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The Strenous Life [edit] Speech to the Hamilton Club, Chicago, April 10, 1899 Much better it is to dare mighty things, to win glorious triumphs, even though controlled by failure, than to rank with those poor spirits who do not enjoy much or suffer much, because they live in that gray twilight that knows neither victory nor defeat. We can't prevent us from meeting big issues. The only thing we can decide for ourselves is whether we will meet them well or ill. If we stand idly by, if we only seek swollen, sloth convenience and unworthy peace, if we recede from the hard contests where men have to win at risk of their lives and at the risk of all that they hold dear, then the bolder and stronger peoples will pass us by and win for themselves the domination of the world. I want to preach, not the doctrine of unworthy ease, but the doctrine of strenuous life, the life of toil and effort, of labor and struggle; to preach that highest form of success that comes, not to the man who desires only easy peace, but to the man who does not recede from danger, of hardship, or of bitter toil, and who wins from this the magnificent ultimate triumph. A life of sloth convenience, a life of that peace that arises only from lack of desire or of power to strive for great things, is as unworthy of a nation as of an individual. [...] If you are rich and worth your salt, you will learn that although they have free time, it cannot be spent in inaction; for wisely used leisure means only that those who own it are free from the need to work for their livelihood, all the more bound to some kind of non-rewarding work in science, in letters, in art, in exploration, in historical research- work of the type we need most in this country, whose successful execution reflects most honor on the nation. We do not admire the man of timid peace. We admire the man who embodies triumphant effort; the man who never injustices his neighbor, who is quick to friend help, but who has those virile qualities needed to win in the stern battle of real life. It's hard to fail, but it's worse to never have tried to succeed. In this life we get nothing by effort. Freedom of effort in the present only means that in the past there has been a storage effort. A man can be freed from the necessity of the work only by the fact that he or his fathers have worked for him to good cause. If the thus purchased freedom is used, and the man still actually does work, although of a different kind, or as a writer or a general, or in the field of politics or in terms of exploration and adventure, he shows that he deserves his luck. But when he treats this period of freedom of the need for real labor as a period, not of preparation, but of mere pleasure, even though he may not be of malicious pleasure, he shows that he is simply a cumberer of the earth's surface, and he is certainly unfit to stand with his fellow men if the need to do so would arise again. A mere life of convenience is ultimately not a very fulfilling life, and above all it is a life that ultimately makes those who follow it unsuitable for serious work in the world. In the latest analysis, a healthy state can only exist when the men and women who lead it lead clean, vigorous, healthy lives; when the children are trained in such a way that they will make an effort, not to avoid difficulties, but to overcome them; not to seek convenience, but to know how to prevail from toil and risk. Far better is to dare mighty things, to win glorious triumphs, even though controlled by failure, than to rank with those poor spirits who do not enjoy much or suffer much, because they live in that gray twilight that knows neither victory nor defeat. We cannot, if we would, play the role of China, and be content to rot by inches in unworthy ease within our borders, with no interest in what goes beyond them, sunk into a veiled commercialism; careless of the life of aspiration, of toil and risk, concerned with ourselves only with the wishes of our body for the day, until suddenly we must find, beyond a shadow of demand, what China has already found, that in this world the nation that has trained itself to a career of inattentive and isolated ease is bound , in the end , to go down for other nations that have not lost the masculine and adventurous qualities. If we really want to be a great people, we must strive in good faith for a great role in the world. We can't prevent us from meeting big issues. The only thing we can decide for ourselves is whether we will meet them well or ill. We have a problem to solve. If we take the solution, of course, there is always the danger that we will not solve it properly; but if we refuse to take the solution, it is simply certain that we cannot solve it justice. No country can endure for a long time if its foundations are not laid deep in the material prosperity that comes from frugality, of business energy and enterprise, of hard, unworkable efforts in the field of industrial activity; but neither was ever truly great if it relied solely on material prosperity. All honors must be paid to architects of our material prosperity, to the great captains of industry who built our factories and our railways, to the strong men who forge wealth with brains or hands; for great is the debt of the nation to this and their kind. But our debt is even greater for the men whose highest type can be found in a statesman like Lincoln, a soldier like Ulysses S. Grant. They showed through their lives that they recognized the law of work, the law of struggle; they lifted to gain a competence for themselves and those who depended on them; but they recognized that there were still other and even higher duties - duties to the nation and duties to the race. We can't sit huddled within our own limits and avow ourselves just an assemblage of well-to-do hucksters who don't care for what's happening out there. Such a policy would even defeat its own purpose; because as the nations have ever wider and broader interests, and are brought closer and closer together, if we stand firm in the fight for maritime and commercial supremacy, we must build our power without our own borders. We need to build the Isthmic Channel, and we need to understand the vantage points that will allow us to have our say on the fate of the oceans of the East and the West. If we value our own self-respect, let us face the responsibilities with the right seriousness, courage and high determination. We must demand the highest order of integrity and ability in our public men who are struggling with these new issues. We must hold to a rigid accountability to officials who are disloyal to the interests of the nation or the inability to rise to the high level of new demands on our strength and our resources. Of course, we should remember to judge an official by an act, and above all we must beware of attacking the men who are only the occasions and not the causes of the disaster. We need to see that there is civic honesty, civil cleanliness, civil common sense in our home administration of city, state and nation. We must strive for fairness in office, for fairness towards the creditors of the nation and of the individual; for the broadest freedom of individual initiative where possible, and for the wisest control of individual initiative where it is hostile to the well-being of many. But because we put our own household in order, we are not deterred from playing our part in the great business of the world. A man's first duty is to his own home, but he is therefore not exempt from doing his duty to the state; for if he is not in this second duty it is on pain of holding up a freeman. Similarly, while a nation's first duty is within its borders, it is not prevented from facing its duties in the world as a whole; and if it refuses to do so, it only loses its right to fight for a place among the peoples who shape the fate of mankind. If we stand idly by, if we only seek swollen, sloth-like ease and unworthy peace, if we Of the hard matches where men must win at risk of their lives and at the risk of all that they hold dear, then the bolder and stronger peoples will pass us, and for themselves will win the domination of the world. Therefore, let us bravely face the life of struggle, resolutely to do our duty good and manly; determined to uphold justice by deed and word; resolute to be both honest and brave, to use practical methods. Above all, let us recede for no struggle, morally or physically, within or without the nation, provided that we are sure that the fight is justified, for it is only through struggle, through hard and dangerous effort, that we will ultimately win the goal of true national greatness. Expansion and Peace[edit] Published in the Independent, October 21, 1899 Cowardice does not promote peace. Cowardice does not promote peace. Peace is a great good; and doubly harmful is therefore the attitude of those who advocate it in terms that would make it synonymous with selfish and cowardly shrinking of struggle against the existence of evil. The wisest and most depraunal champions of peace will ever remember that it must be good in the first place, for unjust and cowardly peace can be worse than any war; and, secondly, that it can often only be obtained at the expense of war. However, the growth of peace between nations is strictly limited to those who are civilized. It can only come if both sides feel the same spirit in a possible argument. With a barbaric nation, peace is the exceptional condition. On the border between civilization and barbarism war is generally normal, because it must be under the conditions of barbarism. Whether the barbarian is the Red Indian on the border of the United States, the Afghan on the border of British India, or the Turkoman confronting the Siberian Kos indies, the result is the same. In the long run, the civilized man feels that he can only keep the peace by subduing his barbaric neighbor; for the barbarian will only give in to violence, except in cases so exceptional that the peace can be ignored. The back of the force must act fairly if peace is to be permanent. But without violence, fair trade usually doesn't come down to anything. In our history, we have had more problems from the Indian tribes we have spoiled and petted than from those who have wronged; and this has been true in Siberia, Hindustan and Africa. Every expansion of civilization ensures peace. In other words, any expansion of a great civilized power means a victory for law, order and justice. [...] The rule of law and order have succeeded in forging the rule of barbaric and bloody violence. Until the great civilized intervened, there was no chance of anything other than such bloody violence. Nations that expand and nations that don't expand can both eventually go down, but one leaves heirs and a glorious memory, and the other leaves neither. The Roman expanded, and he left memory that has deeply influenced the history of mankind, and he has further abandoned as the heirs of his body, and especially of his tongue and culture, the so-called Latin peoples of Europe and America. As on the day, it is the great growing peoples who bequeath to the future ages the great memories and material achievements of their achievements, and the nations that will have emerged from their loins, England stand as the archetype and best example of all these powerful nations. But the peoples who do not expand leave nothing behind. It is only the bellicose power of a civilized people that can give peace to the world. The Arab destroyed the civilization of the Mediterranean coasts, the Turk destroyed the civilization of southeastern Europe, and the Tatar desolated from China to Russia and Persia, reducing the progress of the world for centuries, only because the civilized nations that were against them had lost the great fighting qualities and, by becoming overconfident, the power to preserve peace with a strong hand , had lost. Their deaths marked the beginning of a period of chaotic barbaric warfare. Those whose memories are not so brief in forgetting the defeat of the Greeks by the Turks, the Italians by the Abyssinians and Spain's weak campaigns against weak Morocco must realize that at present the Mediterranean coasts would be overrun by the Turks or by Sudan's Mahdists if these war barbarists were only afraid of the southern European powers that have lost the border with the battle. Such a barbaric conquest would mean endless war; and the fact that today the opposite is taking place, and that the barbarians are giving way or being conquered, with the accompanying fact that peace follows their relapse or conquest, is solely due to the power of the powerful civilized races that have not lost the fighting instinct, and which, through their expansion, gradually bring peace to the red waste where the barbaric peoples of the world have power. Latitude and Longitude among reformers[edit] Published in the Century, June 1900 No man is justified in doing harm on the grounds of opportunism. Giving in to depravity inevitably means increasing depravity. Cynicism in public life is a curse, and when a man has lost the power of enthusiasm for justice it will be better for him and the country as he leaves public life. The quality of striving for the ideal, that is, the quality that makes men reformers, and the quality of this pursuit through practical methods- [is] the quality that makes men efficient. Both qualities are absolutely necessary. The absence of either makes the presence of the other worthless or worse. Success is repugnant if by the sacrifice of the fundamental principles of morality. The successful man, both in business and politics, who has risen up by unscrupulously defrauding his neighbors, by deceit and chicanery, by unscrupulous audacity and cunning, stands against society as a dangerous wild beast. The mean and shrinking admiration that such a career commands among those who think skewed or not at all makes this kind of success perhaps the most dangerous of all the influences that threaten our national lives. Our standard of public and private behavior will never be raised to the right level until we become the villain who manages to feel the weight of a hostile public opinion even stronger than the villain who fails. On the other hand, just beating the air, mere visionary adherence to a vague and possibly very unwanted ideal, is utterly worthless. Occasionally one can stand uncomproisingly for a nude principle and force people into it. This is always the attractive course; but in certain major crises it can be a very wrong course. Compromise, in the right sense, means only agreement; in the right sense, opportunism should only mean that you do the best possible with the actual circumstances as they exist. A compromise that results in half a step to evil is completely wrong, just as the opportunist who saves himself for the time being by pursuing a policy fraught with future disasters is completely wrong; but no less wrong is the attitude of those who do not come to an agreement whereby, or will not follow the course through which, it is only possible to achieve practical results for good. These two attitudes, the attitude of the final, of pure efficiency, pure success, without taking into account the moral qualities behind it, and the attitude of ignoring efficiency, ignoring practical results, are the Scylla and Charybdis between which every serious reformer, any politician who wants to make the name of his profession a term of honour rather than shame, must steer. He must avoid both on pain of wreckage, and it helps him nothing to have avoided one, as he founders to the other. People tend to speak as if in political life, public life, it would be a mere case of striving for a high peak. The simile is inaccurate. Every man who strives to do good public work travels along a nokkam, with the wave of failure on each side - the wave of inefficiency on one side, the wave of iniquity on the other. All kinds of forces play on him all the time, pushing him first into one wave and then into the other; and even a wise and good man, unless he deletes himself with unusual firmness and foresight, since he is pushed in this way, and that, will find that his course becomes a pronounced zigzag rather than a straight line; and if it gets too pronounced he is lost, no matter which side zigzag can take him. In every community there are small knots of fantastic extremists who are loud that they seek justice, and who in reality do their weak best for iniquity. Just as the upright politician should hold in peculiar contempt of the man who makes the name of the politician a reproach and a disgrace, so the reformer must realize that the cause he champions is especially compromised by the mock reformer who does what he can to make reform a laughing stock among decent men. A biting observer once remarked that when Dr. Johnson spoke of patriotism as the last refuge of a villain, he was ignorant of the infinite possibilities in the word reform. The sneer was discredited to the man who expressed it, because it is no more possible to justify corruption by investing against those by their behavior throw scandal at the cause of reform than it is to justify treason by showing that men of shady character often try to cover their misconduct through fiery protests of the love of the country. Nevertheless, the fact remains that just as true patriots should be especially envious of what is based under the guise of patriotism, so men who strive for honesty, and for the cleansing of what is corrupt in the dark places of our politics, must emphatically distance themselves from the men whose antics discredit the reforms they claim to advocate. Few things hurt a good cause more than the excesses of its nominal friends. Strive for justice and strive to do your efforts for a good count. You can't apologize if you don't try to make things better; and the phrase trying to make things better implies trying in practice. The capacity of one man is for one type of work and the capacity of another man for another kind of work. One affects certain methods and another affects entirely different methods. All this is of little importance. What is really vital is that something has to be achieved, and that this is something worth complying with. The field is of enormous size, and the workers are always too few. There is no excuse for a sincere employee looking down on another because he chooses a different part of the field and different tools. It is unforgivable to refuse to work, to work limply or perversely, or to harass the work of others. No one is justified in doing harm on the grounds of opportunism. He is bound to do everything possible. Nevertheless, he must address the question of opportunism so that he can do everything possible, otherwise he will do nothing. We need upright politicians who will take the time and effort and who have the capacity to manage caucuses, conventions and public meetings. [...] In public life, we need not only men who can work in and through their parties, but also upright, fearless, rational independents, who will provide impartial justice to all people and all parties. We need men who are prescient and determined; Men combine sincerity with common sense. [...] It is vital that every human being who is in politics, as a human being should be, with a disinterested purpose to serve the public, is steadily pursuing reforms; that he should have the highest ideals. He must lead, only he must lead in the right direction, and He must be in sight of his followers. Cynicism in public life is a curse, and when a man has lost the power of enthusiasm for justice it will be better for him and the country as he leaves public life. We from to this day are bound to try to tread in the footsteps of those great Americans who in the past have held a high ideal and have vigorously pursued through practical methods to realize that ideal. There must be many compromises; but we can't compromise with dishonesty, with sin. Giving in to depravity inevitably means increasing depravity. There can be no interference in the laws of justice, of decency, of morality. We are bound in turn to put into practice what we preach; to remember that we should not be excused if we do not; and that in the last resort no material prosperity, no business acumen, no intellectual development of any kind, can reconcile in the life of a nation for the lack of the fundamental qualities of courage, honesty and common sense. Fellow-Feeling as a Political Factor[edit] Published in the Century, January 1900. Pdf at theodore-roosevelt.com. The real solution to our political and social problems lies in cultivating the spirit of brotherhood, of co-feeling and understanding between man and man everywhere. In any healthy community there should be a solidarity of sentiment and a knowledge of solidarity of importance among the various members. Where this solidarity ceases to exist, where there is no sense of compassion, the community is ripe for disaster. Courage is largely an acquired habit, but through practice it gradually becomes almost automatic. When a political organization of partisan becomes only an association for purposes of looting and patronage, it can be a threat rather than an aid to a community; and when a non-partisan political organization falls under the control of fantastic extremists always attracted to such movements, in turn it becomes either useless or harmful. FELLOW-FEELING, sympathy in the broadest sense of the word, is the most important factor in producing a healthy political and social life. Neither our national nor our local civil life can be what it should be, unless it is characterized by the co-feeling, the mutual kindness, the mutual respect, the sense of common duties and common interests, which arise when men take the trouble to understand each other, and to associate together for a common object. A very large part of the resentment of political and social struggle stems from sheer misunderstandings by one section, or by one class, of another, or else from the fact that the two sections, or two classes, are so of each other that neither appreciates the passions of the other, prejudices, and, indeed, point of view, while they are both completely ignorant of their community of feeling regarding the essence of masculinity and humanity. The only real solution to our political and social problems lies in cultivating the spirit of brotherhood, of co-feeling and between man and man, and the willingness to treat a man as a man, which are the essential factors in American democracy as we still see it in the country districts. The most important factor in producing such sympathy is simply association in a field of equality, and for a common object. Every healthy-minded American is bound to think well of his fellow Americans if he only gets to know them. The problem is, he doesn't know them. It is this capacity for sympathy, for co-feeling and mutual understanding, which must lie at the basis of all really successful movements for good governance and the improvement of social and civil conditions. There is no patent device for creating good government. Even less is a patent machine to remedy social evils and eliminate social inequalities. Wise legislation can help in any case, and rough, vicious, or demagogic legislation can do an infinite amount of damage. But the improvement must come through the slow working of the same forces that always tend for justice, and always will. The most important lesson that needs to be learned is the lesson of treating each man on his worth as a man, and of remembering that while sometimes it is necessary, both from a legislative and social point of view, to regard men as a class, but in the long run our security lies in recognizing the value of the individual or lack of value as the main basis of action , and in shaping our entire behavior, and in particular our political behavior, accordingly. It is impossible for a democracy to endure if political lines are drawn to coincide with class lines. The resulting government, or of the upper or lower class, is not a government of the whole people, but a government of some of the people at the expense of the rest. Where the lines of political division are vertical, the men of every profession and of every social status that separate according to their callings and principles, the result is healthy and normal. But so far, if the lines are drawn horizontally, the result is unhealthy, and long-term disastrous, for such a division means that men are pitted against each other in accordance with the blind and selfish interests of the moment. Each is thus placed against his neighbor in an attitude of greedy class hostility, which becomes the main source of his behavior, rather than each basing his political action on his own beliefs about what is desirable and what is disa guessable, and on his own disinterested sense of devotion to the interests of the entire community as he sees them. Republics have fallen in the past mainly because the parties that controlled them divided along the lines of the class, so inevitably the triumph one or the other implied the supremacy of a part over the whole. [...] The only way to provide for the evil of a horizontal cleavage in politics is to stimulate the growth of the co-feeling, of a feeling based on the relationships of man to man, and not from class to class. As a one in fact, the vast mass of our legislation and administration should deal with matters that are strictly for the common government, and where special legislation or administration is needed, as it often should be, for a particular class, the need can be met primarily by mere honesty and common sense. But if men are chosen solely from a caste, or on a caste theory, the voter gradually replaces the theory of allegiance to the Commonwealth as a whole, and instead of claiming as fundamentally the qualities of honesty and broad intelligence—which is the indispensable qualities in securing the well-being of the whole—as the first consideration , he demands, as a substitute, diligence in the service, or apparent service, of the class, which is quite consistent with gross corruption outside. In short, we get back to the conditions that left democracy to fall in the ancient Greek and medieval republics, where party lines were horizontal and class warred against class, each consequently necessarily replacing devotion to the importance of a class for devotion to the interest of the state and the basic ideas of morality. The only way to avoid the growth of these evils is, as far as can be, to help create conditions that allow mutual understanding and compassion between members of different classes. To do this, it is imperative that there be a natural association between members for a common purpose or with a common purpose. As long as people are separated by their caste lines, each body with its own amusement, interests and professions, they are sure to regard each other with that instinctive distrust that they feel for foreigners. There are exceptions to the rule, but it's a rule. On party organizations and serious political organizations: If they want to be successful, they must necessarily be democratic, in the sense that every man is treated strictly on his merits as a man. No one can succeed who is trying to go in on another basis. A man who has played an active role in the political life of a large city has an incalculable advantage over his fellow citizens who have not participated in this way, because he normally has more understanding than they can of the attitude of the mind, the passions, prejudices, hopes and hostilities of his fellow citizens, with whom he would not normally be brought into business or social contact. Of course, there are plenty of exceptions to this rule. A man who is drawn into politics for absolutely selfish reasons, and especially a rich man who only yearns to buy political promotion, can know absolutely nothing that is of value to any, but the most fundamental side of human nature with which his sphere of contact enlarged; and, on the other hand, a wise employer of labor, or a philanthropist in whom zeal and judgment balance, can know much more than most politicians. But the fact that that the effect of political life, and of the associations it entails, is of great use in producing a better understanding and a sharper sense of compassion among men who would otherwise not know each other at all, or else as members of extraterrestrial bodies or classes. If a man allows greatness of the heart to degenerate into softness of the head, he inevitably becomes a nuisance in every relationship of life. If sympathy is distorted and morbid, it hinders instead of helping the effort toward social improvement. But without sympathy, without compassion, no permanent good can be achieved. In any healthy community there should be a solidarity of sentiment and a knowledge of solidarity of importance among the various members. Where this solidarity ceases to exist, where there is no sense of compassion, the community is ripe for disaster. Of course the compassion of value can be much in proportion if it is unconscious. A feeling that is easy and natural is much better than a feeling that needs to be artificially stimulated. But the artificial stimulus is better than none, and with co-feeling, as with all other emotions, what is artificially started can become quite natural in its continuation. For most people, courage is largely an acquired habit, and in the other occasions when it is necessary, it requires the exercise of willpower and self-control; but through practice it gradually becomes almost automatic. A man who conscientiously tries to throw into his party with those about him, to make his interests of them, to put himself in a position where he and they have a common object, will at first feel a little self-conscious, will clearly realize his own goals. But with practice, this will pass. He will soon find that the feeling he had to stimulate in the first place really existed, although latent, and capable of a very healthy growth. Of course, it can only become normal if the man himself becomes genuinely interested in the object he and his fellow men are pursuing. It is therefore clearly desirable that this object has a real and vital importance for everyone. When a political organization of partisan becomes only an association for purposes of looting and patronage, it can be a threat rather than an aid to a community; and when a non-partisan political organization falls under the control of fantastic extremists always attracted to such movements, in turn it becomes either useless or harmful. It is an excellent thing to win a triumph for good government in a given election; but if it is such a much better thing to gradually build that spirit of co-feeling among American citizens, which, in the end, is absolutely necessary if we have the principles of virile honesty and robust common sense triumph in us want to see. Civic Helpfulness[edit] Published in the Century, October 1900 The greatest possible good can be done by extending a helping hand at the right time, but attempting to someone standing can end up in nothing but damage. None of us can let the world go very far, but it only moves if each of a very large number does its duty. Undoubtedly, the best form of philanthropic work is to help men and women who are willing and able to help themselves; for fundamentally, this aid is simply what each of us should give and receive all the time. Every man and woman in the country should praise above almost any other quality the capacity for self-help; and yet, at some point, every man and woman in the country will urgently need the help of others, and at some point or another will discover that he or she can in turn even give help to the fittest. The quality of self-help is such a wonderful quality that nothing can compensate for its loss; but, like any virtue, it can be twisted into a mistake, and it becomes a mistake if carried to the point of cold-hearted arrogance, of the inability to understand that occasionally the strongest can be in need of help, and that for this reason alone, if for no other, the strong should always be glad of the opportunity in turn to help the weak. The average individual will not spend the hours in which he does not work in doing something that is unpleasant, and absolutely the only way standing to draw the average men or women from professions and entertainment that are unhealthy for soul or body is to deliver an alternative that they will accept. To ban all entertainment, or to treat innocent and vicious entertainment as on the same level, simply assures recruits for the vicious amusement. No man can be a really good citizen unless he takes a lively interest in politics from a high point of view. Moreover, at the moment when politics is being taken, the people who are being helped and those who would help them grow to have a common interest that is real and absorbing rather than artificial to any extent, and this will bring them together as nothing else would. Anything that encourages pauperism, anything that relaxes the male fiber and lowers self-esteem, is an unswetened evil. In charity the only thing that should always be remembered is that, while any man may slip and be helped immediately to ascend to his feet, yet no man can be carried with benefit, neither to him or to the community. The greatest possible good can be done by extending a helping hand at the right time, but the attempt to carry someone permanently can end in nothing but damage. The truly hardworking philanthropists, who spend their lives doing good to their neighbors, do not, as a rule, belong to the mushy class, and thoroughly realize the unwisdom of foolish and arbitrary giving, or of and rough plans of social reforms. The young enthusiast who is first brought into contact with the terrible suffering and displacement degradation that is so evident in many parts of our great cities tends to be so dismayed that he loses his head. If there is a twist on his moral or or makeup, he will never regain his balance; but if he is healthy and healthy he will soon realize that bad things do not afford justification for making them infinitely worse, and that the only safe rule for any man is to strive to do his duty in a spirit of common sense and common sense. None of us can let the world go very far, but it only moves if each of a very large number does its duty. Character and success [editing] Published in the Outlook, March 31, 1900 Bodily power is good, and strength of intellect is even better, but far above both is character. We are not only forbidden to be innocent as pigeons, but also as wise as snakes. There is no more important part of character than steadfast resolution. Rich men who use their wealth right are a great power for good in the community, and help to build that material national prosperity that must underlie national greatness; but if this were the only kind of success, the nation would indeed be gone badly. Physical strength is good, and strength of intellect is even better, but far above both is character. It is true, of course, that a genius, on certain lines, can do more than a brave and masculine guy who is not a genius; and so, in sports, enormous physical strength can overcome weakness, even though the ingenious body in it may have the heart of a lion. But, in the long run, in the great struggle of life, no brilliance of intellect, no perfection of physical development, will count when weighed in the balance against that assemblage of virtues, active and passive, of moral qualities, which we group under the name of character; and if between two participants, even in college sport or in college work, the difference in character on the right side is as great as the difference of intellect or strength the other way, it is the character side that will win. Of course, this does not mean that intellect or physical strength can be safely neglected. On the contrary, it means that both must be developed, and that not the least of the benefits of the development of both stems from the indirect effect that this development itself has on its

character. Success should always be, as a first element, earning a power for the support of the man himself, and for the education of those who depend on him. In the vast majority of cases, it should include a little more than this financially. But the acquisition of wealth is not least the only test of success. After a certain amount of wealth has been accumulated, the accumulation of more is of very little importance indeed from the point of view of success, as success must be understood, both by the community and the individual. Rich men who use their wealth right are a great power for good in the and help to build up the material national prosperity that must underlie national greatness; but if this were the only kind of success, the nation would indeed be gone badly. Successful statesmen, soldiers, sailors, sailors, historians, poets and scientific men are also essential to national greatness, and in fact, very much more essential than a purely successful businessman can possibly be. The average man, in whom the average boy develops, is of course not going to be a miracle in any line, but if he only chooses to try, he can be very good in every line, and the chances of his good work are greatly increased if he has trained his mind. Of course, if, due to his high school, academy, or college experience, he gets to think that the only form of learning is that found in books, he will do very little; but if he keeps his mental balance, that is, if he shows character, he will understand both what learning can do and what it cannot do, and he will be the better the more he can get. The student in a college who crammed to stand at the head of his class, and neglects his health and stunts his development by working for high grades, can do himself a lot of damage; But all he proves is that the abuse of study is wrong. The fact remains that the study itself is essential. So it's with powerful pursuits. If moving or football or base-ball is treated as the end of life by a significant part of a community, then that community shows itself in an unhealthy state. If treated as it should be, - that is, as good, healthy play - it is of great benefit, not only for the body, but in its effect on character. Hard study implies character in the student, and to work a sport that involves serious physical exertion and steady training also implies character. All kinds of qualities go to character, because, emphatically, the term should also be the positive no less than the negative virtues. When we say of a boy or a man, He is of good character, we mean that he does not imply a large number of things that are wrong, and we also mean that he has a lot of effort of will and willingness to face what is unpleasant. He must not steal, he must not be intertemperate, he must not be mean in any way; he must not be mean or brutal; He can't bully the weak. In fact, he should refrain from what is evil. But besides forgoing evil, he must do good. He must be brave and energetic; he must be determined and persistent. We are not only forbidden to be innocent as pigeons, but also as wise as snakes. It is much easier to implement the first part of the order than the last; whereas, on the other hand, it is of far greater importance for the good of humanity that our goodness is accompanied by wisdom than we should only be harmless. If we unite the snake with the wisdom of snake, terrible will be the damage we do; And we, with the best of intentions, can only manage to earn the epithet of harmless, it is hardly worth having poured into the world. Perhaps there is no more important character than steadfast resolution. The boy who's going to make make great man, or is going to count in any way in after life, must make up his mind not only to overcome a thousand obstacles, but to win in spite of a thousand disvestitures or defeats. He may be able to escape the greatest success along the lines on which he originally began. Maybe he should try something completely new. On the one hand, he must not be volatile and insoluble, and on the other hand he should not be afraid to try a new line because he has failed in another. Character is shown in peace no less than in the war. If the greatest fertility of invention, the greatest perfection of armament, will not make soldiers of cowards, so no mental training and no physical strength will make a nation great if it lacks the fundamental principles of honesty and moral purity. Both for the nation and the individual, the one indispensable requirement is character-character that does and dares as well as endures, character that is active in the execution of virtue no less than firm in the refusal to do aught that is vicious or degraded. The eighth and ninth commandments in politics [edit] Published in the Outlook, May 12, 1900 We need absolute honesty in public life; and we won't get it until we realize that truth telling has to go hand in hand, and that it's just as important not to tell falsehoods about a decent man as to tell the truth about someone who is not decent. We need unflinching criticism of dishonest men and honest men at every point where they go wrong; but even more we need criticism that is truthful both in what it says and in what it leaves unspoken – truthful in words and truthful in the impression it designs to rely on the opinions of the readers or the audience. The two commandments that are especially applicable in public life are the eighth and the ninth. Not only every politician, high or low, but any citizen who is interested in politics, and especially any man who, in a newspaper or on the stump, pleads or condemns a public order or a public man, should always remember that the two cardinal points should be in his doctrine. Thou shalt not steal, and Thou shalt not false testimony against your neighbor. We can afford to have differences on the currency, the rate and foreign policy; but we cannot afford to differ on the issue of fairness as we expect our republic to endure permanently. Honesty is not so much a credit as an absolute prerequisite for an efficient service to the public. Unless a man is honest we have no right to keep him in public life, no matter how brilliant his ability, it hardly matters how great his power of doing good service on certain lines can There are not a few public people who, although they would with indignation fend off an offer of a bribe, will give certain companies special legislative and executive privileges because they have contributed heavily to campaign funds; will enable loose and extravagant work because a contractor has political influence; or, in any case, will enable an official to money without adequate returns, by being underhanded in inefficient services of men protected by prominent party leaders. Different degrees of moral culpability are involved in the multitudinous actions of this kind; but each case comes directly or indirectly dangerously close to the limit of the commandment, which, in prohibiting theft, certainly by implication prohibits the complicity in theft, or not punishing it. One of the favorite schemes of reformers is to devise a method by which large companies can be prevented from making heavy subscriptions to campaign funds, and thereby acquiring undue influence. But the best way to prevent them from making contributions for inappropriate purposes is simply to choose as civil servants, not professional corporate defendants, because such men are usually their most subservient tools in practice, but men who say, and mean, that they are neither for nor against corporations; that on the one hand they will not be afraid to bring them justice through popular ity, or by any interest in doing more than justice. At the Anti-Trust Conference last summer Mr. Bryan commented, with a sneer, on the fact that of course New York would not pass a law requiring contributions by corporations. He was right to think that New York, while retaining national civic customs, will not pass ridiculous legislation that cannot be made effective, and which is only intended during the campaign to mislead the voters who are least able to think. But there will not be the slightest need for such legislation if only the public mind is sufficiently healthy, sufficiently removed alike from corruption and from demagoguery, to see that each company receives its exact rights and nothing more. Of course, it is not enough for an official to be honest. No degree of honesty will help if he is not also brave and wise. The weakling and the coward cannot be saved by honesty alone; but without honesty, the brave and capable man is only a civilian game of beast to be hunted by every lover of righteousness. No one who is corrupt, no man who condons corruption in others, can possibly do his duty through the community. Great is the danger to our country of the failure of our public people to live the eighth commandment, of the heartlessness in the public that such shortcomings allow. Yet it is no exaggeration to say that the danger is just as great of those who year in year out violate the ninth commandment by carrying false testimony against the honest man, and who thereby degrade him and elevate the dishonest man until they are both at the same level. The public is as much harmed in one case as in another, by one set of wrong as by the other. Liar is as ugly a word as thief, because it implies the presence of just as ugly a sin in one case as in another. If a man is under oath or Another's lie under oath, if he commits perjury or perjury, he is guilty according to the law. According to the higher law, under the great law of morality and justice, he is exactly as guilty as he is, instead of lying in a court of law, in a newspaper or on the stump; and in all likelihood, the evil consequences of his conduct are infinitely more widespread and pernicious. The difference between perjury and mendacity is not least one of morality or ethics. It's just one of the legal forms. We need unflinching criticism of dishonest men and honest men at every point where they go wrong; but even more we need criticism that is truthful both in what it says and in what it leaves unspoken – truthful in words and truthful in the impression it designs to rely on the opinions of the readers or the audience. We need absolute honesty in public life; and we won't get it until we realize that truth telling has to go hand in hand, and that it's just as important not to tell falsehoods about a decent man as to tell the truth about someone who is not decent. The Best and The Good[edit] Published in the Churchman, March 17, 1900 A revolution is sometimes necessary, but as revolutions become ordinary, the country where they take place goes downhill. Improvement can only come through intelligent and simple effort. Mere desire to do good can not in itself be a good statesman than it can make a good general. Of course it is totally unnecessary to say that nothing atones for the lack of this desire to do good. Military power is at an end when the honor of the soldier can no longer be trusted; and, in the proper sense of the word, civic greatness is at an end when civil justice is no longer its foundation. But, of course, everyone knows that a soldier must be more than just honorable before he is fit to do credit to the country; and exactly the same goes for a statesman. He must have high ideals, and the leader of public opinion in the pulpit, in the press, on the platform, or on the stump must preach high ideals. But the possession or preaching of these high ideals can be not only useless, but a source of positive damage, if they are not accompanied by practical common sense, if they do not lead to the effort to get the best possible when the perfect best is not feasible - and in this life the perfect best is rarely achievable. Every leader of a major reform has to contend, on the one hand, with the open, recognized enemies of reform, and, on the other hand, with his extreme proponents, who wish for the impossible, and who join forces with their extreme opponents to defeat the rational friends of the reform. It's a big to think that the extremist is a better man than the moderate. Usually the difference is not that he is morally stronger, but that he is intellectually weaker. He's no more virtuous. He's just more foolish. This is especially true in our American lives of many of those most in denouncing the state of our politics. There is certainly infinite room for improvement, infinite need for fearless and trenching criticism; but the improvement can only come through intelligent and simple effort. It is put back by those extremists who, through their action, always invite reaction, and especially by those worst enemies of our public honesty who, through their incessant attacks on good men, give the greatest possible help to the bad. A revolution is sometimes necessary, but as revolutions become common, the country where they take place goes downhill. We must never compromise in a way that means retrogression. But in the future, we must realise that normally the condition of some progress is that it will not be so quick to ensure a rebellion and a halt in the upward course. Promise and Performance[edit] Published in the Outlook, July 28, 1900 No man should be kept excusable if he does not perform what he promises unless for the best and most sufficient reason. This should apply above all to every politician. Compromise is so often used in a bad sense that it is hard to remember that properly describes the process of reaching an agreement. Of course, there are certain issues on which no one can compromise. For example, there should be no compromise with official corruption, and of course no one should hesitate to say so much. Softness of the heart is an admirable quality, but when it expands its area until it also becomes soft of the head, the results are anything but admirable. It is a good thing to combine a warm heart with a cool head. In the latest analysis, it is the economy, energy, self-control, and business intelligence of every man who has the most to do with deciding whether he does or does not. No one should be held to account if he does not do what he promises, unless for the best and most sufficient reason. This should apply above all to every politician. When a man promises to do a certain course of action, he will be bound to do what he said he would do, and he will not be deemed to have acted honorably if he does so differently. Throughout the history of the world, the nations that have done the best in self-government are the ones that have demanded from their public people only the promise of what can actually be done for justice and fairness, and who have sternly insisted that such promises must be kept in letter and in spirit. A man is worthless unless he has in him a lofty devotion to ideal, and he is also worthless unless he strives to realize this ideal through practical methods. He must promise, both to himself and to others, only what he can carry out; but what he really will implement he must promise, and such a promise he must make good on all dangers. The American Boy[edit] Published in St. Nicholas, May 1900 A coward who will take a blow without returning is a despicable being, but he is hardly so as the boy who dares not stand up for what he deems right against the sneers of his companions who are themselves wrong. The fact that the boy should be male and should be able to hold his ground, that he should be ashamed to submit to bullying without immediate retribution, should in return abhor him any form of bullying, cruelty or brutality. In short, in life, as in a foot-ball game, the principle to follow is: Hit the line hard; don't mistake and don't avoid it, but press the line hard! What we can expect from the American boy, of course, is that he will turn out to be a good American man. Chances are he's not really a man unless he's a good boy. He can't be a coward or a weakling, a bully, a shirk or a prig. He has to work hard and play hard. He must be clean-minded and clean-lived, and able to hold his own under all circumstances and against all newcomers. It is only on these terms that he will become the kind of American man of whom America can be truly proud. We cannot expect the best work of soldiers who have performed to an unhealthy extreme the sport and hobbies that would be healthy if indulged in in moderation, and have failed to learn as they should the business of their profession. A soldier needs to know how to shoot and take cover and shift for himself - not to play a ball or play. A boy needs both physical and moral courage. Neither can take the other's place. When boys become men they will discover that there are some soldiers very brave in the field who have proven timid and worthless as politicians, and some politicians who have a whole willingness to take risks and take responsibilities in civilian matters, but who don't take the fighting when against physical danger. In any case, with both soldiers and politicians, there is only half a virtue. Possessing the courage of the soldier is no excuse for the lack of courage in the statesman and, even less does the possession of the courage of the statesman excuse shrink on the battlefield. A coward who will don't a hit without bringing it back is a despicable creature; but he is hardly as despicable as the boy who dares not stand up for what he considers to be the sneers of his companions who are themselves wrong. Mockery is one of the favorite weapons of wickedness, and it is sometimes incomprehensible how good and brave boys will be affected for evil by the jeers of employees who have no quality that demands respect but who affect to laugh at the very traits that should strangely cause for pride. There is no need to be a prig. There is no need for a boy to preach about his own good behavior and virtue. If he does, he will and ridicule. But there is an urgent need for him to exercise decency; that he must be clean and straight, honest and truthful, gentle and tender, as well as brave. If he can ever get an understanding of things, get, have a much more firm disregard for the boy who has begun a course of feeble dissipation, or who is untruthful, or mean, or dishonest, or cruel, than this boy and his fellow men can possibly, in return, feel for him. The fact that the boy should be male and should be able to hold his ground, that he should be ashamed to submit to bullying without immediate retribution, should in return abhor him any form of bullying, cruelty or brutality. Bullies don't make brave men; and boys or men of bad life cannot become good citizens, good Americans, until they change; and even after the change, scars will be left on their souls. The boy's best man to be a good man is to be a good boy - not a goody-goody boy, but just an ordinary good boy. I don't mean that he should only love the negative virtues; I mean, he's got to love the positive virtues, too. Well, in the greatest sense, must include what is fine, simple, clean, brave and masculine. The best guys I know – the best men I know – are good at their studies or their business, fearless and steadfast, hated and feared by all that is bad and depraved, unable to submit to wrongdoing, and equally incapable of being aught but tender to the weak and helpless. A healthy-minded boy should feel firm contempt for the coward, and even more hearty outrage for the boy who bullies girls or little boys, or tortures animals. A major reason for loathing cowards is because every good boy should put it in him to trash the offensive boy if he needs arises. Of course, the effect that a thoroughly male, thoroughly straight and straight boy can have on companions of his own age, and on those who are younger, is incalculable. If he is not thoroughly manly, then they will not respect him, and his good qualities will count for very few; while, of course, if he is mean, cruel, or evil, then his physical strength and strength of mind only make him so much more reprehensible a member of society. He can't do a good job if he's not strong and doesn't try to count with his whole heart and soul in a match; and his strength will be a curse on himself and for everyone else if he does not have a thorough command of himself and his own evil passions, and if he does not use his power on the side of decency, justice, and fair trade. In short, in life, as in a foot-ball game, the principle to follow is: Hit the line hard; don't mistake and don't avoid it, but press the line hard! Military Preparedness and Unpreparedness[edit] Published in the Century, November 1899 If the disaster comes due to lack of preparedness, the error necessarily lies much less with the men under the disaster actually takes place then with those whose injustice or short-sighted indifference in the past owes the lack of preparedness. But in the war it is unsafe to rely on the opponent's blunders to compensate for our own blunders. The national trait of cleverness, used in the Yankee sense of the word, has very good and very very Sides. One of the latter is the tendency to create the belief that we do not have to prepare for war, because somehow we will be able to win by some new patent device, a new trick or new invention developed on the spur of the moment by the ingenuity of our people. In this way, one hopes to provide a substitute for preparedness – that is, years of patient and faithful attention to detail in advance. It is sometimes said that these mechanical devices will be of such a terrible nature to nullify the courage that has always been the most important factor in winning battles in the past. Now, as all sound military judges knew in advance that it must inevitably be the case, the experience of the Spanish war completely distorted any prediction of this kind. We didn't win by special ingenuity. No device of any kind was improvised during or just before the war that was of any practical service. The bombs shrouded in petroleum had no existence to save in the brains of the Spaniards and their more glibly sympathizers. Our Navy won because of its preparedness and because of the wonderful seamanship and gunnery that had been passed down as traditional in the service, and was perfected by the most careful work. The army, at the one point it was seriously opposed to, did its job through sheer courage and hard fighting, despite an unpreparedness that almost brought it to disaster, and would undoubtedly have done so without the shortcomings and shortcomings of the Spanish Government having not been any greater than ours. We won the war in a very short time, and without having to spend more than the slightest fraction of our strength. The Navy turned out to be in good shape; and Secretary Root, to whom president McKinley's wisdom has trusted the Ministry of War, has always shown himself to be a man in charge of the portfolio – a man whose government must surely be unimpaired for the military and the country. Consequently, too many of our people show signs of thinking that everything was fine anyway, and is now in order; that we do not have to disturb ourselves to learn lessons that we do not agree with, and that if we enter into a war in the future with a more formidable power than Spain, we will somehow withdraw. Such a view is unjust to the nation, and particularly unjust to the wonderful men of the army and navy, who would be sacrificed to it, should we ever wage a serious war without having learned the lessons that the year 1898 should have learned. Crews can't be improvised. To get the best work out of them, they should all be made up of educated and seasoned people; and in any case they are not sent against a formidable opponent unless each crew has for a core a large body of such people filling all the important positions. If the disaster is due to lack of preparedness, the fault necessarily lies much less with the men among whom the disaster actually than with those whose injustice or short-sighted indifference is due in the past to lack preparedness. But in the war it is unsafe to rely on the opponent's blunders to compensate for our own blunders. But the money and the construction of ships were not enough. We must regularly keep in mind that not only was it necessary to build the Navy, but it was equally necessary to train our officers and men on board through actual practice. If we had suddenly been able to buy our current battleships, cruisers and torpedo boats in 1883, they would not have been treated with any degree of efficiency by our officers and crews as they were then. Even less would be possible to treat them by makeshift crews. In an emergency, the bodies of people like our naval militia can do a great job, and, thanks to their high average of character and intellect, they are remarkably good improvised, but it would be foolish to expect all of them from a veteran crew of trained people-of-war-men. And if we ever pitched ship for ship on equal terms against the first class navy of a first-class force, we will need our best captains and our best crews to win. The best man alive, if allowed to rust on a three-company post, or in a garrison near a major city, for ten or fifteen years, will find himself in the straits if suddenly called to command a division, or maybe even an army corps, on a foreign expedition, especially when not one of his key subordinates has ever seen five thousand troops gathered, fed, sheltered, maneuvered, and sent. Captain (now Colonel) John Bigelow, Jr., in his account of his personal experiences in command of a troop of cavalry during the Santiago campaign, has depicted the welter of confusion during that campaign, and the total lack of organization, and of that skillful leadership that can only come through practice. Admiral Dewey[edit] Published in McClure's Magazine, October 1899, The hero cannot win except for the premeditation, energy, courage and capacity of countless other men. However, we must also bear in mind that all this premeditation, energy, courage and capacity will be wasted, unless at the very highest moment a man of the heroic type is able to use the available powers. When the opportunity comes, only the big man can see it immediately and use it well. Secondly, it should always be remembered that the power of using the opportunity aright comes only for the man who is faithful and for long years ready himself and his weapons for the possible need. Finally, and most important of all, it should ever be kept in mind that the man who works almost always should have the ability to do it to the faithful work of other men, either at that time or long before that. Without his brilliance, their labor could be wasted, but without their labor his brilliance would be to no avail. A service will do well or at the outbreak of the war in large proportion to the way in which it has been prepared to meet the outbreak in previous months. Now it is often impossible to say whether the symptoms that seem to enervate war will or will not be followed by war. At one point, under President Harrison, we seemed as close to war with Chile as ever we seemed war with Spain under President McKinley. Therefore, when the war is threatened, preparations must at least be made; for the evil of what turns out to be unnecessary expenditure of money in one case should not be weighed up for a moment by the fact that in the other case there is no preparation. But only a limited number of men have the moral courage to make these preparations because there are always risks to the individual causing them. Laws and regulations must be stretched when an emergency occurs, and yet there is always some danger to the person who extends them; and moreover, in times of sudden need, an indispensable item can most likely only be obtained at an entirely exorbitant price. When the war comes, and the article, whether it's a shipment of coal, or a mine, or an aid navy ship, proves its usefulness, no complaint is ever made. But if the war does not come, then some little demagogue, some cheap economist, or some substandard superior who is afraid to take the responsibility himself, can blame the man who bought the article and say that he overstepped his authority; that he showed more zeal than discretion in not waiting for a few days, etc. These are the risks that need to be taken, and the men who take them should be paid out for reward and for duty. An infinite number of excuses can always be found for non-action. There is no point in giving an army the best weapons and equipment if it does not also get the chance to practice with its weapons and equipment, so the best ships and the best natural sailors and fighters are useless to a navy if the most ample opportunity for training is not allowed. The hero cannot win, except for the premeditation, energy, courage and capacity of countless other men. However, we must also bear in mind that all this premeditation, energy, courage and capacity will be wasted, unless at the very highest moment a man of the heroic type is able to use the available powers. Whether it is Nelson, the greatest of all admirals, in Abukir, Copenhagen or Trafalgar; or Farragut, second only to Nelson, in New Orleans or Mobile; whether Dewey in Manila-the big occasion must meet the big man, or the result will at worst be a failure, at best an indecisive success. The nation must prepare the tools and train the men to use them, but in the crisis a great triumph only be achieved when a heroic man appears. Therefore, it is right and seemly to pay tribute of deep respect and admiration to the man when he appears. Grant[edit] Speech delivered in Galena, Illinois, April 27, 1900. Peace must be the normal state, or the nation will come to a bloody demise. No, ever retained his freedom for every length of time after losing its respect for the law, after losing the law-abiding spirit, the spirit that truly makes orderly freedom. It is only through work and struggle that either nation or individual moves on to greatness. The big man is always the man of mighty effort, and usually the man who needs grinding training to mighty effort. Peace and peace are good things, are great blessings, but only if they come honorably; and it is they who fearlessly turn away from them, when they are not deserved, who deserve the long-term best of their country. In the sweat of our eyebrows we eat bread, and although the sweat is sometimes bitter, it is much more bitter to eat the bread that is undeserved, unearned, undesired. The man who will not fight to turn wrong or undo it is just a poor being; but he is less dangerous than the man who fights on the side of the wrong. Again and again in the history of a nation can, and even sometimes must, come when the nation's highest duty is war. But peace must be the normal state, or the nation will come to a bloody demise. Let us always be clear to our minds that mere lip loyalty is not loyalty at all, and that the only homage that matters is the homage of deeds, not words. It is only a waste of time to celebrate the memory of the dead, unless we, the living, in our lives strive not to show ourselves unworthy of them. A nation that does not have the power of endurance, the power of persistent insistence on a particular policy, come weal or woe, has lost a key element of greatness. The man who saved us more than any other, Lincoln, had turned us into a nation whose citizens were all free, fully realized that these lovmaking would only remain free while controlling their own evil passions. He saw that lawlessness in all its forms was the handmaiden of tyranny. No nation ever retained its freedom for an extended period of time after losing its respect for the law, after losing the law-abiding spirit, the spirit that makes truly orderly freedom. Theodore Roosevelt on General Ulysses S. Grant and the need to law-biding. It is a good thing to have a sharp, fine intellectual development in a nation, to produce orators, artists, successful businessmen; but it is an infinitely greater thing to have those solid qualities that we group under the name of character-sobriety, fortitude, the sense of commitment towards one's neighbor and one's God, hard common sense, and, combined with it, the lift of generous enthusiasm toward what is right. These are the qualities that are going to make real national greatness. We have enough difficulties and dangers in and it is the way we face them, which is to determine whether we are fit descendants of the men of the mighty past. We must not shiver for our duties abroad simply because we have even more important tasks in-house. These are house tasks are the most of all that any thinking man will freely acknowledge. We must do our duty to ourselves and our brothers in the complex social life of the time. We must possess the spirit of broad humanity, deep charity, and loving kindness to our fellow human beings, and at the same time remember, at the same time, that this spirit is truly the absolute antithesis of mere sentimentalism, of soup-kitchen, pauperizing philanthropy, and of legislation that is inspired by foolish vindictive benevolence or by class greed or class hatred. We must be possessed of the spirit of justice and of the spirit that recognizes in the work and does not illuminate the right end of the effort. If we do not have both strength and virtue, we will fail. We don't need men with unsteady brilliance or whimsical power – unbalanced men. The men we need are the men of strong, serious, solid character – the men who possess the domestic virtues and who add robust courage, rugged honesty and high determination to these virtues. Our first task, our most important work, is to put our own house in order. We must be true to ourselves, otherwise, in the long run, we will be false to everyone else. The republic cannot stand if honesty and decency do not prevail equally in public and private life. If we do not take ourselves seriously to solve the enormous social problems that have been forced upon us by the profound industrial changes of the past two generations. But when considering Grant's life it is strange enough to remember that, in addition to regeneration in political and social life within our own borders, we must also face what we call the world's problems. No kindness towards other nations, no good will towards them, can take the place of national self-reliance. No alliance, no offensive behavior on our part, would, in times of need, deliver the failure in the power to sustain us with the strong and true destiny on our own. The surest way to succeed is to get over our work in the spirit that marks the great soldier whose lives we celebrate this day; the spirit of devotion to duty, of determination to go home, righteous, and fearless; with all people, and of iron resolution never to a task ever begun until it is brought to a successful and triumphant conclusion. The Two Americas[edit] Speech delivered at the formal opening of the Pan American Exposition, Buffalo, May 20, 1901. Pdf on theodore-roosevelt.com Each must realize that his own interests can best be served by serving the interests of others. The prosperity of one of them is best achieved through measures that will promote the prosperity of all. In order to be able to act wisely, we must first see clearly, is no place among us for the mere pessimist; no man who looks at life with a vision that sees all black or gray can do aught healthy in forming the fate of a powerful and powerful people. But there is just as little use for the foolish optimist who refuses to face the many and true evils that exist, and who fails to do that only way to the triumph of justice in the future is war against all that is basic, weak and unloved in the present. We meet to this day, representing the people of this continent, from the Dominion of Canada in the north, to Chile and the Argentinean in the south; representing people who have travelled far and fast in the last century, because they have practically demonstrated that it is the spirit of adventure that is the creator of the Commonwealths; people who learn and strive to put into practice the vital truth that freedom is the necessary first step, but only the first step, in a successful free government. Nor is there the last chance that it will be broken, provided that we are all equal with full recognition of the vital need that each must realize that its own interests can best serve by serving the interests of others. We of the two Americas should be left to work out our own salvation along our own lines; and if we are wise, we will understand it as a cardinal feature of our common foreign policy that, on the other hand, we will not submit to territorial aggrandizement on this continent by any Old Power, and on the other hand, among us, each nation must scrupulously deem the rights and interests of others, so that, instead of one of us committing the criminal folly to rise at the expense of our neighbors, we will strive to be up in honest and male brotherhood, shoulder to shoulder. Here in this exhibition, on the stadium and on the pylons of the bridge, you have written certain sentences to which we must all subscribe, and on which we must live if we are in any way do our duty: Who shuns the dust and sweat of the match, on his forehead does not fall the cool shade of the olive, and A free state exists only in the virtue of the citizen. We all accept these statements in theory, but if we don't live up to them in practice, then there is no health in us. Always take the two together. We need the raw, strong qualities that make a man fit to play his role well in men. Yet we must forget even more that no power, no strength and foreground, no power of intellect or power of wealth, will help us, if we do not have the root of life in us. If we pay no more than a mere lip-loyalty to the old, old everyday virtues, which stand at the foundations of all social and political well-being. It's easy to say what we should do, but it's hard to do it; and yet no arrangement can be devised that will save us from the need to do only this hard work. Not only should each of us strive to do our duty; in addition, it is imperative to also create a strong and intelligent public opinion that is of each will demand. If someone fails here, he should not only be ashamed, but somehow he should also be made aware of the condemnation of his fellow human beings, and this does not matter in what form his shortcoming. Of course, doing our duty is the same for each of us; Still Still the heaviest blame for dereliction must fall on the man who sins against the light, the man to whom much has been given, and from whom we therefore have the right to expect much in return. We must hold on to a peculiarly rigid accountability that men who are in public life, or as editors of major newspapers, or as owners of vast fortunes, or as leaders and molders of opinion on the pulpit, or on the platform, or at the bar, are guilty of misconduct, no matter what form that misconduct may take. On the other hand, it is equally true that the prosperity of one of them can best be achieved through measures that will promote the prosperity of all. The poorest motto on which America can act is the motto of Some men down, and the safest to follow is that of All People up. A good deal can and should be done by law. For example, the state and, if necessary, the nation must use law take broad power of overseeing and regulating acts of a company (which may be but its creature), and in general of those immense business enterprises that exist only because of the safety and protection of property guaranteed by our system of government. Yet it is equally true that, although this power should exist, it should be used sparingly and with self-control. While we must strive to prevent industrial justice at home, we must not take us to the place of industrial weakness abroad. My compatriots, bad laws are bad things, good laws are necessary; and a clean, fearless, common sense governance of the law is even more necessary; but what we need above all is to look at ourselves to see that our conscience as individuals, that our collective national conscience, can respond directly to any call to high action, for lofty and generous effort. The national characteristics of hardness and masculinity must not be cast off; and we must always keep clear the love of justice, the spirit of strong fraternal friendship for his fellow man, who we hope and believe will be typical of the men who make up this, the most powerful Republic upon which the sun has ever shone. Masculinity and statehood [edit] Address at the quarter-centennial celebration of Colorado statehood, Colorado Springs, August 2, 1901. Pdf on theodore-roosevelt.com Let's remember steadily that the only homage that matters is the homage of deeds – not just words. But as we pay tribute to the hardy, grim, determined men who, with incredible amount of money and risk deep the foundations of civilization we inherit, let's steadily remember that the only homage that matters is the homage of deeds – not just words. But lip loyalty in itself helps very little, whether it is expressed in relation to a nation or a We live in softer times. Let's make sure that while we benefit from every gentler and more harmonizing tendency of the time, we still retain the iron quality that made our ancestors and predecessors capable of doing the deeds they did. It will find of necessity another expression but the quality itself remains as necessary as ever. If courage and strength and intellect are not guided by the moral purpose, the moral resolution, they become mere forms of expression for unscrupulous strength and unscrupulous cunning. If the strongman is not in him the elevator up to exalted things his strength makes him only a curse for himself and his neighbor. We cannot maintain the full degree of our self-respect if we cannot remain proud of our citizenship. Brotherhood and the Heroic Virtues [edit] Address at the Veterans Reunion, Burlington, Vermont, September 5, 1901. Pdf on theodore-roosevelt.com It is on the efficiency of the recruited man, in the way he does his duty, that the efficiency of the entire army really depends, and the most important work of the officer is after all only to develop, promote and directly promote the qualities of the men among him. We can never afford to forget that, back from reason, our understanding, and our common sense, there must be in full force the enormous fundamental passions that are not often needed, but which every truly great race must have as a source of motive in times of need. National Duties [edit] Address at the Minnesota State Fair, St. Paul, September 2, 1901. Pdf on theodore-roosevelt.com A large number of you are probably familiar with the old saying: Speak soft and carry a big stick-you'll go far. If a man constantly blusters, if he lacks politeness, a big stick will not save him from trouble; and neither will speak soft use, if the back of the softness there does not lie strength, power. Success comes only for those who lead the life of effort. The most important factor in a man's success or failure must be his own character - that is, the sum of his common sense, his courage, his virile energy and capacity. No prosperity and no glory can save a nation that is rotten at heart. In private life, there are few creatures that are more annoying than the man who always brags loudly; and if the braggart is not willing to support his words, his position becomes absolutely despicable. The first essential of civilization is the law. Anarchy is simply the handmaiden and forerunner of tyranny and despotism. Our country is populated by pioneers, and therefore it has more energy, more enterprise, more expansive power than any other in the wider world. [...] They have the qualities of daring, stamina, and foresight, of eager desire for victory and stubborn refusal to accept defeat, which are going to make the essential masculinity of the American character. Above all, they have recognized in practical form the fundamental law of success in American life-the law of dignified work, the law of high, resolute effort. We have very little room among our people for the timid, the low and the lazy; and it is no less true that there is little space in the world at large for the nation with powerful thefts that do not dare to be great. Throughout our history, the success of the is just another name for the up-building of the nation. Poverty is bitter; but it is not as bitter as the existence of restless emptiness and physical, moral and intellectual limpsness, to which those themselves who choose to spend all their years in that vanity of all vain pursuits – pursuing mere pleasure as a sufficient end in themselves. The wilfully lazy man, like the wilfully infertile woman, has no place in a healthy, healthy and powerful community. Moreover, the gross and abhorrent selfishness for which each state defeats even its own miserable goals. Just so infinitely the happiest woman is she who has carried and raised many healthy children, so infinitely the happiest man is he who has soeaged hard and successfully in his life's work. The work can be done in a thousand different ways -with the brain or hands, in the study, the field, or the workshop-It's fair work, done honestly and worth doing, that's all we have the right to ask. Every mother and father here, if they are wise, will raise their children not to escape difficulties, but to meet and overcome them; not to strive for a life of unworthy convenience, but to strive to do their duty, first to themselves and their families, and then to the entire state; and this duty must inevitably take the form of work in one form or another. You, the sons of the pioneers, if you are faithful to your ancestors, must make your lives as worthy as theirs. They were looking for real success, and therefore they were not looking for convenience. They knew that success only comes for those who lead the life of effort. It seems to me that the simple acceptance of this fundamental fact of American life, this recognition that the law of work is the fundamental law of our being, will help us to start a right in the face not a few of the problems that confront us from without and from within. As far as internal affairs are concerned, we should be taught the first need to remember that, after all that has been said and done, the most important factor in a man's success or failure must be his own character - that is, the sum of his common sense, his courage, his virile energy and capacity. Nothing can take the place of this individual factor. In addition to each of us working individually, we all need to work together. We cannot possibly do our best work as a nation unless we all know how to act in combination and how to act individually for ourselves. Acting in combination can take many forms, but of course the most effective form must be when it comes to the form of law – that is, of action by the community as a whole by the law-making body. But it is not possible ever to ensure prosperity only by Law. Something for good can be done by law, and a bad law can do an infinite number of misery; but, after all, the best law can only prevent wrongdoing and injustice, and give the economy, the spurting, and the hardworking a chance to exercise to the best advantage of their special and peculiar abilities. Capabilities. hard-and-fast rule can be established on where our legislation will stop interfering between man and man, between interest and interest. All that can be said is that, on the one hand, it is highly undesirable to weaken the individual initiative, and on the other hand that we will find it necessary in the future to shackle cunning, as we have chained violence in the past. It is not only highly desirable, but also necessary for legislation that carefully shields the interests of contractors and discriminates in favour of the honest and humane employer by removing the disadvantage it faces compared to unscrupulous competitors who have no conscience and will only do justice for fear of punishment. Nor can legislation just stop what are called labour questions. The vast individual and business fortunes, the huge combinations of capital, which have marked the development of our industrial system creating new conditions, and require a change from the old attitude of the state and the nation toward ownership. It is probably true that the vast majority of the fortunes that now exist in this country have been amassed not by injuring our people, but as an incident to confer great benefits on the community; and this, no matter what the conscious purpose may have been of those who amass them. There is only the scarcest justification for most of the indignation against the people of wealth as dusden; and it should not be necessary to state that any profession that directly or indirectly leads to suspicion and hatred among us, which tends to limit opportunities, and thus close the door to success against poor men of talent, and, finally, which entails the possibility of lawlessness and violence, is an attack on the fundamental characteristics of American citizenship. Our interests are common at the bottom; in the long term, we go up or down together. But more and more it is clear that the state, and thus necessary the nation, has to have the right of oversight and control over the large corporations that possess its creatures; in particular with regard to the large business combinations which derive some of their importance from the existence of a monopolistic tendency. The law must be exercised with caution and self-control; but it should exist so that it can be relied upon when the need arises. The man who works, the man who does great deeds, eventually dies just as surely as the most distant idler who cumbars the earth's surface; but he leaves behind the great fact that he has done his job well. That's the way it is with nations. While the nation that has dared its great that has the will and the power to change the fate of the centuries, in the end must die, but no less sure the who has played the role of the weakling must also die; and whereas the nation that has done nothing leaves nothing behind, the nation that has done a great job remains, although in changed form, to live forever. The Roman has died exactly as all nations of antiquity that did not expand when he died extensively; but their memory is gone, while he himself is still a living force throughout the world throughout our civilization today, and will continue through countless generations, through untold centuries. We admit with all sincerity that our first duty is within our own household; that we should not only talk, but act, in favour of cleanliness and decency and justice, in all political, social and civil matters. No prosperity and no glory can save a nation that is rotten at heart. We must keep the core of our national being healthy and ensure that not only our citizens in private life, but especially our statesmen in public life practice the old everyday virtues that have traditionally been at the root of all true national well-beings. Just as every man, while first doing his duty to his wife and the children in his home, must still, if he hopes to spend too much money, strive vigorously in the world outside his home, so that our nation, while primarily seeing his own domestic well-being, should not shrink from playing his role among the great nations without it. Our duty can take many forms in the future, because it has taken many forms in the past. Also, it is not possible for all cases to establish a hard and fast rule. We must one day face up to our changing national needs, the ever-changing opportunities that arise. But we can be sure: whether we like it or not, we cannot prevent us from having duties to do in the face of other nations after this. All we can do is check out whether we will perform these tasks properly or sickly. Here leaves me as forcefully a plea as I know how to say nothing that we do not mean, and from acting without hesitation to what we say. Many of you probably know the old saying: Speak softly and carry a large stick – you will go far. If a man constantly blusters, if he lacks politeness, a big stick will not save him from trouble, and neither will speak soft use, if the back of the softness there does not lie strength, power. In private life, there are few creatures that are more annoying than the man who always brags loudly; and if the braggart is not willing to support his words, his position becomes absolutely despicable. That's the way it is with the nation. It is both foolish and unworthy to enjoy unnecessary self-aggrandizement, and especially in the loose denunciation of other peoples. When we come into contact with a foreign power at some point, I hope that we will always strive to speak courteously and respectfully about this foreign power. Let's make us intend to do justice. Let us make it clear that we will not tolerate injustice in return. Let's also make it clear that we don't use words we don't back up with deeds, and that while our speech is always moderate, we are ready and willing to make it right. Such an attitude will be the surest guarantee of that self-respecting peace, the objective of which is and must be the objective of a self-governing people. We very much hope and believe that the chances of having a hostile military complication with a foreign power are very small. But that there will be a tribe, a pot, here and there, of commercial and agricultural - that is, of industry - competition is almost inevitable. Here too, we must remember that our first duty is to our own people, and yet we can best get justice by doing justice. We must continue with the policies that have been so brilliantly successful in the past, shaping our economic system so that we can give all the benefits to the skill, energy and intelligence of our farmers, traders, manufacturers and contractors; And yet we must also remember, in dealing with other nations, that benefits should be given where benefits are sought. It is not possible to dogmatize with respect to the exact way to achieve this goal, because the exact conditions cannot be predicted. In the long term, stability and continuity of economic policy is one of our main needs; and yet, through treaty or direct legislation, it may in any case become beneficial in certain cases to supplement our current policy with a system of more flexible and obligations. The first essential of civilization is the law. Anarchy is simply the handmaiden and forerunner of tyranny and despotism. The law and order are necessary for the growth and the foundation of civilization. The law must be based on justice, and must be determined by the people, because weakness in the enforcement of the law is just as unjust and no law, and that the rule of disorderly and unscrupulous forces, without the habit of orderly obedience to the law, will not bring the strict enforcement of laws, at the expense of those who challenge against them. There can be no possible progress, moral or material, in civilization. There can be no weakening of the law-abiding spirit ever in home, if we want to succeed permanently and just as little can we afford to show weakness abroad. Barbarism has and cannot have a place in a civilized world. It is our duty to those who live in barbarism to see that they are freed from their chains, and we can free them by destroying barbarism itself. The missionary, the merchant and the soldier may each have a role to play in this destruction, and in the ensuing upliftment of the people. Just like the duty is of a civilized power that conscientiously respects the rights of all weaker civilized powers and gladly helps those who are struggling towards civilization, so it is its duty to lay down cruelty and barbarism. As in such a work, human instruments should be used, and since human instruments are imperfect, this means that will be wrong; that sometimes merchant or soldier, or even missionary, can do wrong. Let us wrongly condemn and correct this immediately when it occurs, and if possible punish the perpetrator. But shame, thrice shame for us, if we are so stupid as to make such occasional misconduct an excuse for not performing a great and just task. Not only in our own country, but around the world, throughout history, the advance of civilization is of incalculable benefit to humanity, and those by whom it has progressed deserve the highest honor. All credit to the missionary, all credit to the soldier, all credit to the merchant who has now done so much in our own time to bring light into the dark places of the world. We will make mistakes; And if we let these mistakes scare us from our work, we will show ourselves weaklings. The Labor Question [edit] At the Chicago Labor Day Picnic, September 3, 1900. Pdf on theodore-roosevelt.com A ton of oration is not worth an ounce of hard-headed, kind common sense. Nothing does more to promote mental dishonesty and moral insincerity than the habit of promising the impossible, or finally, that you are not keeping a promise that has been made. We all need to learn two lessons: the lesson of self-help and the lesson of giving and receiving help from our brother. Every man will stumble sometimes, and it is our duty to lift him up and put him back on his feet; but no one can be worn permanently, because if he expects to be worn, he shows that he is not worth wearing. There can be no substitute for the world-old, humdrum, common qualities of truth, justice and courage, frugality, industry, common sense, and real sympathy with and co-hood for others. When we come to dealing with our social and industrial needs, remedies, rights and injustices, a ton of oration is not worth an ounce of hard-headed, kind common sense. The fundamental law of healthy political life in this great republic is that every man will be treated in deed, and not just in word, strictly on his worth as a man; that each man will do full justice, and in return demand full justice from him. Let us watch carefully for the special interests of the contractor, the farmer, the manufacturer and the merchant, and give each man his due and also see that he does not wrong his fellow men; but let us keep everything clearly in our minds about the great fact, where the deepest chords are touched, the interests of all are equal and must be guarded. We must beware of any attempt to make hatred in any form the basis of action. Most emph

sometimes does not need a helping hand; and woe bet it that, when the opportunity comes, fails to stretch that helping hand. But while every person can and should be helped, he is lost when he becomes so dependent on outside help that he feels that his own efforts are secondary. Every man will stumble sometimes, and it is our duty to lift him up and put him back on his feet; but no one can be worn permanently, because if he expects to be worn, he shows that he is not worth wearing. It is not given to the wisest of us to look into the future with absolute clarity. No one can be sure that he has found the whole solution to this infinitely large and complicated problem, and yet every man of ours, if he were to do his duty, must strive manly, insofar as he lies to help bring about that solution. We can build the standard of individual citizenship and individual well-being, we can raise the national standard and make it what it can and will be, only each of us is that we constantly take into account that there can be no substitute for the world-old, humdrum, common qualities of truth, justice and courage, economy, industry, common sense, and sincere sympathy with and co-felling for others. The nation is the total of the individuals who put it together, and every individual American ever raises the nation higher when he behaves so far as not to suffer a man wrong, and to show both his solid capacity for self-help and his willingness to extend a helping hand to the neighbor who is bearing a burden to bear heavily for him. The only fact that we must all keep steadfast before our eyes is the need for the performance to be completed with promise to do good work, both in the industrial and political worlds. Nothing does more to promote mental dishonesty and moral insincerity than the habit of promising the impossible, or finally, that no promise is kept; and it doesn't make the slightest difference whether it's a promise made on the stump or off the stump. Remember that there are two sides to the wrong so committed. There is, first, the wrong one, of not keeping a promise made, and, in the next place, there is the wrong thing about demanding the impossible, and thus forcing or allowing weak or unscrupulous men to make a promise that they know, or need to know, cannot be kept. Held. success of the law for the taxation of franchises recently enacted in The State of New York, a measure that has resulted in the imposition on the review books nearly \$200 million worth of property that had therefore escaped taxation, is an illustration of how much can be achieved when the effort is made along healthy and austere lines, which do not care to promise the impossible, but to make the performance square with promise, and with insistence on the fact that honesty is never one-sided, and that in dealing with companies it is necessary to do both to them and to get them full and complete justice. No one can do their duty that does not work, and the work can take many different forms, mentally and physically; but of this you are sure, that this work can be done well for the nation only when each of us approaches his separate task not only with the determination to do it, but with the knowledge that his colleague, when he in turn does his job, has fundamentally the same rights and the same duties, and that while each must work for himself, but each must also work for the common good of all. On the whole, we will all go up or down together. Some may go up or go further than others, but, apart from special exceptions, the rule is that we should all share in common something of adversity or what prosperity is in store for the nation as a whole. In the long run, every part of the community will rise or fall as the community rises or falls. When difficult times come to the nation, either because of natural causes or because they are invited by our own folly, each of us will suffer. Some of us will suffer more, and others will suffer less, but everyone will suffer somewhat. If, on the other hand, under Providence, our own energy and common sense bring prosperity to us, everyone will share in prosperity. We will not all share equally, but something each of us will get. Let us strive to make the circumstances of life as good as possible for every man to get the share to which he is honest and no longer entitled; and at the same time, let us not forget that our efforts must be built, rather than knock down, and that we can best help ourselves, not at the expense of others, but by working wholeheartedly with them for the common good of all. Christian Citizenship[edit] Address before the Young Men's Christian Association, Carnegie Hall, New York, 30 December 1900. Pdf on theodore-roosevelt.com The best work for our uplifting must be done by ourselves, and yet with brotherly kindness to our neighbor. In the presence of infinite power and infinite wisdom, the power of the strongest man is only weakness, and the sharpest eyes but blurred. Woe bet on us as a nation if we ever follow the example of men who are not trying to smother, but to light the wild beast qualities of the human heart! It is the only one in this way, by all working together in a spirit of brotherhood, by each doing its part for the betterment of himself and of others, that is to solve the enormous problems we now face as a nation. This spirit of brotherhood recognizes both the need for self-help and also the need for helping others in the only way that ever ultimately does great good, that is, of helping them to help themselves. Each of us needs such help at some point or something else, and each of us should be happy to extend our hand to a brother who stumbles. But while every man sometimes has to be lifted when he stumbles, no man can afford to behave, and it is worth not wearing anyone while trying to carry someone else. The man who lay down, who will not try to walk, has become a mre cumberer of the earth's surface. The sense of brotherhood is necessarily as far from patronage spirit, on the other hand, as of a spirit of envy and malice, on the other hand. The best work for our uplifting must be done by ourselves, and yet with brotherly kindness to our neighbor. It is the only one in this way, by all working together in a spirit of brotherhood, by each doing its part for the betterment of oneself and of others, that is possible to solve the enormous problems that we as a nation now face. The power of the forces of evil has greatly increased, and it is necessary for our self-preservation that we must strengthen the forces of good in the same way. We are all obliged to work towards this goal. None of us can do anything, but each of us can do something, and if we work together, the total of this will be something very significant. There are, of course, a thousand different ways in which the work can be done, and every man must choose as his taste and offer his powers, if he wants to do the best he is capable of. But all the kind of work needs to be carried out certain clear lines if it is right to come. All the work should be tried as on the whole this young men's Christian union work has been done, that this, in a spirit of goodwill towards all and not of hatred towards some; in a spirit in which broad charity for humanity there has been added a sharp and common sense of mind. We must maintain our self-respect, each of us, and we must beware of mushy sentimentality and envy and hatred. I really don't know what quality is the most productive of evil for humanity in the long run, hardness of hardness or softness of the head. It should be no less unnecessary to say that any man who tries to solve the great problems that confront us with an appeal to anger and passion, ignorance and folly, malice and envy, is not, and never can be, an enemy of the people he befriend. In the words of Lowell, it is much safer to put All Men up than Some men down for a motto fix. Broadly speaking, we cannot take advantage of one man in the long run by the demise of another. Our energies, as a rule, can be used to benefit much better at elevating some than in pulling others down. Of course there must sometimes pull draw Too. We have nothing to do with evils, and where it is necessary for the knife to be used, let it be used indistinge, but let it be used intelligently. When there is a need for a drastic remedy, apply but not apply it in the mere spirit of hate. Normally a pound of construction is worth a ton of destruction. There is degradation for us as we feel envy and malice and hatred towards our neighbor for any cause; and if we envy him only his wealth, we show that we consider ourselves low ideals. Money is a good thing. It's a foolish affectation to deny it. But it is not the only good thing, and after a certain amount is amassed it ceases to be the chief, even of material good things. For example, it's much better to do a little work worth doing than to have a big fortune. The vice of envy is not only a dangerous one, but also an average vice, because it is always a confession of inferiority. It can provoke behavior that will be fruitful from doing wrong with others, and it must cause misery to the man who feels it. It will be no less fruitful of wrong and misery if, as is so often the case with evil motives, it adopts a high-sounding alias. The truth is that each of us in him has certain passions and instincts that if they prevailed in his soul, it would mean that the wild beast had come to him the most. Envy malice and hatred are such passions, and they are just as bad as targeting a class or group of men as directed at an individual. What we need in our leaders and teachers is help in suppressing such feelings, helping to arouse and direct the feelings that are their extreme contradictions. Woe bet on us as a nation if we ever follow the example of men who are not trying to smother, but to light the wild beast qualities of the human heart! In the social and industrial no less than in political reform we can do healthy work, work fit for a free republic, fit for self-governing democracy, only by following in the footsteps of Washington and Franklin and Adams and Patrick Henry, and not in the steps of Marat and Robespierre. So far, what I have had to say has mainly concerned our relations with each other in what may be called the service of the State. But the basis of good citizenship lies in the home. A man should be a good son, husband and father, a wife a good daughter, wife and mother, first of all. There should be no avoidance of tasks in big things or in small things. The man who will not work hard for his wife and his little ones, the woman who shrinks from carrying and raising many healthy children, these have no place among the men and women who aspire to go up and beyond. Of course, the family is the basis of things in the state. Sins against pure and healthy family life are those that will ultimately be the most visited of all others on the nation in which they take place. Moreover, we must not only beware of the great sins, but for the lesser sins that cause such a terrible aggregate of misery and wrong. The drunk, the lewd liver, the coward, the liar, the dishonest man, the man who is brutal or neglecting parents, wife or children - all of these the shrift must be short when we speak of decent citizenship. [...] But in addition to condemning the coarser forms of evil, we must not forget to condemn also the evil of bad humor, lack of meekness, nagging and nagging fretfulness, lack of attention to others - the evil of selfishness in all its myriad forms. Every man or woman should remember his or her duty to be around everywhere, and especially to those closest and closest, and such a reminder is the best possible preparation for doing duty for the state as a whole. The Decalogue and the Golden Rule must form the basis of any successful attempt to make our social or political lives better. Fear the Lord and walk his ways, and Keep your neighbor as your own - if we exercise these two precepts, the reign of social and civil justice will be near. Christianity not only teaches that each of us must live like this to save his own soul, but that each of us must also strive for his whole duty through his neighbor. We cannot live these teachings as they should; for in the presence of infinite power and infinite wisdom, the power of the strongest man is only weakness, and the sharpest of mortal eyes see but vague. But each of us can at least strive, as light and strength are given to him, towards the ideal. Effort along a line will not suffice. We have to be not only good, but also strong. We must not only be supreme-minded, but also brave. We have to think carefully and work hard. It is not written in the Holy Book that we should only be harmless as pigeons. It's not written that we should be wise like snakes. Craft unaccompanied by conscience makes the cunning man a social wild beast that preys on the community and should be hunted out. Softness and sweetness not supported by strength and high determination are almost impotent for good. The true Christian is the true citizen, exalted in effort, ready for the deeds of a hero, but never looking down on his task because it is cast in the day of small things; contemptuous of baseness, awake from his own duties as well as to his rights, after the higher law with respect, and in this world doing that everything lies in him, so that when death comes he can feel that humanity is to some extent better because he has lived. Lived.

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