragmatism with a Moral Compass

Perhaps the most important thing the ordinary citizen, and, above all, the leader of ordinary citizens, has to remember in political life is that he must not be a sheer doctrinaire.

- the closet philosopher, refined and cultured who from his library tells how men ought to be governed under ideal conditions, is of no use in actual governmental work; and
- the one-sided fanatic, the insincere man, and still more the mob-leader, who achieve power by promises that by no possibility can be performed, are not merely useless, but noxious.

The citizen must have high ideals, and yet he must be able to achieve them in practical fashion.

No permanent good comes from aspirations so lofty that they have grown fantastic and have become impossible and indeed undesirable to realize.

The impractical visionary is far less often the guide and precursor than he is the embittered foe of the real reformer, the man who, with stumblings and shortcomings, yet shapes, in practical fashion, the hopes and desires of those who strive for better things.

Woe to the empty phrase-maker and empty idealist, who, instead of making ready the ground for the man of action, turns against him when he appears and hampers him when he does work!

Moreover, the preacher of ideals must remember how sorry and contemptible is the figure he will cut, how great the damage he will do, if he does not himself in his own life, strive to realize the ideals that he preaches for others. Let him remember also that the worth of the ideal must be largely determined by the success with which it can be realized in practice.

We should abhor the so-called "practical" men whose practicality assumes the shape of that peculiar baseness which finds its expression in disbelief in morality and decency, in disregard of

high standards of living and conduct. Such a creature is the worst enemy of the body of politic. But only less desirable as a citizen is his nominal opponent and real ally, the man of fantastic vision who makes the impossible better forever the enemy of the possible good.

We can just as little afford to follow the doctrinaires of an extreme individualism as the doctrinaires of an extreme socialism.

Individual initiative, so far from being discouraged, should be stimulated.

Yet we should remember that, as society develops and grows more complex, we continually find that things which once it was desirable to leave to individual initiative can, under changed conditions, be performed with better results by common effort.

Accepting Good Ideas without Political Correctness

Let us take into account the actual facts of life and not be misled into following any proposal for achieving the millennium, for recreating the golden age, until we have subjected it to hardheaded examination.

On the other hand, it is foolish to reject a proposal merely because it is advanced by visionaries. If a given scheme is proposed, look at it on its merits, and, in considering it, disregard formulas.

It does not matter in the least who proposes it, or why.

It seems good, try it. If it proves good, accept it; otherwise reject it.

There are plenty of good men calling themselves Socialists with whom, up to a certain point, it is quite possible to work.

If the next step is one which both we and they wish to take, why of course take it, without any regard to the fact that our views as to the tenth step may differ.

But, on the other hand, keep clearly in mind that, though it has been worthwhile to take one step, this does not in the least mean that it may not be highly disadvantageous to take the next.

It is just as foolish to refuse all progress because people demanding it desire at some points to go to absurd extremes, as it would be to go to these absurd extremes simply because some of the measure advocated by the extremists were wise.

Character and the False Deification of Material Wealth

Character must show itself in man's performance both of the duty he owes himself and of the duty he owes the State. Let us with equal emphasis insist that material well-being represents but a foundation, though indispensable, [which] is worthless unless upon it is raised the superstructure of a higher life.

Wealth Alone is not an Asset

I decline to recognize the mere multimillionaire, the man of mere wealth, as an asset of value to any country; and especially as not an asset to my own country.

If he has earned or uses his wealth in a way that makes him a real benefit -- of real use (and such is often the case)—why, then: he *does* become an asset of real worth.

It is the *way* in which it has been earned or used, and not the mere fact of wealth, that entitles him to the credit.

There is need in business, as in most other forms of human activity, of the great guiding intelligences. It is a good thing that they should have ample recognition, ample reward.

Reward Good Deeds, Not Wealth Itself

But we must not transfer our admiration to the reward instead of the deed rewarded; and if what should be the reward exists without the service having been rendered, then admiration will only come from those who are men of soul.

The truth is that, after a certain measure of tangible material success or reward has been achieved, the question of increasing it becomes of constantly less importance compared to the other things that can be done in life.

False Standards of Success

It is a bad thing for a nation to raise and to admire a false standard of success; and there can be no falser standard than that set by the deification of material well-being in and for itself.

But the man, having far surpassed the limits of providing for the wants [of] both of the body and mind, then piles up a great fortune, for the acquisition or retention, of which he returns no corresponding benefit to the nation as a whole, should himself be made to feel that, so far from being desirable, he is an unworthy, citizen of the community:

..... that is to be neither admired nor envied;
that his right-thinking fellow countrymen put him low in the scale of citizenship, and leave him to be consoled by the admiration of those whose level of purpose is even lower than his own.

Property versus Human Rights

In every civilized society, property rights must be carefully safeguarded; ordinarily, and in the great majority of cases, human rights and property rights are fundamentally and in the long run identical; but when it clearly appears that there is a real conflict between them, human rights must have the upper hand, for property belongs to man and not man to property.

In fact, it is essential to good citizenship clearly to understand that there are certain qualities which we in a democracy are prone to admire in and of themselves, which ought, by rights, to be judged admirable or the reverse solely from the standpoint of the use made of them.

Gifts of Money-Making and Oratory

Foremost among these include two very distinct gifts—the gift of money-making and the gift of oratory.

Money-making, the money touch I have spoken of above. It is a quality which, in a moderate degree, is essential. It may be useful when developed to a very great degree, but only if accompanied and controlled by other qualities; and without such control the possessor tends to develop into one of the least attractive types produced by a modern industrial democracy.

So it is with the orator. It is highly desirable that a leader of opinion in democracy should be able to state his views clearly and convincingly.

But all that the oratory can do of value to the community is enable the man thus to explain himself; if it enables the orator to put false values on things, it merely makes him powerful for mischief.

Unless oratory represents genuine conviction based on good common sense and the ability to be translated into efficient performance, then the better the oratory the greater the damage to the public it deceives.

Indeed, it is a sign of marked political weakness in any commonwealth if the people tend to be carried away by mere oratory, if they tend to value words in and for themselves, as divorced from the deeds for which they are supposed to stand.

The phrase-maker, the phrase-monger, the ready talker, however great his power, whose speech does not make for courage, sobriety, and right understanding, is simply a noxious element in the body politic; and it speaks ill for the public if he has influence over them.

To admire the gift of oratory without regard to the moral quality behind the gift is to wrong the republic.

Liberty

The good citizen will demand liberty for himself, and as a matter of pride he will see to it that others receive liberty which he thus claims as his own.

Probably the best test of true love of liberty in any country is the way in which minorities are treated in that country. Not only should there be complete liberty in matters of religion and opinion, but complete liberty for each man to lead his life as he desires, provided only that in so [doing] he does not wrong his neighbor.

Persecution is bad because it is persecution, and without reference to which side happens at the most to be the persecuted and which the persecutor. Class hatred is bad in just the same way, and without regard to the individual who, at a given time, substitutes loyalty to a class for loyalty to a nation, or substitutes hatred of men because they happen to come in a certain social category, for judgment awarded them according to their conduct.

Remember always that the same measure of condemnation should be extended to the arrogance which would look down upon or crush any man because he is poor and to envy and hatred which would destroy a man because he is wealthier.

The overbearing brutality of the man of wealth or power, and the envious and hateful malice directed against that wealth or power are really, at root, merely different manifestations of the same quality, merely two sides of the same shield.

The man who, if born to wealth and power, exploits and ruins his less fortunate brethren is at heart the same as the greedy and violent demagogue who excites those who have not property to plunder those who have.

Divisiveness

The gravest wrong upon his country is inflicted by that man, whatever his station, who seeks to make his countrymen divide primarily in the line that separated class from class, occupation from occupation, men of more wealth from men of less wealth, instead of remembering that the only safe standard is that which judges each man on his worth as a man, whether he be rich or whether he be poor, without regard to his profession or to his station in life.

Such is the only true democratic test, the only test that can with propriety be applied in a republic.

There have been many republics in the past, in what we call antiquity and the Middle Ages.

They fell, and the prime factor in their fall was the fact that the parties tended to divide along the wealth from poverty.

It made no difference which side was successful; it made no difference whether the republic fell under the rule of oligarchy or the rule of a mob.

In either case, when once loyalty to a class had been substituted for loyalty to the republic, the end of the republic was at hand.

There is no greater need to-day than the need to keep ever in mind the fact that the cleavage between right and wrong, between good citizenship and bad citizenship, runs at right angles to, and not parallel with, the lines of cleavage between class and class, between occupation and occupation.

Ruin looks us in the face if we judge a man by his position instead of judging him by his conduct [and character] in that position.

Community versus Individualism

I am a strong individualist by personal habit, inheritance, and conviction; but it is a mere matter of common sense to recognize that the State, the community, the citizens acting together, can do a number of things better than if they were left to individual action.

Individualism which finds its expression in abuse by physical force [must be] checked early in the growth of civilization, and we of to-day should strive to shackle or destroy that individualism which triumphs by greed and cunning, which exploits the weak by craft, ruling them by brutality.

We ought to go with any man in the effort to bring about justice and the equality of opportunity, to turn the tool-user more and more into the tool-owner, to shift burdens so that they can be more equitably borne.

Helping Others versus Doing it Yourself

Let us try to level up, but let us beware of the evil of leveling down.

If a man stumbles, it is a good thing to help him to his feet.
Every one of us needs a helping hand now and then.

But if a man lies down, it is a waste of time to try and carry him; and it is a very bad thing for every one if we make man feel that the same reward will come to those who shirk their work and those who do it.

Integrity & Equality

We should not take part in acting a lie any more than in telling a lie. We should not say that men are equal when they are not equal, nor proceed upon the assumption that there is an equality where it does not exist; but we should strive to bring about a measurable equality, at least to the extent of preventing the inequality which is due to force or fraud.

Abraham Lincoln, a man of the plain people, blood of their blood, and bone of their bone, who all his life toiled and wrought and suffered for them, at the end died for them, who always strove to represent them, who would never tell an untruth to or for them, spoke of the doctrine of equality with his usual mixture of idealism and sound common sense. He said:

We are bound in honor to refuse to listen to those men who would make us desist from the effort to do away with the inequality which means injustice; the inequality of right, opportunity, of privilege. We are bound in honor to strive to bring even nearer the day when, as far as humanly possible, we shall be able to realize the ideal that each man shall have an equal opportunity to show the stuff that is in him by the way in which he renders service.

There should, so far as possible, be equal of opportunity to render service; but just so long as

there inequality of service there should and must be inequality of reward. The reward must go to the man who does his work well; for any other course is to create a new kind of privilege, the privilege of folly and weakness; and special privilege is injustice, whatever form it takes.

To say that the thriftless, the lazy, the vicious, the incapable, ought to have reward given to those who are far-sighted, capable, and upright, is to say what is not true and cannot be true.

Responsibilities of Journalism

All I say of the orator applies with even greater force to today's more influential brother, the journalist.

The power of the journalist is great, but he is entitled neither to respect nor admiration unless that power it is used aright.

He can do, and often does, great good. He can do, and often does, infinite mischief.

All journalists, all writers, should bear testimony against those who deeply discredit their profession.

Offensive Journalism

Offenses against taste and morals, which are bad enough in a private citizen, are infinitely worse if made into instruments for debauching the community through a newspaper.

Mendacity, slander, sensationalism, inanity, vapid triviality, all are potent factors for the debauchery of the public mind and conscience.

The excuse advanced for vicious writing -- that the public demands it and that demand must be supplied -- can no more be admitted than if it were advanced by purveyors of food who sell poisonous adulterations.

Tolerance and Conviction

Need for Diverse Ideas

In a republic, to be successful we must learn to combine intensity of conviction with a broad tolerance of difference of conviction.

Wide differences of opinion in matters of religious, political, and social belief must exist if conscience and intellect alike are not to be stunted, if there is to be room for healthy growth.

Divisiveness Results in the Downfall of Nations

Bitter internecine hatreds, based on such differences, are signs, not of earnestness of belief, but of that fanaticism which, whether religious or antireligious, democratic or antidemocratic, are itself a manifestation of the gloomy bigotry which has been the chief factor in the downfall of so many, many nations.

Beware the Hostile Manipulator

The citizens of a republic should beware, of one man especially -- beyond anyone else -- man who appeals to them to support him on the ground that he is hostile to other citizens of the republic, that he will secure for those who elect him, in one shape or another, profit at the expense of other citizens of the republic.

It makes no difference whether he appeals to class hatred or class interest, to religious or antireligious prejudice.

The man who makes such an appeal should always be presumed to make it for the sake of

furthering his own interest.

The very last thing an intelligent and self-respecting member of a democratic community should do is to reward any public man because that public man says that he will get the private citizen something to which this private citizen is not entitled, or will gratify some emotion or animosity which this private citizen ought not to possess.

Integrity is a Two-Way Street

Let me illustrate this by one anecdote from my own experience.

A number of years ago I was engaged in cattle-ranching on the great plains of the western United States. There were no fences. The cattle wandered free, the ownership of each one was determined by the brand; the calves were branded with the brand of the cows they followed.

If, on a round-up, an animal was passed by, the following year it would appear as an unbranded yearling, and was then called a maverick. By the custom of the country these mavericks were branded with the brand of the man on whose range they were found.

One day I was riding the range with a newly hired cowboy, and we came upon a maverick. We roped and threw it; then we built a fire, took out a cinch-ring, heated it in the fire; and then the cowboy started to put on the brand.

I said to him, "It's so-and-so's brand," naming the man on whose range we happened to be.

He answered: "That's all right, boss; I know my business."

In another moment I said to him: "Hold on, you are putting on my brand!"

To which he answered: "That's all right; I always put on the boss's brand."

I answered: "Oh, very well. Now you go straight back to the ranch and get whatever is owing to you; I don't need you any longer."

He jumped up and said: "Why, what's the matter? I was putting on your brand."

And I answered: "Yes, my friend, and if you will steal *for* me, then you will steal *from* me."

Principles of Life

Now, the same principle which applies in private life applies also in public life.

If a public man tried to get your vote by saying that he will do something wrong in your interest, you can be absolutely certain that if ever it becomes worth his while he will do something wrong against your interest.

World View of Peace & Justice

Let me say at once that I am no advocate for a foolish cosmopolitanism. I believe that a man must be a good patriot before he can be, and as the only possible way of being, a good citizen of the world.

Experience teaches us:

- that the average man who protests that his international feeling swamps his national feeling, that he does not care for his country because he cares so much for mankind,
- that the man who says that he does not care to be a citizen of any one country, because he is the citizen of the world he happens at the moment to be in.....
in actual practice proves himself the foe of mankind;

If a man can view his own country and all other countries from the same level with tepid indifference, it is wise to distrust him, just as it is wise to distrust the man who can take the same dispassionate view of his wife and mother.

However broad and deep a man's sympathies, however intense his activities, he need have no fear that they will be cramped by love of his native land.

Supporting Our Allies

[A patriotic] a man should [also] wish to do good outside of his native land. Just as the man who loves his family is more apt to be a good neighbor than the man who does not, the most useful member of the family of nations is normally a strongly patriotic nation.

I hold that the true patriot, who is as jealous of national honor as a gentleman of his own honor, will be careful to see that the nations neither inflict nor suffer wrong, just as a gentleman scorns equally to wrong others or to suffer others to wrong him.

I do not for one moment admit that a man should act deceitfully as a public servant in his dealing with other nations, any more than he should act deceitfully in his dealings as a private citizen with other private citizens. I do not for one moment admit that a nation should treat other nations in a different spirit from that in which an honorable man would treat other men

In practically applying this principle to the two sets of cases there is, of course, a great practical difference to be taken into account.

We speak of international law; but international law is something wholly different from private or municipal law, and the capital difference is that there is a sanction for the one and no sanction for the other; that there is an outside force which compels individuals to obey the one, while there is no such outside force to compel obedience as regards to the other.

International law will, I believe, as the generations pass, grow stronger and stronger until in some way or other there develops the power to make it respected. But as yet it only in the first formative period. As yet, as a rule, each nation is of necessity to judge for itself in matters of vital importance between it and its neighbors, and actions must be of necessity, where this is the case, be different from what they are where, as among private citizens, there is an outside force whose action is all-powerful and must be invoked in any crisis of importance.

It is the duty of wise statesman, gifted with the power of looking ahead, to try to encourage and build up every movement which will substitute or tend to substitute some other agency for force in the settlement of international disputes.

It is the duty of every honest statesman to try to guide the nation so that it shall not wrong any other nation.

But as yet the great civilized peoples, if they are to be true to themselves and to the cause of humanity and civilization, must keep in mind that in the last resort they must possess both the will and the power to resent wrong-doings from others.

The men who sanely believe in a lofty morality preach righteousness; but do not preach weakness, whether among private citizens or among nations.

We believe that our ideals should be so high, but not so high as to make it impossible measurably to realize them.

We sincerely and earnestly believe in peace; but if peace and justice conflict, we scorn the man who would not stand for justice though the whole world came in arms against him.

Virtues of Fighting for what's Right

I pay all homage to the highest intellectual development; and yet I add that more important still are the commonplace, every-day qualities and virtues. Such ordinary, every-day qualities include the will and the power to fight at need.

The good man should be both a strong and a brave man; that is, he should be able to fight, he should be able to serve his country as a soldier, if the need arises.

There are well-meaning philosophers who declaim against the unrighteousness of war. They are right only if they lay all their emphasis upon the unrighteousness.

War is a dreadful thing, and unjust war is a crime against humanity.

But it is such a crime because it is unjust, not because it is a war.

The choice must ever be in favor of righteousness, and this is whether the alternative be peace or whether the alternative be war.

The question must not be merely, is there to be peace or war?

The question must be, is it right to prevail?

Are the great laws of righteousness once more to be fulfilled?

And the answer from a strong and virile person must be "Yes," whatever the cost. Every honorable effort should always be made to avoid war, just as every honorable effort should always be made the individual in private life to keep out of a brawl, to keep out of trouble; but no self-respecting individual, no self-respecting nation, can or ought to submit to wrong.

Long may we carry ourselves proudly as citizens of nations which bear a leading part in the teaching and uplifting of mankind.

*Far better to dare mighty things,
To win glory 'tho checkered by disaster,
Than to take rank with those poor spirits
Who've made mediocrity their master.
Those who've neither enjoyed nor suffered much;
They've always chosen to be discreet,
While they wallowed in the fog and grey twilight,
Knowing neither victory or defeat.*

(RPL: Adaptation of Teddy Roosevelt's Spirit into a "dinner toast")

