

These Truths We Hold Sacred



*. . . Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!*

IMPROVED ORDER OF RED MEN
and
DEGREE OF POCAHONTAS

IMPROVED ORDER OF RED MEN
and
DEGREE OF POCAHONTAS

This is to certify that

..... was adopted

by..... #.....

on..... 19.....

Certified by.....

This book reflects the principles on which our great Country was founded. These principles and ideals have been the guiding light of our fraternity for the past 200 years. Be proud of this noble heritage . . . be faithful to this trust . . . and guard it well.

These Truths We Hold Sacred

Compiled and Edited by
CARL R. LEMKE, P.G.I.
Great Chief of Records
Great Council of the U. S.
Improved Order of Red Men

"The fraternal societies are in my opinion one of the greatest powers for good government and the protection of the home that we have in this country. The government will endure just so long as we protect the great interests represented by our fraternal societies."

—Theodore Roosevelt

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Breathes there the man with soul so dead
Who never to himself hath said
This is my own, my native land.
Whose heart hath ne'er within him burned
As home his footsteps he hath turned
From wandering on a foreign strand.
If such there breathe, go mark him well
For him no minstrel raptures swell
High though his title, proud his name
Boundless his wealth as wish can claim
Despite those titles, power and pelf
The wretch concentrated all in self
Living shall forfeit fair renown
And doubly dying shall go down
To the vile dust from whence he sprung
Unwept, unhonored and unsung!

—Sir Walter Scott



AMERICA

By Edgar A. Guest

This is America today:

A country where children play;
A land of men and women free
To speak their thoughts, whate'er they be,
Who need not fear, if voices rise,
The telltale tongues of tyrant spies.

This is America I sing:

A land of gardens in the spring;
Of streams to troll and hills to climb
And two weeks, called "vacation time";
A land where men and women find
Both self-respect and peace of mind.

This is America:

A spot

Where ancient hatreds flourish not.
A land of merriment and song,
Despite whatever may be wrong,
Which at its worst is better far
Than states totalitarian are.

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I AM AN AMERICAN—

These rights and privileges are mine:

I may think as I please.

I may speak or write as I please, so long as I do not interfere with the rights of others.

I have the right to vote. By my vote I choose the public officers who are really my servants.

I have the right to choose my work, to seek any job for which my experience and ability have fitted me.

I have the right to try to improve my lot through various means.

I have the right to a prompt trial by jury, if I should be accused of a crime.

I may seek justice in the courts where I have equal rights with others.

I have the privilege of sharing in the benefits of many of the natural resources of my country.

I may educate my children in free schools.

I have the right to worship as I think best.

I have the right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

I AM AN AMERICAN—

These duties I share with my fellow citizens:

It is my duty to obey my country's laws.

It is my duty to vote, so my government may truly represent the will of the people.

It is my duty to keep informed as to the honesty and ability of candidates for public office.

It is my duty, by my vote and my influence, to correct injustice.

It is my duty to pay such taxes as have been devised by representatives elected by me, to defray the cost of government.

It is my duty to serve on juries when called on.

It may sometimes become my duty to hold a public office for which I am suited, so my government may function efficiently.

It is my duty to defend my country, if need should arise.

It is my duty to abide by the will of the majority, to stand behind my government, so my nation may be unified in time of crisis.

I AM AN AMERICAN—
I take pride in my country's

Declaration of Independence

THE BIRTH OF THE UNITED STATES

In the early days of the American Revolution, the majority of American colonists had no wish to separate from England. They revolted against the government of King George III because they believed he was denying them their just rights as loyal British subjects. They sent him petitions, respectfully asking for a redress of their wrongs, but George III answered only with troops and ships to put down the rebellion.

"The king has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns and destroyed our people," said Thomas Jefferson, who foresaw that a complete break with the monarchy of England was the only way in which the colonies could solve their problems.

THE DECISION FOR INDEPENDENCE

In January, 1776, Thomas Paine advocated independence in his famous pamphlet, "Common Sense." That pamphlet sold one hundred thousand copies, and throughout the colonies the people were thrilled by his

dramatic appeal: *"Here is the vast continent of North America, suited to become the home of a race of free men; let it no longer lie at the feet of an unworthy king."*

The following June, when the second Continental Congress was meeting in Philadelphia, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia made a motion: *"That these United States are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states..."* and it was decided that the motion should be voted upon the next month.

THE BIRTHDAY OF A NEW DEMOCRACY

A committee was appointed to draw up a Declaration. Thomas Jefferson wrote the first draft, John Adams and Benjamin Franklin made suggestions, and the revised draft was submitted to the Continental Congress. On the fourth of July, 1776—our country's birthday—it was adopted, and the Liberty Bell in the belfry of the State House rang out the glad news to all the people of Philadelphia. They shouted with joy, cannon were fired, and the streets echoed the sounds of celebration. Riders on swift horses dashed off to carry the glorious news to the far corners of the colonies.

For, though people realized the colonies would not actually be independent until they won the war, they now felt they were fighting in a great cause. John Adams was expressing the feeling of thousands of patriots when

he wrote: "*Yesterday the greatest question was decided which ever was debated in America; a greater perhaps never was, nor will be, decided among men . . .*"

THE AUTHOR OF THE DECLARATION

Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence. He was extremely well fitted for the task. Though only thirty-three years old at the time, he was a thorough scholar, familiar with the writings of the great liberal thinkers who advocated greater freedom for the individual. The Declaration not only stated that the colonies were separating from the mother country but advocated a new theory of government, a new way of life. The idea that a government has certain definite obligations and the individual certain definite rights did not originate with Thomas Jefferson, but he clothed it in such simple, beautiful prose that he made it understandable to the average person. He was able to present this idea with peculiar force, for he had grown up near the frontier and had a healthy respect for the frontiersman's ability to govern himself. He believed with all his heart that this privilege should be extended to all men.

"I never had a feeling politically that did not spring from the sentiments in the Declaration of Independence."
In these words Abraham Lincoln summed up his debt to Thomas Jefferson—a debt which every patriotic American also owes.

Complete Text of the DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE *In Congress, July 4, 1776*

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

WHEN in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall

seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their Public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws of Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our People, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us.

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary

government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies.

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislature, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known

rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free People.

Nor have We been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of

the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

JOHN HANCOCK

The other signers of the Declaration of Independence, for each of the Colonies, were: *New Hampshire*, Josiah Bartlett, Wm. Whipple, Matthew Thornton; *Massachusetts Bay*, Saml. Adams, John Adams, Robt. Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry; *Rhode Island*, Step. Hopkins, William Ellery; *Connecticut*, Roger Sherman, Sam'l Huntington, Wm. Williams, Oliver Wolcott; *New York*, Wm. Floyd, Frans. Lewis, Philip Livingston, Lewis Morris; *New Jersey*, Richd. Stockton, Jno. Witherspoon, Fras. Hopkinson, John Hart, Abra. Clark; *Pennsylvania*, Robt. Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benja. Franklin, John Morton, Geo. Clymer, Jas. Smith, Geo. Taylor, James Wilson, Geo. Ross; *Delaware*, Caesar Rodney, Geo. Read, Tho. M'Kean; *Maryland*, Samuel Chase, Wm. Paca, Thos. Stone, Charles Carroll of Carrollton; *Virginia*, George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Th. Jefferson, Benj. Harrison, Thos. Nelson, Jr., Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton; *North Carolina*, Wm. Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn; *South Carolina*, Edward Rutledge, Thos. Heyward, Junr, Thomas Lynch, Junr, Arthur Middleton; *Georgia*, Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, Geo. Walton.

THE IMMORTAL FIFTY-SIX

John Hancock of Boston signed first. How boldly he wrote his name, saying—"There, John Bull may read my name without spectacles!" Dr. Josiah Bartlett of New Hampshire was the second man to sign the Declaration. According to history, he was the first to vote for it. He was one of the three "self-made men" of the fifty-six. Charles Carroll of Carrollton wrote his address after his name. He said—"he wished the Government, when it wanted to hang him, to know where to look for him." He was at that time the richest man in the Colonies and the only one who gave his home address. Charles Carroll died in 1832, shortly before his ninety-sixth birthday, having outlived all the other signers. The signature of Stephen Hopkins appears to have been tremblingly written. But he was unafraid. This Colonial Governor of Rhode Island had "shaking palsy." As he signed, he said—"If my hand does tremble, John Bull will find that my heart won't." Then there was Benjamin Franklin in his home-spun clothes, the man who opened the purse strings of the French Exchequer.

Of the ten signers who died before the close of the war, the story of John Hart is the saddest. Hunted for years through the woods and swamps of New Jersey, the Tories put him in jail in New York City, as a result of which he soon died from ill treatment.

Button Gwinnett, a young Englishman of great wealth, came to America in 1770. He at once joined the Colonies in their struggle for freedom. When the

Declaration was adopted, he was a delegate from Georgia. He was mortally wounded in a duel with General McIntosh.

Lewis Morris owned an estate of three thousand acres, called Morrisania, where he lived like a prince. Though British troops were stationed nearby and his every move watched, he signed the Declaration. Lewis Morris lost everything he owned and his family was driven from their home as an example to rebels.

Arthur Middleton saw his property confiscated, and suffered imprisonment which caused his death before the close of the war.

Thomas Nelson of Virginia turned his large fortune into the public treasury, saved Virginia from bankruptcy, and helped her pay her soldiers. He died at the age of fifty-one after which the remainder of his property was sold to pay his debts.

Wonderful men were the two Lees. Richard Lightfoot Lee was one of Washington's closest friends. Upon the agreement of peace terms, he insisted that the United States should have the right to navigate the Mississippi and to fish on Newfoundland shores.

John Witherspoon was the only Clergyman among the signers. He became a college president and wrote many books on religion..

That noble patriot, Robert Morris, loaned his fortune to the Continental Congress and for eight years ably managed our country's financial affairs. When an old man, his creditors put him in a debtor's prison.

John Morton, the first of the signers to die, was a

Philadelphia judge. "Tell them they will live to see the hour when they shall acknowledge it to have been the most glorious service that I have ever rendered to my country"—was his dying message.

Among other signers we recall Benjamin Rush—famous Philadelphia physician; Richard Stockton, of a family famous in naval history; Philip Livingston, a name that has meant much in the history of New York; John Adams of Boston,—courageous—hurling defiance in the teeth of the British Government.

Then there was Samuel Adams, who, when General Gage advised him to make peace with King George, said, "I trust I have long since made my peace with the king of kings. No personal considerations shall induce me to abandon the righteous cause of my country."

As to the ages of the men when they signed the Declaration; Benjamin Franklin, who leads the list of the five oldest, was seventy. Stephen Hopkins was sixty-nine, John Hart was sixty-eight, Francis Lewis was sixty-three, Matthew Thornton was sixty-two and Philip Livingston was sixty.

Thomas Lynch, who took his father's place, and Edward Rutledge were only twenty-seven, Thomas Heyward was thirty, Benjamin Rush was thirty-one, Elbridge Gerry was thirty-two, while Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Stone and Arthur Middleton were thirty-three.

With the exception of three, all the signers of the Declaration enjoyed the best education obtainable.

Four graduated from Princeton, four from Yale, and eight from Harvard. Three were graduates of the College of William and Mary. Six were educated in England and Scotland, while several were given private tuition, "as high and costly as given at any university in the world."

Two became Presidents of the United States, and two Vice-Presidents. In fact, of those who survived the Revolutionary War, there was scarcely a man who was not elected to high public office..

Of the fifty-six signers, nearly one-half lived to the age of seventy or over. Fourteen lived on until eighty, and at least five to be ninety or more.

Only one was a Clergyman, on July 4th, 1776, and one a manufacturer, while four were physicians, nine merchants, fourteen farmers and twenty-four lawyers.

Planters, soldiers, financiers and statesmen—they comprised a group of great men. Men who had vision and who were ready to sacrifice and did sacrifice all personal considerations in the exercise of patriotic duty. To every one of them civilization owes an incalculable debt.

Lossing, writing in Harper's Magazine in 1858 said, "It is a fact worthy of record that of the fifty-six members of the Continental Congress of 1776, who signed the Declaration of Independence and thereby took a position of great eminence in the sight of the nations, not one fell from his proud estate, either by the effects of political apostasy or lukewarmness or by moral degradation. In public and private life they

remained pure; and in that glorious constellation of which the patriot of Monticello is the chief luminary, there is not a single star whose light is dim or unworthy of the highest homage that may be paid to man by the patriot and Christian."

The original Declaration on parchment, sustained an injury confined almost wholly to the signatures. In 1823 a facsimile copper plate was made. When the document became torn and the signatures began to fade it was placed in a sealed box and carefully guarded from light and air.

Not all the men who rendered the greatest services to Independence were delegates in Congress in July, 1776. The Declaration was not signed by all who voted for it, nor were all who signed it members of Congress when it was adopted. It was not until August 2nd that most of the signatures were attached. One—that of Thomas McKean, present on July 4th, but not on the 2nd of August, was not added until 1781, although printed copies with names attached were first authorized by Congress for public circulation in January, 1777.

The original thirteen states of the "United States of America," with the number of signers of the Declaration for each state, follow:

Massachusetts	5	Pennsylvania	9
Georgia	3	Delaware	3
North Carolina	3	New York	4
South Carolina	4	New Jersey	5
Maryland	4	New Hampshire	3
Virginia	7	Rhode Island	2
Connecticut	4		

I AM AN AMERICAN— *I uphold my country's*

Constitution

The thirteen colonies won their fight to be free and independent states. The mother country recognized their independence, but peace brought new dangers. As one historian said, "*We were like a barrel made of thirteen stout staves, but yet without a single hoop to hold us together.*" Now that they faced no common danger, the colonies had begun quarreling bitterly among themselves. The country was greatly in debt, and business seemed at a standstill.

THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

The reason for this was that the central government was very inefficient. In 1778 the Continental Congress had adopted the Articles of Confederation, but this provided for a mere "league of friendship" among the states. There was no head to the government and no Supreme Court and, although there was a Congress, it had no power to enforce the laws it passed or to collect taxes.

It soon became apparent to leaders like George Washington that if the new nation was to survive it must have

a much stronger central government. It must have a government that would solve the problems, not just of the individual states, but of the country as a whole. In the spring of 1787 a Constitutional Convention was assembled in Philadelphia, in the same State House (now Independence Hall) where the Declaration of Independence had been signed.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

Among the fifty-five delegates to that Convention were some of the ablest men of the day, among them James Madison, sometimes called the Father of the Constitution; Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton and Robert Morris. By a unanimous vote Washington was elected president. During the stormy sessions in the following weeks, he presided in a chair with a picture of the sun painted on the back.

"I could never determine whether it was a rising or a setting sun," said Benjamin Franklin afterward, remembering how close the Constitutional Convention had come to failure.

For the delegates had many difficult problems to solve. They wisely decided to adopt a new Constitution, rather than try to amend the old Articles of Confederation, but they disagreed on many points. One faction, led by Alexander Hamilton, wanted a strong centralized gov-

ernment, with the individual states subordinate to it. Another faction, fearing that such a government might some day become so strong as to oppress the people, wanted a decentralized system with the individual states retaining the supreme power.

Another disagreement arose between the delegates from the larger and the smaller states. The larger states wanted representation in Congress to be determined by population. The smaller states, fearing that the larger states might be able to outvote them, demanded that each state, regardless of size, be allowed an equal number of representatives. Finally a compromise was agreed upon. It provided that Congress was to consist of two houses: a House of Representatives in which states should be represented according to their population, and a Senate to which each state large and small alike, should send two members.

That was only one of a number of compromises. During the hot summer months in the old State House, there were many heated debates behind locked doors, as the delegates ironed out one difficulty after another. Finally in September a committee headed by Gouverneur Morris submitted a draft of the proposed Constitution and, a few days later, a revised draft, which was signed by thirty-nine of the fifty-five delegates. Glancing at the sun painted on the back of Washington's chair, Benjamin

Franklin said, "Now I am satisfied: it is a rising sun."

William Gladstone, the great English statesman, called the Constitution "*the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man.*"

THE NEW GOVERNMENT

The Constitution provided that it should go into effect after nine states had ratified it. By the following June nine states had signified their approval, and the old Congress made plans for putting the new government into operation. George Washington was unanimously elected the first President of the United States, and on April 30, 1789, he arrived in New York, our nation's first capital, to take the oath of office.

THE BILL OF RIGHTS

The Constitution was ratified by some of the states on condition that certain amendments be added to guarantee their rights as individuals against any encroachment by the Federal government. Accordingly, the first Congress passed a number of amendments, ten of which were ratified by three-fourths of the state legislatures in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution itself.

These ten amendments became a part of the Constitution December 15, 1791, and are known as the *Bill of Rights*. They guarantee freedom of religious worship,

freedom of speech and of the press, the right to petition the government for redress of wrongs, the right to keep and bear arms (interpreted as applying only to the state militia), immunity from enforced quartering of soldiers, security against search and seizure without warrant, inviolability against being imprisoned without indictment and against being twice tried for the same offense and against being punished (deprived of life, liberty, or property) without due process of law, the right to prompt trial by jury, and the prohibition of severe fines or cruel punishment.

The ninth amendment reserves to the people all rights not expressly delegated by the Constitution, and the tenth reserves to the states such powers as are not delegated to the Federal Government.

MORE RECENT AMENDMENTS

In Article V the Constitution made provision for amending the Constitution from time to time as need should arise. In addition to the Bill of Rights, thirteen other Amendments to the Constitution have been passed, modifying some of the original provisions with respect to judicial powers, elections and suffrage, abolition of slavery, income tax, and terms of office.

From 1919 to 1960 four additional Amendments were delegated to the Federal Government.

Complete Text of the
CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA

PREAMBLE

We the People of the United States in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I. THE LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

SECTION 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

The House of Representatives

SECTION 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not,

when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

[Later modified by Amendment XIV, Section 2.]

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their

Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

The Senate

SECTION 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

[Later modified by Amendment XVII.]

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside, and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

Electing Our Congressmen

SECTION 4. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

[Later modified by Amendment XX, Section 2.]

Rules and Procedure of Each House

SECTION 5. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Privileges of Senators and Representatives

SECTION 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

Making Our Laws

SECTION 7. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall

return it with his objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Powers of the Congress

SECTION 8. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post offices and post roads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States; and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings;—and

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

What the Congress May Not Do

SECTION 9. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels, bound to or from

one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

What the States May Not Do

SECTION 10. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and

imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II. THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

President and Vice-President

SECTION 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of Electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and

vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the Electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there

should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.

[Superseded by Amendments XII and XX.]

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the Electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

Who May Become President?

No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

[By an act of Congress in 1886, the order of succession was regulated as follows: Vice-President, Secretary of State and then the other members of the President's Cabinet. See page 59.]

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

President's Oath of Office

Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation: "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Duties and Powers of the President

SECTION 2. The President shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses

against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he

shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Impeaching Executive Officers

SECTION 4. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III. THE JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

SECTION 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a

party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

[Modified by Amendment XI.]

Jurisdiction of Supreme Court

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

Trial by Jury

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION 3. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No

person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attained.

ARTICLE IV. FEDERAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS:
THEIR RELATIONSHIP

SECTION 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION 2. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labor in one State, under

the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

Admitting New States

SECTION 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States or of any particular State.

Federal Guarantees to States

SECTION 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive

(when the Legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V. HOW CONSTITUTION MAY BE AMENDED

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI. THE SUPREME LAW OF THE LAND

All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII. RATIFICATION OF CONSTITUTION

The ratification of the conventions of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in convention by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

Attest: WILLIAM JACKSON, Secretary

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION

THE BILL OF RIGHTS

[The first ten Amendments, adopted in 1791, are collectively known as the "Bill of Rights."]

AMENDMENT I

Personal Freedom

CONGRESS shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

AMENDMENT II

Right to Bear Arms

A well regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

AMENDMENT III

Quartering Soldiers

No soldier shall in time of peace be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

AMENDMENT IV

Protection Against Seizure and Search

The right of the people to be secure in their persons,

houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized.

AMENDMENT V

Protection for Persons and Private Property

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

AMENDMENT VI

Rights of Accused Persons

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the wit-

nesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

AMENDMENT VII

Trial by Jury

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

AMENDMENT VIII

Protection Against Excessive Punishments

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed; nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

AMENDMENT IX

Rights Retained by the People

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

AMENDMENT X

Powers Reserved to the States

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

MORE RECENT AMENDMENTS

(With dates of adoption)

AMENDMENT XI (1798)

Limiting Power of Federal Courts

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

AMENDMENT XII (1804)

Electoral College

The Electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives,

open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be neces-

sary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

AMENDMENT XIII (1865)

Abolition of Slavery

SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

AMENDMENT XIV (1868)

Who Is a Citizen?

SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Representation in Congress

SECTION 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among

the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of Electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SECTION 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or Elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

Public Debt

SECTION 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

AMENDMENT XV (1870)

Negro Suffrage

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

AMENDMENT XVI (1913)

Income Taxes

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes

on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

AMENDMENT XVII (1913)

Senators Elected by Direct Vote

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided*, That the Legislature of any State may empower the Executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the Legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

AMENDMENT XVIII (1919)

National Prohibition (repealed by Amendment XXI)

SECTION 1. After one year from the ratification of this

article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

SECTION 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

SECTION 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

AMENDMENT XIX (1920)

Woman Suffrage

The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

AMENDMENT XX (1933)

Terms of President and Vice-President; When Congress Shall Assemble

SECTION 1. The terms of the President and Vice-

President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3rd day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3d day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION 3. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President-elect shall have died, the Vice-President-elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President-elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice-President-elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President-elect nor a Vice-President-elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice-President shall have qualified.

SECTION 4. The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President, whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them,

and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice-President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

SECTION 5. Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article.

SECTION 6. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

AMENDMENT XXI (1933)

Repeal of Prohibition

SECTION 1. The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

SECTION 2. The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

SECTION 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

AMENDMENT XXII (1951)

Term of President Defined

SECTION I. No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of the President more than once. But this Article shall not apply to any person holding the office of President when this Article was proposed by the Congress, and shall not prevent any person who may be holding the office of President, or acting as President, during the term within which this Article becomes operative from holding the office of President or acting as President during the remainder of such term.

AMENDMENT XXIII (1961)

Electors for the District of Columbia

SECTION 1 The District constituting the seat of Government of the United States shall appoint in such manner as the Congress may direct:

A number of electors of President and Vice President equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives in Congress to which the District would be entitled if it were a State, but in no event more than the least populous State; they shall be in addition to those appointed by the States, but they shall be considered for the purposes of the election of President and Vice President, to be electors appointed by a State; and they shall meet in the District and perform such duties as provided by the twelfth article of Amendment.

I AM AN AMERICAN—
I believe in upholding

The Monroe Doctrine

WHAT we know as the Monroe Doctrine is not a law of the United States but a part of President James Monroe's annual message to Congress on December 2, 1823. Several South American countries had recently declared their independence of Spain, and a combination of European powers was planning to send an army to subdue the new republics. Whereupon President Monroe, in his message to Congress, stated that the United States would regard as an unfriendly act any effort of a European government to extend its influence in the Western Hemisphere, or to control in any way the political destiny of any country whose independence had been recognized by this country.

Although Congress took no action, this policy was generally accepted by European powers at the time and has thus been accepted ever since. It has been invoked by successive American Presidents, and generally accepted as a principle of the United States foreign policy.

President Monroe's Message

Following is the excerpt from President Monroe's mes-

sage of 1823, which we think of as the *Monroe Doctrine*:

"We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers (the European nations planning to invade South America) to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of the hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

AMERICAN WIT

"Everybody is ignorant, only on different subjects."

—Will Rogers

"Too many people don't care what happens so long as it doesn't happen to them."

—William Howard Taft

"It is hard for an empty bag to stand upright."

—Benjamin Franklin

I AM AN AMERICAN—

I am fully informed about

How Our Government Works

THE framers of the Constitution sought to devise a system whereby the powers of government would be divided among three branches, each of which would act as a check upon the other two. Thus one branch of government would balance the others, and no one branch would be allowed to become too powerful.

THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

The legislative, or law-making branch, is vested in two houses of Congress: the House of Representatives and the Senate. The two houses sit separately, but the consent of both is necessary to legislation.

The *House of Representatives* has 435 members, elected for two-year terms, from Congressional Districts in the various states, allotted on the basis of population—one Representative for every 211,877 inhabitants.

The *Senate* has 96 members, two from each state, representing their states as a whole. They are elected by popular vote for a term of six years, but one-third of the members must be elected every two years so there will always be a balance of old and new members.

THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH

It is the duty of the *President* of the United States to see that laws are "faithfully executed." He recommends needed legislation to Congress, and he approves or vetoes acts passed by Congress. He is Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy.

The *Vice-President* succeeds to the Presidency if the President dies or is otherwise permanently prevented from fulfilling his duties. The Vice-President has no executive powers but is the presiding officer of the Senate.

The *President* and *Vice-President* are elected for a period of four years. They are chosen by *electors* who, in turn, are chosen by popular vote. Each state sends to the electoral college as many electors as it has representatives and senators in Congress. Although the constitutional provision for such electors was intended to enable them to vote according to their best judgment, electors are today wholly representative of the people, and cast their votes according to the popular vote.

The *President's Cabinet*, composed of the heads of various departments of government, acts as an advisory council. Members are appointed by the President but must have the approval of the Senate.

In the United States the Cabinet is traditional, not constitutional, following a precedent set by George Washington when he asked advice of his department

heads. The President's Cabinet is made up of the Secretaries of State, Treasury, and War; the Attorney General, the Postmaster General, and the Secretaries of Navy, Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor.

After the Vice-President, the members of the Cabinet succeed in the order named to the presidency in the event of the death of a predecessor in rank.

THE JUDICIAL BRANCH

The most important function of the *Supreme Court*, the highest court of law in the land, is to determine whether acts passed by Congress are constitutional. It may declare unconstitutional any federal laws—and also any state law—which it considers not in accord with the provisions of the Constitution.

The *Supreme Court* sits at Washington, D. C. The nine justices (one Chief Justice and eight associates) are appointed by the President but must be approved by the Senate. They serve for life unless impeached for violation of duty.

HOW THE SYSTEM OF CHECKS AND BALANCES WORKS

The *Supreme Court* exercises a check on *Congress* through its power to declare unconstitutional any legislation of *Congress*.

The *President* may recommend legislation to Congress and veto any act of Congress he considers unwise. Before a law can become effective, it must be passed by a

majority vote in both Houses of *Congress* and be signed by the *President*. *Congress* can pass a bill over the President's veto if two-thirds of both houses vote for it.

The *Senate* must approve all treaties negotiated by the *President* or his *Secretary of State*. It also must confirm the President's appointments to his Cabinet and to certain other high offices.

Congress may impeach, or bring to trial, any United States government official, including the President and Justices of the Supreme Court, for treason, bribery, or some other high crime or misdemeanor.

The House of Representatives has the power to bring impeachment proceedings against the President, Vice-President, or any other official of the Federal Government, and the Senate then tries the accused person. Two-thirds of the senators present are needed to convict.

The penalty for conviction is removal from office and disqualification for any other government office.

THE DEPARTMENTS OF THE U. S. GOVERNMENT

Each department of the U. S. Government is headed by a member of the President's Cabinet.

The *State Department*, headed by the Secretary of State, has under its jurisdiction all foreign affairs of the U. S. and the relations between the Federal Government and the separate states. It keeps the Great Seal of the U. S., treaties, state papers, etc.

The *Treasury Department*, under the Secretary of the Treasury, administers all financial affairs of the U. S. Government, including the issuance of money, and certificates representing obligations of the Government.

The *War Department*, under the Secretary of War, has charge of all affairs of the U. S. Army—personnel, equipment, land defenses, air corps, and tactics in war.

The *Department of Justice*, headed by the Attorney General, has under its supervision legal activities of the Government that do not come under the jurisdiction of the judiciary. It deals with all breaches of Federal laws, except breaches of postal laws and revenue laws, which are handled by the Post Office Department and the Treasury Department, respectively.

The *Post Office Department*, under the Postmaster General, is the administrative agency for all affairs concerning the mails and postal savings. It makes postal regulations, awards contracts for the carrying of the mails, makes postal arrangements with foreign governments (subject to approval by the President), etc.

The *Navy Department*, headed by the Secretary of the Navy, has under its supervision all affairs concerning the Navy. Under its charge are Navy personnel, equipment, and construction and maintenance of aircraft and war vessels, tactics in war, and the like.

The *Department of the Interior*, under the Secretary

of the Interior, supervises public business regarding the General Land Office, Geological Survey, Bureau of Mines, Office of Indian Affairs, Patent Office, Bureau of Pensions, Bureau of Education, National Park Service, Capitol Building and Grounds, and various institutions in the District of Columbia. It administers some of the affairs of the U.S. territories and possessions.

The *Department of Agriculture* is charged with the supervision of agriculture in the United States. It exercises many functions in connection with the governmental assistance to farmers, farmers' co-operative organizations, soil preservation, agricultural research, etc.

The *Department of Commerce* promotes the commerce and mining, manufacturing, shipping, fishery, and transportation interests of the United States. It also has charge of the Census, the coast and geodetic surveys, commercial statistics, standards of weights and measures, enforcement of the food and drugs act of 1906, and governmental activities.

The *Department of Labor* was established to promote the welfare of the wage earners of the United States—to improve working conditions, employment opportunities, and wage standards. It mediates in certain labor disputes, collects statistics of importance to labor, administers immigration laws, and investigates matters pertaining to child welfare.

I AM AN AMERICAN—
I pledge my allegiance to

The Flag of the United States

"We take the star from Heaven, the red from our mother country, separating it by white stripes, thus showing that we have separated from her, and the white stripes shall go down to posterity representing liberty."

—GEORGE WASHINGTON

THE Stars and Stripes, as we know it today, was by no means the first American flag. For instance, one flag used during the early days of the American Revolution showed a rattlesnake against a yellow background, with the inscription: "Don't tread on me." There had also been a number of other flags of various designs, but on June 14, 1777, nearly a year after the Declaration of Independence, the Continental Congress adopted the following resolution: "Resolved, That the flag of the United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white, that the 'Union' be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation." It has been said that red stood for valor, white for purity and blue for justice.

Thirteen Stripes and Fifty Stars

The thirteen stripes and thirteen stars in the first flag

stood for the thirteen original states. Later, when two new states were added to the Union, Congress enacted a law (in 1794), increasing the number of stars and stripes each to fifteen. By 1818 there were twenty states in the Union, and Congress enacted another law, providing that the number of stripes should again be thirteen but that thereafter a star should be added for each new state admitted to the Union. This law has remained in effect, and as each new state has been added to the Union, a new white star has been added to the blue field in the corner of the flag. Today, the American flag has fifty stars, one for each of the fifty states, and thirteen stripes, one for each of the original thirteen states.

The Story of Betsy Ross

One of the most colorful stories that have grown up around the American flag is the story of Mrs. Betsy Ross. George Washington, Colonel George Ross and Robert Morris had been appointed by Congress to plan a flag, and it is told that they called on Mrs. Ross in her Arch Street home in Philadelphia to ask her to make a flag for them. It has been said that she folded a piece of paper in such a way that she was able to cut a five-pointed star with a single snip of her scissors, in order to show General Washington how a five-pointed star would look.

THE CODE OF THE FLAG

The *official name* of our flag is the "Flag of the United States of America."

The *official description* of the flag is: "The Flag of the United States has 13 horizontal *stripes*—7 red and 6 white—the red and white stripes alternating, and a *union* which consists of white stars of five points on a blue field placed in an upper quarter next the staff and extending to the lower edge of the fourth red stripe from the top. The number of stars is the same as the number of States in the Union. The *canton* or *union* now contains 50 stars arranged in six horizontal and eight vertical rows, each star with one point upward. On the admission of a State into the Union a star will be added to the union of the flag, and such addition will take effect on the 4th day of July next succeeding such admission."

When the Flag Is Flown

The flag should be displayed on *the day* (January 20 every fourth year) *on which the President of the United States is inaugurated*; also on *Lincoln's Birthday* (February 12), *Washington's Birthday* (February 22), *Army Day* (April 6), *Mother's Day* (second Sunday in May), *Memorial Day* (May 30), *Flag Day* (June 14), *Independence Day* (July 4), *anniversary* (September 14) *of the day on which Francis Scott Key wrote "The Star-*

Spangled Banner," Constitution Day (September 17), *Gold Star Mother's Day* (last Sunday in September), *Columbus Day* (October 12), *Navy Day* (October 27), *Presidential Election Day* (first Tuesday after the first Monday in November every fourth year), *Veterans Day* (November 11), *Thanksgiving Day*; on *Admission Day* and *Election Days* in the different states, and on any other patriotic occasions.

On Memorial Day the flag should be at half mast until noon, then raised to the peak for the rest of the day.

Raising and Lowering the Flag

The flag is not raised before sunrise and is lowered at sunset. In raising and lowering the flag it must not touch the ground. Those present at the ceremony should stand at attention, ready to salute.

Displaying the Flag

When displaying the flag on a staff, the field of blue must touch the head of the staff. When the flag is displayed, either vertically or horizontally against a wall, the field of blue should be uppermost and at the flag's right. When displayed between two points, so that both sides are visible, the stripes must be vertical. In an east-and-west street, the field of blue is to the north and to the east in a north-and-south street.

Saluting the Flag

It is proper to salute the flag when it is passing in a parade (about five or six paces away) and during the ceremony of raising or lowering the flag.

To salute the flag correctly, a person in uniform stands at attention, raises the right hand to forehead over the right eye, palm downward, fingers extended and close together, the arm at an angle of about forty-five degrees. The hand is moved outward about twelve inches, then dropped to side.

A man not in uniform, unless he belongs to the military or naval service, need not salute. He removes his hat with his right hand and holds it near his left shoulder, which means that his hand is held over his heart. He stands at attention.

A woman places her right hand over her heart and stands at attention.

When Worn as a Badge

When worn as a badge, the flag should be small and without folds. It should be pinned to the left breast of dress or coat or to the left coat lapel. It must not be used as part of a costume or as a decoration.

No advertising or lettering may appear upon it. The flag as a trademark for merchandise is prohibited by law.

Our Flag in Relation to Other Flags

The Flag of the United States has the right-hand position when carried in a parade with the flag of another country, or when crossed with the flag of another nation, and its staff should be in front of the staff of the other flag. When grouped with other flags, it takes the highest place and must be of the same height and size.

In a Public Building

When displaying a flag in the nave of a church, it should be at the congregation's right. When flown from a staff in the chancel or on a speaker's platform, the flag is at the speaker's right, slightly in front. If displayed flat on a speaker's platform, it should be above and behind the speaker, hung high enough to be above the heads of any persons sitting on the platform.

THE PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE TO THE FLAG

"I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

This pledge to the flag, written by James B. Upham, has become an accepted daily practice in many schools. The child stands at attention. When he says, "to the Flag," he places his right hand over his heart. After the words, "justice for all," have been spoken, he lets his hand fall to his side.

I AM AN AMERICAN—
I patriotically observe these

American Holidays

LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY—February 12

First observed in Washington, D. C., in 1866, ten months after Lincoln's death. A national holiday since 1891 and (in 1940) a legal holiday in twenty-eight states.

WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY—February 22

First observed in Newport, R. I., on February 11, 1781, while George Washington was still living. According to the Old Style Calendar in use at that time, Washington had been born on February 11. After the adoption of the New Style Calendar, the date was changed. A legal holiday in all states and U. S. possessions.

ARBOR DAY—date determined by each state.

First observed in Nebraska on April 10, 1872.

A legal holiday (in 1940) in Arizona, Nebraska, Rhode Island, Texas, Utah and Wyoming. Observed in all other states in the Union by proclamation of either the Governor or the State Board of Education.

PAN-AMERICAN DAY—April 14

First observed in 1931, as a result of a resolution

adopted May 7, 1930, by members of the Pan-American Union, Washington, D. C. On April 14, 1889, the Commercial Bureau of American Republics was organized for the mutual benefit of the twenty-one Republics of North, Central and South America. The name was changed to the Pan-American Union in 1910.

CHILD HEALTH DAY—May 1

First observed in 1924, annually proclaimed Child Health Day by the President, as a result of a Congressional Resolution adopted in 1928. The day is sponsored by the Departments of Education in the different states and by the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor.

MOTHER'S DAY—second Sunday in May

First observed in 1914, as a result of a joint resolution in Congress, signed by President Wilson on May 8 of that year. The founder of the movement to set aside a day in the United States for honoring mothers was Miss Anna Jarvis of Philadelphia who wished to honor the memory of her own mother.

MEMORIAL DAY (Decoration Day)—May 30

First observed in Columbus, Georgia, April 26, 1866. Two years later General John A. Logan, commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, set aside May 30 for "decorating the graves of comrades who died

in defense of their country during the late rebellion."

A legal holiday in the northern states and in U.S. possessions. In the South it is observed on various other dates. Alabama, Florida, Georgia and Mississippi observe it April 26, and North and South Carolina on May 10. Other states observe it on June 3, 6 and 9.

FLAG DAY—June 14

First observed June 14, 1877, the one hundredth anniversary of the adoption of the American flag.

A legal holiday in some states.

FATHER'S DAY—third Sunday in June

First celebrated June 19, 1910—the idea of Mrs. John Bruce Dodd. It was sponsored by the Ministerial Association and the Y.M.C.A. of Washington, D. C.

INDEPENDENCE DAY—July 4

First celebrated in Philadelphia in 1776, on the adoption of the Declaration of Independence.

A legal holiday in each of the forty-eight states and in all the possessions and territories of the United States.

LABOR DAY—first Monday in September

A national holiday in honor of Labor, inaugurated in Philadelphia by the Knights of Labor in 1869.

COLUMBUS DAY—October 12

First observed in New York City in 1792 to mark the

300th anniversary of the landing of Columbus. A legal holiday in thirty-five states and in Puerto Rico.

VETERANS DAY—November 11

This anniversary of the end of the First World War—the day on which the combatants signed the armistice—became an official holiday in 1921, the year in which the American Unknown Soldier was buried in Washington. By act of Congress Veterans Day became a legal holiday in 1938.

THANKSGIVING DAY—November (see below).

First observed December 13, 1621, in Plymouth Colony, by the Pilgrims who took this occasion to express their gratitude to God for a bountiful harvest and other blessings. For many years the day was observed mostly in New England, but in 1789 November 26 was set aside by President George Washington as a day of national Thanksgiving. In 1862, as a result of the efforts of Mrs. Sarah Josepha Hale, editor of *Godey's Lady's Book*, President Lincoln proclaimed the last Thursday in November as an annual national holiday.

Thanksgiving is now a legal holiday in each of the forty-eight states and in every territory and possession of the United States. The exact date is determined annually by the proclamation of the President of the United States.

I AM AN AMERICAN—

I am proud of these

Watchwords of Democracy

CERTAIN ringing phrases, spoken in time of crisis, have become a part of the American way of thinking. These phrases have become our watchwords. We repeat them and are inspired by them, often forgetting, sometimes without even knowing, the names of the men who first said them or the circumstances which called them forth.

"Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair; the rest is in the hands of God."

—George Washington in a speech to the Constitutional Convention (1787).

"We must all hang together, or assuredly we shall all hang separately."

—Remark by Benjamin Franklin after the signing of the Declaration of Independence (1776).

"To be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace."

—George Washington in his first annual address to both houses of Congress (1790).

"Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!"

—Patrick Henry in a speech before the Virginia Convention in St. John's Episcopal Church, Richmond, Virginia (1775).

"To the memory of the Man, first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

—Colonel Henry Lee in a eulogy delivered after the death of Washington (1799).

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

—Thomas Jefferson in "Summary View of the Rights of British America" (1774).

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

—Thomas Jefferson in a letter (1791).

"I have not yet begun to fight."

—John Paul Jones, when called upon to surrender in a battle at sea. Though his ship, the *Bon Homme Richard*, was sinking under him he refused to give up, and the battle ended by his cap-

turing the British ship, the *Serapis*, and sailing it, with his crew, in safety to France (1779).

"Equal and exact justice to all men, freedom of religion, freedom of the press, freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus; and trial by juries impartially selected—these principles form the bright constellation which has gone before us."

—Thomas Jefferson in his first inaugural (1801).

"These are times that try men's souls."

—Thomas Paine, in an article—"The American Crisis"—in the *Pennsylvania Magazine* (1776).

"I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country."

—Nathan Hale, in a speech he made just before being hanged by the enemy as a spy (1776).

"Men, you are all marksmen—don't one of you fire until you see the whites of their eyes."

—Israel Putnam at Battle of Bunker Hill (1775); also attributed to Colonel William Prescott.

"Millions for defense but not one cent for tribute."

—Attributed to Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, when ambassador to the French Republic. He referred to a recent demand from France for a loan, which

was really a bribe for refraining from plundering American merchant vessels (1797).

"Liberty and union, now and forever, one and inseparable!"

—Daniel Webster, in a public address (1830).

"Our Federal Union: it must be preserved."

—Andrew Jackson in a toast given at the Jefferson Birthday Celebration (1830).

"Don't give up the ship! You will beat them off!"

—The dying words of Captain James Mugford of the schooner, *Franklin*, during a British attack in Boston Harbor (1776). The words, "Don't give up the ship," have also been attributed to a number of other commanders.

"I shall know but one country . . . I was born an American; I live an American; I shall die an American."

—Daniel Webster, in a speech (1850).

"Now he belongs to the ages."

—Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, at the deathbed of Lincoln (1865).

"I would rather be right than President."

—Henry Clay's answer when told that he was injuring his chances of becoming President because he

was advocating certain compromise measures (1850).

"Driven from every other corner of the earth, Freedom of Thought and The Right of Private Judgment in matters of conscience direct their course to this happy country as their last asylum."

—Samuel Adams, in a speech (1776).

"We have met the enemy and they are ours—two ships, two brigs, one schooner and one sloop."

—Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, to General William Henry Harrison, in announcing a victory over the English in the Battle of Lake Erie (1813).

"That nation has not lived in vain which has given the world Washington and Lincoln, the best great men and the greatest good men whom history can show."

—Henry Cabot Lodge, in a "Lincoln" address before the Massachusetts legislature (1909).

"I have not permitted myself, gentlemen, to conclude that I am the best man in the country, but I am reminded in this connection of an old Dutch farmer who remarked that it was not best to swap horses while crossing a stream."

—Abraham Lincoln, in a speech.

"At what point then is the approach of danger to be expected? I answer if it ever reach us it must spring up amongst us; it cannot come from abroad. If destruction be our lot, we must ourselves be its author and finisher. As a nation of free men, we must live through all time or die by suicide."

—Lincoln, in an address on the "Perpetuation of our Political Institution."

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

—Abraham Lincoln, in a speech before the first Republican state convention in Illinois (1856).

"God reigns and the Government at Washington lives."

—James A. Garfield, in a speech delivered in New York City, to a crowd distressed by news of Lincoln's assassination (1865).

"Public office is a public trust."

—William C. Hudson, a newspaper man, produced this slogan from the various speeches of Grover

Cleveland during his first campaign for the Presidency (1884).

"Remember the Maine!"

—Slogan of the Spanish-American War, after the American battleship *Maine* had been destroyed in the harbor at Havana, Cuba, by a mine (1898).

"Our country! In her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong!"

—A toast given by Stephen Decatur at a dinner in his honor at Norfolk, Va. (1816).

"You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns; you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold."

—William Jennings Bryan, in a speech before the National Democratic Convention (1896).

"The humblest citizen of all the land, when clad in the armor of a righteous cause, is stronger than all the hosts of Error."

—William Jennings Bryan in a speech at National Democratic Convention (1896).

"We have room but for one language here and that is English, for we intend to see that the crucible turns our

people out as Americans, and not as dwellers in a polyglot boarding house."

—Theodore Roosevelt, in a letter read at the All American Festival, New York (1919).

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

—Theodore Roosevelt, in a speech at Springfield, Illinois (1903).

"The world must be made safe for democracy."

—Woodrow Wilson in address to Congress, asking for a Declaration of War against Germany (1917).

"There are a great many hyphens left in America. For my part I think the most un-American thing in the world is a hyphen."

—Woodrow Wilson in a speech at St. Paul (1919).

"There can be no fifty-fifty Americanism in this country. There is room here for only 100 per cent Americanism, only for those who are Americans and nothing else."

—Theodore Roosevelt, in a speech at the Republican Convention, Saratoga, N. Y.

"Lafayette, we are here."

—Colonel C. E. Stanton in an address delivered at the grave of Lafayette, Paris (1917). It has been often ascribed to General Pershing, although he has disclaimed it.

"There is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, any time."

—Calvin Coolidge, in a telegram to Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor during the Boston police strike (1919).

"America is God's Crucible, the great Melting Pot where all the races of Europe are melting and reforming! ... God is making the American."

—Israel Zangwill in the play, "The Melting Pot."

"I believe in democracy because it releases the energies of every human being."

—Woodrow Wilson, in speech at Workingman's Dinner (1912).

"But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the rights of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for the universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as

shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."

—Woodrow Wilson, speaking to Congress (1917).

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

—Abraham Lincoln.

"The qualifications of self-government are not innate. They are the result of habit and long training, and for these they will require time and probably much suffering."

—Thomas Jefferson.

"You can fool some of the people all of the time, and all of the people some of the time, but you cannot fool all of the people all of the time."

—Attributed to Abraham Lincoln.

"We have been taught to regard a representative of the people as a sentinel on the watch tower of liberty."

—Daniel Webster, in a speech to the Senate.

"They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety."

—Benjamin Franklin in "Historical Review of Pennsylvania."

I AM AN AMERICAN—
I thrill to the ringing words of

Immortal American Speeches

THE progress of our country may often be read in the speeches of our leaders. Included here are a few selections from speeches which have deeply influenced all Americans and have a message for America today.

Patrick Henry

1775

THE CALL TO ARMS

Patrick Henry has been called "the tongue of the Revolution," and this speech brought about more far-reaching results than perhaps any one speech in our history. Irritated by the timidity of certain conservative members in the Revolutionary Convention, meeting in St. John's Church in Richmond, Mr. Henry jumped to his feet and delivered his fiery oration extemporaneously.

By the time he was through, the delegates were trembling with excitement and began to shout: "To arms! To arms!" The speech resulted in more vigorous resistance to King George III, not only in Virginia but throughout the colonies.

MR. PRESIDENT, it is natural to man to indulge in the illusions of hope. We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth. Is this the part of wise men, engaged in a great and arduous struggle for liberty? Are we

disposed to be of the number of those, who, having eyes, see not, and having ears, hear not, the things which so nearly concern their temporal salvation? For my part, whatever anguish of spirit it may cost, I am willing to know the whole truth; to know the worst, and to provide for it.

I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided; and that is the lamp of experience. I know of no way of judging of the future but by the past. Let us not, I beseech you, sir, deceive ourselves longer. Sir, we have done everything that could be done to avert the storm which is now coming on. We have petitioned; we have remonstrated; we have supplicated; we have prostrated ourselves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical hands of the ministry and Parliament. Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned, with contempt, from the foot of the throne! In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. There is no longer any room for hope. If we wish to be free—if we mean to preserve inviolate those inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending—if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged,

and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon, until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained—we must fight! I repeat it, sir, we must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts is all that is left us!

They tell us, sir, that we are weak—unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week, or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot?

Sir, we are not weak if we make a proper use of those means which the God of nature has placed in our power. Three millions of people armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us. Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave.

It is in vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry "Peace, peace"—but there is no peace. The war is actually begun! Our brethren are already in the field!

Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!

George Washington

1797

AVOID FOREIGN ENTANGLEMENTS

When George Washington retired to private life at the end of his second term as President, he keenly felt the dangers to which such a new and untried country as the United States might be subjected by entanglement with foreign powers. The solemn warning he issued nearly one hundred fifty years ago is still widely quoted by Americans.

AGAINST the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other.

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things. Constantly keeping in view that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion, which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

Henry Clay

1824

A PLEA FOR FREEDOM

In the winter of 1823-24 the American people were touched by the plight of Greece, then fighting for independence from the Turks. Daniel Webster had suggested on the floor of the House of Representatives that a commissioner be sent to Greece to express the sympathy of the United States for her cause; but he was vigorously opposed on the ground that such a move might lead us into foreign complications.

Henry Clay, deeply moved by Webster's plea, then made

his own stirring speech, which later was translated into several European languages. Although the measure to send a commissioner never came to a vote in Congress, Clay's speech helped a great deal to bolster up Greek morale during their difficult struggle for freedom.

Henry Clay, one of America's greatest statesmen, was considered, after Daniel Webster, the leading orator of his time.

ARE we so low, so base, so despicable, that we may not express our horror, articulate our detestation, of the most brutal and atrocious war that ever stained earth, or shocked high heaven?

But, sir, it is not first and chiefly for Greece that I wish to see this measure adopted. It will give her but little aid, and that aid purely of a moral kind. It is, indeed, soothing and solacing, in distress, to hear the accents of a friendly voice. We knew this as a people. But, sir, it is principally and mainly for America herself, for the credit and character of our common country, that I hope to see this resolution pass; it is for our own unsullied name that I feel.

What appearance, sir, on the page of history, would a record like this make: "In the month of January, in the year of our Lord and Savior 1824, while all European Christendom beheld, with cold, unfeeling apathy, the unexampled wrongs and inexpressible misery of Christian Greece, a proposition was made in the Congress of the United States—almost the sole, the last

repository of human hope and of human freedom, the representatives of a nation capable of bringing into the field a million of bayonets—while the freemen of that nation were spontaneously expressing its deep-toned feeling, its fervent prayer, for Grecian success; while the whole continent was rising, by one simultaneous motion, solemnly and anxiously supplicating the aid of heaven to spare Greece, and to invigorate her arms: while temples and senate-houses were all resounding with one burst of generous sympathy; in the year of our Lord and Savior—that Savior alike of Christian Greece and of us—a proposition was offered in the American Congress to send a messenger to Greece, to inquire into her state and condition, with an expression of our good wishes and our sympathies—and it was rejected!"

Go home, if you dare—go home, if you can—to your constituents, and tell them that you voted it down! Meet, if you dare, the appalling countenances of those who sent you here, and tell them that you shrank from the declarations of your own sentiments; that, you cannot tell how, but that some unknown dread, some indescribable apprehension, some indefinable danger, affrighted you. And that you suppressed all the noble feelings prompted by religion, by liberality, by national independence, and by humanity!

THE PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT

Daniel Webster has been called America's greatest orator, and his "Reply to Hayne" is considered his masterpiece. In a speech to the Senate Robert Y. Hayne of South Carolina had come out openly in favor of the doctrine of nullification, or the right of a state to set aside any act of the United States, if it considered such an act unconstitutional.

Senator Webster, whose first consideration always was to strengthen the Union, had only one night to prepare a reply. His speech, which created a profound impression at the time and is now a part of our political belief, stated clearly the differences which thirty years later were to divide North and South in the War Between the States.

THIS leads us to inquire into the origin of this government and the source of its power. Whose agent is it? Is it the creature of the state legislators, or the creature of the people? If the government of the United States be the agent of the State governments, then they may control it, provided they can agree in the manner of controlling it; if it be the agent of the people, then the people alone can control it, restrain it, modify, or reform it. It is observable enough that the doctrine for which the honorable gentleman, Mr. Hayne, contends leads him to the necessity of maintaining, not only that this general government is the creature of the States, but that it is the creature of each of the States severally, so that each may assert the power for itself of determining whether it acts within the limits of its authority.

It is the servant of four and twenty masters, of different wills and different purposes, and yet bound to obey all. This absurdity (for it seems no less) arises from a misconception as to the origin of this government and its true character. It is, sir, the people's Constitution, the people's government, made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people. The people of the United States have declared that this Constitution shall be the supreme law. We must either admit the proposition or dispute their authority.

We are here to administer a Constitution emanating immediately from the people, and trusted by them to our administration. It is not the creature of the State governments.

I profess, sir, in my career hitherto to have kept steadily in view the prosperity and honor of the whole country and the preservation of our federal Union. It is to that Union we owe our safety at home and our consideration and dignity abroad. It is to that Union that we are chiefly indebted for whatever makes us most proud of our country. That Union we reached only by the discipline of our virtues in the severe school of adversity. It had its origin in the necessities of disordered finance, prostrate commerce, and ruined credit. Under its benign influence those great interests immediately awoke, as from the dead, and sprang forth

with newness of life. Every year of its duration has teemed with fresh proofs of its utility and its blessings; and although our territory has stretched out wider and wider and our population spread farther and farther, they have not outrun its protection or its benefits. It has been to us all a copious fountain of national, social, and personal happiness.

While the Union lasts we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us for us and our children. Beyond that I seek not to penetrate the veil. God grant that in my day at least that curtain may not rise! God grant that on my vision never may be opened what lies behind! When my eyes shall be turned to behold for the last time the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on States dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the Republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original lustre, not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured, bearing for its motto no such miserable interrogatory as, "What is all this worth?" nor those other words of delusion and folly, "Liberty first and Union after-

ward"; but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment dear to every American heart—

Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!

Abraham Lincoln

1863

THE GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

Today the Gettysburg Address is considered the greatest gem of oratory the world has produced, but at the time Abraham Lincoln thought the speech was a failure. He had written it hastily on the back of an envelope while en route by train to Gettysburg, to be present at the dedication of the Gettysburg battlefield. The orator of the day was Edward Everett whose polished address held the attention of the crowd for two hours. Then Abraham Lincoln arose—a tall, awkward figure—and said only a few words. But those few words, some of the most beautiful in the English language, have come ringing down the years, to inspire every true American and all others who love freedom.

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

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived, and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great bat-

tlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives, that that nation might live.

It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow—this ground.

The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember, what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here.

It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here, have, thus far, so nobly advanced.

It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they here gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom—and that, government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

"Uncounted millions arise and call him blessed! A reunited republic is his monument."—H. W. BOLTON, D.D.

OTHER LINCOLN SELECTIONS

The following is an excerpt from one of the seven famous debates which Abraham Lincoln held in Illinois with Stephen A. Douglas. The debates concerned the great issue of that day: whether slavery should be extended into the new territories of the United States. (1858.)

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

The following excerpt is taken from Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address (1865):

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the

nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and orphans; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

Below is Lincoln's famous letter to a Civil War mother who lost five sons on the field of battle.

Mrs. Bixby
Boston, Mass.

DEAR MADAM:

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

Yours very sincerely and respectfully,

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

LIBERTY

This beautiful prose poem, the soliloquy at the grave of Napoleon, was a part of the lecture, "The Liberty of Man, Woman and Child," first delivered in Chicago. His eloquence and kindliness won Colonel Ingersoll many listeners, in spite of the fact that he often was bitterly opposed because of his beliefs regarding religion.

Do not tell me that you have got to be rich in order to be happy. We have a false standard of these things in the United States. We think that a man must be great, that he must be famous, that he must be wealthy. That is all a mistake. It is not necessary to be rich, to be great, to be famous, to be powerful, in order to be happy. The happy man is the free man. Happiness is the legal tender of the soul. Joy is wealth. Liberty is joy.

A little while ago I stood by the grave of the old Napoleon. It is a magnificent sepulcher of gilt and gold, fit almost for a dead deity. I gazed upon the sarcophagus of rare and nameless marble in which rest at last the ashes of the restless man. I leaned upon the balustrade and thought of all the career of the greatest soldier of the modern world. I saw him upon the banks of the Seine contemplating suicide. I saw him quelling the mob in the streets of Paris. I saw him at the head of the army of Italy. I saw him crossing the bridge of Lodi with the tricolor in his hand. I saw him in Egypt in the

shadows of the pyramids. I saw him conquer the Alps and mingle the eagles of France with the eagles of the crags. I saw him in Russia, where the infantry of the snows and the cavalry of the wild beasts scattered his legions like winter's withered leaves. I saw him at Leipsic in defeat and disaster, driven by a million bayonets, clutched like a beast, banished to Elba. I saw him escape and retake an empire by the magnificent force of his genius. I saw him upon the frightful field of Waterloo, where Chance and Fate combined to wreck the fortunes of their former king, and I saw him a prisoner on the rock at St. Helena, with his arms calmly folded behind his back gazing steadfastly out upon the sad and solemn sea.

And I thought of all the widows and orphans he had made; of all the tears that had been shed for his glory; of the only woman who had ever loved him torn from his heart by the ruthless hand of ambition. And I said, I would rather have been a poor French peasant and worn wooden shoes; I would rather have lived in a hut with the vines growing purple in the amorous kisses of the autumn sun, with my loving wife knitting by my side as the day died out of the sky, with my children upon my knees and their arms about my neck; yes, I would rather have been that poor peasant and gone down to the tongueless silence of the dreamless dust,

than to have been that imperial impersonation of force and murder known as Napoleon the Great.

No, it is not necessary to be great to be happy. It is not necessary to be rich to be generous. It is not necessary to be powerful to be just. When the world is free, this question will be settled. A new creed will be written. In that creed, there will be but one word, "Liberty." Oh, Liberty, float not forever in the far horizon, remain not forever in the dream of the enthusiast, dwell not forever in the song of the poet, but come and make thy home among the children of men.

I know not what thoughts, what discoveries, what inventions may leap from the brain of the world; I know not what garments of glory may be woven by the years to come; I cannot dream of the victories to be won upon the fields of thought. But I do know, that coming from the infinite sea of the future there shall never touch this bank and shoal of time, a richer gift, a rarer blessing, than liberty.

"The very essence of a free government consists in considering offices as public trusts, bestowed for the good of the country, and not for the benefit of an individual or a party."

—JOHN C. CALHOUN

AMERICA FOR ALL

This speech was delivered on the eve of the Republican Convention in 1912. Although it failed to bring Theodore Roosevelt the Republican nomination for the Presidency, his enthusiastic supporters bolted the party and nominated him as the candidate of a third (the Progressive) party.

Believing that William Howard Taft, in his term as President, had failed to carry out certain progressive policies, Theodore Roosevelt called this address the *Armageddon* Speech. This was a name used in the Book of Revelation (ch. xvi) for the last great battle between the forces of good and evil. The words express an American-democratic conviction.

A PERIOD of change is upon us. Our opponents, the men of inaction, ask us to stand still. But we could not stand still if we would. We must either go forward or go backward. Never was the need more imperative than now for men of vision who are also men of action.

We who stand for the cause of progress are fighting to make this country a better place to live in for those who have been harshly treated by fate; and, if we succeed, it will also be a better place for those who are well off.

We stand for the cause of the uplift of humanity and the betterment of mankind. We are pledged to eternal war against wrong, whether by the few or the many, by a plutocracy or by a mob. We believe that this country will not be a permanently good place for any of us to

live in, unless we make it a reasonably good place for all of us to live in.

The sons of all of us will pay in the future, if we of the present do not do justice to all in the present. Our cause is the cause of justice for all in the interest of all. The present contest is but a phase of the larger struggle. Assuredly the fight will go on, whether we win or lose; but it will be a sore disaster to lose. What happens to me is not of the slightest consequence. I am to be used, as in a doubtful battle any man is used, to his hurt or not, so long as he is useful, and is then cast aside or left to die.

I wish you to feel this. I mean it; and I shall need no sympathy when you are through with me; for this fight is far too great to permit us to concern ourselves about any one man's welfare. If we are true to ourselves by putting far above our own interests the triumph of the high cause for which we battle, we shall not lose.

We fight in honorable fashion for the good of mankind; fearless of the future, unheeding of our individual fates, with unflinching hearts and undimmed eyes; we stand at Armageddon, and we battle for the Lord.

"I wish to preach not the doctrine of ignoble ease, but the doctrine of the strenuous life."

—THEODORE ROOSEVELT

THE RIGHTS OF MANKIND

Not since the time of Abraham Lincoln had there been a speech which so stirred the people of his own country, and of the world, as Woodrow Wilson's address recommending to Congress that the United States take up arms against Germany in the first World War.

As a man who profoundly loved peace, the President had hoped almost up until the last that our country would be able to avoid war. His hands were seen to tremble as he stood up before both houses of Congress to read his Message, which is considered one of the great state papers of all time. By the time he had finished, many of his listeners were in tears; then cheer after cheer rang through the halls of Congress. The Message was read throughout the world, bringing new hope to millions of oppressed peoples.

WHILE we do these things, these deeply momentous things, let us be very clear, and make very clear to all the world what our motives and our objects are.

We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples—the German people included—for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the trusted foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we

shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of the nation can make them.

It is a distressing and oppressive duty, Gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts,—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free.

To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

I AM AN AMERICAN—
I endorse this definition of

Americanism

TRUE Americanism is opposed utterly to any political divisions resting on race and religion. To the race or to the sect which as such attempts to take possession of the politics or the public education of the country true Americanism says, "Hands off!"

The American idea is a free church in a free state, and a free and unsectarian public school in every ward and in every village, with its doors wide open to the children of all races and of every creed. It goes still further and frowns upon the constant attempt to divide our people according to origin or extraction. Let every man honor and love the land of his birth and the race from which he springs and keep their memory green. It is a pious and honorable duty. But let us have done with British-Americans and Irish-Americans and German-Americans, and all be Americans—nothing more and nothing less. If a man is going to be an American at all, let him be so without any qualifying adjectives, and if he is going to be something else, let him drop the word American from his personal description.

Mere vamping and boasting become a nation as little as a man. But honest, outspoken pride and faith in our country are infinitely better and more to be respected than the cultivated reserve which sets it down as ill-bred and in bad taste ever to refer to our country except by way of depreciation, criticism, or general negation. We have a right to be proud of our vast material success, our national power and dignity, our advancing civilization, carrying freedom and education in its train. But to count our wealth and tell our numbers and rehearse our great deeds simply to boast of them is useless enough. We have a right to do it only when we listen to the solemn undertone which brings the message of great responsibilities—responsibilities far greater than the ordinary political and financial issues, which are sure to find, sooner or later, a right settlement.

We can do all that can be done to solve the social problems and fulfill the hopes of mankind. Failure would be a disaster unequalled in history. The first step to success is pride of country, simple, honest, frank, and ever present, and this is the Americanism that I would have. If we have this pride and faith, we shall appreciate our mighty responsibilities. Then, if we live up to them, we shall keep the words "an American citizen" what they now are—the noblest title any man can bear.

—HENRY CABOT LODGE

I AM AN AMERICAN—

I sing my country's

Patriotic Songs

THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER

Our national anthem was written by Francis Scott Key, a Baltimore lawyer, after the bombardment of Fort McHenry, in 1814. He had visited the British fleet to intercede for a captured friend; and he then had been detained while the British attacked the fort. All night the battle went on, and when morning came he was overjoyed to see the Stars and Stripes still waving. Taking an old letter from his pocket, he hastily scribbled the first stanza of his poem on the back. In the boat on the way back to Baltimore he finished it.

Soon handbills bearing the words were being distributed throughout the city. Someone suggested that the old tune, "To Anacreon," be adapted to the words, so they might be sung at once. Soon the people of Baltimore, thrilled by the recent American victory, were singing them—and then the entire nation.

Although Congress did not recognize the song officially as our national anthem until 1931, it has held first place in the hearts of Americans for many years.

Oh, say, can you see, by the dawn's early light,
What so proudly we hailed at the twilight's last gleaming,
Whose broad stripes and bright stars through the perilous
fight,
O'er the ramparts we watched were so gallantly stream-
ing?

And the rocket's red glare, the bombs bursting in air,
Gave proof thro' the night that our flag was still there.
Oh, say, does that star-spangled banner yet wave
O'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave!

On the shore, dimly seen thro' the mists of the deep,
Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes,
What is that which the breeze o'er the towering steep,
As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half discloses?
Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam,
In full glory reflected, now shines on the stream.
'Tis the star-spangled banner; oh, long may it wave
O'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave!

And where is that band who so vauntingly swore
That the havoc of war and the battle's confusion
A home and a country should leave us no more?
Their blood has washed out their foul footsteps' pollution.
No refuge could save the hireling and slave
From the terror of flight, or the gloom of the grave:
And the star-spangled banner in triumph doth wave
O'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave!

Oh, thus be it ever when freemen shall stand
Between their loved homes and the war's desolation;
Blest with victory and peace, may the heaven-rescued
land

Praise the power that hath made and preserved us a
nation!

Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just,
And this be our motto: "In God is our trust!"
And the star-spangled banner in triumph doth wave,
O'er the land of the free, and the home of the brave!

AMERICA

Our national hymn was written by Samuel Francis Smith while he was still a theological student at Andover Academy, in 1832. "I did not know at the time that the tune was the British 'God Save the King,'" he said. "I did not purpose to write a national hymn. I laid the song aside and nearly forgot I had made it. Some weeks later I sent it to Mr. Mason, and on the following Fourth of July he brought it out, much to my surprise, at a children's celebration in the Park Street Church, Boston."

Four years later the song was published in a collection and soon caught the public fancy. Today the hymn is sung wherever there are loyal Americans.

My country! 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee
I sing:

Land where my fathers died! Land of the pilgrims' pride!
From every mountain side let freedom ring!

My native country, thee, land of the noble free, thy
name I love;

I love thy rocks and rills, thy woods and templed hills:
My heart with rapture thrills like that above.

Let music swell the breeze, and ring from all the trees
sweet freedom's song:
Let mortal tongues awake; let all that breathe partake;
Let rocks their silence break, the sound prolong.

Our father's God to Thee, Author of liberty, to Thee we
sing:
Long may our land be bright with freedom's holy light;
Protect us by Thy might, great God, our King!

DIXIE

The word "Dixie" had two origins. In the Citizens' Bank of Louisiana, which issued bank notes in both French and English, many people found it hard to say, "dix," the French word for "ten." After a while they began to call the ten-dollar notes "dixies," and the bank was called "The Bank of the Dixies." Later the term was applied to the Southern states, which people still refer to as "Dixie."

But even before then, the name Dixie was often heard in New York state, in the days when Northern people still owned slaves. It was the name of a kind New York master, forced to sell his slaves who looked back on his home—"Dixie-land"—as a sort of earthly heaven.

The song itself originated in the North. Daniel D. Emmett, member of a minstrel troop, had often heard homesick performers from the South refer to their part of the country as Dixie Land. One day when his company needed the type of

song then called "a walk around," he hurriedly composed "Dixie." The tune caught on at once, and soon the whole country was singing it.

"Dixie" was especially popular in the South, and during the war between the states became the rallying song of the Southern cause.

I wish I was in de land ob cotton,
Old times dar am not forgotten,
Look away! Look away! Look away! Dixie Land.
In Dixie Land whar' I was born in,
Early on one frosty mornin',
Look away! Look away! Look away! Dixie Land.

CHORUS

*Den I wish I was in Dixie, Hoo-ray! Hoo-ray!
In Dixie Land, I'll take my stand to lib and die in Dixie;
Away, away, away down south in Dixie,
Away, away, away down south in Dixie.*

Dar's buckwheat cakes an' Ingen' batter,
Makes you fat or a little fatter;
Look away! Look away! Look away! Dixie Land.
Den hoe it down and scratch your grabble,
To Dixie's land I'm bound to trabble,
Look away! Look away! Look away! Dixie Land.

YANKEE DOODLE

American Indians called the English colonists "Yenghees," the nearest they could come to saying, "Anglais," the French word for "English." The tune, "Yankee Doodle," came to the colonies from England where, under Oliver Cromwell, it had been sung by the Cavaliers to make fun of the Puritans.

The first American version of the song is supposed to have been written by a physician in General Braddock's army during the French and Indian War. Although it made fun of them, the good-natured colonists soon appropriated it for themselves and it has been a favorite American air ever since.

Father and I went down to camp,
Along with Captain Gooding;
And there we see the men and boys
As thick as hasty pudding.

CHORUS

*Yankee Doodle keep it up,
Yankee Doodle dandy.
Mind the music and the step,
And with the girls be handy.*

And there was Captain Washington
Upon a slapping stallion,
A giving orders to his men;
I guess there was a million.

And then the feathers on his hat,
They looked so very fine, ah!
I wanted peskily to get
To give to my Jemima.

And there I see a swamping gun,
Large as a log of maple,
Upon a mighty little cart;
A load for father's cattle.

And every time they fired it off,
It took a horn of powder;
It made a noise like father's gun,
Only a nation louder.

The troopers, too, would gallop up
And fire right in our faces;
It scared me almost half to death
To see them run such races.

It scared me so I hooked it off,
Nor stopped, as I remember,
Nor turned about till I got home,
Locked up in mother's chamber.

THE BATTLE HYMN OF THE REPUBLIC

"John Brown's Body" was the popular song in the North in 1861, and Mrs. Julia Ward Howe wrote her stirring words to the same air. While watching a review of Union troops

near Washington and listening to the soldiers sing the "John Brown" song, a friend had suggested that she should write some words worthy of the tune.

That same night Mrs. Howe awoke to find the words of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" forming in her mind. She hastily wrote them down before she could forget them. They were published soon afterward in the "Atlantic Monthly," and soon all the North was singing them. The first time Abraham Lincoln heard the new song, he cried out, with tears in his eyes, "Sing it again."

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord:
He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of
wrath are stored;
He hath loosed the fateful lightning of his terrible swift
sword:

His truth is marching on.

I have seen him in the watch-fires of a hundred circling
camps;
They have builded him an altar in the evening dews and
damps;
I can read his righteous sentence by the dim and flaring
lamps:
His day is marching on.

I have read a fiery gospel, writ in burnished rows of steel:
"As ye deal with my contemners, so with you my grace
shall deal;

Let the Hero, born of woman, crush the serpent with his
heel,
Since God is marching on."

He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call
retreat;
He is sifting out the hearts of men before his judgment-
seat:
O, be swift, my soul, to answer him! be jubilant, my feet!
Our God is marching on.

In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,
With a glory in his bosom that transfigures you and me;
As he died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,
While God is marching on.

AMERICA THE BEAUTIFUL

Katharine Lee Bates, then an instructor in Wellesley College, was on her first trip west when she wrote "America the Beautiful." In Chicago where she had stopped to see the Columbian Exposition, she had been much impressed by the beauty of the white buildings, and she had spent several weeks "under the purple range of the Rocky Mountains." It was a wonderful moment when she stood on Pike's Peak and looked out over the wide expanse of surrounding country, and it was then she thought of the first words for her beautiful hymn.

O beautiful for spacious skies,
For amber waves of grain,

For purple mountain majesties
Above the fruited plain!
America! America!
God shed His grace on thee
And crown thy good with brotherhood
From sea to shining sea!

O beautiful for pilgrim feet,
Whose stern, impassioned stress
A thoroughfare for freedom beat
Across the wilderness!
America! America!
God mend thine every flaw,
Confirm thy soul in self-control,
Thy liberty in law!

O beautiful for heroes proved
In liberating strife,
Who more than self their country loved,
And mercy more than life!
America! America!
May God thy gold refine
Till all success be nobleness
And every gain divine!

O beautiful for patriot dream
That sees beyond the years

Thine alabaster cities gleam
Undimmed by human tears!
America! America!
God shed His grace on thee
And crown thy good with brotherhood
From sea to shining sea!

MY OLD KENTUCKY HOME

Stephen C. Foster, according to tradition, wrote the words and music to this song while visiting Judge Rowan in Bardstown, Kentucky. The Rowan home is now a shrine dedicated to Stephen C. Foster.

The sun shines bright in our old Kentucky home;
'Tis summer, the darkeys are gay;
The corn top's ripe and the meadow's in the bloom,
While the birds make music all the day;
The young folks roll on the little cabin floor,
All merry, all happy, all bright;
By'm by hard times comes a knockin' at the door,—
Then, my old Kentucky home, good night!

CHORUS

*Weep no more, my lady; O, weep no more today!
We'll sing one song for the old Kentucky home,
For our old Kentucky home far away.*

I AM AN AMERICAN—
I delight in humorous

Anecdotes of Famous Americans

Benjamin Franklin

In addition to being a great statesman, author and inventor, Benjamin Franklin seems to have had a special talent for getting his own way. One cold day he entered a tavern, chilled to the bone, to find such a crowd gathered around the fireplace he could not come near. He thought a moment, then called out in a loud voice to the tavernkeeper, "I'd like a peck of oysters in the shell for my horse."

After everyone had rushed outside, curious to see a horse that would eat oysters, Benjamin Franklin took advantage of their absence to choose a comfortable chair before the fireplace.

Here he was warming himself when the disgruntled crowd came back.

"That horse won't eat oysters," someone muttered.

"Oh, won't he?" Benjamin Franklin asked with a twinkle in his eyes. "Then bring them in and I'll eat them myself."

Thomas Jefferson

Jefferson Randolph, always eager to glean whatever information he could about his famous grandfather, once approached an old man who, in his younger days, had heard Thomas Jefferson deliver arguments in court. "How did my grandfather rank as a speaker?" he asked.

The old man seemed to be having a hard time making up his mind. "It is hard to tell, Mr. Randolph, because, you see, your grandfather always took the right side."

Ulysses S. Grant

President Grant's son has told of the time his father bought him a watch for Christmas. After solemnly swearing the other members of the family to secrecy, he surprised them by taking the watch out of his pocket at the dinner table, several days ahead of time, and presenting it to the boy.

"Why, Lys," said his wife, "you were going to give it to him for a Christmas present."

"He doesn't want to wait till Christmas," said the President sheepishly, "and neither do I."

Daniel Webster

Daniel Webster was an untidy little boy, and one day the teacher in the district school threatened to thrash him if he ever came to school again with dirty hands.

One glance in his direction the next morning told her she would have to carry out her threat. She picked up her ferule and ordered him to hold out his hand.

"Daniel," she said, looking at it with distaste, "if you can find me another hand in this school as dirty as that one, I'll let you off."

Whereupon Daniel showed her his other hand and escaped punishment.

Abraham Lincoln

Abraham Lincoln was probably our most resourceful public man. One joke he liked to tell on himself was about the time he was a captain during the Black Hawk Indian War. One day part of his company was marching across a field, and Lincoln saw ahead of them the gate through which they must pass.

"I could not for the life of me remember the proper word of command for getting my company endwise," he said. "Finally, as we came near I shouted: 'This company is dismissed for two minutes, when it will fall in again on the other side of the gate.'"

Abraham Lincoln knew how to give a hint. Irritated by the inaction of General George B. McClellan, who in 1862, was in command of the Union forces, the President sent him this note:

"My dear McClellan:

If you don't want to use the army I should like to borrow it for a while.

Yours respectfully,

A. LINCOLN."

On another occasion when a woman wrote Lincoln a gushing letter, asking for a sentiment and his autograph, he answered:

"Dear Madam:

When you ask from a stranger that which is of interest only to yourself always enclose a stamp.

There's your sentiment, and here's your autograph.

A. LINCOLN."

Theodore Roosevelt

While Theodore Roosevelt was police commissioner of New York city, an anti-Semitic preacher from Berlin was scheduled to make a talk against the Jews; and feeling ran so high he asked for police protection. Many people felt this should be refused, but Theodore Roosevelt knew better.

"The proper thing to do was to make him ridiculous," he said in his Autobiography. "Accordingly I sent a detail of police under a Jewish sergeant, and the Jew-baiter made his harrangue under the active protection of some forty police, every one of them a Jew."

William Howard Taft

Mr. Taft's tremendous size made him the butt of many jokes; but instead of being sensitive about it he took advantage of it. Once, as a young lawyer in Ohio, wishing to catch the through express train in the town of Somerville, where it did not usually stop, he sent this telegram to division headquarters: "Will you stop through express at Somerville to take on large party?"

The train stopped at Somerville, as had been requested, and the conductor looked surprised to find only one passenger waiting. "Where's the large party we were to take on?"

Mr. Taft laughed a little sheepishly as he boarded the train. "I'm it," he admitted.

General John J. Pershing

One day a new recruit approached General Pershing with these words: "Hey, buddy, give me a light, will you?"

The General handed the rookie a match for his cigarette, while some soldiers looked on aghast. When they told their new buddy the name of the distinguished gentleman he had accosted, the boy turned white and ran after the General.

"I'm so sorry, sir," he stuttered. "I didn't recognize you. I've only been here a couple of hours, and I don't

know one uniform from another and—"

"That's all right, son," General Pershing interrupted with a twinkle in his eyes. "Only take my advice and never try it on a second lieutenant."

Calvin Coolidge

Calvin Coolidge was noted for his terse replies and his dry humor. On one occasion, when he found himself seated next to an attractive young woman at dinner, she turned to him and said frankly:

"Mr. President, I have made a bet which I hope you will help me win."

The President looked at her and said nothing.

"It is that I will engage you in conversation for at least five minutes," she continued.

Another silence. "You lose," said Mr. Coolidge.

One Sunday when the President returned from church, Mrs. Coolidge who had not accompanied him greeted him with:

"Was the sermon good?"

"Yes," he replied.

"What was it about?"

"Sin."

"What did the minister say?"

"He was against it."

